THE
ROMANE
HISTORIE
WRITTEN BY
T. LIVIUS
of PADUA.

Also,

The Breviaries of L. FLORVS:
with a Chronology to the whole Historie;
and the Topography of ROME in old time.

Translated out of Latine into English, by PHILEMON HOLLAND,
Doctor in Physick.

To which is now added,

A Supplement of the Second Decad of LIVY
(which was lost.)

Lately written in Latine by
I. FREINSHEMIVS,
and now newly Translated into English.

LONDON,
Printed by W. Hunt, for George Sawbridge, at the Bible on Ludgate Hill: 1659.
To the most High and Mighty Monarch, ELIZABETH,
(my dread Sovereign) by the grace of God, Queen of England
France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Your labour whatsoever, in translating another man's work, I present here unto your Highness, and consecrate to the happy and immortal memory of your most sacred Majesty. An attempt (I confess) in regard of mine own imperfections, eventuous and over-bold, as the first enterprise, right hard and exposed to peril. Yet, most Worthy and Powerful Empress; Who is there so insufficient, that by the favourable aspect of your countenance, may not be graced and enabled? What so difficult and dangerous, which under the fortunate auspices of your Majesty, cannot be effected with ease and pass in safety?

Accept then, most gracious Lady, the first fruits of a few years study, for the benefit enjoyed of life and liberty. An offering, as well in that respect as of myself the meanest of many thousands, under all proportion; but considering either the argument or the first Author, not much unsitting. He, in penning the History of the greatest State in his time, for exquisite eloquence had not his equal: no more than your Highness in glorious government at this day any second: Such are the incomparable perfections resplendent in your Royal person; the wonder of the world.

Vouscsafe also, of your accustomed clemency bestowed to aliens, of your fervent zeal to learning and good letters, wherein (among other rare virtues and singular gifts seated in your Heroick mind) no Prince cometh near unto your Excellency, to reach forth your gracious hand to T. Livius: who having arrived long since and conversed as a mere stranger in this your famous Island, and now for love thereof, learned in some sort the language, humbly craved your Majesties favour to be ranked with other free denizens of that kind: so long to live under your Princely protection, as he shall duly keep his own allegiance, and acquaint your liege subjects with religious devotion after his manner, with wisdom, policy, virtue, valour, loyalty, and not other wise.

And the Almighty guard your Majesty alwayes with his holy Angels, prolong your life among us in perfect health, adorn your noble heart with divinie graces, maintain your Regal estate in all honour: bless the rest of your daies (and infinite may they be) with sweet repose and firm peace, to the joy of your true-hearted and loving people; and finally, accomplish all your desires, for present prosperity and future felicity.

Your sacred Majesties most humble and obedient subject,

Philemon Holland.
Ad Anglicam Liviane Historiae versionem, Interpretis Prolopopoea.

N

Ate (decem decies sensi: sestia menses,
Longa nimis; matri domo grave pondus eras)
Quid lucem refugeis? (necavit pudor isle parenti)
Atria qui fugitias regia i siste pedem.
Siste pedem, audentes sequitur fortuna; nes ausis
Excidere e magnis dedecus esse reor.
Horti dulcis poperit e rustica nymphæ; paternum
Tegum aut virtus nobilitare potest.
Nempe Decus Patavi genuit te Livius ingens:
Saepe animam, tanto es qui genitore fatum.
Et, qua fuit opemque tulit Lucina vocanti,
Eliata potens, dixi Diana nobis?
Hac oculis. hae te manibus refueris aletque:
Audiet, ipse leget, saeclaque verb悍at.
Agnosce propias, Princeps ter maxima, laudes,
Sacerstis pacis, seu fera bella referes.
Quid si sequeat, quid si sequeat orbis,
Mirandum Decus, haec Elizabetha retinet,
Quod tulit in Latinum Patavinum, transfluitus inde.
Tettonum, Hetrucum, Gallum, Iberum, Arbas?
At patrias movit undis & reddere voces,
Quae patriae princeps, alma parentques [ae es.
(Salicet illi Ithacam sapiens optavit Pythas
Vel sumum e patriis posse videre focis.)
Illius aspecilu vitalis, numinitatus,
Sapienti£ felix atque beatum eris.

Aulam sine colas, seu Sacra, aut Castra sequaris:
Sanctior (esse) vocat Curia; gratias eris.
Sive tegata legis gens ingenuisa, placabis:
Su mage civilis turba frequentissimus.
Anticus, Antilis, Miles, prudensque Senator,
Confidens, Civis, sana, virgo, puer,
Hinc domum potestis: discet juvenisque senexque
Pur bonus, & patria commodus esse sua.
Ergo maclu animi; nec te gens Critica ludit:
Candidior, quo quis dolitor, esse solus.

Ex si rigidatis (quae nec fortitudo spectat)?
Tamen ut parvisis spectandis, manu lata capitis:
Se pugna cui se cadens, cui mai frigus, frigido:
Tibi at stultus nulli aliud emittat illust misc.
TO THE READER.

Rue is that Axiome received from Philosophy: \( \text{i.e., the corruption of one thing is the generation of another.} \) Thus out of the ashes and ruins of Troy sprung the City of Rome: and by the woful fall of that one state, arose not only the most glorious empire of the Romans, but also the best writer of their history, Titus Livius. For whereas after the fatal destruction of Troy, two principal men of name remained alive, Aeneas and Antenor: the one with his fleet arriving in that coast of Italy where Tybre runneth, built Lavinium, and became the first father of the Romans, according to Virgil in the first Aeneid:

--- genus unde Latinum, 
Albanique patres, aeterna Roma:---

from whence are Latines come, 
The noble Albanes eke, and walls of stately Rome.

Antenor entered the Venice gulf, & founded the City of Padua, the native place of Livy their historiographer; as the same Poet writeth a little after:

\[ \text{Hic tamen ille urbs Padua sedesque locavit} \]

Yet here the City Padua built he: therein to plant
His Trojanes, left when Troy was lost, who resting there did want.

And I wot not well, whether they were more beholden to that fortune of theirs, (whereof so much they boasted) for Aeneas the author of their beginning and admirable greatness: than for this writer Livy, who commended their deeds to everlasting fame. For from their very first rising [even with Aeneas] unto their sensible declining and decay, were not 1200 years compleat: but since Livy enchronicled their acts, fifteen hundred are come and gone: yet continue they as fresh this day as at the first, and spread still far and neer into all parts of the world: So much more durable and permanent are the memorials recorded by learned Historians, than either any Monarchy be it never so great, or all those wonderful Pyramides and Obeliskes, reared by most magnificent Kings, and mighty Emperors, to immortalize their name and memory. This T. Livius then, was born at Padua, in the year 694 after the foundation of Rome, when L. Afranius and Q. Cecilius Metellus Celer were Consuls. He flourished
To the Reader.

rished all the time of Augustus Caesar, and died in the fourth year of Tibullus. By which account he lived full LXXVI. years: as appeareth by an ancient Epitaph upon his tomb at Padua, (where it is thought he died) with the portrait of his visage: whereof the one is represented here, and the other immediately before the beginning of the History.

TITVS LIVVS PATAVINVS.

Cujus invicto calamo, invicta Romanorum farta scripta sunt.

TITE LIVY OF PADVA.

Who wrote long since with peer-less pen,
The acts of Romans, match-less men,
To the Reader.

I had some little skill in to come as near as possibly I could, to the true meaning of the Author: making this account, that if I could approve my diligence that way to men of reason and understanding, all other my wants and defects might sooner be passed by and pardoned. A desire I had to perform, in some sort, that which is profitable to the most, namely, an English History of that C. W. which of all others (if I have any judgment) affordeth most plenteous examples of devout zeal in their kind, of wisdom, policy, justice, valour, and all virtues whatsoever. According to this purpose and intent of mine I framed my pen, nor to any affected phrase, but a mean and popular style. Wherein, if I have called again into life some old words, let it be attributed to the love of my country language: if the sentence be not so concise, couched and knit together, as the original, loath I was to be obscure and dark; have I not engliished every word aptly? Each Nation hath several manners, yea, and terms appropriate by themselves; have I varied in some places from the French or Italian? Censured I look to be, and haply reproved; but like as Alcibiades said to one, othdr6v b evob, i.e. Strike hardly (Euribades) to you hear me speak? even to I say, find fault and spare not; but withall, read the original better before ye give sentence. And howsoever I have faulted otherwise by oversight, let against it my affection and desire to do some good whiles I live to my sweet native country; add thereto the long travels that I have taken to testifie the same; and if that will not bring down the balance, let the profit and delight both, which you shall find in the argument and discourse of the history, counterpoise and overweigh my wants, more or less. And thus recommend unto my countrymen Livy in English habit; Livy (I say) who whether he were more honored whiles he lived, than beloved at this day of foreign nations, I cannot easily determine. For like as then (by the testimony of S. Hierom, and Pliny in his Epistles) there repaired many great and noble personages from the farthest parts of Spain and France, only to see his face, lor the admiration they conceived of him by the fame of his incomparable eloquence; even so of late time, his spirit (which yet liveth in his writing) hath made a voyage by Florence into the same France and Spain, and past as far as into Arabia one way, and Almain another. In which distant and remote parts he hath found such kind entertainment, not only in Courts of Emperors and Kings, in palaces of Princes and great Potentates; but also with the people in general; that they seem to strive no less (who may endow him with most ample franchises and free burgeoise) than those seven cities in old time who every one, challenged to themselves the birth of the Poet Homer. Since then, he hath thus long been desirous to cross the seas to this noble island, not as a traveller to tojourn for a time in the Court only or the Universities, but to remain here still both in City and country, and thereto, hath learned our language indifferently; let it now appear that this nation of ours (like to reap as great fruit and benefit by his acquaintance as any other) is ready to receive and embrace him as friendly as the rest.
THE EPITAPH.

V. F.
TITUS LIVIUS
LIVIÆ. E.
QUARTÆ. L.
HALYS
CONCORDIALIS
PATAVI.
SIBI ET SUIS
OMNIBUS,
OBIT III. TIBERII
CAESARIIS ANNO.
NATUS LXXVI
ANNOS,
THE FIRST BOOK OF THE HISTORIES OF TITUS LIVIUS
OF PADUA, FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY OF ROME.

The Breviarium of L. Florus upon the First Book.

He comming of Æneas into Italy, and his altis there: the image of Ascanius in Alba: of Sylvius Æneas, and so forth of other Sylvii, Kings thereof, are contained in the first Book. The daughter of Numinot with child by Mars, Romulus and Remus are born. Amulius killed. The city of Rome built by Romulus. The Senate by him chosen. He made war with the Sabines. He presented unto Jupiter Feretarius the royal spoiles of their Kings, whom he slew with his own hands. He divided the people into Centuries, wassified his Fidenates and Veientianus, and was canonized a god. Numa Pompilius taught the rites and ceremonies of sacrifice and divine service, erected a Temple to Janus, and was the first that put the dores thereof, after he had made peace with all the Nations thereof: and ensuing that he had secret company and conference by night with the goddes Ægertia, won the stout and fierce hearts of the people to Religion. Tullius Holmius warred upon the Albanians, whereupon ensued the combate of the three brethren, twins on both sides. Horatius was again for killing his sister. The execution of Mertioc Sueticius, Alba raged and destroyed. The Albans made free denizens of Rome, and there dwelt. War denounced against the Sabines. Finally, Tullius was consumed with lightning. Ancus Martius renewed the ceremonies by Numa first ordained. He to the Latines, being conquered and made Citizens of Rome, he signified the mount Aventinero inhabit. He won again by force a town of the Latines called Politorium, which the old Latines had surprized and possessed themselves of and utterly destroyed it. He made the Sublician or wooden bridge over Tybris, and adjourned to the City the hill Janiculum. He enlarged the bounds of the Empire, built Oltis, and reigned three and thirty years. In the time of his reign, Lucumo the son of Demaratus a Corinthian removed from Tarquins, a City of Tuscane, and came to Rome: and there entering into amity with Ancus, went to bear the name of Tarquinius, and so to be called: and after the death of Ancus took the Kingdom upon him. He increased the number of the Senators by one hundred but subdued the Latines appointed the Circus or Theatre, for both the public games and plots; and being warred upon by the Sabines, he augmented the centuriae of the horsemen. And for to make prove and trial of Accius Navius the Augur, subduing him, he demanded of him, as they say, whether that which he conceived in his mind was possible to be effected: and when he made answer, that it was, he commanded him to cut a whele stone in two with a sword, which out of hand was by Accius done. Moreover, he was the field of the Sabines, and defeated them, pulled the City about, made the wanting links: and when he had reigned eight and thirty years, was murdered by the sons of Ancus. There succeeded after him Servius Tullius, the son of a Captive, a noble Lady of Cornulim, who being a child, and being found in the cradle, had a flame of fire (as the report goth) burning about his head. He discomfited the Veientes and Tuscanes in battle: He was the first that numbered the people of Rome, valued their goods, and instituted the Lystraum every five years, in which were reputed to have been numbered eighty thousand Citizens. He described the Clases and Centurie: set out further the bounds of the Pomeria, without and within the City walls: and put to the City the hills Quirinali, Viminatius, and Equilium. He together with the Latines founded the Temple of Diana in mount Aventine, and when he had reigned four and thirty years, he was, with the privity, and by the counsel of his daughter Tullia, murdered by L. Tarquinius, the son of Priscus. After him L. Tatinius Superbus usurped the Kingdom, without the election, either of the Senators or the people. On which day Tullia (most wicked and cursed wretche that she was) caused her Coach to be driven over the Corpse of her father, being dead on the ground. He had about him a troop of armed men for the guard of his person. By a bloody battle he put to death Turnus Herdonius. He hid war with the Volcians, and of their spoiles edificated a Temple to Jupiter, upon the hill of Capitol, where the god Terminus and goddesse Juvetus, agreed not to be displaced, whose altars could not be shirred nor removed, as the others, by
The Preface of Titus Livius to his Whole Work.

Herein writing the acts and affairs of the people of Rome, from the first Foundation of the City, I shall perform a work of importance and worth my labour, either well or ill, for I write, dare I say, with both old and new Writers always perceiving themselves, either in matter to deliver more truth and certainty, or in manner of curious penning thereof, to outgo the meredleness of elder time. Howsoever it fall out this, yet will I do such, good that even I also, to the utmost of my power, have endeavoured to extenuate the worthy deeds of those people which is the sovereign of the whole world. And if, among so many Writers, my labour chance to be obscure, yet may I comfort myself in this, That they who shall darken and shew the fame, are men too highly reputed and renowned. Besides, the thing itself is of infinite toil and labour, as counting and computing from above 700 years past, and which springing from small beginning hath proceeded and grown to great, as now the renown thereof is marvelous to itself: and I doubt not, but the Readers for the most part will take but small delight and pleasure, either in those far-fetched Originals, or in the times ensuing, for hath they make to these novelties of later daies, wherein the piuance of that so mighty people hath wrought long since their own downfall and overthrow. But contrariwise will seek even this for my guardian of my pains, namely, to turn away from beholding these calamities, which our Age for many years hath seen, to long at least: whilst I call to remembrance, and wholly employ my spirit in considering of those ancient monuments of old time, exempt from care and trouble, which were able, if not to withdraw my mind as I write from the truth, yet to make it penive and heavy. For such things as are reported, either before, or at the Foundation of the City, more beautiful and out with Poets Fables, than grounded upon pure and faithful Records, I mean neither to aver nor disprove. This leave and privilege hath antiquity, by interlacing the acts of gods and men together, to make the first rising of Cities more sacred and venerable. And if it may be lawful for any people under heaven to consecrate and attribute unto the gods their Original, surely, such is the renowned martial prowess of the Romans, that all nations of the world may as well abide them to report Mars above the rest, to be the prime father both of themselves and of their first founder, as they can be content to live in subjection under them. But those and such like matters, howsoever they shall hereafter be cenured or extolled, I will not greatly weigh and regard. This would I have every man rather to think upon in good earnest, and consider with me what their life, and what their carriage was, by what men and means, both in war and peace, their dominion was achieved and enlarged. Afterward as their discipline began by little and little to shrink, let him mark how at the very first their behaviour and manners funk withall, and how full they fell more and more to decay and ruin yea, and began soon after to tumble down noight even until these our daies, wherein we can neither endure our own fores, nor suffer for the cure. For this is it that is good and profitable in an history, when a man may see and behold, as in a conspicuous monument and light from memorials the lively examples of all forts, set up in open view for his instruction, whereby he may choose for himself and his Country what to follow, as also to learn how to elchew a foul enterprize, and avoid a shameful end. But unless he be deceived with the affectionate love of mine own commenced work, never was there Common-wealth, either more mighty, more holy and devout, better florished of good prelents, or into which covetousneffe and extreme more lately crept, or wherein poverty and truftruity were to greatly or so long time honored, informuch as the more they wanted, the leffe they defir'd. Now of late daies wealth hath brought in averse abundant pleasures have kindled a desire by riot hurt, and loose life, to destroy and bring all to naught. But these complaints, which will be nothing pleasanter, no not when perhaps they shall be needful, banish we must (howsoever we do) at our first entrance of so weake a matter: when as we rather should begin (if it be the Poets use, if it were our manner also) with good prelentes and lucy forespeaking, with vows and prayers to gods and goddesse, to vouchsafe their furtherance and happy successe to the enterprize of so great a Wors.
The First Book
OF
TITUS LIVIUS

A

If of all this is generally held for certain, That the Greek, after the winning of Troy, dealt cruelly with all the Trojans, save only Eneas and Antenor to whom, as well in regard of the bond of mutual entertainment, as also for that they ever prevailed peace and the rending again of H. len, they wholly forbear to shew any rigour at all, as by martial right of war they might have done. And how Antenor afterwards, accompanied with a number of Hellenists, who driven by civil discord out of Pap. Logania, and having lost at Troy their King Pylenes, were to seek both a retting place, and a Captain to conduct them, arrived through many adventures and accidents of fortune, in the inmost gulf of

B

de the Adriatic sea: and siter they had expelled the Eugumani that inhabited between the sea and the Alps, those Hellenists together with the Trojans, kept those parts and there remained. The place where first they landed, called Troy, whereof the Territory and Seigniory thereabout was also called Troy, and the whole people in general called Hellenists. Moreover, how Eneas upon like misfortune, having fled his country, yet aspiring by the fatal direction of the deities to greater affairs, came first into Macedonia: and after into Sicily, seeking an abiding place: and failing with a fleet from Sicily arrived at length, and landed in the country of Laurentia: which place like wife was termed Troy, Where the Trojans being set a shore, having after their long wandering nothing in manner left them but ships and armour, as they forsook and broke booths out of the Countrys, King Latinus with the Aborigines, who at that time inhabited those parts, ran forth in warlike manner out of town and country, to withstand the violent invasion of these strangers. But what befall thereupon is two manner of waies reported. Some say, that Latinus being in a bastall vanquished, first made peace with Eneas, and after that allied himself to him by marriage. Others affirm, that as both armies stood ranged in bastall array, before the trumpets sounded the bastall, Latinus came forth into the Vanguard, and called out the Generals of the strangers to parle: demanding who they were, from whence they came, by what chance they departed from their own home, and to what end they entered the Laurentine borders? After that he heard the company were Trojans, the Captain Eneas, son of Venus and Anchises, and that upon the burning of their City, they having forsoke their country, sought some place to abide and build them a City in: wondred much not only at the noblenesse of the people and their leader, but also at their courageous hearts resolved either for war or peace: whereupon, by giving his right hand he plight his troth, and faithfully promised them friendship and amity. So the two Generals made a League, and each and both saluted other. And Eneas was by Latinus entertained and lodged in the Court, Whereof Latium became in presence of his familiar household gods, by giving his daughter in marriage to Eneas, joynd private alliance to the former publicke confederacy. Which thing truly put the Trojans in good hope and full assurance to end one day their wandering and flitting to and fro and to settle themselves in one certain place of abode, Hereupon, a Town they built, which Eneas of his wives name called Latium. Within a while, by this new marriage, he had issue a son: whom the parents named Aeneas. But after all this, were both Trojans and Aborigines warred upon. For Turnus King of the Rutilians, unto whom Latinus, before Eneas his coming, had been eiqueaned, taking it to heart that a stranger was preferred before him, made war both upon Eneas and Latinus: but neither Army departed from the bastall with joy and well appaid. For the Rutilians were vanquished: the Aborigines and Trojans won indeed the field, but lost their Captain Latinus. Then Turnus and the Rutilians murthering their own strength, fled for succour to the puitant and mighty Tuscians, and to their King Maximus, who keeping his Royall Court at Cer., a town in those daies of great wealth, not well pleased even from the first beginning, with the foundation of a new City and supposing the Trojans power was already much more encreased than might well stand with the safety of the borderers, joynd full willingly his forces with the Rutilians, Eneas to win the hearts of the Aborigines against to dreadfull and dangerous war. But to the end they all should not only live under one government but also be all of one name, called both Nations Latines. And from that time forth were the Aborigines no thing inferior to the Trojans in love and loyalty towards their Prince Eneas, Eneas also trufiting confidently in the valiant and faithful hearts of these two States, growing up daily more and more in mutuell amity, albeit Heteria was so mighty, that the name thereof was renowned not only throughout the inland parts, but the sea coasts also, even from one end of Italy to the other, from the
The first Book of T. Livius.

the Alps to the narrow seas of Sicily; yet whereas he might well have refuted the forces of his enemies, and maintained a defensive war within his walls, he brought his Army forth into the open field. This was the second battle that the Latines fought, and the first deed that ever Excelsius, whom he was man, achieved. And how ever by right he ought to be named, he lieth interred upon the river Numicus, and Jupiter Indiges men him call. Now was not Aesacus, Excelsius his son, ripe as yet for age to sway the Scepter, Howbeit the Royal Crown remained whole and safe for him, until he came to fourteen years of age. So long continued the state of the Latines, and the Kingdom by grand sire and father descended, unto the children, under the government only of a woman, as Proteus: of so vertuous disposition and princely carriage was Dame Laconius. Doubtfull much I stand (for who can certainly say how long ago?) whether this were that Aesacus, or one elder than he, who had to his mother Crescent, while Heron flourished; and who fled with his father from thence, and from whom being named also Julianus, the house and family of the Julian did fetch their name and pedigree. That fame Aesacus, wherefore, or of whomsoever he was born, (but Excelsius his son of a truth he was) when Laconius grew exceeding populous, left that City now flourishing and wealthy (as the world went then) unto his mother or filioperson, I wot not whether, He himself another another out of the ground under the mountain Albo, which is the situation thereof, stretching out in length on the side of the hill, was named Long Albo. Between the building of Laconius and Long Albo, which became an under-town or Colony drawn out of the other, and peopled from thence, were almost thirty years. But so might grew they, especially after the discomfiture of the Tucans, that neither upon the death of Excelsius, nor during the time of a woman's government, nor all the while that the young Prince learned to be a King, dutit either Mezentius, or the Tucans, or any other of the borderers once fir or rise in arms. But peace was concluded upon these terms, That the river Albo, which now they call Tybris, should divide the Tucans from the Latines, and limit to either of them their own bounds. After this raised Sylviaus, the son of Aesacus, born by chance within the forrests: who began Aeneas Sylvius, and he had issue Latins Sylviius, by whom were certain Colonies or petty Townships erected, and the inhabitants named Prefi Latini. And from thenceforward all the Kings of Albo continued the name of Sylviaus. This Latinus began, Albo, of Albo came Atri, Atri begat Capes, and of Capes descended Capetus: who son Tibereus in ferreting over the river Albo was drowned, and by his name renowned that river unto all posterity. Next unto him reigned Augeipp his son; and after him succeeded Romulus Sylviaus in his fathers Kingdom, who being strucken dead with a thunderbolt, left the Crown to Aesculapius. This Aesculapius was buried in that hill, which now is part of the City of Rome, and beareth his name. Then reigned Precus, who had two sons, Numitor and Amulius. And unto Numitor, because he was the elder, he bequeathed by his last will and testament the ancient Kingdom of the Sylvians line. Howbeit, might prevailed more than either the will of the father, or the reverend regard of elder brother. For Amulius having driven out Numitor, raigneth himself: and not herewith content, heareth one mischief upon another. For first he murdered the issue male of his brother: then by making Rhea Sylvia his brothers daughter a Vestal Nun that under colour of honour and dignity, by perpetual vowed virginity, he bereft her of all hope of child-bearing. But it was a fallacious thing, and (as I think) that God would, that so great a City should be built for to yield the ground and beginning of that Empire, which next under the gods is most mighty. For behold, the Vestal Virgin was by force deforced, and after delivered of two twins: and we were it the thought so in very deed, or because the name and credit of a god might carry away and close the fault more cleanly, she fathered her ballad children upon Mars. But neither god nor man was able to have her self or her children from the Kings crueltie. For the Votary was committed to close prison, and there kept bound in irons: as for the babies he commanded they should be cast into the stream of the river. But (as God would) by good the Tyber overflowed the banks, and the flowing waters on either side was nothing, rough, yet so, as there was no coming to the deep current or channel of the river; and they that brought the infants, hoped well they might be drowned in any place of the water, were it never so still and low. So to fulfill after a sort the Kings commandement, they laid the children in the next plash they came to: even whereas now standeth the fig-tree Raminus, called, as they say, Raminus: but all that ground then was nothing but waste deserts, and a very wilderness. The report yet goeth, that when the ebe and shallow water was gone, and had let on dry ground the floating goth or vealness, wherein the babies were put forth, a she-Wolf from out of the mountains thereby, being athirst, turned towards the childrens cry, and with her pendant teats so gently gave the infants milk, that Passiflava the beate Reeve and overseer of the Kings Castell found her licking them with her tongue: who brought them to his homestead, and gave them to his wife Laurentia to be fostered. There be that think, that Laurentina being a common harpeter among these herdsmen and shepherdes, was usually called Lupa. Whereupon arose the occasion of this strange tale and wondrous miracle. Well, so were they born and brought up. And as soon as they grew once to some bigness, it was no boot to keep them within doores, not to set them idly to tend the castell, for they would use to hunt abroad in the forest: whereby having gotten strength of body, and courage with all, they were able now, not only to withstand and the violence of wild beasts, and to kill them, but also to set upon common robbers by the high-warles side, laden as they were with booties, and to spoil them thereof, yea, and divide the prey among the shepherdes, and as the number of youngers dayly increased with them, to keep holidaies, to make merry, and follow their disputations. And even in those days.
there but also man for and other. For we hear of him, whereupon only Where

Cantures children: and by farther enquire and computation came to far, as he seemed well-near to acknowledge Romulus for his nephew. Thus on all hands were means wrought to circumvent and surprise King Amulius. For Romulus on the one side not accompanied with a troop of tall fellows, for he was not able in open field to make his part good but giving the herdmen his attendants, in charge to come at a time appointed, come one way, and some another, to the Kings Palace, he set upon the King. On the other side, Numa with another cue from Romulus his house, came to lead and him: and so they flew the King, Numa at the first uprose giving out edicts, that the enemies had entered the City, and assailed the Kings Palace, and thereupon having called the youth of Alba into the Citadell, to keep it by force with a good guard, and expelling the two young men after the murder done, comming towards him with joy: forthwith assembled the people together, and declared openly before them all, the wicked dealings of his brother against him, the parentage of his Nephews, their birth and bringing up, and how they came to be known: after that he reported the murder of the Tyrant, and took it upon himself as the author thereof. The two young men passing with their companies through the midst of the people, saluted their grandfathers King, whereat the multitude allo with one accord and voice ratified the name: so was his roiall name and estate by them established, Thus was the whole Regiment or Kingdom of the Alburns committed to Numa. Then Romulus and Remus had a great desire to found themselves a City in the very place where they had been cast forth and forter. Now were there of Alburns and Latins both, very many that mightbe spaire: besides, a number of herdmen: who all set together. put then in good hope, that Alba and Latium too, would be but small Cities in comparison of that which now was a building. Whilst they were deviling of these things, an old canon came between to mar all, even desire of rule and sovereiety, the name which had troubled their grandfathers before them: and thereupon a foule lay, which arose from a small and flight occasion. Forasmuch as they were both twins at one birth, and the respect of their age might yield no choice and difference, it was thought good and agreed upon, that the gods, who had the tuition of those places, should by Augury or flight of birds declare and shew whether of the twins should both name the City. and also rule the same, Romulus chose the mount Palatine, and Remus the Aventine, for their temples or religious quarters, to mark the bird-flight, and each one spait to receive their Augury. First (as they lay) had Romulus appearing in flight six vultures or griffes: and as tidings came unto him of this Augury it hapned that the number into Romulus was premited double: whereupon they were both of them by their affilants and favorites saluted Kings. The one side took the vantage of the time: the other of the number, for the prerogative of the Kingdom. Thus they fell to hot words first, and from cholerick words to blows and bloodshed: in which fir and pret of the people, Remus was wounded and flain in the place. The more common report goeth, that Remus in form of his brother, leapt over the new walls: whereupon Romulus in great choler flue his brother with his own hands, and in menacing wise, added these words withall, So perih he, whatever else he be, that shall alone dare to leap over my walls, Thus Romulus alone became King, and the City new built of the founders name was called Rome. Wherein first he fortified mount Palatine, in which he was himself retir'd. To all the rest of the gods he sacrificed after the rule and suffrimg of the Alburns: only to Hercules after the manner of the Greeks, according to the first institution of Encander. For the Gimen goeth, that Hercules upon a time, after he had slain Geryon, drove that way exceeding fair Oxen, and near the River Tybris, where he had swum over with his droves afore him, laid them down in a faire green meadow, as well to restreh him, as being weary of his way, as alfo to rest and bixt his cattle in so plentiful grassfe and forrage. There, fell thee into a sound sleep, as having well charged himself with wine and viandes: and one Cacus a sheepwode. living thereby, a man right fierce, and bearing him proudly of his strength being greatly in love with the fairest of the beauties, had a good will, and minded to fetch away that boothy: but that if he
had driven the beasts into his own cave, the very tracks would have led the owner of them thither. He drew the goodliest and biggest of them backward by their tails into his hole. Hercules early in the morning, when he awoke and beheld his drove, and missed some of his count, went on towards the next cave; if happily their footing would have him thither. But seeking all traces from thence, and leading no other way as one troubled in spirit, and doubting what to do, he began to drive farther out of that therein and dangerous corner. But as some of the Osen in driving missed their fellows behind and honing after them, bellowed as their nature is: Hercules chanced to hear them low again, and answer from out of the cave wherein they had been belotted: whereat he turned back, and made halfe thither. But as Cacus forcibly made head against him, and would have kept him from entrance, Hercules smote him with his club: and for all his calling upon other herdmen for help, he knew him outright. At the same time Eumolus, who fled out of Peloponnesus, governed that Country, rather by kind of comendation and authority, than by force and Lordly command. A man much honored for his wonderful invention of Letters, a strange and rare thing among those rude and unlearned lost arts: but more honored for the opinion that the people had of his mother Carmenta, reputed to be a goddess, whom for her spirit of prophesie, those countries, before that Syllia came into Italy, had in great reverence and admiration, This Eumolus being raised with the concurrence of the shepherds, afflicted about the stranger, guilty of manifest murder, and hearing of the act committed, and the occasion thereof: viewing well therewith the person of the man, his feature and favour, more likely a good deal; and carrying a greater Majesty than the ordinary proportion of men; demanded of him who he was. And as soon as he understood his name, his father, and native Country: O Hercules (quoth he) the son of Jupiter. All hail: my mother a most true Prophetess hath foreshewed unto me, that so shall encrease the number of heavenly widows, and that in this place an Altar shall be reared and dedicated unto thees, which the most mighty and richest nation one day of the world shall name Maximus, and honour according to the ceremonies by thee ordained. In a good hour be it (spoken quoth Hercules) and the preface I gladly accept: and so giving him his hand, faithfully promised to accomplish the will of the gods, and erected it straightways and consecrated an Altar in the place. There and then first, he ascribed one of the fairest Oxen, chosen out of the whole drove, calling to the ministration of that divine service and set to the Poeti and Pneus, two noble youths at that time in those parts. It hapned to, by chance, that the Poeti were ready at hand in due time, and the inwards or entrails were set before them: that being eaten, the Pneus came to the good cheer behind: whereupon the customary head, that so long as the family of the Pneus continued they might not feed of the sacred inwards. But the Poeti, instructed by Eumolus, became the Priests of that holy sacrifice many ages after: until the solemn service and ministration of this family was put over to publickseivers, and the whole stock of the Poeti utterly worn out and dead. These were the only forain sacrificing of all other, that Romulus received and admitted, being even then a furtherer and maintainer of immortality, by his own properws achieved, and whereunto his fortune conducted him. Having in this manner religiously performed and established the service of the gods, he assembled the multitude to an audience: and for that they could by no means but by Laws be united together into one body and society of a people, he devised Statutes, and ministrated justice unto them, and supposing that those Laws would be accounted sacred and inviolable of the wild and rusticall sort of men, in case he shewed himself by some regall ensigns venerable: he carried with him a greater port and Majesty, not only in his robes and princely habit, but most of all in the attendance of some Twelve Officers and Sergeants, called Lictors, whom he caus'd to go ordinarily before his person. Some think he chose this number according to the birds, which by Augury did foretell and prognosticke his reign: I rather am of their opinion, who think that Sergeants at Arms, and this kind of Officers came from the Tuscan's their neighbours, from whence also the Ivory chair of estate, called Sella carnis, and the Royall purple robe embroidered, named Taga praestata, was fetched, as also the very number of Sergeants or Lictors. For that the Tuscan had this manner, when they chose their King by the common voices of their twelve principal States, each one found a Sergeant, All this while grew the City more and more to be fortified with Ramparts and Bul-warks, as men (ill built in fancie parts where they liked best, seeming thereby to provide rather for a future multitude in time to come, than for the present number wherewith it was then peopled. Farthermore left that the City, so large in compass, should stand void and vacant, Romulus for so, to encrease the number of the inhabitats (according to the old prattise of the founders of Cities, who by gathering about them the bare multitude and obscure, signified that they were an off-spring born out of the earth) set up a Sanctuary, or lawfull Church, called Afiylum, in that place which this day between the two groves, is enclosed and tarried round about with thick briers and brambles. Thither retired as to a place of refuge, out of the neighbor Countries, a rabbined and confused medley of all sorts, fort and rag, bond and free, one with another; folk defirous of change and novelty.

So began first the City according to the plot of large buildings to be well peopled and grow mighty. Thus being provided of power sufficient: he thought then upon a Counsell and policy to his power. And so created a hundred Senators: either because that number seemed great enough, or for that there were no more but one hundred that were of worth to be election counsellors or (wise) fathers. These men certainly for honor and dignity were called Patres or Sage fathers: and their lineal descent Purtini or Nobles. Now by this time was the State of Rome so mighty and puissant,
puisnis, that it was able in fight to match any City not adjoining whatsoever. But for defect of woman kind, this puissance was to endure but the age of one man: for neither had they hope offire among themselves at home, nor yet made marriages with their neighbors abroad. Whereupon Romulus by the advice of his Senators, sent Embassadors to the countries thereabout, to treat for society and alliance for his new people, by way of marriage. Alleding that Cities also, as well as other things, arose of base beginnings, and in process of time by their own proves, and help of God withal grew to great power and reputation: * Whereas therefore they were full well assured, that as the gods were gracious to their first upring, to their own vertue and valor should not be wanting: their neighbors ought not, in regard of common wealth, and as they were men, think much and disdain to join in blood and kinned with them, being also men as well as they. Now, be it, this embassy in no place had gentle audience, and countious entertainment. For they all in general despised them, and were in fear for themselves and their posterity, by reason of so mighty a state, erecting in the midst of them, and under their very noses. And from the most of them the Embassadors were dismissed and sent away, with this a harsh demand and question, Whether they had set up a Sanctuary or lawful place for women too? For that were alone, and a fit marriage indeed to fort together. This took the youth of Rome in great displeasure, and doublethe quartet grew like to be tried by knacks. But Romulus dissembling his inward heart-burning, to the end he might find time and place meet for the purpose, prepareth to set forth certain solemn plays and games, which he nameth Considia, to the honor of Neptune Equesiris. Hereupon he commanded to proclaim those games all over the country adjoining; and with as great preparation and furniture, as in those days either their skill or ability might afford, they celebrate the same, and all to make the new more goodly, and worthy to great expectation. Thither received many a one, for some also to see this new City, but their next neighbors especially of Cenina, Crafalusum, and Antemnae: the whole multitude of Sabins likewise came with their wives and children. Who being friendly invited to their houses. From one to another, and courteously entertained: when they beheld the situation of the City, the strong walls and fair buildings: so thick standing wondered how to frame a space the City of Rome was grown to great. Now when the time of this solemn sport was come, and that their minds were bended, and their eyes bent thereon: then at once, as it was agreed before, there arose an uproar. And the youth of Rome upon a token and watch-word given, fell one vely side to carry away the Sabin Maidens. A great many of them were ravished by capriazd, as they did light upon them, and as they came next to their hands. Other some more beautiful then the rest, were appointed for the chief of the Senators, and by certain of the Commons, as they had given them in charge, conveyed home to their houses. But one passing fair and lovely above all others, was hurried by the company or cue of one Thalus (they say) and when as any asked to whom they carried her, they ever cried out (for fear she should be lost or deflowered) Thalus, i.e. unto Thalus. Whereupon Thalus became a common by-word at Weddings ever after. Thus their sport and pleasure upon this fit and trigus, was marred, and the Parents of the Virgins flew away with heavy cheer, blaming them highly, and complaining of their breach of hospitality: and calling upon the god for vengeance, to whole festival games they being come, were under colour of religion and truth, beguiled. The Danis likewise that were ravished, conceived neither better hope of themselves, nor less indignation against them. But Romulus himself in peril went from one to another, declaring: That their fathers pride who denied their neighbors marriage was the cause of all this: promising nevertheless that they should be linked in lawful wedlock, made par-takers of all worldly goods, obtain the freedom of a City, and, then, which nothing is more dear to mankind enjoy the blessing of children, exhorting them to appease their anger, and quiet themselves, and to give them their hearts, whose wag it was to have their bodies. For oftentimes upon wrong and injury there groweth love and reconciliation. Alleding moreover, that they should find their spouses to much more loving and kind, as every one of them for his part would endeavor, after they had in their turn and course fulfilled the duty to them of good husbands, to make amends, and supply the mis they have of father, mother, and native country. Their husbands withal used fair speeches, and flattering words, excusing the matter, and laying all the weight upon fervent affection and pure love: which kind of persuasion of all other. prevailiseth most with women's nature. Thus were the ravished young Wives in some sort quieted in mind, and held themselves well contented. But their fathers then most of all arrayed in mourning weed, with tears and heavy complaints, stirred up the Cities where they dwelt: neither contained they their mood within home, but assembled themselves from all parts unto Tatius the King of the Sabins; and to him repaired their Embassadors, for that the name of Tatius was highly renowned in those countries. They of Cenina Crafalusum, and Antemnae, who were partly touched and griefed for that wrong done, thought that Tatius and the Sabins dealt boldly in the action, and went but slowly about revenge.

These three nations therefore banded themselves, and agreed to prepare for war. But so sharp an act were the Ceninians that the men of Crafalusum and Antemnae, beheld it not themselves quick enough for. So they of Cenina entered one by force of arms the Territories of the Romans. As they waited and spooled without order and manner Romulus met them with an army, and in one small skirmish made proof. how much without might is vain and bootless. For he discomfited, put to flight, and pursued in chase their whole host flew their King in battle, and him de-spooled: and having slain their General, at the first assault he won the town: and after he had from thence
thence brought back his army with conquest and victory, as a man no less desirous to shew his no-blemished acts with glory, than to achieve the fame by prowess, he bare afore him on high as a pompous Pageant in a flame fitly for the purpose wrought, the spoil and armor of his enemies Captain, by himself claim: and so ascended up to the Capitol Hill, where lying them down at the Oak which the shepherds had in great reverence, he consecrated them as a present to Jupiter: and let out within, the foundation and bounds of a Temple unto him: giving moreover this addition and title to the god, and saying solemnly: "O Jupiter Feretrius, I King Romulus upon my victory, present unto thee this armor of a King, and within this compas of ground, which even now I have conquered, and asigned, I dedicate a Temple, to receive thoesie and rich and royal spoils, which the public templers, following mine example, shall bear away from the Kings and Captains general of their ity, whom they shall happen hereafter to kill. This is the very beginning of that Temple, which first of all other was in Rome consecrated. And so it pleased God, that neither the first founders words were spoken in vain, whereby he foretold and pronounced, that his posterity should bring their spoils thither: nor his glory made vulgar and common to many co-partners with him in the like exploit and glorious present. For after him, in so many years, and after so many wars, two royal spoils only were won of the enemies. So rare was the happiness of honor in that behalf, Whilist the Romans were thus employed about Cenina, the army of the Antemates, taking the vantage of time, and of the Romans absence from home, and seeing their frontiers without a guard, with a power of armed men entered the confines of Rome. Against whom also the Roman Legion made head in all haste, and finding them scattered out of order in the fields, charged upon them, By reason whereof, at the very first vault and shout made discomfited were the enemies and their town surprized. As Romulus returned with triumph and joy for these two victories, his wife Hersilia, at the important tute of the Wives that had been ravished, earnestly besought him to pardon their husbands, and receive them into his City: for by concord and unity the Weale publick, and the good estate of his Kingdom might flourish and grow mighty. This suit was gently heard, and soon obtained. After this, he set forth against the Cœstuminiants that began to war upon him: with whom he had the lea ado, for that their courages were well abated already by the overthrow of others. To both these places as unto Colonies, were new inhabitants sent. But the greater number were defirous to enter their names, and to plant themselves at Cœstuminiants, for the fertility of the soil. And many likewise removed from thence to Rome, the parents especially and kinsfolk of the ravished women. Lat all, the Sabins waited more sharply and dangerously then the rest, for nothing did they either in fury and rage, or for covetous desire of spoil, Neither made they talk and their of war, before they warred indeed and were seen in field. And besides their considerate policy, they dealt also with craft and lightning. For whereas one Sp. Tarpeius had the charge of the Caille in Rome, his daughter a young maiden, Tautis with a sum of money corrupted and procured, at what time as she went to fetch water without the walls for sacrifice, to receive armed soldiery into the fortresses. But loo soon as they were let in, they with their armes Smithereed and killed her: would either that thereby it might be thought the Caille was won by force: or because They would make her an example to posterity, that no Traitor should ever think to escape unpunished. But hereto belongeth a tale, namely that the Sabins used commonly on their left arms to wear brcelets of maffe and weighty gold, and fair rings besides on their fingers, let with precious stones of great value: and that the Convented and agreed with them to have that which they wear on their left hands, whereupon she had their targets in hand of those golden ornaments, heaped upon her. Others lay that upon agreement and covenant made to deliver that which was on their left hands, the demanded their armor, and become the seemed to deal deceitfully, the was over taken therewith and by receiving a reward of her own chuing. However it was, the Sabins were pillagd of the Caille. From whence the morrow after (when as the Romans army well appointed in baretary, had taken up and overspread the whole plain that lieth from mount Palatine to the hill Capitol) they would not come down on even ground before that the Romans partly nether with angered, and partly pricked with an hot desire to recover the Caille again, began with their great disadvantage to climb against the hill. Whereupon the Captains on both sides joined battell, Metius Curtius for the Sabins, Hersilus Hostilius for the Romans: who albeit he was on the lower ground yet in the forefront most courageously and stoutly underwent the brunt of the conflict, But loo soon as he was drunken down and slain, incommittently the Romans retir'd and gave ground: and thus discomfited fled backward to the old gate of Palatium. Romulus himself also, bore back with the victors and throng of those that fled, lift up his weapons on high towards heaven, and cried out saying: "O Jupiter, I Romulus by thy direction guided and ruled, have here in this mount Palatine laid the foundation of this City: and now already have the Sabins by corruption and treachery got the Citadel and forts thereof: from whence they having passed the midit of the vale be tween, make higher in hafte with force of arms. But thou Father of gods and men, vouchsafe O yet from hence at leafwise to repulse the enemies, deliver the Romans from this so great fear, and "let thy flameful flight. And here to thee O Jupiter Stator I vow a Temple, for a memorial to all posterity, that by thy present help this City was saved and preferred. Thus having once prayed, as if he had known for certain that his prayers were heard. Even here (quoth he) O ye Romans doth Jupiter Opt. Maxi: the belt and greatest of all the gods command you to fly and begin the battle afresh. Herewith the Romans, no les then if they had been commanded from heaven above, made
A made a stand. And Romulus in person hasted him with all speed to the front of the vanguard. Now was Metius Curtius, principal leader of the Sabines, run down from the Castle, and had startled and chased the Romans back as far as the Forum or common place of Rome at this day teacheth in length: and being come within a little of the gate of Palatium, he lift up his voice and cried aloud:—

‘Vanquish we have the faithless friends; and heartless foes: and now know they well, it is one thing to ravish maidens, and a far other thing to fight with men. In this lott, as he brake it out, Romulus with a troop of lusty young men, made head against him. Metius haply at that time fought on Horse-back, whereby he was forst the sooner to secure, and the Romans made after and pursu ed him. The other battle of the Romans in like manner, being much enraged with the value of them that ran after, leap into a marsh or bog thereby. Which accident, considering the danger of so great a passion, made the Sabins to look back to him. And he verily taking heart again at the calling and encouragement of many of his favourites, escaped. But the Romans and Sabins both, in the middle valley between the two hills, renewed the battle again: where the Romans got the better hand. Then the Sabine Dames, for whose wrongful usage all this war arose, with their hair hanging loose about their shoulders, and renting their garments, for very grief and sorrow, all about, ventured to run amongst the javelins and darts as they flew and thus having thrust themselves violently overthrew between them, began to part these bloody armies, and to end their deadly deeds: Before leaving their own fathers on the one side, and their husbands on the other, that they being fathers and sons in law, would not embroil themselves with so kind and unnatural bloodshed nor as parasites, murder the young ones newly born, some their grand-children, and other their own heirs of their body begotten. If ye our fathers, think much (say they) of the affinity between our bands and you, or if ye our husbands are displeased with our marriage, bend all your anger and walk against us; we are the cause of this war, we are the cause of wounding and killing both husband and father; yet will we rather die then either Orphans without the one, or Widows without the other. This thing moved as well the multitude of Soukiers, as also the Captains; and presently on a sudden was halted, and the fight ceased. Whereupon, the Generals came forth to conclude a League. Neither made they peace only, but one City of two united their Realms, and joined together in the Regiment: but the royal estate they lected in Rome."

B of their King, excomitted the Sabins, Metius with his horse under him, affrighted at the noise of them that ran after, leap into a marsh or bog thereby. Which accident, considering the danger of so great a passion, made the Sabins to look back to him. And he verily taking heart again at the calling and encouragement of many of his favourites, escaped. But the Romans and Sabins both, in the middle valley between the two hills, renewed the battle again: where the Romans got the better hand. Then the Sabine Dames, for whose wrongful usage all this war arose, with their hair hanging loose about their shoulders, and renting their garments, for very grief and sorrow, all about, ventured to run amongst the javelins and darts as they flew and thus having thrust themselves violently overthrew between them, began to part these bloody armies, and to end their deadly deeds: Before leaving their own fathers on the one side, and their husbands on the other, that they being fathers and sons in law, would not embroil themselves with so kind and unnatural bloodshed nor as parasites, murder the young ones newly born, some their grand-children, and other their own heirs of their body begotten. If ye our fathers, think much (say they) of the affinity between our bands and you, or if ye our husbands are displeased with our marriage, bend all your anger and walk against us; we are the cause of this war, we are the cause of wounding and killing both husband and father; yet will we rather die then either Orphans without the one, or Widows without the other. This thing moved as well the multitude of Soukiers, as also the Captains; and presently on a sudden was halted, and the fight ceased. Whereupon, the Generals came forth to conclude a League. Neither made they peace only, but one City of two united their Realms, and joined together in the Regiment: but the royal estate they lected in Rome."

C The City thus being made one of twain, the Romans for to gratifie the Sabins in some sort were of Cures, a town of the Sabins, called Qurites, And for a memorial of that battle, the very place where Curtius, after he was gotten out of the deed marsh, first set his horse on firm ground, was named Curtius his lake. This joyous peace ensuing presently upon so cruel war, made their wives better loved of their husbands and parents; but especially of Romulus himself. And therefore when he divided the City into thirty Wards or Parishes, he called them by their names. But it is not left in any record (for out of all question the women were far more in number than the men) whether those that should give names unto the Wards, were chosen by age, or by their own dignity and worthi nesses, or their husbands degree and calling, or by calling lots. At the same time were enrolled and ordained three Centuries of Gentlemen or Knights; The Romane or were so called of Romulus, the

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E Tithes of Titus Tatius; but of the name and first beginning of the Lucerians, the occasion is not certain. So these two Kings not only reigned together but also governed with great unity and concord. But after certain years the kinred of King Tatius, chased to bear and evil entreat the Embassadors of Lucerium. And when as the Lauretines pleased the law of Nations, for satisfaction of this outrage; Tatius his kinfolk what by favour, and what by intent, prevailed more with him then the just complaint of the others. Wherby he brought vengence due to them upon his own head: for being come upon a time to Lavinium, unto a solemn sacrifice and feast, there in an uproar or hurliest the people ran upon him, and so was he slaine. Which thing (they say) Romulus made the kings of others was meet; either for that fellowship in Lordship is never faithfull, or because he esteemed him not unjustly to be made away. Whereupon be forbade indeed to make war; yet to the end the wrong done unto the Embassadors, together with the murder of the King, might be expiated and purged clean away, the League between the Cities of Rome and Lucerum was renewed, But whilst peace verily was beyond mens expectation with them concluded: behold another fresh war arose, much nearer then the other, and hard almost at their very gates. For the people of Eide ne supposing the Romans power and riches to encroate over much to enter unto them: before they should grow to such greatness as they were like to do, began first to war upon them; and sending a power of lusty tall soldiers, invaded and wafted all the country between the City of Rome and Eide ne. And taking their way on the left hand, for that the Tyber kept from the other, they forsook and spoiled as they went, to the great fear of the Peasants and country people. So as this sudden tumult and garboil heard out of the fields into the City brought the first news of the war, Romulus raised therewith (for to night a war might not delay) forth his army, and encamped within a mile of Eide ne; and leaving there a competent guard he departed thence with all his other forces, commanding part of his soldiers to lie close in certain covert places, among the thickets in ambushment. Himself with the greater number, and all his horse advanced forward, and riding up and down before their gates after a disordered and dragging manner, made semblance of a bravado, and all to train the enemy forth, which was the thing he only sought. This kind of horserie it was a means that the Eidenares left inspected and marvelled at their dying, which they were to counter-
feit. For whilst the Cavalry flood unresolved, as it were, in a maimering whether to fly or fight, C and the infantry withal began to retire: all at once the enemies in thronging manner fell back of the gates, and chased the Romans so fiercely, that in their eager pursuit they were drawn to the very place of ambush. Then the Romans suddenly arose, and charged the flank of the enemies; and to encrease their fright, they likewise that were left behind to guard the camp, showed themselves with banners displayed. So the Fidenates terrified sunry ways, before well neer that Romulus and his men of arms could rein about their horse-heads, turned their backs, and rode full gallop towards the town again, and so much the faster, for that they fled now in good earnest themselves, that pursued them, who a little before made but semblance thereof. Yet for all this could they not escape the enemy: for the Romans hard at their heels, rushed together with them pel-mel into the town, before the gates could be shut against them. At this Fidenatian war spreading so dangerously, the Veientians grew angry in their hearts, and began to chafe. Touched they were also in regard of kindred and alliance: for the Fidenates were likewise Tuscans. And fearing lest (if the Roman forces should thus differs and lie upon all the borderers) they being too near should not go free, they were the rather pricked forward, and thereupon made rodes, and entered in arms the confines of Rome, spoiling and rifing, more like robbers than professed warriors. So without pitching any tents, or abiding the coming of their enemies, but only driving and carrying away great booties out of the fields, they return again to Vei. The Romans contrariwise, not finding the enemies in the field, but yet provided and resolved to give battle, and to hazard all, padded over the Tyber. Whom the Veientians understanding to be encamping themselves, fully minded to come against their City: fitted forth and met them, intending to try the quarrel by dint of swords, and in open field, rather then to be mused up within the town, and to fight and defend themselves from off their houses and walls. There the Roman King with the strength only of his old beaten foouldiers, without any other help and supply whatsoever, without policy or stratagens, had the better: and having thus discomfited the enemies, he chas them even to their very walls, and for that the City was exceeding strong, fortified as well by natural situation, as by walls, he forbade to affay it. But in his return homeward, he waited the country, more upon a mind to revenge, than hope of spoil. With this declature the Veientians no les than oried then if they had lost a field, sent Orators to Rome to sue for peace: unto whom Truce was granted for an hundred years, but they were accorded to lose part of their lands. There were in manner all the acts that were done both at home and abroad, during the reign of Romulus. Whereof none seemed to derogate any jot from the opinion, both of his divine birth and beginning, and also of his immortality or deification after his death. Such was his courageous heart in recovering his Grandfathers Kingdom: his policy and wisdom in founding the City first, and after in establishing and governing the same, as well in war as in peace. By whom good proceedings it did such strength, and so sure footing, that for forty yeares space after, it enjoyed peace with safety. Nevertheless of his Commons he was better beloved then of his Nobles: but above all, his Souldiers most heartily affected him: of whom he had always about him, as Equries of the body, three hundred Pensioners armed, not only in time of war, but also of peace, whom he called Celeres. Thus having achieved these noble and immortal deeds, as he upon a time assembled all his people upon the plain, at the March Capre, there to number or muster his army, beheld upon a sudden there arose a tempest with great cracks of thunder, which with thick and cloudy a storm, covered the King, that the people left the fight of him. And never after was Romulus seen on earth. The Roman youth, after, their fear was at length past, and that upon to dark and troublesome weather, it proved a fair day again, and calm withall, seeing the Kings Throne empty, albeit they credited the Senators that flowed near about him, who gave out he was taken up aloft in the storm; yet strucken into dead dumps, as it were for the loss of their father, held their peace a good while. But after wards, when some few of them had once begun, they all set on and cried aloud, All hail god Romulus the son of a god, King and Father of the City of Rome: With earnest prayer beseeching him of his grace, that he would vouchsafe to be propitious, and save their off-spring and posterity for ever. I am of this mind, that some there were even then, that suspected and secretly surmised that the King was pulled in pieces by the hands of the Nobles. For this rumour also was bruited abroad, although in very dark and obscure terms. But by reason of the high admiration of the men, and the present fear withal, the former opinion took place, and was more current. Over and besides, it grew the rather credible through the politic practise of one person. For as the whole City was penive and forrowful for the mifs of their King, and fore displeated with the Senators, one Ponzibus Julios, a substantial good author (as men say) and to be beleeved in a matter of great importance, stepped forth into the assembly. Romulus (quoth he) O Quirites, the Founder and Patron of this City, even this very morning at the day break, descended suddenly down from heaven and met me, and as I stood all quaking for fear, ready to worship him, and humbly beseeching that I might behold him face to face: Away (quoth he) and tell the Romans that the will of the gods in heavenis, that my City of Rome shall be the head and chief of the whole world: will them therefore to follow and practise chivalry, and the knowledge thereof: and want this well, and so let them teach their posterity to wit. That no power in the world shall be able to withstand the puissance of the Romans. Which (said he) was not to soon spoken, but he ascended on high, and departed. A wonder it was to see, how much they gave credit to this mans tale, and how greatly the mifs of Romulus both among the Commons and the Army, was by this belief of his immortality, digested.
A In this mean while the Senators fell to strive who should be King, and the desire of sovereignty troubled much and perplexed their minds. But as yet, there was no banding nor rising from any one person in particular: for that in a State to newly riven, and of so small continuance, there was not one that far excelled another in authority. All the contention was between the two factions in general. For they that were descended of the Sabins, fearing lest because after the death of Titus there was none of their part, that had reigned with Romulus in equal jurisdiction, they should now lose their possession and title to the Crown, were desirous to have a King chosen out of their corporation. The old Romans again might not abide an alien or foreigner to be King. Howbeit, this diversely affected as they were, a King they all will needs have, as who (God wot) had not yet tasted the sweetness of liberty and freedom. Besides, the Nobles began to fear, lest peradventure in case the heats of many Cities thereabouts, should not be well disposed, but provoked against them, some foreign power would make invasion, finding the City without government, and the army without a Captain. Therefore they all liked well to have one head, but none could find in his heart to give place unto another. Whereupon the hundred Senators assemble, and combine together in the rule of the Common-wealth, by dividing themselves into ten Decuries, and for every Decury chusing one to bear the chiefe authority. So that ten governed at once, but one alone had the regal Empowers and the Legions before him. This sovereignty and preheminence determined every five days: and thus went it through them all round in course. After which manner, they continued the space of one year. And the government upon this occasion was (as it is still at this day) called Interregnum. Then after a year began the Commons to grudge and mutter, that their feritude was greater then before, having now Lords over them, an hundred for one: and feared they would no longer endure, but have a King again, yea, and one of their own chusing. The Senators seeing them about, and taking it to be good policy for to offer that of their own accord, which they were otherwise like to forget, caused labour with them in this wise, to wit, by granting the chief prerogative unto the people (in chusing a King) yet so, as they gave them no greater privilege, than they received to themselves. For this it was declared, that when the people had elected a King, it should hand him firm and ratified, if the Senators liked thereof, and gave to them their royal affent. And even at this day in making of Laws, and chusing of Magistrates or Rulers, the same right is in some of the cities, putting aside the violence of Tribunes. For that now before the people give their voices, the Senators paie by their authority, that which they would have done, fall in the assembly of people, by staring, doubtful as it will. To proceed then, the Interegnum having called a general Parliament: In the name of God (quoad he) O Quirites, and which may be to you good, lucky, and prosperous, elect of nominate a new King: for so is the good pleasure of the Nobles and Senators: and in case ye shall elect a man of such quality as may be deemed worthy to succeed Romulus, then will they by their assent pass the same, and allow thereof. This pleased and contented the Commons so highly, that because they would not seem behind in bounty and concord, they answered again, that this only they ordained and agreed upon, to wit, that the Senate should determine who should be King of Rome. There was in those days one Numa Pompilius, much renowned and esteemed for his just life and religious: he dwelt in Cumae, a City of the Sabins, E man right skilful and very well learned (as any one might be in that age) in all Laws both divine and humane: whole reacher and first matter, for want of another Author of his Science and Knowledge (they say) but yet unlearned, was Pythagoras of Samos. Concerning whom, this is well known, that he 100 years after and above, in the days of Servius Tullius King of Rome, held a School of young men Students, that were his Disciples and followed his Sect in the utmost and farthest coast of Italy, about Metapontum, Heraclea, and Croton. From which places (albeit he had lived in that time) what name of him could spread so far as to the Sabins? or by what sect or coupling of language might he possibly have trained any man unto him for desiré of learning at his hands? or by what good means and help could Numa travel alone unto him in safety, through so many countries, of divers tongues and sundry manners? I am of this opinion rather, that the man by nature was framed and disposed to vertue, and that he was instructed, not so much in strange and foreign Sciences, as after that first rule, that stern and severe discipline of the ancient Sabins: then whom, there was not a nation in times past, more precise reformed, and void of corruption. The Roman Senators hearing the name of Numa, although they saw well enough, that the Sabins were like to prove of great reputation and power, by chusing their King from among them, yet was there none of them so audacious, as to propose either themselves, or any one of their party and faction not any one, Numa, Senator or Citizen, before that man: but a linage with one accord agreed to confer the Kingdom upon Numa Pompilius. Who being sent for and come like as Romulus at the founding of the City was inaugurated King, or attainted to the Crown by means of Angerio: so also he would needs, that the will and counsel of God should be fought for, tending his own election. Whereupon he was by the Auger (unto whom for ever after that publick Ministry or Priesthood, in regard of honor and reverence by patent belonged) brought unto the Cattle hill, and there he for him down upon a stone, with his face toward the South. Then the Auger on his left side, with head covered, took his place: holding in his right hand a smooth staff without knot or knob, and hooked towards the top, which they called Liburn. From whence after that he had with good advice, taken a prospect and view towards the City and Country, and made his prayers unto the gods, he limited the quarters of the Heaven, from Eall to West: and the parts Southward he appointed for the
the right hand, and theohe Northward for the left. And so far as ever he could cast his eye and see far forward, he imagined to himself a mark: then shifting his staff into his left hand, and laying the right hand upon Numia’s head, he prayed in this form: O Father Jupiter, if it may be right and lawful, that this Numia Pomptinius, whose head I lay my hand upon, shall be King of Rome, I swear I believe the same certain and manifest signs within that compass and those precincts, that I conceived and set out. Then pronounced he in plain words what tokens by sight or flight of owls he would have to appear. Which being once seen, Numia was declared King, and so came down from the Temple or place of prospect above said.

In this manner, being inaugurated and invested in the Kingdom, he provideth by good Orders, Laws, and Customs, to re-edify, as it were, that City, which before time had been new built by force and arms. Whereunto, he feeling that they might not be brought and framed in time of war, whose hearts were already by continual warfare grown wild and savage: and supposing that this fierce people might be made more gentle and tractable, through lapse of arms, he therefore built the Temple ofNumia in the nether end of the street Argiletum, in token both of war and peace: with this invention, that being open it should signify, that the City was in arms; and flanding fure, that all the neighbor countries were in peace and quiet. Twice only after the reign of Numia was this Temple shut: once, when M. Munius was Consul, after the first CARTHAGINIAN war was done and ended: and a second time (as God would) in my age for us to see, when as the Emperor Caesar Augustus, after the battle of Actium (with Antonius and Cleopatra) had obtained peace both by Land and Sea, Numathen having knitt the hearts of the borderers about him in firm league and amity, and therupon closed up the doors of foes, secured now from all fear and care of dangers abroad, yet doubting left through eafe and idleness their minds might fall to looseness and riot, whom the dread of enemies and martial discipline had held in awe and good order: devised above all things to strike some fear of God into them, and to plant religion in their hearts: a policy no doubt, with the simple multitude (indeed in those days and ignorant) most effectual. Which reverence of God, for that it could not sink nor enter well into their heads, and to make a deep impression, without some device of a fained miracle, he made semblance, and gave out, that he converted in the night season, and had, I wot not what, secret conference with the goddess Aegypt. By whose counsel and direction forthwith, he ordained such divine service and sacrifices to the gods, as to them was most acceptable: and to every god appointed several Priests for the ministration thereof accordingly. But first above all other things he divided the year, according to the course of the Moon, into twelve months: and for as much as the Moon hath not full thirty days to every month, whereby some days are wanting to make up the full year, after the revolution and circle of the Sun: he, by putting the odd days between every month, did dispose and ordered the year, that in every three and twenty years space the days agreed just to the same point of the Sun from whence they began, and to make up the void spaces, and accomplishedfully the term of every year. He appointed likewise law days and days of vacation, called Festi and Nefeti, thinking it good, that otherwheres there should be rest from attendance on the Courts, and no dealing, with the people. After this, he let his mind about the creation of Priests, albeit in his own person he performed very many sacrifices, especially those which at this day pertain to the Priests of Jupiter, called Flamen Dialis. And supposing that in a City so marvellous, there should succeed more Kings like to Romulus then Numia, who in proper person would go forth to war: left haply the divine ministration that belonged to the King, might be neglected, he created a Flame to Jupiter, for to be a sacrificial continually resided: endowed him with a rich cope or vestment, and with an ivory chair of state upon wheels, called Sella curulis. Unto him he adjourned two Flamines more; one for Marcus, another for Q. iuvinus. He instituted also a Nunnery, as it were, of religious Vestal Virgins. A Priestshood that had the beginning from Alba, and fured well with the honie, from whom the first founder of the City was descended. And to the end they should attend continually about the Church, as reftant Chaplains, he allowed them an ordinary fee or pension, at the publick charges of the City: and made them perpetual vowed virginity and other ceremonies to be reverenced and accounted holy, Likewise unto M. S. Gratidius he consecrated twelve Priests called Salii, and gave unto them a rich purple coat, embroidered for an ornament, and to wear upon that coat a brazier breaf-plate, and to bear certain scourches or bucklers that fell from heaven, called Ancilia: commanding them to run about the City, chanting hymns and songs, with dancing and leaping full solemnly. Moreover, he chose for a Superintendent or high Priest, Numia Martius, the son of Marcus, one of the Senators: and to him he gave in writing set down under his hand and seal, a rule, whereby he might know what beasts should be killed for sacrifice, upon what days, and at which Temples, and how the money should be levied and disbursed for the defraying of all charges. All other sacrificed rites as well publick as private, he submitted and referred to the discretion and ordering of that high Priest: to this end, that the common people might know unto whom they were to refer for counsel and instruction, and that no part of O God’s worship and service should by neglect of the ancient rites and traditions of their own country, be confounded and corrupted by bringing in any strange and foreign superstitions. He ordained besides, that the same Arch-Priest should teach, not only these heavenly ceremonies, but also funeral obsequies, and how the spirits beneath, and ghosts of bodies departed, should be quieted and pacified: and what strange and prodigious tokens, that came by way of lightning, thunder, or any other fearful flight whatsoever, should be expiate and purged by sacrifice accordingly.
A for to know the truth, portended by their tokens even from the minds of heavenly spirits above, he conjectured unto Jupiter Elethinus at Assur upon the mount Assurine. And by the means of Augury, he concluded that god, what things he was to enthrone and go about. Whilst the whole multitude was thus drawn away, and came turned from thinking of force and arms, and busied about devising and ordering of these matters, not only their minds were occupied in doing somewhat, but also the continual fear of God now filled them, (as being persuaded that the heavenly power was present in the managing of men affairs,) had possest now all their hearts with such piety and religious holiness, that faithful promise once made, and the reverence of an oath taken, abandoning all fear of law and punishment, was able to rule and govern the City, and

B as the people framed and reformed themselves to the fashions and manners of their King, as the only and special pattern to follow: so the nations likewise bordering upon them, who before time verily thought that City to be built, and as it were encompassed in the midst of them to the disturbance and disquieting of all their peace, were now become so resolute of them, that they thought it an impious and sinful deed, once to offend or offer abuse to that City, to well given, and devoted to worship and service of God. Furthermore, there was a grove, the middle whereof was wateredcontinually by a spring that issued out of a dark and shadowed cave: into which, because Numus fled very oft to retire himself alone, without any other, as it were, to have familiar company with Egeria, he dedicated that grove unto the Muses, for that, their assistance also in council and advice he had figured together with his wife Egeria. And to each alone he instituted a solemn yearly festival day, and erected a chapel: unto which he commanded the Flamines to ride in an arched or embowed clove Chariot, drawn with two horses, and to sacrifice and execute their function, with their hands covered and wrapped close to their fingers ends: signifying thereby, that faith is to be kept and preferred: and that her fear was sacred and consecrated even upon the right hands. Many other sacrifices, and places for sacrifice, which the Priests called Argos, did he appoint and dedicate. But of all his acts this was most worthy and memorable, that during the time of his reign he had no less regard to preserve peace, than to maintain royal estate and dominion. Thus two Kings one after another, taking either of them a federal course by himself, that one by war, this other by peace, mightly promoted the welfare of the City. Romanus reigned 37 years, Numus 43. So that now the City became very puissant, as being well and equally temper'd both with feats of arms, as also with discipline of peace.

C Upon the death of Numus the regiment returned again to an inter-regnum. Then the people nominated and elected for their King, with the royal assent of the Senators, Tullus Hostilius, the nephew or Grandson of that Hostilius, who had in times past fought valiantly against the Sabines, at the foot of the Cattle hill. This man was not only unlike the former King, but also more fierce and hardy then Romanus himself. For besides the heat of youth, and strength of body withal, the glorious remembrance of his Grandfather set him on, and pricked him forward. Supposing therefore that the City through rest and ease began to age, as it were, and to decay, he sought every way to pick quarrels, and to give occasion to make war. It fortunate, that the Peasants about Rome, and those of Alba likewise, prayed upon and spoiled one another's land. At that time C. Claudius was Lord E and King of Alb. From both parts well near at one time, were Embassadors addressed to demand restitution of goods, and satisfaction for their harms, Tullus Hostilius he had firstly charged his messengers to have no dealing with the Alban Prince, before they had delivered unto him their missive. For well he knew, that he would make denial, and yeald no amends: and then might he with confidence justly proclaim war against him. On the contrary side, the Alban Embassadors followed their business but slackly for being courteously invited, and friendly entertained by Tullus, and lodged within his palace; they were well content to be dealt by the King, and were his daily guests so long, that the Romans had by this time both challenged their own first, and upon denial made by the Alban King, given defence and proclaimed open war within thirty days next ensuing. Upon which tidings by them related to Tullus, he gave the Alban Embassadors audience, perceiving them to declare what their errand was, that they came about, "They (simple men) ignorant of all that was done first spent time in exciting themselves, saying they were very loth & unwilling to speak ought that might displease Tullus, but being commanded by authority, they might not will nor chafe but then were come to make claim of goods, & amend for wrongs, and if they were not restored and recouped they had commiffion to denounced war against him.

Whereunto Tullus made answer in this wise, "Tell your King and Master (quoth he) that the Roman King calleth the gods to witness, whether of the two Nations sent the Embassadors away first, and rejected them when they demanded restitution, that upon his head they might bring the misery, loss, and calamity of the present war. With this dispatch the Albans returned home. So they made preparation of forces on both sides, all that they could, most like in all the world to a civil war, between fathers and sons, proceeding both from the Trojan race; considering that by Trojans Livonium was founded; from Livonium came the people of Alba; and from the Alban Kings were the Romans in right line descended. But the final issue and end of this war, made the war tell les woful and lamentable, both because they came not to a set field, and also for that by raising the house only of the one City, two nations were intermingled & united in one, The Albans first with a mighty power entered the Territory of Rome, and encamped themselves not past five miles from the City, where they strongly entrenched themselves: which place
of the Captains name was called Foffa Clarie, many years after until both it and the name with
all processes of time, decayed clean and came to nothing. In this camp the Alban King Claudio
ended his days, in whose stead the Alban army created Metius Saffetius their Dictator, Tullus
in the mean time became haughty and proud, especially upon the death of the King, and sometimes giving
out and saying, that the mighty power of the gods, having thus begun at the very head, would
likewise take vengeance on the whole body of the Alban Nation, for this their unjust and godless
war: and one night above the rest palled secretly by the camp of his enemies, and in warlike manner
invaded the Alban land. This news railed Metius out of his standing camp. Who led forth
his army and marched on as near to his enemies as he could, dispatching thence an Herald unto
Tullus, to notify unto him thus much from him, that it was needful and expedient before they
joined battle to parle and commune together. If he would vouchsafe to confer, he knew very well,
that he should alledge and lay forth such matters, as might concern the Weale of the Romans,
as well as of the Alban. Tullus refused not the offer, albeit they were but vain todes that were
pre¬
tended, and therefore let his men in barrel array, The Albans in like manner came forth against him.
After they were thus ranged and embattelled ready to fight, the Generals on both sides, accom¬
panied with a few of their principal Nobles, advance between both armies. Then began the Alban
Dictator in this wise: "Me thinks (quoth he) I hear already of injury and wrongs done, and how
such goods as were demanded are not restored again according to the form of the league. As also
that Claudio our King was caife of this war: neither doubt, let us once do, stand upon the truth of
such things as are reported upon the one party not what glosses, and goodly sheets of words: it is ambition
and desire of rule only and nothing else, that is published on two nations of one blood and near neigh¬
bors to take arms and war one with another: justly or unjustly, I am not able to say. Let him on
Gods name that first began the quarrel, in conscience let to that, As for me, the Albans indeed
have made them their General, But this one point Tullu, I would have you to remember and
consider: How strong about us and you especially the Tufcans are, you know better, the nearer
ye are unto them: mighty they are by land, much more by sea. Then went well this, that when
you all caife the Trumpet to sound unto battle, if these two armies will be to them a fair mark
and spectacle to behold: that they may give an assault to both at once, as well the victors, as
thee that are vanquished, whilst they are weary and toiled out of heart. For the love of God,
if there be any park of grace in us, since we are not contented with that liberty which we freely en¬
joy, will needs venture and put in doubtful hazard, which of us shall rule and command, and
who shall serve and obey the other, let us take some good course whereby it may be decided
without great loss or bloodshed on both sides, whether shall be Lord and Sovereign. The motion
Tullus milliked not, albeit both for disposition of nature, and hope of victory, he were the
haughtier of the twain. And as they fought on both parts what way to take, this means at length
they found, whereunto fortune it self presented fit matter and occasion. For by good hap even
then, in either host three brethren twins were born at one birth, and thole neither in age
nor strength unlike. Their names were Curiaii and Horatii, that is very certain, neither is there
any thing of ancient record more famous and notable. Yet as clear in habitance as it is, there re¬
mainteth still some doubt and error in their names: whether people the Curiaii and the Horatii
were. Writers beare there on both sides, but the greater number say, as I find, that Horatii were the
Romans, to whom I rather encline, and my mind giveth me to follow them. With these three
brethren the Kings went in hand, persuading them to fight for the honor of their country, and
try the quarrel by dint of word; shewing them shat on what side the victory fell, there should
remain the sovereign dominion. Nothing refuseth they to do, the time and place both were agreed
upon and appointed. But before the combat, it was covenanted between the Romans and Albans,
and those conditions drawn: That whose champions in fight should have the better, that
nation should peaceably command the other. There are of covenants many and sundry Capitula¬
tions far different in matter: but they ran all after one manner and form. As for this, it was N
made, as we have heard in this wise, neither is there extant a more ancient record of any compo¬
sition whatsoever, The Herald (called Fecialis) demandeth of King Tullus in this wise: Is it your
will and commandment my Lord, That I make a covenant and accord with the Patroprate of
the Alban people? It is (quoth the King.) Then (quoth he) I demand of you sacred herbes, The
King answered again, Take them pure and clean. The Fecialis then reached from the Calfi hill pure
herbs from among the graves: which done, he thus asked the King: Do you (my Lord) ordain me
the Meffenger Royal of the Commons of the people of Rome? and allow necessary implements,
all furniture for my self, and my resumee and train? The King answered: I do, so farth as may be,
without the harm or detriment of my self, and of the Citizens of the people of Rome. The Fe¬
cialis having recited all the Articles and conditions thereof, "Hearken (quoth he) O Jupiter, listen
that your Herald for the Albans, attend also and give ear ye the Alban people, how these conditions
from the first to the last, have been read aloud out of those Books or Tables of wax, without

33 covin
The first Book of T. Livius.

A "coven, or fraud, and how at this day they are most rightly meant and understood, according to
the tenure of the words: from these articles I say, shall not the people of Rome trust more than, nor make default: If they shall first go back and fail therein by publick content, and fraudulent;
yet, that day, O Jupiter, imitate them the City of Rome, as I to day will strike this swine; yet and
imite thou home so much more, as thou art more able and powerful then my self. And after he had thus said, he imite the swine with a flint stone. The Albans likewise repeated their precept.
form of words, and the oath, by their Dictator and Priests for the purpose. The complements of the covenant and composition thus performed, and all concluded, then those three brethren of both sides, as it was before agreed, buckled to arm themselves. And being encouraged on both hands,
by their well-willers and friends, that put them in mind of their country's goods, their native tole
and parents, saying, that all their fellow Citizens and country men whatever, both at home in the
City, and abroad in the camp, every one had their eye only upon them, their weapons and their
hands: the young men being both of themselves by nature forward and hasty, and also embol
sembled with the uncomfortable words of their friends, advanc'd forth between both armies. Now
were the two hosts set on both sides before their camps, rid of present danger, rather then void of
care and penitenences. For why? the whole tribal of Lovaginity and rule, reined in the valour and
good speed of a few, Whereupon they longing to see the sequel and issue, were wholly bent to be
hold, and only minded this unpleasant sight and spectacle. At found of Trumpet these brave breth
ren, three to three; like as they had been two fet battels: and carrying the Romans victory of two
great armies, affronted one another, and with cruel and mortal weapons gave the charge. Neither
regarded they their own proper peril, but far before their eyes, only the rule or servitude of the
Common-weal, as if the rate of their country from them there by wholly upon their good or bad
succees in this Action, So soon as they began to cope together and make assault, that their hand
and weapons once clattered, and their drawn swords shone and glittered again, behold such an
exceeding ear came upon the beholders, that they trembled and quaked withal: and during the
time of equal combat, seeing no inclination of victory to the one side or the other, they were so
affrighted, that hardly they could well speak or freely take their wind. Afterwards, when they
were once to hand-strokes, and that now not only the thrilering of their bodies, and the doubtful
handling of their weapons and armor, but bloody wounds also were seen, two of the Romans
having fore wounded all the three Albans fell down one upon the other, and yielded up the
ghost. At whole fall, the Alban host shouted again for joy: but the Roman legions, albeit they
were now past hope of victory, yet they were not void of care being amated, and an exatice as it
were, with very fear what should become of him, who being but one, had three Curiass upon him
at once. But as good was pac, as he was yet thrash and unwounded. And as he was not able alone
to make his part good with them altogether, so in single fight, man to man, he thought himselfe
good enough for them all, one after another. To single therefore, and to part them in fight,
he begins to flee, thinking thereby they would follow after him, each one as his hurt body would
give him leave. Now when he was retired a pretty good way from the place where they fought,
and looking behind him, espied them following far at under, and one of them not much behind
himself, he turned again upon him with great violence. And whilst the host of the Albans cried
out to the Curiass to revenge and succour their brother, Horatius by that time had stain his formost
enemy, and was in hand with the second. Then the Romans with such a shout, as they are wont
to make, who after a great fright recover themselves and take heart again, encourage their cham
pion: and he himselfe haintenced to finish the combat. And before that the third, who was not far
off, could get to the other, he flain the second Curiass. So that now there was but one to
one, left to fight on even hand: and they, neither in hope nor strength equally matched. As for the
one of them, his body as yet not wounded, and his double victory withal, caused him to attempt
the third conflict boldly and courageously. The other faint and feeble of his hurt, tired with running,
had much ado to come forward, and quite out of heart, seeing his two brethren lie slain at
his feet, offereth himself as a prey to his victorious enemy: for surely between them was no fight
at all to speak of. The Roman he triumphant and crying out for joy, Two brethren already (quoth he)
have I sent to the Divil, the third likewise shall I send after them, that a Roman may command
an Alban, which is the cause of all this war. And therewith he thrust his sword aloft into his
throat, who had much ado to hold his weapons and toon as he was down, struck and rifled him,
the Romans with great triumph and gratulation, receive Horatius rejoicing so much the more,
as his cave was more dangerous and well needeperate. Then of both sides address them them-
selfes to bury their champions, but not with like cheer and alacrity of hearts: For why? they of
the one part were become Lords, and they of the other, Subjects. Their tombes remain yeet to be
seen in the very places where they were each of them flain two of the Romans entombed together
in one place nearer unto Albis than the three Albans towards Rome, but distant stander, like as they
fought and left their lives. Before they dislodged and departed thence the one from another, Me
tius, according as it was capitulated in the composition, asked and demanded what Tabius would
command him to do: who enjoinned him to keep his youth ready in arms at an hours warning for
that he would employ them in service, in case he should war with the Venetians. So were the ar
mies dismissed home, And Horatius he went forth and baring afore him the threefold spoil of the
twelve brethren, Whom his Sitter a maid affiance before to one of the Curiass met before Capesian gate: &
C 2

The combat between the
brethren Curiass and Horatius.
The First Book of T. Livius.

...ect upon her brothers shoulders, the coat of arms of her efpouled husband, which she her self had wroght with her own hands; the unbound her head, let her hair loose, and pitiously called upon her dead spouse by name. This lamentable waiting of the fitter principally upon victory, and a mid fio great and public joy, renewed the proud and haughty young man to wrath, and drawing out his fword therewith, ran the filly damsel through: and with their bitter words rebuked her alo. Get thee hence (quoth he) thy spouse with thy unfeetable and foolhally love, forgetful as thou art, of thy two brethren dead, and him that is alive: forgetful of thy native country, and the ho- nor thereof: and fo with a michief go fte, whatever fhe be, that shall bewail an enemy of Rome. A cruel and horrible fact this seemed, as well to the Senators, as to the Commons: but his late and treff defert made it the lefs treipais: yet for all that was he apprehended, and brought before the King. The King, that he might not feem the author of a judgment fo unpleasant and odious unto the people, and consequently of punishment according to the doon, assembled the people together and said: I ordain Duuivirs to fitt upon Horatius, in trial of a criminal caufe of felony, and to judge him according to the law, in that cafe provided. The tenor of the law runneth thus, in dreadful kind of form. [The Magiftrates called Duuivirs shall judge the party accused in a capital action of felony, if he shall appeal from the Duuivirs, let him traverse his appeal, if they over- throw him, then hoodwink him, or cover his head, hang him upon a curfed Gallow tree by a rope, and flangle him, having whipped and scourged him before, either within the Pomer or without.] By ver- tue of this law were the Duuivirs created, who by the rigour of that law thought they might not quif to much as a guideles perdon: and having once condemned him, then one of them gave sentence and said: I judge thee O Publius Horatius a murderer and an enemy to the flate of Rome. Go Lifeter therefore, and bind his hands together. Then came the Lifeter and caft a cord about them. But Horatius, by the advice of Titius, a gentle and mild interpreter of the Law, I appeal (quoth he.) So upon his appeal was the matter debated, and to be tried before the people: who were not a little troubled in deciding or judging his caufe, and moft of all in regard of Publius Horatius the Father, crying out and faying. That he deemed his daughter was juftly and wor- thily killed: otherwise he would himfelf have punifhed his fon by his fatherly authority. Be- feeching moreover, that they would not now make him childifes, whom ere while they law with a good company of children about him. And therewithal the old fathher: embracing the young man, and fiewing the fpoils of the Curati, fix up and hanging in that very place which now is called Pila Horatia, a Pillar. And can ye indeed (O ye Romans, quoth he) abide to fee him bound under a Gallow tree, yes, and whipped and tormentated, whom a while afore ye beheld to match in great glory and jollity for his achiuved victory? So encumfe and foul a fight as which, the Albans themfelves can hardly fuffer. Go Lifeter, go bind thofe fpoils which they armed a little before, wan the people of Rome their dominion: Go Lay and hoodwink his head who faved and delivered this City from bondage, hang him by the neck, and triangle him upon a curfed tree: forcure him and fpare not, either within the circuit of the walls, fo it be among thofe javelin and fpoils of the enemies: or without the walls, fo it be within the compafs of the Curati. Sepulchres. For to what place can you lead this young gentleman, where his honors be his may not fave him from fo unworthy and shameful punishment? The people could no longer endure, either the tears of the old fathher, or the contruitation of the youth his fon, who fhewed himfelf till the fame, and not to change for any danger. So they quitt him, in the honorable regard of their prouds and valor, in the right and equity of his caufe. Yet to the end the murder to manifeft and openly known, fhould be in fome fort expiate, and satisfaction made thercfor, his father was charged to purge his fons fin, and make amends, at the expences of the City. Who having performed certain purgatory sacrifces, which afterward belonged to the house and family of the Horatii, put a ratter or beam cross overwaert the street, and caufed the young man with his head covered to go under, as under a yoke or gallows: which remaineth yet unto this day, from time to time at the City charges repaired, and they call it Sator- vimus Tigitium, i. e. The Sifiers beam. And in that very place where Horatia was wounded and fell down, her tomb was erected of four square stone.

But not long continued the Albans in quiet and peace. For the common people finding fuit and greatly discontented, that the whole flate of the Weale-publick was put into the hands of three fouldiers, incited fo, and poifoned the vain and fhirite head of the Dictator: that for as much as plain and upright dealing iped no better, he began to win again the hearts of his Commons by crooked means, and indirect courses. Seeking therefore war in time of peace, as before in time of war he fought peace: and feering his people had more heart then hand; and their strength not anfwerable to their fkomacks: he stirred up other nations, openly by way of pro- clamation and defiance to make war, and relevcd his own men under a colour of league and confedery, for to pratie treason and falldoth. The Fidenates, a Colony of the Romans, having made the Veientians partakers of their confell, and combined with the Albans to forfake the Romans, when time came, and turn up them, brake out and took arms. When Fidene had thus openly revolted, Titius went for Mefius and his power from Alba, and fearched forward against his enemies: and palling over the river Anio, encamped near the confluent, where both streams meet together. Between which place and Fidene, the army of the Veientians had croffed the Tyber, who put themfelves in the right wing of the bartel fast by the river, and the Fidenates in the left,
left nearer to the mountains, Tullus directly opposeth his own forces against the Veientians, and placeth the Albans to affront the Fidenates. The Alban Captain having as little heart as honesty and truth, neither durst keep his standing, nor openly turn unto the enemy, but by little and little withdrawth himself toward the mountains; and when he thought he had gained vantage enough, he mounted up the hills with all his companies, and with a wavering mind to spend the time, dislayth his ranks. His intent and purpose was, on what side fortune seemed to give the better, with them to join and take their part. The Romans that stood next perceiving their flanks nacked by reason of the departure of their friends and allies, at first marvelled much at the matter: but afterwards there gallopt an horseman, and advertised the King that the Albans were gone away, Tullus in this so fearful and dangerous case, vouched twelve Tribus Salis and two Tempes to Pater and Pater, i.e. to Palenets and Fear (and with a loud voice cried out in the hearing of his enemies, commanding the said horseman to return to the bartel, laying, There was no cause at all to fear, for that himself had commanded the Alban host to wheel and get back, and to charge the Fidenates on their backs where they lay open. Willing him expressly moreover, to cause the men of arms to hold up their lances on end. By which means, a great part of the footmen could not see the Albans as they departed and went their ways. And those that had seen, thinking it was a truth which they heard the King to speak, fought so much the more hotly. So the tear turned now from them, and fell upon the enemies: for they heard the King when he spake so loud, and also a great many of the Fidenates being co-habitiis with the Romans, underfoold Latine. For fear therefore, that the Albans should all on a sudden run down from the hills, and stop their passage to the town, they turned their backs and fled, Then Tullus preffeth hard upon them; and having discontented the Fidenates wing, cometh back more fiercely upon the Veientians, being already amazed at the fright of the other. Neither were they able to withstand the brut. Howbeit the river behind between their backs kept them at first from flying away, but afterwards when their flight bended thitherward: some flinging their weapons shamefully away, like blind men, ran headlong into the water other lingering still, and stying on the bank side, doubtful whether to flee, or to stick to it and fight, were trod under foot, and howse in pieces. Never had the Romans before that day a more cruel battle. Then the Alban army, which beheld and saw all this conflict, descended down into the plain. And Metius, footloth, rejoiceth much on this behalf for his victory, Tullus again spakeeth Metius fair, and gavetheroger, that the Albans in a good hour should join their camp to the Romans: and against the next day, prepared a purging or Lulifal sacrifice. The morrow when it was day, and that all things were in readiness, according to the manner, he commanded both armies to assemble together to an audience. The Criers, beginning at the farthest part of the camp, summoned the Albans first, Who also for the strange news of the matter, and desirous to hear the Roman King to make him his Oration, prest forward to stand next, The Roman legion on it purpoze, as it was before decreed, flood armed round about, and hemmed them in: and the Centurions had in charge without delay to execute whatsoever they were commanded.

Then began Tullus to speake in this wise, ‘Hence in any war heretofore had causeth, O Romans, to render thanks, first to the immortal gods, and then to your own manhood and valor, certainly it was in yeidethays battle. For ye fought not then with the force of your enemies more then with the treachery and falshood of your friends and confederates, which is the greater conflict and far more dangerous. For to put you clean out of doubt, and to bear you no longer in hand with a wrong peruation: The Albans went up toward the hills without my commissi on, neither was that my commandment, but a policy and comrreance only of command: to this end, that ye not knowing how ye were forfaken, might not withdraw your hearts from fight, and alo that your enemies seeing they were environed behind, should be afraid and do enforced to flee. Yet are not the Albans all in general to be charged with this fault which I reprove. They did but follow their leader, as ye likewife would have done, if I had willed the marke to have turned any whither from thence. It is Metius that was the guide and leader of this journey, Metius is he that is the worker and deviser of this war. Metius I say it, and none but Metius, the breaker of the Roman and Alban league. But let who that will from henceforth presume hardly to do the like, if I make not him a notable example to all the world. The Centuries flood armed round about Metius, and the King goeth on with the reit of his speech as he began, and said: ‘That which I pray God may turn to the good prosperity and happiness of the people of Rome, of my self, and you the Albans, I am minded to reduce all the Alban nation to Rome: to reduce the Commons with the freedom of the City: to advance their chief Gentlemen to the order of Senators, and to make one uniform City and Common-wealth: that as in times past the Albans stood, out of one body was divided into twain, so now it may be united and become one again. At these words the Albion unarmed, and beate on every side with armed men, albeit they were distracted in mind, yet were they forced with a general fear to keep silence, and hold their peace. Metius Suffecus (quoth Tullus then) If thou couldst have learned to keep allegiance, promise, and covenant, thou mightest have been taught it as my hands with lee. But now since thy froward nature is incurable, teach thou this thy fearful example and death all mankind, to hold and reputethosethings as sacred and holy, which have by thee been broken and violate. Like as therefore crewshiles thou barest a double heart in doub-
ful bollance, between the the Fidenates and the Romans sate: even so freightways shalt thou yeild thy body to be drawn asunder, and plucked in two pieces accordingly. Thenforth with he caused two teams of four horses to beset to, and hiatus to besieged and tinct into the chariots to them belonging. Afterwards were the horses driven a contrary way, and carried with them in both chariots the body torn in pieces as far forth as the limbs hung fast together by their cords and ligaments: which made all men, their eyes from beholding so cruel and horrible a spectacle. This was the first and last punishment that ever the Romans executed with so little respect or none at all (to say a truth) of the laws of humanity. In all other they may lately make their boast, that no nation in the world hath been like delighted and pleased with extremity of torment.

Whilst these things were in doing, there had been certain horsemens sent afore to Alba, for to translate the multitude to Rome. After whom were the legions also of the toomen thither led, to raise and destroy the city. At whose entrance within the gates, there was not that filr not fearful hurry, as usually is seen when cities are lost: and when with breaking down the gates, beating and battering the walls with rams and other engines, setting the citadel, the enemies mount, and the armed soldiers run to and fro in the city, killing and slaying, firing and burning all afore them as they go: but a sad silence, and a still kind of sorrow and penitences so poffed, and alone, all their minds, that for fear forgetting what to leave behind them, or what to take with them, without advice and counsel, one asking another what to do, they one while flood in their house entries, another while ran up and down warrding in their houses, as if their last day had been come. But so soon as they heard the horsemans cloud, and command them with menning to void and depart, and that now the rating of the tiles and flakes from off the houses, as they were a pulling down, was from the houfe part of the town heard: and that the dust raised from places far off, had as it were with a cloud overcast and filled all: they every man being up hastily, and carrying forth what he could, leaving their domesticks, gods leaving their houses wherein they had been born, bred, and bought up, departed forth: so that now they flayed the flies as they were clofe on a row together, and the light one of another, with mutual complaint, redoubled their tears and woule complaints. Yeas those pittious moans and lamentations were heard of women especially, as they paled by their fair and sable churches, bese with fonders, and abandoned their gods as it were in captives and prisoners. After the Albus had thus quit the city, down went the Romans every where with the buildings as well, publick as private, and laid them even with the ground: and so in one hour defroyed and razed four hundred yeares work for so long had Alba flood and flourished. Howbeit the tempes of the gods they spared, for the king had given commandment, Rome all this while rich in the spoil of Alba. The number of Citizens increased double to enlarge the city the mount Capitum was annexed to it: and that it should be better people and more inhabited, Tullus had his royal seat and palace there, and therein from that time forth he kept his court. The chief Citizens of the Albas he advanced to the order of Senators, that he might augment that state also of the Commonweal: namely, the houses of the Tullius, Servilius, Quintus, Gracchi, Curtius, etc., and for that degree and order of Senators by him encreased, he build an hall or new court, called until our fathers dayes Holibra cura, that all citizens and degrees might out of this new people be somewhat strengthened, he chose from out of the Albus ten or ten houses of horsemens, and with the fame supply he both fulfilled the number of the old legions, and also made and enrolled new.

Tullus upon this affiance he had in his strength and power denoumceth war against the Sabins, and people in those dayes of all other most puissant and mighty, both in men and munition, near the Tusans. Wrongs had been done, and outrages committed on both parts, and restitution or amends demanded, but to no effect. Tullus found himself grieved, that divers occupiers or merchants of Rome, at an open mart or fair of great resort before the temple of Merula were laid hold upon and apprehended. The Sabins on the other side complained, that their men not withstanding they took sanctuary in a certain laced and privileged grove, were arrested and in hold at Rome. These were the quarrels and occasions pretended of the war. The Sabins well remembering, that not only part of their own forces was by Tullus translated to Rome, and there planted, but also that now of late the puissance of the Romans was well amended by the supplement of the Albas, began likewise for their part to call about, and seek for help abroad, and forain aids. Now was Tullus their neighbour nation, and of the Tusans the covert unto them were the Veientians. From hence they get certain voluntary to take their part, by reason that their minds already were well disposed to revolt upon old grudges and remon remaining still of the former war plait: otherwise also vagrants and idle persons of the rural forts, and needy commoners, were soon hired for mony. But as for any incursion from thence by publick consent of the state they had none at all. So much prevailed even with the Veientians (for in that it was least marvel) the faithful covenant of peace concluded with Romanus. Now when their preparations of war were made on both sides to the uttermost of their power, and that it flood upon this point, That they were like to have the odds and vantage, who should begin first and enter the field: Tullus prevented the enemies and invaded the Sabine land. A sharp and bloody battle was there fought under the wood Malienis. Where the Romans bare themselves bravely that day, much upon the valour of the Legionary foot-
A footmen, but more upon the strength of their men of arms, whose number lately was augmented; for by the faithful and forcible charge of the foremen, the battle of the Sabins was so broken, their ranks so disordered, that they could neither stand close together to fight it out, nor yet force themselves to fly, without great slaughter and bloodshed.

The Sabins thus vanquished, and the kingdom of Tullus and the whole state of Rome, being very glorious and wealthy; behold, news came to the King and Senators, that in the A. L. an mount it rained thrones: which hardly was believed, and therefore certain men were sent of purpose to see this strange and prodigious sight: who might plainly behold thrones to fall thick out of the skies like as when tempestuous winds drive hail in big round balls upon the earth. They imagined merely, that they heard a great and mighty voice out of the grove from the top of the hill crying unto them, and warning the Albines to do sacrifice and divine service according to the rites and ancient manner of their forefathers, which they had discontinued and forgotten, as it together with their country, they had abandoned their gods, and either taken to the Roman fashion, or else brought angry with fortune (as it is commonly said) for to assert and neglected the worship of the gods altogether. The Romans likewise upon that miraculous sign, for the purging and expiation thereof, celebrated publick sacrifices for the space of nine days, called a Novenda, either because they were moved thereto by that voice from heaven, for that also is reported to have taken direction from the sibyls, that pray into the inwards of beasts. Certain it is, that a solemn sollemn remained till this day, and whosoever word cometh of the like wonder, they keep holyday nine days together. Not long after this, the pestilence raged in the city. And albeit the people thereby to lack food and military service; yet would not this martial prince give them telt and require from war, being of this mind, that the bodies of young men were more healthy in armour, abroad in the open field, than at home in the city under court: until him human strength fell sick of a long and lingering disease. Then that haughty and courageous flamma of his together with his lofty and able body, became so abated, that he who before thought nothing lefie befell a king, than to let his mind, and bally his brains about religious ceremonies; now all upon a sudden became wholly devoted to all kind of superstition both more and less, yet, and filled the peoples heads besides with holiness and desolation. So as now the very common fort withing again for the old world, under the reign of King Numa, were fully prevailed, that there was no other remedy left for their sick and diseased bodies, but to obtain at Gods hands grace and pardon. Men say, that the king himself in perusing and turning over the Commentaries and registers of Numa his predecessor, and therein finding certain hidden and solemn facies that had been unto Jupiter Eleusis retailed himself, and kept close within a house to celebrate the same. But for that this holy service was neither begun aught nor duly admitted, he had not only no divine apparence and heavenly vision presented unto him, but also incurred the heavy displeasure and wrath of Jupiter, whom by his preposterous religion he had thus quitted; and lo! both him and his whole house were consumed with lightning. This Tullus, in great glory and renown of martial prowess, reigned two and thirty years.

When Tullus was dead, the government returned again, as it was from the first beginning ordained, unto the Senators; who named an Interregent, and he called a Parliament, wherein the people elected Ancus Martius for their King, and the Senators gave their assent thereto. This Ancus Martius, was Numa's son, who so soon as he was come to the crown, both in remembrance of his grand-fathers glorious government, and also in regard of the reign of his next predecessor, which in other points right excellent and commendable, in this only failed, and was not so happy: either for that religion was neglected, or not with due ceremonies exercised: and thinking it a thing most necessary, and of greatest moment, to reduce all publick divine service and sacrifices to the first institution of Numa, commanded the Arch-priest or High-Priest to make an extract, and transcript of all the said rites and mysteries out of Numa his Commentaries, and ingros them into one table, and to publish them abroad unto the people: whereby both his subjefts and citizens disunited, as also the States thereby adjoining, were in good hope, that the king would altogether conform himself, and take after the customs and ordinances of his grand-father.

Hereupon the Latins, with whom in King Tullus his days a league was made, took heart amongst them, made inroads into the country about Rome, and fought out booties. And when the Romans demanded restitution, they made them a proud answer, flattering like, that the King of Rome would pass the whole course of his reign in eafe and idleness, sitting still in his chappel, and by his holy altars. But Ancus was of a mean and indifferent disposition by nature, having an eye as well to Numa, as to Rome, and composed as it were of both. For over and besides, that he thought peace more expedient and necessary for his grandfathers reign, the people being as then but little men, united, and fierce and wrathful: considering also, that himself should not easily, without taking wrong, enjoy the quiets and quietness which to him happened: for that his patience was already tried, and not once tried, but also despised: and seeing that the State of the present time was fitter for a Tullus to be King, than a Numa; yet to the end that, as Numa in time of peace instituted ceremonies of religion, so he might likewise set out to politer others concerning war: and that wars should not be onely made, but also denounced and proclaimed orderly, and in some religious form of solemnity: he
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he set down in writing that law and formal order; by virtue whereof restitution is demanded (which at this day the Fecales or Heralds observe) like as he received it from the ancient people.

The ambassador, coming to their borders, at whose hands the goods are required again, covering his head with a bonnet or veil of woollen yarn, faith thus: *Hear O Jupiter, give ear ye limits and confines (naming them of such and such a Country) let justice and right be known also to what I shall say: I am the public messenger of the people of Rome, of a just and religious observance and I come, and to my words give credit.* After this, he rehearest he all his demands, and then calleth Jupiter to witness, saying: *If I unjustly and impietiously demand, that such persons should be delivered, or such and such goods be rendered unto me, the public messenger of the people of Rome: then let me never return again to enjoy mine own country.* These words rehearest he, as the fettheth foot, and steps into the confines: the same also he speaketh to him whomsoever he meeteth first: the self same words he pronounceth, as he entereth within the gate of the City; yea, and when he is come into the market place he faith the same, changing and varying in some few words, from the precise form of the demand, and taking the solemn oath. In case then, the persons whom he requireth, be not yielded after 33. days expired (for so many jut are usually granted) then proclaimeth he war in this wife, *Hear O Jupiter, and thou Juno, Quirinus thus: ye celestial Saints all, and terrestrial powers, ye infernal spirits also listen and give ear. I call you all to witness, and protest before you, that this nation (naming them whosoever they be) is unjust, and doth not according to right and equity. But of these matters we will consult at Rome in our own country, with our elders, and ask their advice how we may come by our own. Herewith returneth the messenger unto Rome for counsel, and presently the King would in theele or such like words, sitting in Counsel with his Peers, move them in this manner. Whereas the Patruar or Herald, in the behalf of the people of Rome, and their Quirites, hath treated with the Patruar, or Herald, in the name of the ancient Latins, and with the folk of the ancient Latins, concerning certain things, differences, justes, and causes thereupon depending: which things they have neither yielded nor paid, nor performed and done; which ought to have been paid, yeelded, performed, and done: what is your judgment? Speaking to him, whole opinion first he asketh in this case. Then (faith he) My advice is, that these things be fought for, and recovered by more force, by just and lawful war. This do I fully agree unto, this do I determine resolveously. After him were the other asked in course: and when the greater number of them who were present accorded thereunto, then by general consent, they were content to proclame war in this order: That the Fecalis or King at Arms should go with a javelin, having an iron head, or with a red bloody spear burn at the end, as far as to their borders or marches: and there in the presence of three witnesses at the least, not under fourteen years of age, should say thus: *Whereas the people of the old Latines, and the old Latin folk, have prattised and trespassed against the people of Rome and the Quirites, and whereas the people of Rome and the Quirites have so determined, confirmed, and agreed, that war should be made with the ancient Latines: I therefore together with the people of Rome, do pronounce and proclame and make war with the nations of the old Latines, and with the old Latin folk. And when he had thus said, he lanced his spear or javelin within the confines of the enemies. After this manner then, was restitution demanded of the Latines, and war denounced or proclaimed: which order of proceeding, their posterity by tradition received.*

Ancus having committed the charge of divine service and sacrifice unto the Flamines, and the other Priests, levied a new Army, went forth into the field, and by force won Poltorium, a City of the Latines. And following the usual manner of the former Kings his progenitors, who had mightily encreas'd the Roman State, by admitting their enemies into the number of Citizens, transported the whole multitude from thence to Rome. And because the ancient natural Romans inhabited Palatium, the Sabins about the Capitol and rock Tarpeia, and the Albans replenished the mount Caelius: therefore the hill Aventine was allowed this new company to dwell in. Unto whom not long after, there came fresh inhabitants to people it, upon the winning of Tifone and Ficace. But after this, the Romans were driven to recover by war Poltorium again: for that while it flood void and empty, the old Latines had surpried and taken it. Which was the cause, that the Romans destroyed that City quite, that it should not be at all times a receptacle for the enemies. Last of all, when as now the Latines war was driven wholly and brought before Medellina, there for a good while was much ado, and doubtful issue of fight, and inter changeable victory: for that the Town was both well fortified with bulwarks, and furnish'd with a strong garrison of men: and also by reason that the army of the Latines being incamped in plain and open ground, had lunny times with banners displayed, encountered hand to hand with the Romans. At the last Ancus bending his whole power against them, first gave them an overthrow in a set battle: and so having gained rich pilage, returned to Rome. At that time also were many thousands of the Latines received into the City: Who to the end, that the Aventine and Palatium should meet together, were appointed to seat themselves about the Temple of *Mars. The Juiculumlikewise was adjoined unto the City, not for want of ground, but because it might not at any time a fortres and hold for the enemies: which was thought good to be united unto the City, not only with a wall, but also for more commodious passageto and from, with a wooden bridge over Tyber. The Qiritesfos or ditch also, no small defence against the easy acces from the plain grounds, was a work of Ancus. Thus the estate being grown
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A grown to exceeding strength and bigness: when as now in so huge a multitude of people there was much confusion, and no difference of well-doing or ill, and thereby many mischief and outrages began secretly to be committed: for to restrain therefore with some terror, such boldness increasing daily more and more, there was a goal or common prison built in the heart of the City, even over against the common place of assembly. And this Kings days not only the circuit of the City was enlarged, but also their Lands and Territories. By reason that the forest Megara was conquered from the Veientians, their Signory reached to the Sea: where, in the very month of Tyber was the town Heculae built, and the fault tires made there about, and upon much noble exploits by arms achieved, the Temple of Jupiter Fercrins, was in more ample and glorious manner re-edified.

B In the reign of Ancus there came to dwell at Rome one Lucumo a pregnant nimble headed man, and a wealthy, upon a desire especially and hope of advancement and honor, which at Tarquinius, (where he was born, although descended or foreign parentage) he had no means to attain thereto. The Son he was of Democritus the Corinthian, who upon his troubles and discontents having fled his country, and by chance planting himself in Tarquinius, there married a wife and had issue by her two sons, named Lucumo and Armus. Lucumo himself her father, and became heir of all his goods. Armus died before his fathers, leaving his wife behind him, conceived with child: neither lived the father Democritus long after his son, who not knowing that his daughter-in-law and sons wife was with child, made no mention at all of his Nephew in his Will, and so departed this world, Whereupon the child after his Grandfathers decease being born to no part of his goods, for his poor condition, was called Ergenius. But Lucumo on the other side the sole heir and inheritor of all, as he began by his wealth to be haughty enough, and to look aloft, so grew much more proud for his matching in marriage with Tarquinius, a dame of a right noble house descended, and who could hardly bear a lower estate and degree then that wherein he was born. When she was once married, and saw the Tarquins to disdain Lucumo, for that his father was a stranger and banished person, she could not endure that indignity. But forgetting all kind of affection to her native country, to the might see her husband raised to high promotion, she resolved and plotted to leave Tarquinius and depart. To which purpose and design, she seemed a place most fit and convenient of all others. For thus the projected and discharged: That in a City lately founded, where all kind of Nobility suddenly cometh up, and añith from vertue and proveds, her husband a valorous and industrious man mult needs have place, and be entertained: that King Tullius a Sabin born, had raigned there: that Numa was from Cures sent for thither, and called to the Crown: that Ancus also a Sabin by his mothers side, had the only image of Numa to shew for his Nobility. Thus the soon perverted him, as being a man ambitious and desirous of honor, and whose mother only was a Tarquinian born, and therefore he was to make his couple of abandoning the place of his Nativity. Thereupon they removed with all they had to Rome. And it fortuit that to fumulium they came. Where, as Tarquinius sat with his wife in the chariot, behold an Eagle came gently flying down from aloft, and took up his banquet from his head, and soaring over the chariot with a great noise, and clapping of her wings, as if she had been sent from Heaven to do this feast, let it gently and handomly on his head again: which done, the mounted on high, and flew away, Tarquinius, as they lay, embraced this Augury with great joy, being a woman skillful, as commonly all the Tarquins are, in such prodigious things and apparitions from Heaven: and therewith taking her husband about the neck, willed him to be of good cheer, and to hope for great matters and high prerogatives: saying, how that bird came from such a quarter of the Heaven addressed as a messenger from such a god, and shewed a divine token and prestige upon the highest part of man, even the top of the Crown, and lifted up the ornament that stood upon his mortal head, to give it him again immortal, as from God above. In these hopes and cogitations which they entertained by the way, they entered the City: where they took an house, and from thence forth he was commonly called L. Tarquinius. Now within a while both his new coming and his wealth withal, made him well known: and himself also besides, set forward his good fortune by courteous and fair speech and affable language to every man, by friendly visiting, and liberal feasting, and by making what friends he could by gifts, favours, and good turns; so far forth, as the fame of him came into the Kings Court: where, by his willing service and singular dexterity, in short time he had not only access to the Kings knowledge, but also entered into familiar acquaintance and friendship with his Highness. Infomuch that both in private Councils and publick consultations, as well as home as abroad, he was always present, and bare a great share. And having in all kind of offices carried himself with credit, was in the end by the Kings late Will and Testament made Tutor or Protector of his children: Thus raigned Ancus 24. years, for glory and reputation of his government, as well in war as in peace, equal as to any of the former Kings his predecessors.

G Now were his sons near 14. years of age when he died. Tarquinius therefore made the more haste, that the high Court of Parliament should with all speed possibly be summoned for creation of a King, which being against a day proclaimed, he sent away the boys to the chase a hunting, at the very instant of the said election. He himself, (as men say) was the first that both ambitionately fought for the Crown: and also for to win the hearts of the Commons: devised and framed an eloquent Oration, "Saying, it was no new and strange thing that he flood for: And where he was not the
the first (that any man should be offended, or make any wonder) but the third alien that in Rome and accused and aspire to the Kingdom: that both Titus, not of a foreigner only, but of an enemy became King; and Nero likewise, a man unacquainted with the City and matters of State, was without any moderate feeling of his part, by the Romans sent for, and advanced to the crown, As for himself, he alleged and laid, that from the time that he was at his own liberty and disfraccd him of himself he with his wife and all that he had removed and came to Rome and of that age wherein men are employed in civil affairs, he had spent a greater part in Rome, then in his own ancient country. Moreover, that he was trained up both at home in the City and in war abroad, to the knowledge of the Roman laws, orders, and customs, and that under no mean person but an excellent master, even King Ancus himself. And finally, for faithful service and diligent attendance about the King, he had endeavoured to pass all others; and for liberality and courtesy towards all others, he had it given to go beyond the King, Thence and such-like allegations, as he laid forth and pleaded, and that right truly, the people of Rome with exceeding great content elected him their King. Who being a man otherwise of singular parts and of great worth, as he was ambitious in seeking the kingdom, so continued he still, when he were the crown; and minding no less to establish his own throne and throne than to maintain the good estate of the Common-wealth, advanced one hundred and more to the order of Senators, who afterwards were called Minorum Centum Tarves, as a man would say, Senators of a later sort, and meaner quality, A fiction, no doubt to take part and side with the King by whole means they had been admitted into the Senate. The first war he made, was with the Latins: from whom by force he won the town Appio, &c. from hence having brought away a greater pillage in proportion, than the war imported in brute, he set forth, and plays more patiently and with greater furniture and provision, than the other Kings before him. Then was the plot or compis of ground first let out & appointed for the hills or theater, called now Cursus maximi, wherein were alligned scaffolds for the Senators and for the Gentlemen or Knights severally by themselves, called Portis, where they might make them places to see the pillatimes at their ease and pleasure: And in this manner flood they to behold; namely, upon scalfolds born up twelve foot high from the ground with forked perches or props. The gamings were running of horses, and fighting of bulls and buffets: for performance whereof, there were champions sent for of purpose, especially out of Tyre. These sports continued afterwards from year to year in great solemnity, and named diversely, either the Roman games, or the great Games. This King moreover assign'd certain places about the Forum or common place for private men to build in where the galleries and shops were made, He went in hand likewise to wall the City about with a stone wall, but the Sabin war flaid him in the beginning, that he went not forward with that work. This came so suddenly upon him, that the enemies were pass'd over the river Anio, before the power of the Romans could meet them, and make head against them. Whereupon great fear there was at Rome. And at the first a cruel conflict there was, and much blood shed on both parts, but no appearance of victory. But after the enemies were retired once into the camp, and that the Romans had time to gather fresh forces, Tarquinius supposing his only want was in his cavalry, determined to join unto the Romans, his enemies, which Romulus had ordained, other Centuries or Cornets of horsemen, and them to leave unto the policy after him, bearing his own name. Which because Romulus had done afo time by the counsel and advice of Angurs, Accius Novius renowned and famous in those days for his skill that way, opposed himself and gave out plainly, that there might be nothing changed or newly ordained in that behalf unlesse the birds first approv'd and allowed the same, Whereat the King was wroth, and in scorn and derision of his art, as they say: Come on Sir Soothsayer (quoth he) I see, and tell me by the flight of your birds, whether that may possibly be done, which I now conceive in my mind. To which demand Novius, who had first made proof thereof by his learning, answer'd refolutely, that it might in very deed be effect'd. Why then (quoth he) I have imagined in my conceit, that thou shalt cut a wheatsheaf together with a rato: Here take them to thee, and dispatch that thy fowls foresaw may be done: then as the report goeth, without more ado, he cut the wheatsheaf quire in two. And in that very place where this feat was done, the Statue or Image of Accius was erected, with his head cover'd, even in the Comitium, at the walls thereof on the left hand of the Curia or Council Houle. It is reported that the wheatsheaf also was set up in the same place, for a memorial to all posterity following, of that miracle. Certainly, both Angurs, and the Priesthood and Colleged of Angurs from that time forward was so highly honored, and had in such reverence, that never after was there ought done, either in war abroad, or in peace at home, but by their counsel and advice. Assemblies of people fummon'd were dismissed, armies levied and ready to take the field were discharged, yea, and the greatest affairs of State, were given over and laid aside, when the birds allowed not thereof. Neither did Tarquin for that time alter the Centuries of the horsemen any white, only he redoubled the number, so that in three Centuries or Cornets there were 1500 horse, and thole later sort who were added to the others, bare the names of the former, which at this day, because they be double, are called the six Centuries, Tarquin thus having encreas'd that part of his power, bade the Sabins battle the second time. And over and besides, that the Romans army was in strength well amended, he devised also privily a subtillest stratagem, and set certain men to set on fire a mighty stack of wood, lying upon the bank of Anio, and to caft it into the river: the wood burning still by the help of the wind, and most of it being driven against the piles of the bridge, and
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A and there sticking cloie together with the boats and planks, fired and consumed it clean. This accident both terrified the Sabinis in their flight, and when they were dismayed, troubled them much, and hindered their flight: so that many a man having escaped the enemy, yet perished in the very river. Whole armor and weapons floating down the river, were known at Rome, and brought news therewith, in manner before word could be brought thereof by land. In this conflict the horsemen won great price and praze. For being placed at the skirts of both the wings, at what time as the main battle of their own footmen, were now at the point to retire, they charged fiercely upon the enemy (as it is reported) from the flanks where they were marshaled, that they not only stayed the Sabin Legions prelting hard and fiercely upon those that began to shrinke and give back, but all at once put them to fight. The Sabin ran amain towards the mountains, but few gath tered: for the greater number, as we said before, were by the horsemen driven into the river. Tegiamus thinking it good to take the time, and follow hard upon them whiles they were righted, after he had left to Rome, the booty with the prisoners, and burned on a heap together (as he had vowed to Vesta) the spoils of the enemies, marched on still forward, and led his army into the Territory of the Sabins: who albeit they had already sustained an overthrow, and could not hope for better successe, yet because they had no time to consult and advise with themselves, with such a power as might on a sudden in that fire be raised, met with him. Where they once again were defeated and vanquished, and in the end being in despair to make their part good, they fled for peace. Then was Collatia, and all the lands about it taken from the Sabins. Egerius the Kings brothers son, was left with a garrison at Collatia to keep that place. And (as I find upon record) the Collatins were yeelded into his hands, and the manner of their surrender went in this order. First, the King demanded thus and said: Are ye Embassadors, or deputed agenls sent from the people of Collatia to make surrender both of your selves and the Collatines? We are (quoth they.) And are the people of Collatia in their own power, and at liberty to do what they will? They are (say they.) Do ye also render up your selves, the people of Collatia their town, their territory and lands, their waters, their limits; their temples, their housefull stuff and implements, and all thing else, as well sacred as profane, into my power and the peoples of Rome. We do yeeld (say they.) Then (quoth he) do I accept thereof, and receive all into my hands. The Sabin war thus finished, Tegiamus returned to Rome in triumph. After this, he was warred upon the old Latines, but they never proceeded so far on any side, as to join issue in a general battle, and one left field for all. But bringing his power first to one town, and after to another, he made a conquest of the whole nation of the Latins. So as the North, Cornualis, old Ficana, Cameria, Confinorinum, Amorina, Medalla, Nomantia, were recovered from the old Latines, or from those that had revolted unto them.

After all this eneed peace. Then he gave more earnestly to go forward with his works, begun in time of peace, then he was before in the managing of his wars: infomuch, as he gave the people no more repose at home: then he had in wars abroad. For besides that he prepared to compass the City (which as yet he had not fortified) round about with a stone wall, the beginning of which piece of work was by the Sabin war interrupted and broken off: he devised also certain draughts or vaulted links from aloft into the fyver, whereby he drained and kept dry the vale City, or lowly grounds about the market place, and the other valleys between hill and hill, for that out of the plains and flats, they might not easily make riddance and conveyance away of the water. Moreover, he levelled a large court or plot of ground, ready for the foundation of the Temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, which he had vowed in the Sabin war, his mind even then giving him, that one day it should be a flately place. At the same time there happened in the court a wonderful strange thing, both in present view, and also in consequence. For as the report went, a young lad, whose name was Servius Tullius, as he lay asleep, in the sight of many persons he had his head all on a light fire. Upon an outcry railed at the wondring of so great a matter, the King arose: and when one of the household brought water to quench the flame, he was by the Queen stayed. And after the fire was some what appea red, she forbade the boy to be disquieted, until such time as he awok of himself: and within a while as the flame departed, the blaze likewise went out, and vanished away. Then Tegiamus the Queen taking her husband aside into a secret room. See you this boy (quoth she) whom we so homely keep, and in so poor and mean estate bring up? Wot well this, and know for certain, that he will one day be a light to direct us in our dangerous troubles and doubtful affaires. He will be the chief pillar and succent of the afflicted state of the Kings house. Let us therefore cherish and foster with all kindness and indulgence the subject matter of so great a publick and private ornament, Whereupon they began to make the boy, as if he had been one of their own children, and to instruct and train him up in those arts, whereby forward wits are fitted to great enterprises, and to achieve high place of wealth and honor. And soon came to that pass, which pleased the allmighty gods. For he proved a young man indeed of princely nature and towaredness: in such sort that where there should be a son in law fought out to match with Tegiamus his daughter in marriage, there was not one of all the young gentlemen of Rome to be found comptable to him in any respect. So as the King advanced his daughter unto him. This great honor whereunto he was advanced upon what occasion or occasion it was, induceth me to think he was not the son of a bondwoman, nor that he served whilst he was a little one, as a slave, I am of their mind rather, that report thus: When
When Curtiusus was won, the wife of Servius Tullius, a great Lord and principal personage of that City, and there fain, was left great with child: and being among other captives known whose wise she was, in regard of her rare nobility only, was by the Queen preserved from servitude, and at Rome in Presens Tarrginius his house, was delivered of a child upon which so special favor, there grew more familiar acquaintance between the two Ladies, the Queen and her self; and the child also brought up of a little one there in Court, was both tenderly beoved, and also highly regarded. But his mothers fortune, whole hap was after her country was lost, to fall into the hands of enemies, caused men commonly to think that he was the son of a bond-slave. Now in the 28th year, almost, after that Tarrginius began his reign, was this Servius Tullius in right great estimation and credit, not only with the King, but also with the nobility and commons. Then the 2, tons of Servius, who as they always before did disdain in the highest degree, that they were by the deceitful prateile of their guardian, so unworthily put by the inheritance of their fathers Kingdom, and that a stranger alighted at Rome, one who was not descended of any neighbor house thereby, no not so much as of Italian blood; so now they began much more to take him amak and indignation, in case that after Tarrginius, the King should not return unto them and their line, but it should run on end, and herself fall unto such base victors. That in the fame City, 100 years almost after that Romulus the son of a god, and a god himself, reigned therein, during the time he remained here upon the earth a very bond-slave and no better, and one born of a bond-woman, should be possessed of the Crown and that it would be a foul stain and dishonor to generality to the name of the Romans, but most especially to their house & family, if whilst the issue Male of Aeneas lived, the K. Kingdom of Rome should lie open, and be exposed, not to strangers alone, but which is more, to very bond-men and slaves. This ignominy therefore, and open wrong, they resolve by more force to put by and avoid: howbeit, the grievance of this injury done unto them, for them on against Tarrginius himself, rather then Servius Tullius: both for that the King if he lived still, would be a more sharp revever of the murder, then a private person: and also it they should happen to kill Servius, whomsoever besides, the King would vouchsafe for his son in law, him was he like to make heir apparent, and inheritor also of the Kingdom. For these considerations they lay wait for to murder the King himself in this manner: There were for the purpose to do this feat, two paining L. Tarquinii the men and furyd herdmen chosen, who having such talietical iron tools about them, as they were of the same sort, and made a great shew of a most tumultuous brawl and fray in the very porch of the Court gate; by which means, they drew all the Kings officers sergeant, and guard about them: then as they called with a loud voice, both the one and the other upon the King, in such wise, as the noise was heard within the palace, they were convened before his Highness. At their first coming they cried out both at once, and interrupted one another in all outrageous manner, so as by a sergeant they were fain to be restrained and commanded to speak by turns, until a length they gave over their confounded wrubbings. Then one of them, on just purpose as it was before agreed upon, began his tale: and while the King as wholy bent to give ear turned aside towards him, the other hit his As aloof, and stuck the King on the head, and leaving it sticking there still in the wound, they whip out both of them together, and ran their ways. And whilst they that blood next about Tarrginius, took him up ready to die, the sergeant made after them that were M. fled, and apprehended them. Whereupon an outcry arose & a great concourse of people, wandering what the matter might be. Thenatus in this hastily called the Court gates to be shut, and commanded every one to avoid the place: and at one instant with all diligence provided things requisite to cure the wound, as if there were some hope of life: and withal, if that should fail, the preparest other means and remedies against the worst that might happen. Sending therefore in all speed for Servius, when she had heaved him her husband half dead, and already blooded, she took him by the right hand, and beaught him not to suffer, neither the death of his father-in-law unrevenge, or his wives mother to be a slanging flock unto the enemies. Thine is the kingdom O Servius by right (quo ite fice) it hon be a man and not theirs, who by the hands of others have comitted a most shamefull & villainous act, Take a good heart therefore, and arm thy self, and follow N. the guidance and direction of the gods, who long since by a divine and heavenly flame burning about thy head, forebodeed that one day it should be highly advanced. Now let that heavenly blaze rise thee up: now awake in every deed: what man! we also be strangers have born the Scepter; consider with thy self who thou art now. and not from whence thou art descended. And if in to hidden an occurrence, thine own with be astonished and to seek, then follow my rule: and be advised by my counsel. In this while the noise and violence of the people was so great, that it could not well be suffered. Then Tanaquil from the upper loft of the house, and a window that opened onto the new street (for the King kept his Court hard by the Temple of Jupiter Sutor) spake unto the people willing them to be of good cheer. “The King indeed (quo ite fice) was amazed and was oven at the sudden stroke, howbeit it went nothing deep for now is he come again O to himself his wound cleansed from blood, and searched all signs of life, and no danger of death: “and I trust in God within a while you shall see himself again. In the mean time his pleasure was that the people shall be obeyant to Servius Tullius: he shall minister justice and give laws, he shall execute and perform all the offices of the King. Then came Servius aboad in his royal robe, called Thoris, attended with the Lif tors, and rising in the Kings throne some caules he dispatched. Thus
Thus for certain daies, the King being dead, and his death concealed, he, under colour of executing the function of another, gathered strength to himself. But when at the last it was openly known by the wailing and lamentation which arose in the Palace, that the King was deprived, Servius accompanied with a strong guard, slewed himself, and was the first, that without the election of the people only by the will and consent of the nobles, took the Kingdom upon him.

The sons of Ancus at the first, seeing the murderers attached, and hearing that the King was alive, and Servius so mighty, retired themselves as banished persons to Surnia Pontinum. And Servius now fought means to make himself strong, as well by private helps, as by publicke, and left peradventure the children of Turrus should another day be as ill affected against him, as the children of Ancus were against Tullus, he gave in marriage his two daughters to Lucius and Ancus, two of the Kings sons late deceased. Yet could not he with all the policy of men wit stay the fatal necessity, nor stop and divert the course of the destinies; but that the envy that followed a Kingdom bred all disturb, dilyoyalty, and malice, even among those of his own household, for all their alliance and affinity. Howbeit in such good time, and tidy for the quietness of the present state, was the war with the Vicentors (for now was the term of the truce expired) and other Tufcans, taken in hand. In which war, both the vantage, and also the good fortune of Tullus was well seen and greatly renowned. Who having difcomfited a mighty host of the enemies as undoubted King in the conceit and judgment as well of the Senators as of the Commons, if their hearts had been lound, returned to Rome.

Then in hand went he with a work of peace, and of all other the greater, and of most importance. To the end, that as Namia was the first author of divine Law and Religion: so the policy forever after might report and record, that Servius was the founder of all distinction and orders whereby between degrees of worship and wealth there might be seen due difference, and regard of worth. For he devised and ordained the Cenio, to wit, the Afflicting and Taxation of the Citizens: a thing most profitable to that state and government, which was like in time to come to grow to worth, by which Citizen, the charges and contributions, either in war or peace, was not levied by the poll upon the Citizens, as aforetime, but according to the valuation of their wealth and ability. So he erected certain Classes and Centuries, and appointed their degrees, according to the afflicting, and valuation, meet in decent manner to serve in war, and meet to be employed in peace. And first of those who were rated at an hundred thousand Ases and above, he ordained 80 Centuries: 40 of the elder forts, and as many of the younger: and all joyntly were count the first Classis. The elder were charged to be in readiness at all hours, for defence of the City: the younger to follow the wars abroad. These were bound to find harness, for defence of their own bodies, an headpiece or motion, a shield, greaves, and corselet, all of brass: and for offence of the enemy, a javelin, and a sword. To this Classis were adjoined two Centuries of Carpenters and Smiths, or Engineers, who were in wage, and served without armour: and their charge was to find the Camp Engines of batterie and artillery. The second consisted of three that were valued between 10000 and 75000 Ases. And of this fort both young and old were enrolled twenty Centuries: who were enjoyned to provide for their armour, a target or buckler instead of a shield: and excepting only a corselet, in all points as the former. The third he would have to be of those that were esteemed worth 50000 Ases, and as many Centuries of them, with the same distinction of age. Neither concerning their armour was any thing altered: only for their greaves they were dispencen with. In the fourth Classis were those that were affiled in the subsidy book, between 30000 and 25000 Ases, and of them were 110 Centuries. Their armour was changed, having no more but a spear and a casting dart, with a loop called *Vermm, the fifth was greater containing thirty Centuries. These carried with them filings, and fenes to flyng star off: among whom were reckoned the beadle, or crider, together with the trumpeters and cornetters, who were divided into three Centuries. This band 1000 of them that were affiled from 25000 unto 110000 Ases. The valuation under this comprised all the rest of the multitude. Whereof at one Century, freed and exempted from warfare. Thus having imployed and disposed the forces of the infantry, he enrolled besides twelve Centuries of horsemen, and those out of the principal men of the City: and six other Centuries likewise, to those three that Rome lat instituted, retaining the fame name till that they in their first solemn institution had. These horsemen far to buy their great horses had 10000 Ases out of the chamber of the City a piece: and for to find and keep those horses were the rich widows left yearly at 5000 Ases a piece. Thus were all those charges and burdenes shifted off from the poor men shoulders, and laid upon the rich. And therefore afterward was their dignity and honour much the more. For in the grand-leaets and solemn elections of Magistrates, every man had not prerogative alike, nor equal authority, as Romol's first ordained, and the other Kings continued, when they gave their voices by the poll indiscriminately one with another: but there was distinction made, and certain degrees; but as neither any one was excluded or shut out, and yet the whole refted and lay in the power of the richer forts, and chief of the City. For first the horsemen were called: afterward, the eighty Centuries belonging to the first Classis, of the principal footmen: who if they disagreed, and hapned to be at any difference, then the Centuries of the second Classis were cited. And never went they likely to low as to the last of all. Neither ought any man to marvcl, that this order in their daies, after fifth and thirty tribes compleat, agree not with the Centuries of the elder
elder and younger fort, according to the computation set down by Servius Tullius, considering their H numbers is now doubled. For having divided the City into four Wards, according to the quarters and his; those parts which were inhabited he called Tribes, of the word "tributum" (as I suppose.) For he it was that devised and brought up the manner of equall countenance and payment, proportionably to the assessment and rate of mens goods. Neither were these Tribes any waies at all respective to the division or number of the Centuries aforesaid. When this Levy and taxation was finisht, which he dispatched the sooner, by reason of the people's fear of an act by him made, concerning those that should not come in to be registred and enrolled in the Subsidy book; he published an Edict, under pain of imprisonment and death, that all Citizens of Rome, as well horsemen as footmen, should the morrow after at the break of day, every one in his own Century, I shew him himself in Campus Martius, join Mars Field. There, after he had mustered and embattled the whole Army, he acclanted and puged the same with the sacrifice of a Swine, a Sheep, and a Bull. And this was called Considium Labrara. Which was the very closing up and accomplishment of the assessment. In this Labrara there were numbered and enrolled 80000 Citizens, Fabius Pilor, a most ancient writer faith moreover, that so many there were of able men to bear arms. For to contain this multitude, it was thought good the City should be enlarged. Whereupon he adjoyndeth unto it two hils more, to wit, Quirinalis, and Viminaly. After this, he proceeded to augment the mount Elysium; and to grace that hill, and make it of more reputation, there he dwelt himself, and had his Court. He cast a trench and ditch, and raised a rampire about the City, and then walled it: by occasion whereof, he let out the Pomery further. Pomarium, according to the E-K tyymology and literal signification of the word, is as much to say, as Polarium, or the Arre- more, that is, a plot of ground behind, or without the wall. But indeed it is rather a space about the wall on either side, which the Tullians in old time, when they built their Cities, made by advice of Angers, to hallow and consecrate in certain bounds and limits, all along where they minded to let the wall: that neither within, the houses might joyn upon the wall (whereas now adaiy they build close to) and without also, there might be a void piece of ground, lying common, free, and unoccupied of men. This vacant space, that neither might lawfully be inhabited, nor yet eared and plowed, as well because if it was without the wall, it was under or within the wall, is the Romans called Pomarium. And even as the circuit of the City was made larger, look how much the walls should be let out further for those hallowed and consecrated bounds of the Pomary were extended.

Thus the City being much incresed in compas of building, and all things disposed in good order, requisite as well for war as peace; to the end, that he should not always seek to purchase wealth and puissance by war and martial prowess only, he attempted to amplify his dominion by policy, and withall to below and upon the City some glorious ornament to beautifie the same. And even at that time was the Temple of Diana at Ephesos of great fame, and much renowned: which as the report went, was built in common by all the states and princes of Asia. When as therefore Servius would give highly to praiie and commend unto the Lords and heads of the Latines (with whom of purpose he had both in publique and private, mutual entertainament and familiar acquaintance) that general agreement of the Princes of Asia, in matters of religion, and in the uniform worship of the same gods: at length, by much intertaining and following still that them, he prevai- led with them to far that the nations of the Latines, and the people of Rome together built at Rome a Temple unto Diana: which was a plain condition, and clear cane, that Rome was now the imper- iallest, for which they had so often warred. This quarrel albeit now the Latines all in manner had neglected quite, and made no care at all thereof; seeing they had so often attempted it by force of arms, and spid so badly: yet fortune seemed to one only man to caft a favourable aspect, and yeld good hope, by his private policy and industry, to recover again the imperial dignity unto the Latines. A certain hounil; older foriooth of the Sabins, had, as they say, a cow bred with him of a wonderfull bignes, and faire withall, (for a memoriall of which so rare and wonderfull beats the horns were set up, and remained fail fixt in the porch of Diana Temple, many a hundred years after:) this was suppos'd (as it was no lesse in very deed) a strange and prodigious thing: and the N w i e men or wizards prophesied, that the surreaigny and Empire should be settled and established in that State, where at any one Citizen sacrifed that cow unto Diana, This prophesie came to the ears of the Priest of Dian Temple. The Sabin above saide, so soon as he had espied a meet and convenient day for sacrifice, drives the cow to Rome, and leads her to the Temple of Diana, and there presented her before the Altar: where the Roman Priest wondering to see so huge a beast, whereof there had been fo much speech, and calling to mind withall the forsaied Oracle, spake to the Sabin in this wise. My friend ( quothe) what mean you to sacrifice so uncleanly unto Diana, and do not rather purifie and wash your self all over in some running streem, before you come hither? Lo where Tyber runneth in the valley beneath. The stranger then, moved with some scruple of confidence, who defined nothing more, than that all should be well and orderly done, that an O happy success might be correspondant and answerable to fo prodigious a beast, forthwith went down to the Tyber. In the mean while, the Roman killed the Cow in honor of Diana, This thing pleased the King and the whole City wonderfull well.

Servius, albeit he were now without all question by fo long continuance, fully and really inve- nted in the Kingdom yet because he heard say, that young Tarquinius otherwise gave out speeches of him, that he reigned without the nomination and election of the people: therefore after he had
A first want the hearts of the Commons, by dividing among them every one certain lands gotten by
conquest from the enemies, he adventure to propound unto the people, and put it to their suffra-
ges and voices. Whether their will and pleasure was, that he should reign over them. Thus was he
declared King with as great consent, as never any before with the like. But Tarquinus for all this,
had neverthelesse hope to aspire and attain unto the Crown: nay, rather so much the more, because
he understood the said division of the lands among the Commons, was a thing concluded and pas-
se against the will and mind of the Senators. Taking thereupon occasion thereby to accuse and
blame Servius before them, he supposed he had good means offered to wind himself into favor with
the Lords of the Senate, and so to become strong in the Council-house. Over and besides, he was
both himself a young man of great courage and hottemper, and his wife likewise at home, dame
Tullia, lay ever upon him, and pricked forward his disempered and troubled mind: for you must
think, that the roayall Court of Rome also hath brought forth and afforded one example of a tragic-
call and horrible act; that by a weareiness and loathning, on eived against the Kings government,
liberty and freedom might the sooner enue: and that raion be the lai, which was by milchief gotten
first. This L. Tarquinus, whether he were the son or nephew of Priamus Tarquinus, it is not very
clear, howbeit, I would rather think with most writers, that he was his son, A brother he had, Arvis Tarquinus, a young gentleman of a mild nature, these two (as is aforesaid) had married the
two Tullia the Kings daughters, and they also themselves were in conditions far unlike, and happy-
ily it to tell out that two froward and violent natures were not coupled together in wedlock: such
C was the good fortune. I believe, of the Roman people, that thereby the raion of Servius might con-
tinue the longer, and the City brought and settled in good order. The younger Tullia, a stout dame
and a proud grieved and vexed much that her husband had nothing in him, no metall or matter
scall either to cover and desire, or to enterprice and adventure: her mind was fully set upon the
other Tarquin, him she esteemed highly, and had in admiration, him he laide to be a man indeed,
and deceased of roayall blood. As for her sister, she despight and checked her, for that she haing a
forward and valorous Knight to her husband, (the Tarquinus,) and seconded him not in audacity and bold-
ness, as a woman should doe. Well, in short time Iikeines and disposition soon brought them toge-
ther, and as it is commonly seen, Naught will to naught, and fort beit together. But the milchief
and trouble that brought all up-side down, arose from the woman. For the using to have secret
D conference with her sisters husband, never ceased to speak badly, and to rail of her own husband
unto his brother, and of her sister unto her husband. Affirming in good earnest, it were better
both for her self to be a widow, and for him to live single, and with not a wife, than to be mit-
maatched as they were, through the craven cowardice of others to languish and come to no-
thing. As for her self, if the gods had given her an husband according to her own quality and
worthines, she doubted not to see, and that shortly, the Crown in her own house, that now
she feeth in her fathers, in this manner poolely she the quickly the humorous young man, and fil-
hed his head with her own raffines and follies. Now when Arvis Tarquinus, and the elder Tullia
who died just in a manner both at one time, had well rid their own houses, and made way and
overcurse for a new marriage, it was not long but they were married, with Servius his leave and con-
venency, rather than to his good liking. But then every day more than other began Tullus to be a
continually more in their eies, his old age hatefull, and his raion more odious: for now the woman
minded nothing but one milchief upon another: and would not suffer her husband to be at rest
night nor day, lest peradventure the former murders done and pait, should serve to no purpose,
and mis the effect of their depignments. And thus the brake out and faid, That the wanted not be-
fore one that carried the name of an husband, with whom she served, and kept her self quiet and
said nothing. But she had a want of one, that thought himself worthy of a kingdom, that remem-
bered he was the son of Tarquinus Priamus, that loved better to be feated of a Crown and scepter
indeed, than hope for a kingdom, and hear thereof. But for (quoth she) if you be the man to whom
I take my self wedded, then I call you both husband and king: if not, then our cafe changed for
F the worse, in that cowardlines is accompanied now with wickednesse. Why resolve you not?
why amin you nor your self, and go about this busines? you need not go so far as to Corinthus or
Tarquinus for to seek and compass forrain kingdoms, as your father did. The gods of your own
house and native country the image and example of your father, the Kings Palace, and therein
the royal face and throne of late, ye, the very name of Tarquin, greateth, named, and faideth
you King, But an if your father will not serve you to these degins, why bear you them in hand hand
and deceive them? why take you fo upon you as you doe, to swow your self as a kings son? Get
you hence to Corinthus again, away to Tarquinus, turn backward to your former flock and condi-
tion, more like to your brother than to your father. With these and such like motives, by way of
reproof the he checklist the young man, and pricked him forwards: and the he for her for
G part could be at no repose for thinking that Tanaquil an alien and stranger born, could contrive in
her head, and effect so great a matter, as to make two kings together. one after other, namely, her
husband first, and afterwards her son in law: and she her self, a Kings daughter, could bear no
stroke either in giving or taking away a kingdom. Tarquinus kindled with these furies and tempta-
tions of a woman, went about, laboured and made count to the Nobles, especially those that were
Minorum gentium: often times putting them in mind of the pleasures and favours that his father
had done them, and requiring now of duty the like good turn at their hands. The young men the
flower
flower and manhood in general of the City, he wrought and won to himself with gifts: and so H partly with great promises what wonders would he do, and partly with raising fandiers upon the King in all places, and charging upon him odious crimes, he grew very great and mighty. At the last, eyping a convenient time to let on foot, and put in execution his intended projects, with a strong guard of armed men, he entred forcibly into the Forum or common place of assembly, where the people all surprized with great fear, he fat him down upon the Kings throne, even at the entrance of the Curia or Senate house, and there, by the voice of the crier summoned the Senators to council before King Tarquinius. Who forthwith with them assembled together: Some, thereto made and prepared to rend the others, for fear they not coming might turn them into displeasure, And as they were attioned at this strange and wonderful sight, so they thought Sertorius utterly undone, and his cafe desperate. There Tarquinius began an inquieting in speech & reproachful terms, touching the first pedigree or parentage of Servius saying, that he being a slave, & born of a bondwoman, after the cruel and shameful death of his father Tarquin usurped the Kingdom: not by "means of an Intercin, as the order was foretime, nor by a solemn assembly, and the free voices "of the people, nor yet by the affent of the nobles but only through the wife and fraud of one woman. And as he was (quoth he) thus born and thus created King, so hath he been a partial lover ever of the balet fort even such as his; and in hatred of the noble birth of others hath divided amongst the vilest persons, and taken from the chief men of the City; and all such burdens and charges, as had been in times past common to all, he hath call upon great periogues of quality and worth, and set up an affeding or taxing, that the flate of the wealthieer persons being made K known and exposed to envy, he might bring them into disgrace with the people, and by those their goods upon the poorest and needful at his pleasure. Amidst this Oration of his came Servius in place, advertised of the matter by a fearful messenger in all haste. And presently began to cry out with a loud voice at the very porch or entry of the Curia. What is this here, quoth he and what "meaneath this O Tarquin how darest thou in my life assemble the Senators or sit on my feet? "Whereunto he stoutly made a proud answer that he did but keep his fathers throne, and being "as he was, a Kings son, he deemed himselfe more worthy to be inheritor of the Kingdom than a "bondslave: and as for him, he had been laborous enough to play with his good Maiters, and to intit to his betters. With this arose a great clamour from the partakers and complies of both sides the people they ran from all parts to the Council-houle, and like it was, that the stronger should be King, Then Tarquinius being put to his shutes, and forced to cry the unmute, seeing no other remedy, took Sertorius by the middle, as being himself muuch yonger and stronger far, carrid him out of the Council-houle, and threw him down from the stairs head to the foot and so returned again into the Senate-houle to get the Senators together. The King Officers with the guard attending upon him, fled: Himself: well near dead, with certain of his couriers and train, breathles: also for fear, made speed, and retired towards his Palace, as far as to the top of Cyprinus street, where he was overtaken by them that were sent by Tarquinius, and so flain outright. And it is very thought, that this was done by the yetation and procurement of Tullius: to little difagreeth it from other wicked pranks of hers. But this one thing is known for certaintie, that she came riding in her coach into the common place of assembly, and nothing defianied or abashed at the presence of many men there met together, called forth her husband out of the Senate-houle, and was the first that filled him with the title of King. By whom the being willing to depart away out of that strong and uprose as the returned homeward as far at the pitch of Cyprinus street, where was of late a place confected unto Diana, called Dianus, the coachman that had the guiding and driving of the steeds as he turned the chariot on the right hand up to the cliff Velius, for to pass up to the hill of Esquilia, suddenly laid his head for fear, and reined in his horses, and shewed unto his Lady and Maitris Servius lying there murdered. And hereof followed (as the report goeth) a beastly part, and beyond all feme of humanity which the very place doth witness: till at this day, called therupon Sceleratus Victeus i.e. the wicked street: wherein the raging and frantic woman Tullia, hurried with the fugitives and haunted with the ghosts of her sister and husband, started (men say) her chariot to be driven over her fathers dead corps; and being herself beprinkeled and beraded with the bloody chariot, carrid home with her some part of it in token and witness that her hand was in this particular and murder of her own father: to the end, that she might provoke her own domestical gods and her husbands to wrath and displeasure: and to consequently, as they entered their reign with mightie and wickednes, they might soon after be turned out thereof with shame and infamy. Servius Tullius taigned four and forty years in such wife carrying himself, as it were hard, even for a good and said Prince that should succeed him, to follow his steps. This made moreover for his glory and fame, that together with him died all right and lawfull government of Roman Kings, and even that regimen of his, so mild, so gracious, and temperate as it was: yet because it reigned in the absolute power of one man, he was minded as some do write, to have forgone and O given over had not this wicked wintle practive from his own family come betwixt, to prevent and cut off his good designs and intent to let his country free.

After him began to reign Tarquinius, for his insolent actsformatted Superbus, i.e. the proud. For he would not suffer his wives father (unkind in law he) to be interred: saying oftentimes in jibbing manner, that Romanus also died and was never buried. Moreover, the principal heads of his Peers and Nobles, such (as he thought) had favoured Servius his proceedings, and took part
A part with him, the whole made away and flew. Afterwards, fearing upon the guilt of his own conscience, that he had gotten an ill precedent for others, to take vengeance against himself, attaining to the Crown with little hazard, he retained therefore a guard of armed men about his body: and in very truth, setting only that aide, no other right had he to wear the diadem, as who signed neither by people's election nor by the Crown to elect that he might sit late in his seat by fetching fear and dread, who reproved not traitor, nor hope in the love of his subjects; therefore to strike the greater terror into them, and hold them in awe, be by himself alone without assistance of any counsel. Fears upon all matters of life and death: by means whereof he was able to kill, banish, and condemn in forfeiture of lands and goods, not those only whom he suspected and hated, but also them, from whom he could look for nothing else but spot. Thus when he had decayed the number of the nobles, especially he purposed to change new in their place, to make supposition to the end, that the fewer they were, the more contemptible the whole order might grow: and with less of the multitude, the indignity, that they were not employed in the State, nor ought done by their advice. For this King was the hit that abolished the outcome received, and continued by all others afore him, of consulting with the Senate in all matters, and managing nothing without them. He governed the Commonwealth by himself, and after his own wishes: with whom it pleased him he made war and peace, league and truce, even of his own head: and would break the state as himself thought good: thus he did, and did all at his pleasure, without regard of the peoples mind, or the Senate authority. Above all, he sought to win the hearts and good wills of the Latin nation, that by support of certain power also, he might be more secure and safe among his own people: neither entertained he with their Princes friendship and amity only but entered also into alliances and affinity with them. For unto other Men a Tuf man gave his daughter in marriage. This Mariam was of all Latines the principal and nobest person, lineally descended (if we may believe the common report and report from Wifers and Core, by this marriage he gained many kindreds and friends of his new line in law. So that now Turgultus was in great authority and reputation among the Lords and Barons of the Latines. Whereupon, he gave them knowledge, and proclaimed that upon a certain day they should assemble at the sacred grove of Feretia, to treat and consult together about matters concerning the common good of both States. Thereto receiv'd they in great number betimes in the morning. And Turgultus himself failed not for his part, to keep the very day appointed was it was fruitless well near before he came. There, in that assembly all day long, came much talk and reasoning, pro and con, touching him. Turgultus Herdounus of Astrid, had in light wrongfully against Turgultus in his absence (for his being away) saying, *It was not marvel indeed that he was at Rome, summanus Superbus (for even then commonly they termed him so, although he was in and in whispering wife). For could there be (as noth he) a prouder part than this to mock and abuse the whole state of Latins, that when their princes and nobles were there to appear far from the Cities and dwelling houses, he only should be able to fammoned the assembly? Which verily was but a device of his to try their patience, that if they once took the yoke he might keep them still under his vassals: for who feeth not what he reacheth at? even to command and Lord it over the Latines. And in case his own Citizens have done well, in trussing him in the rule over them (if a man may say they trusted him, and not rather that he came lonely and forbibly it even with shameful murder) the Latines also may put themselves into his hands with security. And yet thee not why they should do so, considering he is a man stranger and alien, but how and this own injictions repents, and are diocented with him being once another by him murdered, and deprived, and spoiled of their goods? What better dealings may the Latins hope and look for? Therefore if they should be ruled by him, they should depart home every man and not keep the day of the Dict no more than he doth that published and proclaimed it. What this seditionious and dangerous person, who by these and such like factions or causes was grown to be a great man and powerful in his country, stood reasoning thus, importing and following hard upon other people, tending to the fame end in cometh Turgultus. Whereupon he brake off his speech, and all was hush. Then turned every mans heart and the whole Turgultus: Who a silent silence made (being advised by some of his familiaris that were next unto him, to excise him self for coming at that time of the day) said that he had been taken to be an arbitrator or delietman between the father and the son: and because he was devious and careful to procure an acquaintance between them and to make them good friends: he made the longer stay and came the later. Whi occasion of businesse feeling, he had disappointed them of that day, therefore the more he after he would deliver that which he had in purpose and intended to move unto them, but Turgultus (as they say) could not hold, nor put up so much as this with silence; but brake out and laid again there was no specifiey deciding and taking up of any matter, than between the father and the son: a thing that might be dispelled in few words: for if he would nob obey and give place unto his father he should abide the smart of it with a miffiche: And that the Averon having girded as it were, and glanced at the Roman King, despised out of the Assembly. Whi thing Turgultus taking more deeply an and a good deal than he did: thereance of, forthwith devised and practised to bring Turgultus his death: that he might strike the same terror into the hearts of the Latines, whereby he had kept under his own subjects at home, and for that he had no absolute power to cause him openly to be slain, framed most falsely a criminal action against the guileless man: whereby
wrongly to work his destruction. By means of certain Aричian of a contrary faction, he H wrongt a bondslav of Tumus with a sum of money, to hiber a number of swords privity to be conveyed into his Master's Inn or Lodging: which being done in that one night accordingly, Tarchinus somewhat before day, sent for the chief Lords of the Latines to come unto him; and pretending as though he were frightened by some strange accident, said, That his long tarrying the day before, (by God's special providence, as it were, to appointed,) was for the safety of them all. For he was informed that Tumus contrived to mischief both him and the heads of their nation, to the end that he alone might reign over the Latines: That he minded yesterday to have put this plot in execution, even in the very assembly; but the deed was deferred, for that himself (the principal author of that meeting) whose life he sought for above all other, was not in his place; and hereupon it was (even he) that he fared so as he did, and raigned against him fo biitterly the day before in his absence: for that he by his long tarrying had put him by his other. And the effect of his designs: and if all were true that was told him, he nothing doubted but early in the morning at break of the day, to soon as they were set in Councill together, he would come armed and well appointed with a crew of his adherents and sworn confederates: for reported it is, (quoth he,) that a number of swords & other weapons are brought into his lodging: which whether 'tis be or no might (soon be known. And therewith he desired them to take the pains to go with him thither, And verily considering the proud nature and haughty spirit of Tumus, together with his yesterdays Oration, and the long lay of Tarchinus before, for that the pretended massacre seemed thereby to have been put off and prolonged, the matter became very fupicious and k pregnant. Thus go they with minds very sometray enclined and disposed to believe all and yet so, as they would think all the rest but rages and lies, unless they found the swords aforesaid. Being come to the house, and Tumus awakened out of sleep, certain warders were set to keep him on every side: and when they had laid hold upon his servants, who for love of their Lord and Master began to make resistance, the swords were brought forth out of all the blind corners of the hotel very openly to be seen: then was it a clear case and past all peradventures: and Tumus was apprehended and ironed up upon him. And immediately in all haste the Latines assembled together to councilly in that great tumult and uproar: Where, upon holding forth the swords in fight before them, they were so incensed and deadly bent against him, that he was not suffered to answer and plead for himself, but was presently at the source of spring head of the Feroninie water plunged down, and a hurly done all upon him, and great stones heaped thereon, and after a new kind of death stifled and drowned. Tarchinus then, after he had called the Latines again to the place of council, and much commended them for duly executing Tumus, who practising thus to alter and trouble the state, was detected of a manifest intended murder, made this speech unto them: 'I might (quoth he,) if I would, by virtue of ancient rites allead and plead, that forasmuch as all the Latines are descended from Albu, they are comprised within that confederacy and league, whereby in the reign of Tullius the whole Commonweal and State of Albu together with their inhabitants became incorporate into the Empire of Rome. Howbeit, in regard rather of the commonmodity and weal-publike of all, I judge it requisite, that the league were renewed, and that the Latins might enjoy and be partakers of the prosperity and happy fortune of the people of Rome, rather than more to hazard and suffer the destruction and dissolution of their City, with the spoiling and waiting of their lands, which first in Anes days they tasted, and after in my father's times they had abideth & suffered, The Latines were heretofore perished. And although in that league the primogeniture and sovereignty reigned in the Romans, yet they saw well enough that both the Heads and Rulers of the Latine Nation flowed with the Roman King, and were wrought unto his hand, to side with him: and also Tumus unto them was a fresh precedent and example, to teach them what danger might betide every one that should make a part against him and crost his intention. So the alliance was renewed and proclamation made according as it was capitulated, that all the servile men of the Latines should at a day appointed repair in good number with their armes unto the grove of Feroninie. Who when they were there met together from all parts according to the Edict of the Roman King, to the end they should have no Captain of their own to lead them, no privy watchword or regiment by themselves to direct them, nor private enmies distinct from the rest to keep them together; he shuffled or mingled the bands and companies of Latines and Romans one with another, making one of twain, and two of one: and when he had thus doubled the bands, he set Centurions over them. And albeit he was in peace an unjust Prince, yet was he in war no bad Captain; nay, for martiall prowess he had been equal to the former Kings, had he not failed and degenerated in other things, and thereby stained and hurt his glory even in that behalf. He was the first that warred upon the Voliscians, which war after his time lasted more than 200 years: and wan from them by force Succession. Where having made portai of the pillage and raised as much gold and silver as amounted to 40 talents, he conceived in his mind to build so stately a Temple of Jupiter as might becometh the sovereign King of gods and men become the noble Empire of Rome, and answer the Majesty also of the very place where it was to stand. And for the rearing and finishing of this Temple, he laid that money apart, that came of the spoil aforesaid, but presently upon this was he surprized with a war that held longer than he hoped it would. For having made one assault in vain upon Gabii, a neighbour City to Rome, and delpairing also of any good success by beleaguering the town,
A for that he was valiantly repulsed from the walls, at the last he devis'd and resolved to get it by wise and deceit: a course that Romans had not usuall practis'd. For making as though he had given over and abandoned this war, as being now entirely bent and busily occupied about laying the foundations of the Temple, and following other publick works in the City: Sextus his son, the youngest of three sld on purpose to Gabini, complaining of his fathers intollerable rigour and cru- dity against him: saying, That now he had turned his accustomed pride from strangers upon his own blood, and was grown to be weary of so many children: that as he had made good hand and clean riddance of his Nobles, and left the Senate defolate, so he might bring it to pass in his own house, to leave behind him no infall nor inheritor of the Kingdom. And for his own perfon

B verily, he was escaped from among the pikes and swords of his father, and was perfwaded fully, he might no where be in safety, but with the capital enemies of L. Tarquinius. For to put them out of doubt, and that they might be no longer abus'd, the war continued still against them, which seem'd in outward show given over and laid away: and his father would not fail, but whenever he could lipy his vantage and fit opportunity, come upon them at unawares. But in case there were no place of refuge and protection for poor humble suppliants amongst them, he would wander & travel all over Latium, and when he might not rest there, he would from thence go to the Volsci, Aeclanis, and Hicknicks, until he came to them that knew how to save the children from the cruelty and inhuman persecution of the fathers. Perhaps he might find means to flir coal and kindle war, yes, and perform himself good service against that most proud

C King, and that most hunt and impotent people. And seeming withall in great anger and discontentment (if they would not regard his complaints) ready to depart and go his ways, he was kindly entertained, and friendly entreated by the Gabins: who wished him to be of good chear and not to marvell at all, that L. Tarquin, became now as length to ill affected against his own children, like as he had tyranniz'd already upon his subje's and consedered, for he would not doubt in the end execute his fell homack even upon himself, for want of other subje's matter to work upon. And as to him right welcome he was to them, alluring themselves that within a while it would come to pass, that if he would come to his helping hand, they should remove the war from the gates of Gabini unto the very walls of Rome. After this he was admitted to sit with them in common counsel. In which he used at times to say, That in other matters he gave place, and receiv'd himself to be advis'd by the ancient Gabins, as men more practis'd and experienced than himself but for the war, which ever and anon he perfwaded them unto, himself took upon him a speciall insight and skill therein, as he knew the strength of both nations, and was fully perfwaded in his conscience, that the Kings pride must needs be odious to his subje's, which his very own children could not brook and endure. Thus whilsts by little and little he solicited the principal Citizens to rebel, and went himself daily in person with a crew of the most forward and able young men, forraeing spoiling, and making rodes into the Territory of the Romans, and that now through his words and deeds, which tended to fraud and deceit in the end, they began more and more to give credit unto him that one day would deceive them, he was at last chos'n General for the war, and having made certain small skirmishes between Rome and Gabes, in which for the most part the Gabins had the better (whilsts the simple people, God wot, saw not his drift and how he carried the matter:) then all the Gabins from the highest to the lowest thought verily and in good earnest, that Sextus Tarquinii was sent them by speciall grace even from God above, to be their Captain and Protector. But with the cowards, what with attempting small enterprizes and performing dangerous service, and what with dealing prizes liberally among them, it pass'd how he grew into credit and how dready he was beloved: inmoch as Tarquinus the Father was of no greater command at Rome, than Tarquinus the Son at Gabes. Thus when he saw he had gather'd strength sufficient. and was fully furnish'd against all affaires, he dispatch'd unto his father at Rome one of his trully servants with a credit to know his will and pleasure, seeing that the gods had done him this grace, that he at Gabes was able to do all in all. To this message made the King no anwer at all by word of mouth, taking the man belike, as I verily think'd for one hardly to be trusted, but as one using with himself and in a deep think what anwer to shape, he went into a garden on the back side of the house and his sons meffinger follow'd after. There walked he up and down, and said never a word: only with his rod or walking staff, as it is reported, he knapp'd off the uttermost heads and tops of the poppies. The messenger weery with calling an anwer and waiting such anwer was return'd to Gabes as wife as he came, and without effect of his errand. He report'd what he had said, and seen, namely, how the King, whether upon anger or hatred, or pride ingrained by nature utter'd no speecch at all, but Sextus knowing by these mysticall and fecret circumstances, his fathers will and direction made no more ado but blew the chief of the Citizens: some by accusations into the people, and others by reason of disgrace they were already in and thereby expos'd unto violence, were soon overthrow'n. Many of them were openly executed, and some, whom there was little apperance or colour of justice or none at all to accuse were secretely murdered. Divers of their own accord fled into voluntary exile, or else they were force'd into banishment: whole goods as well as theirs that were put to death, were divid'd among the people. By sweeter's of this largesses of spoil, by the profit and wealth that grew to private persons: the publick woe and calamity was nothing feel'd and seen: until such time as the Gabins whole estate was dispos'd of counsel, bereft of aid and succour yeelded without dint of sword unto the King of Rome.

Sextus Tarquinii to the Gabins.

The Gabins to Sextus Tarquinii.
Tarquinus having thus gained the town of Gales made peace with the nation of the Eequians, and renewed the league with the Tuscan, After this he converted his mind to the affairs of the City, among which this was the principal, to leave behind him the Temple of Jupiter, upon the mount Tarpeian, for a monument and memorial of his reign and name. That of two Tarquin, Kings both, it might be said another days, that the father vowed it, and the son fulfilled the same.

And to the end that the floor and plot of ground, freed and exempted from all other kind of religions might wholly be dedicated to Jupiter and his Temple, there to be built: he determined to excavate and to unhallow certain Churches and Chapels, which having been first vowed by King Tarquin in the very extremity of the battle against Romulus, were after him consecrated and hallowed. In the very beginning and founding of which work, it is said, that the divine power and Jove's pre-eminence moved the gods to declare the future mightiness of so great an Empire, For when as the birds by signs out of the Augeus learning, admitted and allowed the exaggeration and unhallowing of all other cells and chapels besides, only in that of Tarpeian, they gave no token to confirm the unhallowing thereof: which was taken for an ominous prefiguration, and thus interpreted, that seeing the seat and honie of Tarpeian was not stirred, and he the god alone that was not dislocated and called forth of the limits to him consecrated: it shewed that all should remain there firm and stable for ever. This divine-token of perpetuity being received for good and certain: there followed another strange and prodigious sign, opposing the greatness also of the Empire. For as they digged for the foundation of the Temple, there appeared, as they say, maps head, face and all whole and found: which sight imported no doubt, and plainly foretold that it should be the chief Capitol of the Empire and the Capitol place of the whole world. To this effect prophesied the wizards, as well they of the City, as the whom they sent out of Tuscany to know their opinion and judgment. Thus was the Kings mind all wholly set upon stupendous building and spared for no cost. So that the pilage taken at Perusis, which was laid by for the accomplishment of the whole work, would hard and wanton for the very foundation. And therefore would rather give credit unto Fabius Pitler (to say nothing that he is the more ancient author of the twain) that there were but 400 talents, and no more, than to Piso, who writeth, that there was 44000 pounds of silver set by for that use. Which sum of money or money could never be looked for to arise out of the fabric of one only City in those days: and mult needs exceed the charges of the foundation of any of the stately and magnificent buildings in this our age. The King being thus wholly minded and bent to the finishing of the Temple, and sending for Carpenters, Masons, and other workmen, out of all parts of Italy, employed not only the Cities money and flock thereabout, but also had the work and labour of the common people withall. Which was no small coll of theirs, considering the travel of warfare besides yet were they less agreed and discontented therewith, so long as they found and reared with their own hands the Temples of the immortal Gods. But afterwards were they employed and set to other works, which as they were laid in store, so they were more painful and of greater trouble, namely the making of folds of standing-places in the Circus of Theater, and to the conveyance of a mighty grand turbine or vault under the ground for to receive and carry away all the filth and corruption of the City. To which two pieces of work, especially is the magnificence of our new modern buildings, in any respect comparable. Having in this wise held his commons in continual labour, because he thought that a multitude of people would but overcharge and pester the City, when they were not employed some way or other, and also minded by erecting Colonies to enlarge the Confines of his Dominions, he hire under part of them to inhabit and people Signa and Circius, two strong forts and frontier towns for the defence of the City by sea and land.

Whilst he was busied in these affairs, there appeared unto him a strange and fearfull sight, namely, a serpent gliding down a pillar of wood, which having put the beholders in great fright, and cast them to fly into the Kings palace did not so much amaze the Kings heart with sudden and momentany fear for the present, as fill his head with perplexed cares what the thing might portend. Whereas therefore the manner was to use the Calanx and vixen men of Tuscan about Nu publike prodigious tokens only: he being much troubled in spirit, and terrified at this fearfull sight, being domesticall, and as it were touching and concerning his own person: purposed to send out as far as Dely to the most famous and renowned Oracle in the world. And for that he durst not put any other in trust with the answers that should be delivered by the fatallists, he addresed two of his sons to take a voyage through unknown lands in those days, and more unknown seas into Greece. This and Aruns were they that went this journey, having to bear them company all the way. L. Junius Brutus. This Brutus was the son of Tarquinia, the Kings sister, a young gentleman of a far other nature and disposition than he seemed in outward shew andsemblance. He having heard say, that certain principali Citizens, and his own brother among had been by his his uncle put to death: to the intent that himself might have nothing left, either in the parts of his mind for the King to fear or in his outward stature for him to covet and desire: resolved under the cloak of base contempt to save himself, since that in right or justice he might repose small or no safeguard at all. And therefore composing and framing himself of purpose to counterfeit a moddy and a very innocent, as suffering himself, and all that he had to fall into the Kings hands as an eichet: he refused not to be misnamed Brutus, a name appropriate to unreasonable creatures: that under the shadow & colour of that surname, the courage of his lying close atid, which
A which should one day let free the City of Rome, might abide the full time and appear in due season. This Brute being by the Targus brought to Delphi, as their laughing flock to make them partake by the way, rather than a meet mate to accompany them, carried with him (as men fam) to offer and present unto Apollo a golden rod within a battlecornel wood made hollow for the purpose: the very type and resemblance by easier circumstances, of his natural disposition. Thither being arrived, the young men having done their fathers commission accordingly, were very dearest and earnest to inquire and learn of the Oracle, which of them should be King of Rome. And from the bottom of the deep Vale! this answer, as men say, was delivered in their hearing: 

[Which of you (O young men) shall first kill your mother, she shall be chief and sovereign rule in Rome.] 

B The Targus then intending that Sextus their brother who was left behind at Rome, might neither know the answer, nor yet obtain the kingdom, wished the matter should by all possible means be carried to secret as might be, and concealed from him. They themselves agreed upon this together, to draw lots as to whether of them twain, when they were returned to Rome, should firstly kill his mother, But Brute supposing the speech of Apollo his Priest, tended to another sense, made as though he turned forward and took a fall, and so touched the ground with his mouth and killed the earth, thinking this with himself; that she was common mother of all mortal men. Then returned they to Rome, where they found great preparation for war against the Rutulians.

The Rutulians then were Lords of Ardea. A people in those times, very rich and wealthy and that was it that gave the very occasion and was the first motive of the war. The

C Roman King was dearest both to enrich himself, as having about the sumptuous building of public-like works emptied his coffers: and also by some spoil, to mollifie and win again the hearts of his natural subjects, being much discontented (besides his general dislike of his pride otherwise) at his manner of government: and disdaining greatly that they were by the King made labourers, to serve carpenters and masons, and held so long to serve toil and painful labour. The Romans affaid at the beginning to suprise and win Ardea by assault: but when that way was found ill, then began they to annoy and disturb the enemies by laying siege, by cutting trenches, raising forts, and fabricks about the town. During this siege, and the standing camp lying there, (as it falleth out commonly, when the war is rather long and late than hot and cruel) there were granted large licenses and palments to and fro between the Camp and Rome, with much liberty: and yet more to the Princes of the Army than to the common SOLDIERS. And the Kings sons had otherwhile good leisure to feast and banquet one with another. Upon a time it hapned whiles they were drinking and making merry with Sextus Targumus in his pavilion, where Callitius Targumus the son of Egerius sat at supper: there arose among other good table-talk, some arguing about their wives: whiles every man highly praised and wondrously commended his own. And growing to some hear and confection thereabout: There need not many words for this matter, Quoth Callitius: for in few hours it may be known how far my Lucretia surpasseth all the rest. And therefore if there be any just gift and courage of youth in us, why mount we not on horse-back, and in our own persons go and see the natures and dispositions of our wives? And as they shall be found and taken of a sudden, and not looking for their husbands coming, let every man judge of them, and let that down for the only trial of all this controversy. They had all taken their drink well, and were prettily with wine: Mary, content say they all, and to horse they go, and away they gallop on the spur to Rome. Thither were they come by the flitting in of the evening when it grew to be dark; and so forward without any stay to Callitius they ride. Where they find dame Lucretia, not as the Kings sons wives, whom they had inflipped and seen afore, palling away in leaping and rioting with their minions and companions: but sitting up far within the night in the midst of her house among her maidens, hard at work by candle-light. Whereupon in this debate about their wives, the entire prate and commoration rested in Lucaetia: Her Husband and the Targus had a loving and courteous welcome at her hands. And again for joy of the victory, invited the Kings sons kindly and made them friendly chere. Thereat that instant Sextus Targumus was bewitched and posseted with wicked wronson light, for to offer violence and villainy unto Lucaetia: her paling beauty and her approved chastity set him on fire and provoked him thereto. But for the present, when they had deftord themselves all night long like lusty and pleasant youths, they returned betimes in the morning to the Camp. A few daies after, Sextus Targumus, unwitting to Callitius attended with one only came to Collius, where he was again in good and friendly fort received by them in the house, that produceth nothing less than that whereas he was come. And being after supper brought up into the great chamber, when he thought all about him fire, and that every body was felt asleep all on fire and burning in love, he leapeth with naked sword in hand to Lucaetia, as the lay sleeping full fondly, and bearing down the womans breast with his left hand, Peace (quoth he) Lucretia: & not a word! I am Sextus Targumus! I have my drawn sword in hand, I thou once speak thou shalt surely die. The illy woman thus starting out of sleep, was sore affright, as seeing no remedy but in a manner present death, in cafe she had cried for help. Then uttered Targumus and disclosed his amorous passion, tell to entert and entertain again, and with his prayers intermedes threats, and went every way about her, not ceasing by all means to fit, to found and tempt the womans heart. But when she saw her obilinore and invincible, and (to die in it) not relenting one jot; then, besides the fear of death, he presented unto her dishonour and shame:
pretending that after he had assaulted her, he would lay by her side in naked bed, her own man, servient with his thrust cut; that it might be voiced abroad, that she was taken and killed in filthy adultery. For fear of this reproach and infamy, see how finful lust gat the victory, and conquered constant chastity; and Tarranius in great pride and jollity, that he had by affault won the fort of a woman's honour, departed thence. But wofull Lucretia, all forrowing for so heavy a mischance, dispatched a messenger to her father at Rome, and so forward to her husband at Ardea, with this errand: That she should come unto her, each of them with one faithfull and truely friend, and hereof they must not fail, but make all the speed they could, for there was befallen a grievous chance and horride, So there repaired to her Sp. Lucretius her father, accompanied with P. Valerius the son of Volusius, and Collatia his wife, with L. Junius Brutus, Who both together by chance going back to Rome, encountered in the way his wives meleager, Lucretia they found sitting alone in her bed-chamber, all heavy and sad and she at the coming of these her dearest friends, shed tears and wept suprme. How now my deare (quoth her husband) is all well? No God wot sir, (quoth she again:) For how can ought be well with a woman that is dishonour to her honour and womanhood? The print, Collatia of another man is to be seen in thy own bed, Howbeit, my body only is disreign, and heart remaineth yet unprofaned, that my death shall make good and justifie, but give me first your right hands, and make faithfull promis, that the adulterer shall not escape unpunished. Sex. Tarranius is the man, he it is, who this night pale, entertained as a friend, but indeed a very foe in the highest degree, hath by force and violence taken him from hence with his pleasure, a deadly pleasure, I may lay to, and to himself also no lefs, if ye be men of courage. All of them one after another give them their attoured word, comforted the wofull hearted woman, excused her that was but forced, and laid all the blame upon him that committed the shameful act; laying it, is the mind that fenneth, and not the body and ware where there was no will and content, there could be no fault at all. Well, quoth she, what is his due to have, of thee to that; as for me, howsoever I quit and abjure my self of sin, yet I will not be freed from punishment. And never fail there by example of Lucretia, any unhappy woman or wench hark, a lot live a day: and thus having laid, with a knife which she had clothe hidden under her clothe, she flabbed her self to the heart, and sinking down forward, fell upon the floor ready to yield up the ghost. Out alas! cried her husband and father hereat: and whilest they two were in their plaints and moans, Brutus drew forth the knife out of the wound of Lucretia, & holding it out afore him, L all embraed and dropping with blood, & now I swear (quoth he) by this blood, by this most chaste and pure blood, before the villany wrought by the Kings (on, and here before the gods I protest, whom I call to witness, that I will by fire and sword, and with all my might and main perfeate and drive the country of L. Tarranius the proud, and his ungracious wife, and the whole brood of his children, and suffer neither him nor any else for his sake to reign as King at Rome. Then gave he the knife to Collatia, and so to Lucretius & Valerius, who greatly amazed at this so frightfull incend, and wondering how it came to pass, that Brutus should of a sudden be so changed, and become so front of stomack and courageous, took the same form of oath that he swore afore: and so leaving their wailing and lamentation, and wholly set upon anger and revenge, they followed Brutus as their Captain and Leader to put down and overthrow the government of Kings, and tenderly to root out their race. The dead corps of Lucretia, was had out of doors, brought into the marketplace and there shewed. And thither, what with wondering (as the manner is) at so frightfull a fight, and what with the indignation of so unworthy a fact, they raised much people together. Every man for his part was ready enough to complain of the wickednes and violence done by the Kings blood, The sorrow of Lucetius the father on the one side; the resolution of Brutus on the other side, who rebeded and blamed all vaine weeping and foolish moaning, moved and perfwaded all that were present, that like men of valour, like true hearted Romans, they would take arms against them that demeaned themselves no better, nor worse than ordinary enemies, And presently, the bravest and wildest young men shewed themselves forward, ready in armour, and voluntary. The rest of the youths followed straight after. And having left at Collatia the one half of their forces in N artice, toward the gates, and set certain watches, that no man brought tidings or news unto the King and his lons of this rising and commotion, all the other were appointed in warlike manner, followed their leader Brutus, from thence directly to Rome. At the sudden coming thither of this armed multitude: no marvell if all the way whereas they passed and marched, there aris a fear and trouble among the people. But when they perceived the most substantiell and principall Citizens in the forefront; they judged whatsoever the matter meant, it was not for naught. And very this hainous fact disquieted the minds of men no les at Rome than it had before at Collatia. Therefore from all parts of the City there was flocking and running into the marketplace. And being thither come, the Bedell or common Crier, summoned the people to appear before the Tribune of the Censors or Captain of the guard; which office hapy Brutus bare at that time. Where O he made an Oration not proceeding from that spirit, nor resembing that quality of nature which unto that day he had pretended and made flie of out the world, for he inveighed against the violence and filthy luft of Sex. Tarranius; the flamefull villany and not to be named, done upon the body of Lucretia: he disfounded of her lamentable end and pitious death, and the destrate case of Triespinus, bereft now of all his children; who accounted the occasion of his daughters death a greater indignity, and more pitiful, than her death. Moreover he laid:
The Second Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Second Book.

Brutus took an oath of the people, that they should not suffer any to reign King at Rome. He consulted his fellow Consul Tarquinius Collatinus, a virtuous man to take part with the Tarquins, by reason of the affinity he had with them, to give over the Consultus, and to depart the City. The gods of the King and his sons he commanded to be set on fire and burnt. A field of theirs he consecrated to Mars, which was named afterwards Campus Martius, Mars field. He beheld certain young Gentlemen of the Nobility together with his own and his brothers sons, for conspiring to receive the King and his Companions again into the City. Upon the bond slave Vindicius, that betrayed the conspirators, he gave him freedom, of whom Vindicius took the name. Having led an Army against the King, who had assembled a power of Veientians and Tarquinsians, and made war, he died in battle together with Brutus, the son of Superbus: and for his death the EMperor of Rome mourned one whole year. P. Valerius the Consul professed and made a Law concerning Appealing unto the people. The Capitol was dedicated, Porcia King of the Clans, warping in the quarrel of the Tarquins, and being come to the Janiculum, was by the violence of Coles Horatins, impeached that he passed on the Tyber: who alone, whiles others hanged down the Subliuncul bridge, with falsehood the Tarquins: and when it was broken down, leap armed as he was into the river, and swam over to his fellows. Another example of manhood is reported of Mutius, who being entered the Camp of the enemies with full intent to kill Portia, and having slain his principal Secretary, whom he took for the King, was apprehended: and thrusting his hand into the fire of the Altar, whereupon they had buried justices, suffered it there to fry until it was consumed: and said in Latin, that there were behind him three hundred more besides, that had sworn the death of the King himself: the wounding at their resolution, was driven to offer conditions of peace, and upon taking of hostages over war: amongst whom, one virgo Clelia, beguiled her keepers, made an escape, and swam over the Tyber to her friends: and being rendered again was by Portia sent honorably home, and had her
N
ow will I describe from henceforth, the acts both in war and peace of the people of Rome, free late now from this time forward; their yearly Magnates and Governors, the authority and rule of Laws, more powerfull and mighty than that of men. Which freedom of theirs, the last Kings pride made more acceptable and welcome, As for the other Kings before him, they raged so, as that they might be counted all of them, and that worshipful builders of trusty parts, the City one after another, as they very one by himsell added till one new pillar, or another, for the multitude by them encreased to inhabit, Neither is it to be doubted, but that even the very same Brutus, who deferred to great honor and glory for expelling the proud King Tarquinius, should have done the fame to the exceeding danger of the weak publicke, if other desire of unripe and untimely freedom, he had wrested the royall dignity and government from any of the former Princes. For what would have come of it, if that community consisting of herdsmen and fugitives strangers, returning out of their own countries there to dwell, having under protection of a sanctuariy and privileged place gotten liberty, or at leastwise immiunity; being now freed and stable fear of a royall Majesty, had begun to be troubled and disquieted, with the ruffling storms and eddies tempests of the Tribuns, and in a new and strange City town debate, and entertained variance with the Nobility, before that the most part of women and children, the desert affection of the very place and soil, which requireth long time of liking and loving, had united and knit their hearts together? Certainly, the fate not yet come to full growth and maturity, had by discord faded and come to nought, which a peaceable and gracious government cherished and fostered, and by cherishing and nourishing brought to such a state, that now being come to ripeness and perfection of strength, it might be able to bring forth and bear the good and wholesome fruits of liberty.

The beginning of this freedom you must account in regard herof. That the Consular regiment was annual and from year to year rather than that the royall power and jurisdiction that the Kings had, was any whit abated or diminished. For the first Consuls had the fame absolute authority, held all the former royalties and retained till the regale signs and ornaments of supreme dignity. This only provided that they should not both have the rods born before them, for avoiding a twofold fear and dread of their Majesties. Brutus with the good liking and content of his companion in office, had the preheminence and prerogative of that honour to be done unto him alone; who had not been aforesaid a greater instrument, and more forward to procure and recover the liberty than he was afterward a sure maintainer and protector of the fame. And first above all other things, whilst the people were yet greedy of this new freedom, for fear lest they might any time after be wrought by entreaty or moved by gifts on the Kings part, he caused them to swear that they would never suffer any to be King at Rome. After this, because the Senate might be of more power and greater reputation by the frequent company of that degree and order; he increased their number (which had been impaited much by misfortunes, committed by the said King) to the full complement of three hundred: by chusing the chief and principal of the degree of Knights
Knights or Horsemen. And hereof came, as they say, this outcome, to admit into the Senate both them that were before time of the ancient Nobility, and also those that were newly chosen for the supply; naming those that were last enrolled, the new Senate. And a wonder it was to see, how much good this did to the concord of the City, and to the knitting of the hearts of Nobles and Commons together.

This done, they were in hand with Religion and Church matters: and for that there were certain publick sacrifices that had been usually executed by the Kings themselves in their own persons: lest therefore they should not find the mis of Kings in any respect, nor long after them again they create of purpose a King-Priest or Priest: which facer to all dignity they ordained to be under the Arch-Priest, lest that this new addition and title of honour, might prejudice their freedom any jot, whereunto they had then a special regard above all other things. And I wrought well, but I think verily they went beyond all measure, and were over-predic in the maintenance and strengthening thereof every way, even in the smallest trifles, and toises of no moment. For when as nothing else was offensive unto them, the name forsooth of one of their Comitis became displeased and odious unto the City, without any other Randall whatsoever. And thus they muttered and said; That the Targum had raised over-long, and too much already that Princes first began, and when after him succeeded King Servius Tullius, Superbus Targumus, not having in that time and space between, forgot the Kingdom, as seeing another invested therein; by wicked practice and violence claimed and recovered the same again, as the inheritance properly to his house belonging. And now that Superbus is driven out and gone, the rule and government is delivered into the hands of Colatinus, and there resteth. Their Targumus belike (lien they) cannot skill how to live as private men: giving out among, that the very name was dangerous to a free State, and in one word, they could not endure it. These and such like speeches at first were whispered abroad throughout all the City, by them that under-handounded by little and little the hearts and dispositions of men: and when these murmurs & suspicions were once buzzed into the Commons heads, and they thereby disquieted, Brutus called them to a general assembly. Where first and foremost he recited the oath or the people, that they should suffer none to be a King not oughted in Rome, from whence might arise any danger to their liberty. This oath is the thing (quoth he) that "with all diligence, & by all means possible is to be maintained, & nothing thereto appertaining is to be despised and lightly regarded. As for me, I am unwilling to speak, in respect of the person, neither would I speak at all, but that the love and affection to the Commonwealth be observed. The people of Rome is not thoroughly persuaded that they have recovered their entire and perfect liberty. For as yet the Kings bloud-yea, and the Kings name not only remaineth still, but also beareth sovereignty in the City: This is it that hurteth, this is it (say) that hindered their true freedom. Now (quoth he) Lucius Tullius willingly of your own accord rid them of their fear. We remember well, we confesse and acknowledge, you it was that expelled the Kings, Brutus therefore and perfect this great benefit of yours: take away from hence the Kings name alio. As for your goods and substance, your Citizens and Countrymen, if they will be adhered by me, shall not only yeeld unto you again but if ought be short and wanting, shall by my consent supply the same to the full right liberally. Depart I say and friendly take your leave: deliver the City and disburden them of this their fear, that peradventure is but vain and needless: Howbeit, this their minds give them that together with the Rock and home of the Targumus the Kings rule and government will likewise void and depart for ever. The Comital this to strange and hidden a motion first wondered much, and was not able to open his mouth. But afterwards as he addressed himself and began to make a speech, the heads of the City came about him, and with many prayers befought the same at his hands. As for all the rest they prevailed all together with him. But alter that Sp. Lucretius more grave and elderly man than himself, of greater worth a foretime, and his father in Law besides took him in hand and dealt with him kindly wight, one while by way of interdict, otherwise by persuasions and reasons, that he would condescend unto that which the City in one general consent required: then the Comital fearing left hereafter being once out of his place and a private man again he should chance to be forced thitherunto, with the full of his goods and soe disgrace perhaps besides: resigned up the office of the Comitalship, and removing all that he had away to Larsum quit the City and departed. Then Brutus by an act and decrete of the Senate, proposed unto the people, That all the race and lineage of the Targumus should be exiled. And in a general session of the Centuries, he created to be his Colleague in government, P. Paternus, by whose assistance he had driven out the Kings.

No man doubted now that the Targumus were about to take arms: yet that war hapned not to soon as men looked for: but see (a thing that no man feared) they had like by fraud and treasion to have at home to left and foregone their freedom again. There was of the flower of Rome, certain youths & those of no low degree nor base parentage descended, who in the Kings times had lived like young Prin:es more loollie and at pleasure, as companions and philis: with the young Targumus, the Kings sons: who seeking to enjoy the same licentious life fell, in this equality of estate wherein others then lived, made man and complained one to another. That the liberty of others turned to their servitude, (The King say they is a man, at whose hands one might obtain somewhat, as need required were the cause right or were it wrong; where a man might find favour and friendship, as who could both be displeased and angry, and also forgive and remit a
"fault, and knew well how to make difference between a friend and a foe. As for laws, they are things deat and inexorable: more wholesome and commodious to the poor than to the rich and mighty affording no releas nor pardon, if one chance to trespad and transgress: And a ticklish point it is and perilous for a man among so many errors where our frailty is subject, to bear himself only upon his innocent lite. Being thus of their own accord already discontent, suddenly unlooked for, there came Embassadors from the Kings, who without any mention at all of return, demanded only their goods again. Upon their meslage being delivered and heard in the Senate-house, this debate and question held them for certain daies in councill, fearing lest that the goods not restored might minuter occasion of quarrel, and being rendred, yield maintenance and nourishment of war. In the mean time the Embassadors dealt and treated with divers perrons diversly: in open sight claiming only their goods, but secretly and under-hand, contriving how to compass the Kingdom for their Masters. And under colour of procuring friends for the accomplishmef of that which they pretended, and was in question, they founden oftentimes the minds of certain noble young Gentlemen, how they froll affected to their defignments. Whole words and reasons were of them gently entertained: and thereupon they delivered unto them letters from the Tar-quinia, and withall conferred together, and practised the receiving of the Kings privy by night into the City. The execution of this plot was principally committed to certain of the Viciellis: and whereunto the were brethren. A sister of the Vicielli was married unto the Consul Benu- tus, by whom he had two sons that were youngmen, Titus and Tiberius, whom his uncles by the mothers side made partners with them likewise of their counsell. Besides, there were divers young Gentlemen (who fame long time hath worn out quite) made acquainted therewith. In this mean feason, their opinion in the Senate-house prevailed, who thought it that the goods should be restored: and the Embassadors upon that occasion made stay in the City, for that they had gone time of the Consul to provide carrage for to have away the Kings stuff, and other movable goods. All that time spent they in consulting with the Conspirators, and to importunately laboured them, until they had procured their letters afore unto the Tar-quinis; for otherwise (say they) how will they believe but that their Embassadors make wrong report of matters so important. The giving of those letters in pledge of their truth and plain meaning, proved to be wray and reveal their purposed enterprise. For the day before the Embassadors were to take their leave, and return to the Tar-quinia, they forgerod to flip with the Vicielli: and whilst the conspirators there, were in sad and close talk together, conferred at large about this new devised practice, and no man by but only themselves (as the manner is:) a certain bondslave chanced to overhear them, one that before had an inclining whereabout they went, but waited the opportunity when the letters should be given unto the Embassadors, which being found upon them, might diretly prove the treason. This slave after he understood the letters were delivered, gave intelligence of all unto the Consuls: who immediately departed from their houses, to take the Embassadors, and the Conspirators in the manner, and without any stir or tumult light upon them unwares, and disaffled all. But of the letters they had a speciall care, that they should be forth-comeing and not mistarry. And committing the traitors forthwith to prison, they made some pate and doubt about the Embassadors, what to do with them. For albeit they seemed to have delivered no lefe M but to be used as enemies and to have no favour at all, yet had they regard to thelaw of Nations. Now concerning the Kings goods, which they thought meet before to be restored, the matter came about who by in question again before the Senators: who being overcome with ire and indignation, denied fully the rendering of them, yea, and forbad they should be confiscate and converted to the common treasy: but they were given away among the Commons to make spoile and havock thereof: to the end, that they having one touched or failed on the Kings goods as a boothy might for ever after be part all hope of any peace or favour with them. The field of the Tar-quinis lying between the City and Tyber, was consecrated unto Mars, and after called Camps Mars-iti, Mars field. It hapned (as men say) that there was at that time standing corn there, now ripe and ready for the harvest: which crop of ground, because they made some scruple of confi- nence otherwise to consume, therefore it was cut down, corn, straw, flubelle and all, and a great number of people fent thither at once to carry it away in baskets and sheps, and pour it down the Tyber, running then but fullflow, as it used to do in the midlat and heat of Summer, and so the heads of corn together with the mud fluck still and refted in the ebb places and floods of the river: and by little and little increasf with one thing or other that came down the stream, till it became an island. Afterwards, I suppose, there were dams and piles made thereunto, and by mans hard it grew so high, and so firm a piece of ground, that it was able to bear even Temples and flately Galleries that stood thereupon.

When the Kings goods were thus spoiled, rifled, and made away, the traitors were condemned and put to death. Which suffering of theirs was the more notable, for that the father bi his place & vertue of his office was bound and charged to see execution done upon his own own children: and he who otherwise ought nor to have been a spectator and looker on, even he if was his fortune) was forced of necessity to be the principal actor in this tragical execution. Then flood those most noble youths bound faft to a stake. But among all, the Consul his children turned up on them the eyes of every man, from all the rest, as unknown perrons and of no reputation; all men pitied them, not so much for being punished, as for deserving by their fact to be punished;
A punished: That they could find in their hearts and once let enter into their thoughts, to betray into the hands of Tarquinus, sometimes a proud Prince, and then a cruel enemy, and banished his native country, late and in that very year lest free from captivity: their natural father who let it free: the Consulship sprung first of the family of the Junius: the Nobles, the Commons, and in one word, all things whatsoever in Rome belonging either to God or man. Then came the Consuls forth took their places and let them down on the tribunal seat. The Li- tors were sent to do their office, who, first stripped them naked and boused them with rods, and then with an axe chop off their heads. All which time, the father himself, his counsele and village was a wonder all spectacle to behold, considering how a father's affection could hold born and abide the performance of this publick and exemplary punishment. When the offenders had once suffered, to the end there might be shewed noble examples on both sides, for to debate wickedness, and stop the course of: the informer and revealer of treason, had for his reward a piece of money out of the common treasury obtained his freedom, and was enfranchised a Citizen of Rome. This was the first man, as they said, that was made free by the rod Prodebas for that the party his name was Vindex, from whence, as some think, the word Vindicate was derived: after whom, this was observed, That whoever in that fort got their freedom, were supposed withall endenized.

When tidings hereof came to Tarquinus, with the manner of proceeding in every circum-
stance, he not only grieved that so great hope of his was frustrated and come to nothing, but Callo was set on fire with hatred and indignation: and seeing the way shut up and stopped against all de-ceilful coures, he thought there was no dealing now but by measure force and open war. Whereupon he went up and down, solicited and made humble suit into the Cities of Etruria and befough the Venetians especially, and the Tarquinies: that they would not suffer him, being some of their own blood, a banished man, forlorn, poor, and needy, dispossessed lately of so goodly a Realm and Kingdom, together with his children (forward young men) to perish even before their eyes. Alluding that others had been sent for and sent out of certain parts unto Rome to be Kings and such an one as advanced him the Roman Em-pire by martial prowess, was by the wicked conspiracy of his nearest kinsfolk and friends de- poled from his imperial dignity and expelled: and they now, because there was no one man D thought sufficient and worthy to reign, had parted between them the Kingdom, and given among the people his goods as a spoil: that there might not be any one who had not his finger, and whole hand in his own fact. Saying moreover, that his mind and intention was to seek means to return into his own country, to recover his Crown, yea, and to pericide, and to be revered of those unthankfull subjects: and therefore prayed them, to set to their helping hand, and yield him assistance: and not to set down with so many old wrongs of their own part received, namely, their legions so often heven in pieces, their lands and livings taken from them, but to go with him for revenge. These suggestions moved the Venetians, and every man for himself muttered and gave one in threatening voice, that now at length, having a Roman Captan especially to be their Leader, they were to do away the foul divisions intimated, and win E again what by former war they had lost. As for the Tarquinus, they were soon invited in regard of name and contanguity, and thought it was a godly matter and an honour unto them, to have of their own name and native to be Kings of Rome. Thus two armies of two Cities banded with Tarquinus, for to restore him to his Kingdom again, and to make sharp war upon the Romans: who being entered the Territory of Rome, were met with by the Roman Comills. The footmen marched under the conduct of Valerius, marshall'd in a battailion four square, Brunus with the horse went before to espy and discover the coast: In like fort the men of arms of the enemies rode forth under the leading of Arvus Tarquinus the Kings son, and the King himself in person followed with the Legions, Arvus crying by the Liators, to the Comills as far off, and as he approached nearer, knowing Brunus more certainly by his face, all inflamed with ire:

F This is the Gallant (quoth he) this is he, that hath driven and banished us out of our native Country. Lo, how bravely he seteth forward, all gorgeously to be seen and dight in our round all enligishes and ornaments. Now help ye gods that are revengers of wrongs done to Kings: and therewithall let priests to his horse, and ran amain with full career upon the Comills his own person intending certainly to speed him. Brunus perceived likewise that he made directly toward him.: (Now was it a noble and worthy fight for the Captains themselves to begin the battell.) Whereupon with resolute courage he encountereth him. And so fiercely they charged one another, and so deadly were they bent, that neither of them had regard to save himself: so might wound and mouch his enemy, but were both with a counterpath that quite pierced their targets running to the sides, and thrust through, and so having one another lancelicking in their bodies, G fell from their horses ready to dye. Herewith begin men on both sides the other horsemen to fight, and within a while the footmen also seconded them. And so equally were they matched and the battell so indifferently fought, that it was very doubtful whether side had the better. For on both parts the right wings got the upper hand, and down went the left. The Venetians into whom it was nowes to be overcome of Romans, were discomfited and put to flight. But their new enemies the Tarquinianis, not only held their own and stood to it, but also from their battell put back and forced the Romans to give ground, and gave them the repulse. After this conflict there
fell such a fear and terror upon Tarchamus, and the Tufcans, that both Armies as well of the Veii. Heleniani as the Tarchamians, gave over their enterprise with doing just nothing, and by night disdained and departed every man to his own home. This battle was more notable by reason of certain miracles that men report: namely, that in the dead time of the night next following, when all were at rest, there was heard a mighty voice of Syracus (as men thought) out of the wood Ar- sinoe, to utter these words. [That there was flame on the Tuscan part more by one, and that the Romans won the field.] Thus: errily and no otherwise departed they alonder: the Romans as winners, and the Tufcans as having the worde. For the next morrow, so soon as it was day, and that none of the enemies appeared in sight, P. Valerius the Consul gathered up the spoil together, and returned from thence with triumph to Rome, and performed the funeral of his brother Consul, in all triumphious manner and solemn pomp, as possibly at that time he could devise. But, which did him the greatest honour after his death, was the publike sorrow and heavines of the City, in this respect above all singular and memorable, for that the dames and Matrons of Rome mourned a whole year for him, as for their own father, in that he had been so sharp a revenger of violence done to the chality of women.

After this, the Consul that survived, presently upon the great liking and favour that he was in (see how wavering and unconstant the minds are of the common people,) was not only envied, but also suspected, yea, and charged with an odious and horrible crime. The voice went and bruised it was abroad that he aspired to the Crown. And why? because, forsooth, he had not chosen unto him a new fellow Consul in the room of Brutus: and begun to rebuild aloft on the top of Vila, K where (say they) in a high place and strongly situated he might make a Pillar impregnable. These things commonly spoken and credited too; vexed much, and mightily grieved the Consul in his very soul, as a great indignity offered unto him. Whereupon he assembled the people together, and casting the rods to be held downwards to the ground, went up into the pulpit to make an Oration unto them. That light pleased the people passing well, taking it for a plain demonstration, that the marks and eminences of rule and government submitted unto them, was thereby acknowledgment and confection that the people was of greater majesty and power then the Consul. Where after silence made, and commandement to hearken and give ear, the Consul began highly to exalt toll the fortune and good hap of his Colleague deceased, who having with great honour left his Country free, ended his dais, fighting manfully in defence of the Weal publicke, even in the prime, height, and bell time of his glory, ere that he became subject unto envy: but he himself outliving it, remained alive, espoused unto criminal hazards and spightful malice of men, and of a deliverer and redeemer of his Country was now reputed no better than the Aquilus and Vettius. And will you never indeed (quoth he) approve the virtuous and honest conversation of a man so well, but it shall be tainted with unjust suspicion? What? would any man think, that I being so fierce and fell an enemy of the Kings, should ever learnt to incur the jealousy of men, or seeking to be King? What if I dwelt on the top of Tarpeje cliff, even in the very Capitol, thou’d I believe and think it possible, that my countrymen, neighbours, and Citizens, would stand in fear of me? and will so small a matter as this turn the balance of your opinion and conceit of me? Is your affiance and confidence in me grounded to lightly, andIctheth upon so nice terms and ticklish points, that you force more and more greater reckoning of my dwelling place than of the quality of my person. Well, P. Valerius his house hall be no hindrance or impeachment unto your liberty, O Quirites, ye shall not need to fear any harm from Vela for me, I will remove my house not only down into the plain, but even to the valley under the hilltop, that you may dwell above me, and overlook me (as suspected Citizen.) Let them a gods name build in Velia, who may be better truited with the Cities freedom than P. Valerius. Then was immediately the timber and all carried down beneath Velia, and where as now Vicus Publicus is, in the very bottom of the hill, was his house reedificed.

After this were laws enacted, which not only acquit the Consul and cleared him of all suspicion of affecting to the Kingdom, but also contrariwise wrought in effect, that he became exceeding popular again, whereupon, he was surnamed Publicola or Popicola. And first and foremost the Statute passed as touching the appeal unto the people, against the Rulers and Magistrates. Item, concerning the curfing and condemning of him both body and goods, that should intend or plot to usurp Principly dominion over them. These acts the Commons liked well of. Which when he had alone ordained, that all the thanks and praise might be his therefore, then assembled he a general Seccion for the substituting of another Consul unto him, in the room of his Colleague departed. So, Sp. Luceritus was created Consul: who being an aged man and of great years tebe withall, and not able to execute the office and function of a Consul, within few days paid nature her debt and died. And in place of Luceritus was M. Horatius Pulvulus chosen. In some ancient writers I do not find that Luceritus was Consul. For immediately after Brutus they make of mention of Horatius. But I think verily because no act of his made his Consulship memorable, thereupon he was forgotten and left out. Now as yet was not the Temple of Jupiter in the Capitol dedicated. And when Valerius and Horatius the Consuls called lots whether of them twain should perform that duty, the charge fell unto Horatius, and Publicola went forth to the Veientian war. But the kinsfolks and friends of Valerius took it more grievously and impatiently than reason was, that the honor of the dedication of so famous a temple, was given unto Horatius,
A Deviating therefore by all means possible they could, to impeach it and killing they had extorted all in vain and nothing took effect: even at the very instant, while the Curiae was holding a poll of the Temple, and in his solemn prayers to the gods, behold they brought upon him heavy and wonderful new, that his son was dead, and that he might not unlawfully, whiles his household mourned and was polluted with a dead corps, consecrate the Temple. Whether it were that he gave no credit to the messengers, or rather was of heart to bear, neither is it for certain reported, nor could it be a man to divine. But for all their tides, neither a jot was he turned from his purpose, nor laid aside the efficacy of the messengers, but willed that he should bid the corps to be had forth to burial, and to hold the pillar or post still laid out his prayer, and dedicated the Temple. These were the acts B done both at home and abroad in the last year after the expulsion of the Kings.

Then were P.P. Valerius the second time, and T. Lauretius created Consuls. By this time were the Tarquines fled for fure to L. Porcius King of Clusium: " where, by many reasons and remonstrances, intermixed with prayer, one while they besought him not to offer them deliverance, which was accepted from the Tarquines, for the name and name, to live needy and in perpetual exile; for evermore they advised and warned him not to put up without revenge this new fashion of expelling Kings; now coming up, saying, that liberty in it fel had sweetness enough: and unsheathed Kings would defend and maintain their Crowns with as great might and main, as Cities, and to enjoy freedom there would be a general concision and all things turned upside down; neither would there be in States and Common-wealths any thing aloft and eminent above o-

C then endured: whereupon to fine a small End of Kingly regiment, a thing with God and man of all other most excellent and beautiful, Porcius supposing it would be an honourable matter unto the Tarquines, both to have a King at Rome, and a king too of the Tarquines line, came with a small army against Rome. Never was the Senate at any time placated in such fear: to mighty in those days was the influence of Clusium, and the name of Porcius so renowned. Moreover, they feared not their enemies only, but also their own subjects, home, lest peradventure the Community of Rome for fear of war should receive the King into the City, and accept of peace though it cost them their liberty. During which time the Commons were entertained of the Nobles with all kindness, and many favours and courtly speeches they had at their hands. And above all things order was taken for provision of grain and victuals. And in to purvey store of corn, some were sent to the Volsci, others to Camæ. Over and besides the licence of selling, because it was sold at an exceeding high price, was taken from private callers, and was undertaken by the City, with all the care and charges thereto belonging by them defrauded, and last delivered out to the people at an easy reckoning. The Commons were also freed of portage, tolls, and tribute: and rich men that were able to bear the burden, were afflicted at all payments and contributions: the poor were thought to be charged enough with the bringing up of their children. This kind dealing and indulgence of the Nobles kept the City afterwards (notwithstanding their hard frights of siege and famine) in such concord and unity, that the meanest as well as the highest abhorred and detested the name of KK. And never after was there any one person, so popular, so devoted to the people by crafty means and indirect counsels tending to their particular designs, as the whole Senate was at that time, by their good government of the Common-wealth. Now when the enemies approached near at hand, every man made shift for himself, forsaking the Country and came into the City, which they fortified with strong guards round about: so that what with wals and bulwarks on the one side, and what with the Tyber on the other side, it seemed so safe, and sufficiently defended. The wooden bridge had like to have given the enemy entrance, had not the valour of one man been, even Hortensius Coelus ('who that day by the good fortune of the Romans was a fortress into the City of Rome.') He as good an hap was, appointed to ward and keep the bridge, seeing the Janicule by a sudden assault won, and that the enemies ran down to furiously from thence upon him, & contrariwise the multitude of his own companies for fear, for to go their weapons, break their arrises, and to be taken in hold of every man, opposed himself against them afront: and calling God and man to witness, protostole, flied and declared unto them, that forsaking and abandoning thus their quarters, all their flying was but in vain: for if they let the bridge upon their backs, to yield passage to the enemies, there would amount more of them in P. Julium and the Capitol than in the Janicule: and therefore he willed and commanded them, yea, and gave them direction to break down the bridge by hewing, by fire, or by what means they could possibly; assuring them for his own part, so much as the body of one only man was able to do, he would receive, and withstand the violence of the enemies. Then advance he himself unto the first entry or foot of the bridge, and all goodly to be seen, amongst those that would in no point fight, but threw their backs, he so bent his sword and target in their very faces, resolute to encounter with them hand to hand, that even with his wonderful hardiness and incredible courage, he astonished and amazed his enemies. Howbeit, two there were that for very shame carried still and stood to him, namely, Sp. Servius and Tit. Hernius, brave men both, as well for noble birth as worthy deeds. Afflicted for a while with these gallants, sustained he the first form of danger and most cumbrous path of the skirmish. But as they were hewing down the bridge called upon them to come back, he constrained those two also to retire and save themselves, whiles some little part of the bridge was left behind free and uncut. Then casting all about him men his fiery and terrible eyes towards the Captains: and
and principals of the Tuscans, one while he challenged them one by one to single fight: otherwise he rated them all in general calling them the hirelings and slaves of proud Kings and tyrants; who forgetting and making no reckoning of their own freedom, were come to oppose and impeach the liberty of others. The enemies stood at a bay and in suspense a while, looking about them one upon another who should first begin to fight. At last, vext and made the whole troop to stir and come forward and to letting up a loud cry, from all sides they let fly their javelins at him one man alone and their only enemy. All this while bare he off their shot which light upon his target; and there stuck, and nevertheless with full resolution kept the bridge still, walking his stations and talking like a giant. Then affaid they with all their force to bear the man down and to turn him over into the water: but by this time the crack of the bridge broke I under him, and the shout withall of the Romans, for joy that they had finish'd their work, fild with sudden fear their violent affaut. Then praified Coeetes in this wise: "O father Tiburium, (quoth he) O sacred river, with devout heart I thee beseech, receive with thy gracious and merciful stream this harmless, these weapons, and this thy fooldier. And to all armed as he was he leap'd into the Tyber: and albeit many a dart was flung from aloft and light upon him, yet he swam over and escaped safe to his fellows. A brave adventure for all povertie another day to talk of, rather than to believe. For this so great torridity and resolution of his, the City was thankfull, and in token thereof his Image or Statue was set up in their common Hall, named Comitium, and as much ground given him in compass, as he was able with a plough to break up in one day. Amongst these publique favours and honours done unto him, the kind affections and good wills of private persons also well appeared: for in that extremest want and scarcity that there was, every man out of his house store and provision spared from himself, and for to give him one thing or another, devoured his own belly. Thus Porfena with the repulse of this his first enterprize, changed his mind from assailing to besieging of the City: and after he had placed a garrision in the Textualum, he planted himself and encamp'd on the plain, even upon the banks of the Tyber, And fending for boats and carriages from all parts, both to stop the mouth and passage of the Tyber, that no corn should come in and be conveyed to Rome: and also that the fooldiers, as they saw occasion, might cross the river, and fetch booties in divers and fendry places at their pleasure in short space he brought the whole country about Rome to such frights: that not only other things were brought in, but all their cattle also was fain to be driven out of the fields into the City, and no man durst put any creature forth out of the gates. The Tuscans were permitted to be thus bold, not so much for fear as for a policy: for Valerians the Consul, waiting for some vantage and opportunity, sudden to set upon many of them at once and at unawares, as they itched abroad disorderly, making little regard to revenge small matters kept himself to be revenged of them throughly, and to pay them home one time or other. To the end therefore he might draw forth these forrazers, and toll them abroad, he gave his men in charge, and proclaimed, That the next day in great companies they should put their cattel forth at the gate Esquilino, which was firsthelt from the enemies: supposing that they would have intelligence thereof, by reason that in this extremity of long siege and pinching hunger, some false knives and disloyal rogues would flie unto them, and so fell it out indeed: For they had knowledge thereof by a fugitive slave. Whereupon they in far greater multitudes pass'd M over the river, in hope to make a general spoil and havock once for all. Then Valerians commanded T. Herminius with sufficient company to lie close in ambush at two miles end, in the Sabine high way, and Sp. Longius with a power of lusty tall fellows lightly armed, to keep the gate Collina, until the enemy were gone by and past: with direction, then to put himfelf between the river and them, and so to intercept them in their return. The other Consul T. Lucrècius issued forth with certain kinds of footmen at the gate Naevia: and Valerinius himself in proper person set forth from mount Capito certain ensigns of his belt and choice fooldiers. Thelie first were deftrain'd and discovered by the enemy, Herminius in soon as he heard some noise and fit, arose and ran at once out of the ambush, and whilst the Tuscans turned to set upon Lucrècius, he charged them lustily at their backs: so that on every hand from the gate Collina on the one side, N and from the gate Naevia on the other, the alarm was given. Thus the robbers were slain and cut in pieces in the midst of them: both for that they were overmatch'd in fight and also because all the waies were stopp'd up, that they could not escape by way of flight. And never after duft the Tuscan range about the country and accordingly, Howbeit, the siege continued nevertheless, with great scarcity of corn, and exceeding dearth within the City. And Porfena had good hope by sitting still, to force it in the end, and be master thereof. At what time one C. Mutinius a noble young gentleman, who thought it a dishonour and foul shame, that the people of Rome, who all the while they were in bondage under Kings, were in no war nor by any enemies beleaguer'd, shoud now, being the same still in time of their freedom be of these Tuscan besieged, whole armies they often had defate: and supposing that by some hardy and adventurous piece of service O this reproachful indignity was to be revenged, devin'd at first on his own head to enter into the enemies Camp: but fearing afterwards to go without commission from the Consul and the knowledge of any other person, left that adventure he might be taken by the watch of the Romans, and brought back for a traiterous runnagare, at such a time especially, when the hard estate of the City was enough to bring him into a deep suspicion, and to be reputed for no better: preferred himself before the Counsell into the Senate house: "I am right willing, and I have a purpose
A "My LL. (quoth he) to pass over the Tyber, yea, and if I can, to enter the Camp of the enemies, not in quality of a robber, not to be revenged for booties from us taken, with doing the female blamable. A greater exploit with the favour of the gods, I intend to perform. The Senators gave their consent, and approved his designment. Then with a skin, hidden under his garment, he faced forward. Being thither come into the Camp, he prefigured in the thickest throng to stand near the Kings Tribunal. It was fortunate that then and there the soldiers were receiving their pay. And the Chancellor, or Kings principal Secretary, met together with the King in like array, much employed and burdened in many matters; and the soldiers commonly had recourse unto him. **Mutius** fearing to inquire whether of them two were **Porfena** but not knowing the King he should be in what way himself who he was happened (see how fortune in her salliness directed his hand) to kill the Secretary instead of the King: then as he passed through the fearful multitude, making himself with his bloody blade there was a present outcry, and thereat the Kings guard came running in, laid hold of him, and brought him back before the King his royal Throne: and albeit he was now tower and without all the command the threats of troubling fortune, yet as a man much feared still held fearing: "I am (quoth he) a Citizen of Rome, and **Caes. Mutius** is my name, a servant of the Allies, an enemy among them; and an enemy would I have lain: as ready and willing am I to dye my own, as I was to kill another. For, both to do, and to suffer valiantly is the part of a noble Roman. And it is not I alone that carry this mind and resolution against thee, O King there is a long train and true behind of them that seek to win the fame praise and honour: make thee ready therefore, and arm thy self, if thou think good, against this danger, and resolve every hour to be in hazard of thy life; and to have always at the very Court gates thy enemies word. This kind of war do we youths of Rome! Denounce openly unto thee: no bated, no right cleft shall thou need to fear. With thee alone will we all. one by one have to do, and with none other. Hereat the King incensed with wrath, and for the danger that he stood in affliction withal, commanded in menacing wise that he should be fled at a flake, unless he would presently unmask in plain terms what secret and dangerous practices he meant and threatened under this covert circuit of words and intricate circumstancies. "Lo, (quoth he again) how little they set by this ca kais the aipire to great glory and aim at honour; and with that thrust his right hand into the hearth on fire. It was made for the justice and when he endured the rolling thereof, as if he had been riles, and felt no pain, the King well near astounded at this wonderfull and miraculous right that up and leapt from his royal seat and chair of estate, commanding the young man to be had from the ater. "Go, thy traitor (quoth he) in peace, thou that hast done thy own well more mischief than thou hast attempted against my person, I would say God bless thee, and worthy hallowed be of honor for thy prowess. If it were in my service, and in the behalf and defence of mine own Country: and now by the law of arms I discharge thee freely, and give thee leave to dep. it without any hurt or abuse offered unto thee. Then **Mutius**, as it were to requite again his celerity and detec, "Forasmuch as (quoth he) thou settest to great fare by valor and honour and honorableness to holy end it may be seen that thou shalt get at my hands by celerity that whil. by ruel threats thou couldst not: these are therefore to let thee understand.

**E** And that there are three hundred of us noble youths, even the very flower and knighthood of Rome, that have composed and sworn thy death, and in this manner to assail thee. My lord it was to be the first the rest as it should fall out, will be here shortly, and wait every man his turn and time, until they hit right upon thee. **Mutius**, named afterwards **Scipio**, by reason of the main of his right hand, was no sooner dismissed and gone, but there followed right after him to Rome. Ambassadors from **Porfena**s and so much troubled in spirit was he, both for the danger part of the first attack, from which nothing preserved him but a small hour and oversight of the assailant and also for the hazard to come. (for look how many conspirators remained behind to give the like attempts; to often flood he in jeopardy of his life) that of his own accord he offered the Romans conditions of peace. And among other capitulations, he stood hard upon this article (but was all in vain of retorting the Trojans into their Kingdom. This point the King urged instantly, rather because he could not well himself deny the Trojans so much, than for that he was ignorant, that the Romans would never yield there. But another article he got granted, namely, the restitution of the Veientians lands again; and the Romans were driven of necessity to give him hostages, in case they would have the Kings garrisons to quit the samianism. Upon these conditions peace was concluded, and **Porfena** withdrew his forces from the samianism; dislodged and departed out of the territory of Rome. The Senators bestowed frankly upon Mutius as a testimonial of his valiantness, a piece of ground lying beyond Tyber, which was afterwards called, **Mutius prata**, i.e. **Mutius** meadows.

Upon this honourable regard and reward of virtue, women were likewise provoked and engin to enterprise worthy proper acts in the service of the Common-weal. For a young damosel and Virgin named Cladia, one of those hostages beforeaid, whiles the Tufcans were encamped (as it fell out) not far from the banks of Tyber, deceiving her keeper; and leading a company of other maidens after her, even within the hot and darts of the enemies, took the river, upon other with them, brought them all to Rome late, and delivered them to their parents, kindfolk and friends, which being reported to the King, he at the first blemished at it, and was all in a rage, and sent unto Rome certain Orators to demand again his hostage Cladia by name: as for all the other.

**B**
The Roman
Em­bal­lads to King Por­fena.

The sec­ond Book of T. Livius.

I

The­ se­cond
H

He made no great ac­count of them; but after­wards, un­der fu­mer con­sid­er­a­tion he ad­mired the enter­prise, and plainly said, it sur­passed far all the ad­ven­tures of the Ca­licies and the An­nies; as he pre­tended that if the maid were not ren­dered again, he would take­the league as bro­ken, and be­ing vi­ol­ent, he would send her back to her friends, un­de­filed, and with­out any abuse or vi­olence done un­to her. On both parts was prom­ise faith­ful­ly kept: For both the Romans re­tiled the pledge of peace ac­cord­ing to co­venant, and sen­ce also it was, that vi­r­u­te was not only se­cured safe, but also highly re­garded and hon­oured with the Tuf­can King. For after he had com­mitted and pro­nounced the dam­no­ble, he pro­mised to give her part of the ho­tages, which was not only most be­fit­ing her vir­gi­nity, but also by the ac­cord of them the ho­tages them­selves be­st ap­proved; namely, that that age es­pe­cially should be de­livered out of the ene­mies hands, which was most sub­ject to in­jury and tak­ing wrong. The peace thus re­newed and con­firmed, the Romans re­warded this rare valour in that lea, with as new and tri­an­gen­t an hon­our, for, in remembrance of her, in the top of Via sacra there was er­ected their man­na, [A ma­i­den fit­ting on horse­back.

There remaineth yet even unto our daies amongst oth­er so­lemn cer­e­monies, this one cul­tume re­ceived from our an­ces­tors, far differ­ing and dis­agreement from this pe­ace­able and friend­ly de­par­ture of the Tuf­can King from be­fore the City of Ro­me, and this is: In the por­tage of goods they use to pro­claim first aloud. The sale of King Por­fena his gods. This cer­e­monial cul­tume must needs either begin in time of war, and so was not after­wards for­got­tan in peace; or else arose from some more gra­tions and gen­tle oc­ca­sion at the first, then this title or out­ward form pretenden­th, of del­leng­ing goods by way of ho­lit­ty and after the man­ner of ene­mies. But the like­li­est con­jecture and nearest to the truth of all those that are given out is this: that Por­fena a dis­lodg­ing from the Jun­ta, gave freely unto the Romans, (? the City at that time being after long siege dis­tri­bu­t and in great freights) his rich Camp furnished with vi­tal and provi­sion, con­veyed thither out of the plen­til­ful countries of Her­ma­ea near ad­joy­mg: which goods, for fear there should have been some havock and spoil made thereof in warlike wise, in cafe the peo­ple had been let loose to the ri­fing of the tents, we were after­fled, and called Por­fena his goods: which title sign­fled rather their thank­ful ac­cep­tion of the gift, and remembrance of the giver, than any open and overt sale of the Kings goods, which were not so much as in the Roman power nor at their dis­posi­tion.

Thus Por­fena having given over the Ro­man war, be­cause he would not seem to have brought an­tho­l of men into those parts, and per­formed no ex­ploit, sent his son Ar­nu­ with part of his for­ces to sur­prise and affult Ar­icia. At the first this sud­den and un­expect­ed en­ter­prise much tro­ubled the Ar­icins, but after­ward when the had get­ten aid both from the Late­ine na­tion & also from Cu­mers, they took such heart again, that they durst enter into the field & bid the ene­my battle. In the be­ginn­ing of the con­flict, the Tuf­can charged them so hotly that at the first en­counter they brake the ar­tails of the Ar­icins. But the tro­ops of the Cumans let­ting po­ly­ against force, went a little aside, made way and gave some ground, and when the ene­mies had out­stripped them & were ra­fly and di­orderly pas­sed be­yond them, they turned their en­gins, and let upon their back; to were the Tuf­cans, being in the very train of their vic­tory, be­sides round about, and slan in the mid­dle of them. Only a small rem­nant of them after the loss of their Captains, be­cause they had no other place of re­lief nearer, were in­clined to trudg to Ro­me without wea­pons and dis­armed, like rap­pi­ans both in deed and shew. Where they were kindly en­tained and be­tolled in sev­eral lodg­ings. Some of them when they were cu­rled of their wounds re­paired home, re­port­ing the hospi­tality & court­eous u­age they have found. Many re­mained still at Ro­me for love of their holts and the City: whom who had a place allotted them to dwell in, which after they called Thousian vicus, the Tuf­can street.

After this were P. Lu­cre­tius and P. Valer­ius the third time created Coif. In that year, for a small end, there came Emba­llads from Po­fena, to treat about the re­tor­ning of the Ta­rgu­ins into their Realm: to whom this an­swer was returned: that the Senate would send Emba­llads to the King him­self; where­upon there were im­me­di­ately ad­dress’d unto him in Emba­llas the most hon­ourable per­sonages of all the Nobilit y, who in the name of the people of Ro­me deli­vered this speech: That the chief of their Nobles were fent, rather than any dispatch given by word of mouth per­sonal per­sonal­ly to his Emba­llads at Ro­me: for that they could not have hap­pen them this short an­swer, 4 They would no Kings have: But to this end that for ever after there should be no fut­ure re­newed of that mater, nor in so great mu­tual ben­efits, and favours pas­sed be­­tween them, some dis­con­tent arise on either side, whiles he might be thought to re­quest that which was repugnant and prejudi­cial to the liberty of Ro­me, and the Ro­mans again, un­less they would be execu­tors of their own wom­en, and seek their own mi­che­val­tie, to make denial unto him, whom by their good wills they would not seem to de­ny ought for any thing in the world. But as to the sub­stance of the matter, this was the point: namely, that the peo­ple of Ro­me were not under the regi­ment of a King: but were a free State: and fully set­ted in this pur­pose. To let open their gates to the ene­mies sooner than to Kings: and were all gen­erally of this mind and res­olution. That look­ing when the freedom of that City had an end, then should the City come to an end al­so. To con­clude there­fore they were to entreat him that if he tended the well and sa­fety of Ro­me, he would per­mit them to be free still and at their own lib­erty.
A The King overcome with very modesty, and much abashed in himself, answered thus again:

"Since you are to fully minded and liftly bent (quoth he) neither will I importune you, nor dull your ears with harping (lll upon this unpleasant singing, and do no good: nor bear the Tarquins any longer in hand, and deceive them of that hope of aid, which nothing at all is in my power to perform. Let them from henceforth seek some other place of exile, either for peace or war, as they shall think more expedient, that there may be nothing to let and hinder the free course of amity, and all between me and you. To the good and kind words he joyed better and more friendly deeds. For all the hostages that remained in his hand he sent home: and the Venetians lands which by the covenants denounced at Tusculum, were taken away, he relented to the Romans again. Thus Tarquin seeing all hope of return cut off, removed unto Tusculum to his son in law Mamilian Olivarius, there to live and spend the rest of his days in banishment. So there continued faithful peace between the Romans and King Porsea.

Then were Coll, M. Valerius and P. Posthumius. In that year the Romans fought with the Sabins fortunately, and the Confuls triumphed. But after wards the Sabins made greater preparation of war: to withstand whom, as also for fear of some sudden danger that might arise from Tusculum, from whence they suspected war, although none was openly seen, were P. Valerius the fourth time, and T. Lucerinus the second time elected Coll. But among the Sabins there grew some civil discord between that part that would have war, and the contrary that fought peace; which gained the Romans some strength even from thence. For Appius Claudius (who afterwards at Rome was named Appius Claudinus) a pervertor himself of quietness and repose, being overmatched and not able to make his part good with the adverse faction that minded and stirred troubles, accompanied with a great power of friends and followers, from Romulus fled to Rome, who were enfranchised Citizens, and poftifled of those lands that lie beyond the river " Anio. And from thence came the name of the old trade Appias after that other new Citizens were put unto them. Those I mean, that desir'd of that race and of the same territory. This Appius was admitted into the number of the Senators; and nor long after advanced to be one of the chief men and heads of the City. The Coll went with a strong power into the Sabins land, where after they had Brit wifhed the Country, and after in battle abated the strength and paifhine of the enemy's, so as for a long time after they needed not to fear any rebellion from thence, they returned.

D to Rome in triumph.

The year following, when Agrippa Menenius and P. Posthumius were Coll, P. Valerius ended his days in great glory, reaped the only singular man in those times, by all mens judgment, for skill and knowledge as well in martiall affairs, as in civil affairs: but so poor was his estate, that he had not wherewith to defray his inntrall expenses, and was therefore at the Cities charge right honourably entered. And the Dames of Rome mouned for him as they did for Brutus.

The fame year two Colonies of the Latines, Pomertia and Cora. revolted to the Aurunci, The Romans first began to war upon the Aurunci, and after they had discomfited a greechol of them, who met with the Confuls as they entered the borders, and fiercely made head against them, then all the Aurunci war was driven and translated wholly to Pomertia. The laughter and execution was no less after the conflict, than during the fight: for whereas there were many more of them slain outright in the place than taken prisoners, thoole also that were prisoners they spared not, but murdered everywhere as they went: neither laid the furious rage of war therewith, but even the very hostages whom they had received, to the number of 300, they put to the sword, in this year also was a triumph at Rome.

The Confuls Optio Virginius, and Sp. Caffius, that followed the next year, affailed Pomertia, first by meer force to scale the walls, after with poviories, mantelets, platforms, and other fabrics, raised against it. Upon whom the Aurunci fell not forth; rather of a handred and malicious hatred than for any hope or vantage given them of good exploit: the greater part of them furnished better with fire-works than armed with sword and spear, killed and burned all afore them: and having fired their fabrics afore laid, hurt and slaine a great number of their enemies, one of the Confuls also (but his name precisely is not by any author set down) was fore wounded, thrakken down from his horse and well-near slain. Whereupon the Romans returned back to Rome thus unhappily defeated, leaving the Conful behind them amongst many that were hurt, like to dye. Soon after, and no longer than whilst their wounds might be healed, and a new supply of soldiers made, they came again to Pomertia, in more furious manner than before, and aflao with a stronger power. And when by making of new mantelets and other warlike instruments of assaile, they were proceeded thus forward that the soldiers were ready to scale and get up the wall; then they within yielded; and notwithstanding, the Town was thus surrendered up, yet there was no more mercy bestowed on it, than if it had been forced by assaile. The chief and principal Citizens shamefully lost their heads, the rest of the inhabitants were sold at the spear in open market like slaves. The Town flacks and rated to the ground yet and money made of the lands belonging to it. The Confuls for that they had to wreaked their anger, and sharply revenged themselves, more than for any great war they had finished, obtained triumph.

The year following were Posthumius Caminius and T. Largius Confolis. In this year, during the games and jollities at Rome, certain wackers of the Sabins, went about in a wanton jollity to carry away and savish the Curtexans and common Strumpets of the City. Whereupon the people ran together...

At this day

Tirbe Appia.
After them were T. Eburnius and C. Varus. In their time * Fidex * was besieged, * Crostumeria * won and * Pro Severa * recoiled from the Latines unto the Romans. And the Latine war, which had been a breeding and budding for certain years, was no longer delayed, but brake forth. A. Pethonius the Dictator and T. Eburnius General of the Cavalry, with great power of foot and horse, set forward and advanced as far as the Lake * Reptus *, in the Territory of * Tuscus * and there encountered the Army of the enemies in their march. And because they heard say that the * Tarsei were in the holt of the Latines, they could not for anger forbear any longer, but presently fell to it, and began battell. This field was fought right fiercely, and could more bloudishe a good deal, than others usually before: because the Generals and chief Commanders were there present, not only to give direction by their counsell and advice, but also in person themselves hazed their own bodies, and fought bravely in the medley, and not one of the principal leaders escaped out of the skirme, either of one side or of the other, save and found, save only the Roman Dictator, for as Pethonius was encouraging his men, and letting them in array in the vanguard, * Tarcus Dominicus * (albeit he was now very aged and unwieldy, and not able to bear himself) let ipse to his horse, and ran full hurt against him. But having caught a thrust from aside, was rescued by his men that came upon him, and retired to a place of safety. And in the other wing, Eburnius General of the horsemen, set upon * Ob. Memmius: * but he, the Captain I mean of the Tuclanians, was well ware of him, and espied him coming, and ran his horse with full career likewise upon him, and so desparately they bear their Lances one against the other, that Eburnius was run quite through the arm, and Memmius wounded in the breast, whom the Latines succored and received into the middle ward. As for Eburnius not any longer to bear his staff, with his arm fore hurt, withdrew himself out of the battell. The Leader of the Latines nothing dissatisfied for all his hurt, maintained fight still: and seeing his soldiers somewhat disstreis, he tendeth for the Regiment of the Roman exuls, that were under the leading of L. Tarcus his son: who sticking more courageously unto it, for anger that their goods were spoile, and they driven out of their own country, renewed the compote alreadie for awhile. And as the Romans from that quarter began to recule and give ground, M. Varus, the brother of Publius, espying young Tarcus vaunting himself gloriously in the fore-front of the exuls, inflamed also with a desire of domestical glory of his house: that the same family which had the praise of expelling the Kings, might likewise win the honour of killing them, spurred his horse, and with deadly beat ran against Tarcusius, who giving way to his mortal enemy, retired back to his own Regiment. But Varus by this time was disbande from his company, and rashly ridden into the battell of the gales, and

The famous battell at the Lake Regillus.
A and there a common foudlier happen’d to charge upon him a flank, and run him through. The horse flaid not a jot for all the rider was wounded, and fo the Roman Knight ready to die, fell to the ground with his armour upon his body, and paid nature her debt, Pofhbusius the Dictator, after he perceived the valiant man fall, and the banished man advancing lustily forward with full trot, and his own foudliers disordered, and at point to turn their backs gave express commandment unto his own hand, which he had about him of chosen tall men for to guard his person that as many of his fellows as they saw live should take them for enemies, and kill them in the place. Thus by reason of a counter-fear the Romans made head again and renewed the battle. Then began the Dictators cohort to fight, and coming with fresh bodies and courageous romacks, charged upon the weary exiles, and killed them on every side. Wherupon began another confusion also between the Colonels and Captains of quality and mark. The General of the Latines seeing the battalion of the banished well near environed round by the Roman Dictators, speedily took with him into the forefront of the certain squadrons of those that were appointed in the rear-guard to succour and aid: whom T. Hermius, a lieutenant, eipied to come marching in good order, and knowing amongst them Manlius by his handsome horses, and goodly coat-armour, with far greater violence than the General of the horsemen a little before encountered the Colonel of his enemies so hotly, that both he ran Manlius through his sides, and flie him outright, and also whilst he was disarming and rifling his body, he was wounded himself with a short javelin, and being brought back with victory into the Camp, and at first drafing yielded to nature and died. Then rode the Dictator apace to the horsemens, and earnestly cried unto them, that seeing the footmen were toiled out and wearied, they would alight from their horses, and take the matter into their hands: The horsemens soon obeyed, leapt from horseback, and set forward, as if they had flown, to the forefront, where they exposed their targets in defence of them that fought before the enigns. Whereat presently the infantry began again to take heart, seeing the principal men of arms, and noble young gentlemen in the like kind of service, exposed to the same danger, and ready to take part with them. Then at the last were the Latines put back, and their whole battle began to shrink. The gentlemen had their horses brought to them again, and they mounted on horseback to pursue their enemies. The footmen likewise followed after, There the Dictator omitting no help of God and man, vowed, as men say, a Temple to Cæsars, and openly promis’d and proposed rewards to that foudier that made either first or second entry into the enemies’ Camp. Wherupon they betterd themselves courageously, that the Romans at one brunt both vanquished their enemies, and also were professed of their tents. This was the noble field fought at the Lake Regillus. The Dictator and the General of horsemens returned into the city with triumph. For three years after, there was neither affluence peace between them, nor yet professed war.

Conjulius were Q. Clodius, and T. Larrius. After them A. Sempronius, and M. Municius. While these two were Conjulius, the Temple to Saturn was dedicated, and the feast called Saturnalia instituted. After them succeeded A. Pofihusius, and T. Virginius. And in this year and not before, I find in some authors, that the said battle was striken near the Lake Regillus, and that A. Pofihusius suspecting the fidelity of his brother Conjul gave over his place, and so was made Dictator. The account of times doth do vary, and is so intricate and confused, whilst writers diversely set down the chief Magistrates, that in so great antiquity, not of acts only, but also of authors, a man cannot orderly and directly distinguish, according to some writers, who were Conjulius, and what was done in every year. Afterwards were Ap. Claudius, and P. Serullius created Conjulius. This year was famous for the news of Tarquin’s death. He died at Cumes, to which place after the defeature of the Latines power, he went to Ariobarzes the Tyrant, At which tidinges the hearts of the Nobles were well lighted. The Commons also began to look up. But the joy in the Nobility was above measure too excessive and licentious. For why? the great men began now to wrong and wring the communality, untille that day they had favoured and pleased to their full power. In the same year the F Colony Signian, which King Tarquin had created, was now stored again the second time, and the number supplied with new inhabitants. And the tribes or wards at Rome were now made up 21. The temple of Mercury was dedicated in the Ides of May. With the Nation of the Volcians in the time of the Latine war, neither was there peace nor war: for both the Volcians had levied a power for aid to send unto the Latines, if the Roman Dictators had not made good speed: and also the Roman Dictators had the more for feare he should in one battall have to deal with Latines and Volcians both at once. Upon this quarrel, the Conjuls led forth their Legions into the Volcians Country. The Volcians fearing no revenge for their disengagement (that was intended only, and never came in action) were much troubled with this sudden and unlooked for occurrent. Not minding therefore to make resistance and forgetfull of warlike prowess, they delivered too of their Noblemens children out of Corea and Pomitian hostages. Whereupon the Roman Legions from thence without any fight were withdrawn. But not long after the Volcians being somewhat eated and delivered of their fear, came again to their old place restored to their woned nature, and secretly under-hand made preparation anew for war, joyning with them as confederates in this quarrel the Hernikes. They send also their Embassadors all about to move and solicite Latins. But the Latines, for their late overthrow at the Lake Regillus, sought such a spleen and hatred against him whatsoever, that he had once put into their heads and persuade them to take arms, 

Temple of Saturn dedicated.
Saturnia instituted.
arms, that they could not forbear the very Embassadors, but offer them abuse. They apprehended therefore the Volscians, carried them to Rome and delivered them to the Consuls: where they revealed and gave intelligence, that the Volscians and Hereticks were out in arms, ready to war against the Romans. Which being reported unto the Senators, they were so well pleased and contented withal, that they set at liberty 6000 Latines, prisoners, and sent them home. And concerning a league to be concluded with them, which was like before to have been denied for ever: they referred the consultation thereof, unto the new Magistrates that should next enter. And in good faith, pleasure & glad were the Latins then; for that they had done, and the authors of peace were magnified and had in great reputation. They send moreover a Crown of gold into the Capitol, for a present to Jupiter. With their Emassadors and the present those prisoners which before were fet free, came in greater number. Who repaired straight ways to every man his house, where they had been prisoners, yielding them great thanks for their kind usage and friendly entertainment in time of their calamities and miseries, and promised them therewith the like countesse and mutual hospitality. Never were the Latines at any time afore, both publiquely and privately, united more nearly to the Roman Empire.

But as the Volscian war was now at hand, so the City was at disfond among themselves. The Senators and Commons hated one another at the heart, and all this arose by occasion especially of certain persons that were indebted, and in danger of their creditors: who muttered and gave out in murmuring voice, how that abroad they advertised themselves and fought for the liberty and dominion of the City, and at home by their own neighbours were held prisoners and oppressed; saying that the freedom of the Commons was more safe in time of war than of peace, among the enemies rather than their own fellow Citizens. This inward grudge and heart-burning, which of itself did kindle more and more, the notable calamity of one man above all others, set on a light fire. A certain aged person chance to break prison, and with the arms, badges, and ornaments of all his ancestors, ran into the market place. His apparel was all to tattered, foul, and loathsome, but the habit or plight of his body much more hilly: so pale, so wan, so lean within, as if he had been over-pined and starved, his tongue bare and hair of his head so overgrown, that they made his viage and countenance wild and gaitly. Howbeit, for all he was thus disfigured by this deformity, he was a man well known and as some said, he had done good service in the wars, had been a chief Centurion, and had the charge and leading of bands in the field: and the common people, as pitying his estate, and to move compassion, recounted many worthy exploits of his, to his great credit and singular commendation. Himself likewise showed the tears of wounds, which in his breast and on part of his body in divers places he had received that might testifie his valiant service. The people flocking about him as it were in a common assemblie to hear a solemn Oration, enquired of him, how he came to be in that taking, so poor to disfigured and deformed? He answered, that whiles he served in the Sabine war, he by reason of the continuall forging, and waiting of the Territory, not only lost the revenews and encrease of his lands, but a to his Manor-house was burnt, all his goods ranfackled and spoile, his cattle driven away: and when a levy and tribute was exacted in a time when he fell might, he was driven to take up money and run in debt; which growing more and more by payment of interest, he was constrained to sell his land, that his father and grandfather had left him, and to turn himself out of all by making a clean hand of the rest of his goods: until at length his body also began to winder away in a consumption. Complaining moreover how by his creditor he was not only brought into bondage and thralldom, but also imprisoned, and whipped and taunted in most cruel and brutish manner. With that he shewed before them all, his back lately scorched, with the fresh wales of the lashes newly given him. At the fight and hearing hereof, there arose a great outcry of the people, so that anon the uprore kept not within the compass of the market place, but spread over all the City: in such sort, that as well they were bound, as they that were loose, came forth from all parts into the open streets calling the Quiris and the people pitifully to help. In no corner wanted any companions to take part willingly in this sedicious rout, and everywhere in all the streets they run by companies into the common place. Those Senators who chance to be abroad, at their no small peril light upon this multitude: and had not the Conuls P.Servilius and App Claudius made the better speed, and come upon them to appease the commotion, there would have been some knocks, for hardly could they have held their hands. At whose comming the multitude turned unto them, shewing their irons and all their other frameful misage and misery, saying, This is all the good we have gotten for our warfare: upbraiding every man in the services they had performed, some in one place, some in another, requiring them in threatening voice; rather than by way of supplication, to call the Senate together: and they the while stood about the Curie, as if they would be judges and moderators of their public counsell. Very few of the Senators, such only as by chance came that way, could be brought to repair to the Conuls: as for the rest, they were afraid not only to come into the Cown ill-house, but alfo to venture abroad into the market place, so that by reason of their small assembly there could be nothing done or determined. Then thought the people indeed they were mocked and dallied withall, and driven off with delies, surmising that the Senators which were away, abigned themselves not by chance, nor for fear but only to hinder the proceeding of their cause: and that the Conuls themselves did dissemble and shrink, and without all question made
made but a corn and game at their milicries. This broil so increased, that hardly could the reverence and Majesty of the Consuls restrain the peole's rage. But the Senators standing in doubltfull bands, whether to stay behind or to come forward would be more danegerous, at length they resolved to repair into the Senate, and being now at last a full and inithent house gathered, neither the Lords there assembled, no nor yet the Consuls, could well agree amongst themselves what to do in this case. *Appius a man of a hot spirit, was of opinion to order the matter by Consular authority and commandment, laying, That if one or two of them were laid hold on the rest would be quiet. But Servundus more inclined to medd and gentle remedies, thought it a more safe and easy course too, rather to bend than to break their angry and ill homick.* But amidst these troubles there hapned a greater and more terrorfull occurrence: For certain *Lucins* nor horseback rode in wept. and brought news in hasty and tumultuous manner, that the Volscians were coming with a mighty and cruel army against the City to avenge the same. Whih having been heard (see how discord had of one City made twain) wrought far other eft in the Nobles, than in the Commons. The commonalty for joy, and said the gods were now come down from Heaven to be revenged of the Senators pride, and encouraged one another not to take preiimony, or to enter their names in the Muller-matters book, laying that they had rather dye at once with all, than perish alone and none but they: *Let the Nobles (quoth they) serve as fouldiers; let them take weapon in hand, and abide the brunts and hazards of war, who receive the profts, the prices and rewards thereof.* But contrary-wise the Senate put out and afruched with the twoold fear, as well from citizen as enemy, befoth the Consil Servudus (a man by nature more affable and popular) That he would provide for the safety of the Common-wealth, beft as it were round with terrorfull perils. Then the Consil defimified the Senate, and came into the house of the people, where he shewed what care the LL. of the Senate had for the good of the common: But whiles they were (quoth he) busy in conuination for the greateft part of the courts of the City, and yet in truth no more but a part, it fell out so in the mean while. that of necessity they must see to the whole body of the Common-wealth, whereof they fland in exceeding fear. Seeing therefore the enemies were almost hard at the gates, they could not possibly do or intend any thing before war. Neither (if there should be any recipt and feature granted) were it either for the common credit and honesty, not to fight for their Country, but that the nobles had their pay before hand; nor well becomening the Nobles and for their reputations. On, to look unto and take order hastily, to redres the milicries and calamities of their citizens upon fear, rather than afterwards with good deliberation, for love and of willing mind. This speech of his he conformed with an edict, by vertue whereof, he gave strait commandment: *Imprimis, that no man should keep bond of or in prision, any citizen of Rome, but that he might be enrolled before the Consil, Item, that no perion shold hold in possession, or sell the goods of any fouldier, so long as he abide in the camp, nor arrest his children or childrens children. This edict being once published and proclaimed, not only the enthralld debtors there present, were immediately by name enrolled, but also from all parts of the City, they leapt quickly out of their houses, seeing that now their creditors had no right nor power to detain and arrest them, and ran into the market place for to take a military oath of allegiance, to be true fouldiers and faithful to the State. A number there was of these: neither was there any that more manfully behaved and quit themselves or took more pains in the Volscian war. Then the Consil led forth his power against the enemies, and within a little of them incamped himself. The night following, the Volscians presuming upon the variance and discord of the Romans, affailed the tents, if haply in the night season any of them might have been wrought to abandon the camp and come to them, or to practishe any treason. But the Sentinels defpaired them, and upon alarming the whole army arose, and every man made haft to his weapons, Thus came that enterprise of the Volscians to nothing. The reit of the night both parts retired, and were quiet. On the morrow by break of day, the Volscians having filled up the trenches, assailed the bulwarke and rampiers, and by that time they had on every side flaked up the fences, palliades, and other fortifications, the Consil, who for likewise was called unto infantly on every hand, but of the debtors abord, said especially above the rest, to give the signal, and to found the baterie, made some stay on purpose to try the courage of his men: and seeing well now their forwards and their homacks, at length gave them a token to rush forth, and to let them loose, as eager to fight as might be. So at the very first onlet the enemies were presently discomfited and put to flight: the footmen followed hard upon them in chase; and as they could reach, wounded them behind on their backs, and killed them: the horsemen likewise pursued them even to their pavilions, who still feared exceedingly what might becomme of them: and within a while their very campallio, environed about with the legions, and abandoned of the Volscians themselves for fear, were forced and taken. The next day following, the legions marchd to *Suefla Pometia*, for thither the enemies were fled: and within few daies the Town was won, and put to the sack, and the spoil and pillage given away: whereby the needy fouldiers were somewhat refreshd. The Consil in great glory and honour brought back his victorious army to Rome. In his way homeward the Ambassadors of the *Enervius Volscions* disfurnishing their own State, upon the loaf or *Pometia*, came unto him. To whom after consultation had with the Senate and a decree passt peace was granted: but they were fined to part with their Lands. Immediately upon this, the Sabins also put the Romans
Romans in a fright, and in every deed it might be called a tumult, rather than a war. For word was brought in the night season that an army of the Sabins were come in a rode, as far as the river Arno, robbing, spilling and burning all the villages and hamlets as they went. Forthwith was sent thither the whole power of horses under the conduct of A. Postumius, who in the Latin war had been Dictator. After him followed the Consul Servilius with a chosen regiment of footmen. Most of the enemies as they ranged abroad foraging in scattering wise were by the horsemen surprised and inclosed. And when the Infantry besides marched against the Sabins legion, they were not able to retfitt for being tired out, partly with their long journey, and partly with plunging all night long, and many of them having overcharged themselves with meat and wine within the villages, had hardly strength enough to run away. Thus the Sabin war in one night was heard of and ended.

The day following, when as now the Romans were in good hope that they had peace on every side, behold the Aurelian Embassadors came into the Senate proclaiming war, and lefs they would force the Volscian lands, and restore them to their rightfuil owners. And even at one time with the Embassadors was the army also of the Aurecians abroad, and had taken the field. The news whereof, and namely, that they were now in light not far from Aricia, roused up the Romans into great a broil and hurlelyly, that the Senators could neither be confinued with, and deliver their opinions in order, nor yet give a peaceable answer to those that came as it were with weapon in hand, being thus forced to take arms themselves, so to Aricia direct in warlike manner they march, and not far from thence they joined battle with the Aurecians. And in one day that war had also an end.

Thus when the Roman soldiers had gotten victory within a few days in so many places, and had now defeated the Aurecians, they looked for the promulc of the Conful, and the faithful performance of it by the Senate. At what time Appius both upon a proud tomack, and arrogant spirit of his own by nature, and also to discred and discount the word of his fellow Conful, in all actions of debt proceeded, and gave judgement with rigor against the debtors. Whereupon both they that had been before imprisoned, were delivered again into their creditors hands, and other also became prisoners anew. Whereat when as a soldier, whole cafe it was thus hardly to be dealt withal, called upon the Conful his fellow for help, they ran at once to Servilius, at his hands they claimed a promulc: every one uprising and reproached him with their service in war, with their fears there gotten, requiring that he would propose the matter again unto the Senate, and as a Conful, succour and protect his Citizens; or like a General, maintain his soldiery. These matters no doubt, moved the Conful: but to foddle the case that he could neither will nor chuse, but difsemble, deal double, and temporize with them: so fully bent, and wholly wedded to the other part, was not only his colleague, but also the whole faction of the Nobility. This by hearing himself as a Neuter, and going as they say, between the bark and the tree, he neither avoided the hatred of the Commons, nor yet won favour with the Nobles; whiles the Nobles took him for a soft and base minded Conful, seeking to please all parties, and the Commons for as crafty and false dispenser: in a short time it appeared he was as much hated of the people as Appius. For, the Conuls hapned on a time to determine, whether of them twain should dedicate the Temple of Mercury. The Senate put over the deciding of this matter from them themselves unto the people: and decreed withal, that to whether of them the dedication of the Temple was by the peo, les election granted, he should over and besides have the charge to purvey corn and victuals he should erect and institute a Collegue or fellowship of Merchants, and he in stead of the high Priest, should undertake the solemn fealtis or festival days. Then the people gave the dedication of the Temple to M. Feelorius, a principal Centuries of the vanguard: which as it early appeared, was done not so much to grace the man, as who had an higher office bestowed upon him, then was fit for one of his degree and calling: as to disgrace and deface the Conuls. Herest, one of the Conuls, yes, and the Punctil formed and tunned exceedingly against the Commons, But the Commons took heart unto them more and more, and began to proceed far otherwise, and to take another course, then they purposed at the beginning: for defending of the Conuls and Senats help, when they saw a debtor fled and brought to the bar, they would run flocking from all parts together, so that the Conuls stamine and decree could not be heard for the noise and clamour. And de. reer judge what he would, no man would ebeby. And to violently they went to work that in presence of the Conful, the creditors were singled out evil treated, and mikned of the Commons being many together. So the whole tear and hazard of the main chance even of liberty it felle, was now altogether translated from the debtors to the creditors. In the very neck of their troubles, there arose a fear of the Sabin war, and when it was determined there should be a matter of soldiers, no man would arrow to his name and be enrolled. All this while Appius raging and took on, insinuating bitterly against the needy and popula city of his brother Conful, who with his keeping silence for defpacing the people, by his soft carriage of himself, had betrayed the Wel-publick, and over and besides that, he had not minis tered justice for the loan of money, nor dealt according to law in that behalf, he had brought the matter to pass that he could take no matters by virtue of the decree of the Senate. Howbeit (faith he) the Common-wealth is not wholly forlorn and forborne, nor yet the Confular authority utterly cut down and trodden under foot: for he would himself alone, if there were no more he, defend and maintain both his own place, and the Senators dignity. Wheras the multitude
A multitude therefor stood thus malapertly, as their daily manner was about the bar; he commanded one principal captain of sedition to be attached and had away and as he was led to prison by the sergeant and lieutenant, he appealed. Neither would the consuls have given place to the appeal (for all he knew the people how they were bent, and what their doom would be) had not his obstinate stiffness with which he been overwayed more through the different advice of authority of the chief nobles and lords of the senate, than by the clamorous noise and menaces of the multitude: to refuse was he, and his heart so courageous to undergo their ill will and heavy displeasure. Thus grew the mischief more and more daily, ratified not with open mouth and broad speech, but which was more pernicious and dangerous by convenicles secret meetings, and conversation and the like. At length these consuls, being in their offices, did this Appius Claudius was odious unto the commons, went out of their offices, to wit, Appius Claudius was wondrously well affected of the nobles, Servilius liked neither of them nor the commons.

After whom A. Virginins and T. Pansa entered their consulship. But then the commons not knowing what manner of consuls they should have, began to assemble together by nights; in some in town others in the countryside; and at the end, they might not be unprovided and to seek upon some demand, what to do in the common place; nor manage their business, hand over head, and at a venture, which the consuls supposing (as it was indeed) a pernicious example and of ill consequence, pronounced the matter before the senators: but when they had proposed it, they could not orderly ask their advice, what was to be done; they took it on, and kept such outcry and clamour at it, on all hands, fretting and fuming, that the consuls should lay upon the senate the burden and heavy load of that, which properly they by virtue of their authority and office should execute and perform themselves and that if there were any magistrates in the city (as they) there would not be thus suffered in Rome any other counsel but publickly whereas now the state is divided into a thousand counsels and convenicles; whereas, some have their meetings and assemblies in the countryside, others in the countryside. Affixed only one man indeed (for that is more than a consuls) such a one as Appius Claudius was, were soon dispatched, and in one minute of an hour scatter the unlawful assemblies of the commons upon this rebuke and check, replied again and demurred in this manner: and what would you have us to do (unto them) for we are resolved to do nothing flaccly and coldly, but with great courage and diligence as shall be well liked of the senators, Whereupon an order passed, that they should take matter and levy soldiers with all manner and severity and strength, and moreover, that the commons with idleness and ease were grown over malapert and too licentious, and when the senate was dismissed, the consuls went into the tribune and took their places, and summoned by name all the younger sort to appear: and none making answer to his name, the multitude standing about as it had been to hear some publick oration, said plainly, that the commons from thenceforth would be no longer deluded, and that the consuls should never get as much as one soldier unless they would stand to their word, and make good the promise that publicly before was made, and reprove to every man again his liberty, before they carried them to take weapon in hand: to the end they might fight for their country in country-men, and not for their lordly matters. The consuls law well what they had in commision from the senate that of all those who within the counsel house; walls, ipso facto and given out great words, there was not one present to take part of this odious mantle of the people. And like they were to have a bitter and cruel broil with the commons. They thought good therefore they tried the worst, and dealt by extremity, once again to ask advice of the senates and to confer with them. But then all the younger sort of the senators, approached by multitudes, hard almost to the consuls feared, willing them to give over their consulsship, and to resign up their rule and authority, to the maintenance whereof they lacked courage. Now when the consuls had sufficiently weighed and tried both ways thus at length began they laid. A great sedition and commotion is toward my lord. To the end therefore that ye pretend not ignorance, and lay another day ye were not there told of it. There is a great sedition and commotion toward. We require therefore that they who find greatest fault with our remissness and lack of courage, affit us and us with us while we take the multitudes: and since you will needs have it, we will execute it according to their minds that are most earnest and fierce. Then come they back again upon the tribune, and commanded on foot purpose, one of them that were there in sight to be cited and called by name. But he stood still and he did his peace, with a company of men gathered round about to guard him, for fear he should have done harm or violence done unto him. The consuls then sent a sergeant to attack him, who being repulsed off, then those nobles which sat there on the bench to affit the consuls, cried out upon the shameful indignity, and said it was intolerable, and so ran down in haste from the consuls' seat to aid the sergeant. But the violent rage of the multitude, who let the lieutenant alone, and only stayed him from laying hold on the man, turned upon the patriots. So that the consuls were far to keep between, and then the fray was appeased. In which, there being no hopes flying about their ears, nor weapon drawn, there was more clamor, bawling and challenging than any hurt done. Then was the senate house called in a great hurry: and with more confusion, they there in conseil: whereas they theretofore how they were beaten and illused, required that commissioners should sit upon this riot and make due inquisition; and the boulett of them gave their determination, as much by clamor and noise, as by sentence and opinion grounded upon reason. At last, when the tumult was overblown and their hear allayed; and that the consuls, hit them in the teeth, and reproved them, laying there was a little discretion and gravity in
their Court and Council-house, as in the common Hall, they began in the end to confer cordially, and three opinions there were amongst them, *P. Virginius* would not have a common and general cause (to wit, that all debtors should be released from their creditors) but his advice was, that they should only be considered, who relying upon *P. Servilus* the Consul his word and faithful promise, had served in the wars of the Volcians, Auruncans and Sabins, *T. Largus*, he supposed and thought this, that it was not a time then to make amends only for good defects, and to respect them alone that had done well, and to recompense good service: but for as much as the whole commonsalty was deeply engaged and plunged in debt, unless they were all provided for, and good order taken for them every one, there would be no quietness nor end of troubles: yea, and (that which more is) in case they be not all alike regarded, but some debtors in better condition than others, the discord would rather be more kindled than quenched, *Appius Claudius* a man both of natural disposition fierce and cruel, and also by occasion made more outrageous, needed with the Commons hatred against him on the one side, and tickled with the praise and commendations of the Nobles on the other side, who ever magnified him and lift him up to the skies, spake to this effect: *'Their is a great stir and tumultuous hurthilities: my Masters (quoth he) is not long of the miliey and calamity, but only of too much liberty of the Commons: who rather upon fastness are grown warren and unruly than for any want unpatient and discontent: and all this mischief and no doubt is sprung of this, that they have liberty to appeal. For to long as it is in their power to fly for help into those that have erred as well as they, well may the Consul threaten and give out menacing words: as for any rule else or command they shall have none among them.' Come on therefore, let us create a Dictator from whom they cannot make their appeal. Then shall this furious rage, which now leteth all on a light fire, be soon husht and quite extinguished. Let me fee then, who dare beat a Lictor, when he shall well know, that he alone whole honor and Majesty he shall offend and abuse, hath power to scourge him and take away his life. Many men thought this sentence of *Appius* to be very hard and cruel; yea, and dangerous, withal, in regard of the late precedent of *Virginius* and *Servilus*. That other likewise of *Largus* was thought inconvenient, if it taking away all keeping of credit with the creditors. The opinion and advice of *Virginius* was supposed as well in one respect as in another most indifferent and mean between both. But by reason of the faction and regard of private benefit, which always hath done hurt and ever will, to publick Council, *Appius* prevailed, and he missed very little but he himself had been made Dictator. Which if it had come to pass, it would surely have estranged and alienated quite the hearts of the Commons, in that most busy and dangerous time: when it happened that the Volcians, Equians, and Sabins, were all up at once in arms. But the Consuls and elder Senators, had great care and consideration to chuse such a one, as might by mildness of his own nature allay and qualify the succeeding rigour and tempests incident to Soveraign and absolute authority. They elect therefore to be Dictator, Marcus Valerius the son of *Ludus*. The Commons albeit they law well enough this Dictator created not to curbe them, yet having got by his brothers law, the benefit of Appeal, they feared no severe and insolent proceeding from that house and name. The Edict besides, that the Dictator let forth, which was welsner all one with that of the other of the Consul *Servilus*, much confirmed and settled their minds. For supposing now, they had more hold both of the man, and also of his authority, and that they might with more confidence rely themselves on the one and the other, they gave over all debate, and entered their names into the muster book: so there were enrolled full ten legions. The like army for number was never levied afore. Of which legions, the Consuls had the conduct of three a piece, and the Dictator commanded the other four: and high time, it was: for the war might not be deferred any longer. The Equians had already invaded the territory of the Latins, and their Embassadors were petitioners to the Senate, either to lend succour, or to give them leave to put on armor themselves for the defence of their confines, and frontiers. It was thought the fater and fatter way, that the Latins without arming themselves should be defended, than to permit them again to take weapon in hand. So the Consul *Femidus* was sent thither, and he played them from their northering and wafting. For the Equians were departed out of the plains, and trufting rather in the range of the ground, than in their weapons, stood upon their guard, kept themselves safe from danger, upon the high tops of the Hills and Mountains.

The other Consul who was gone against the Volcians, because he would not alfo doe any time draw the enemy forth (by wafting the country especially) to encamp himself nearer, and so at length to fight a field. Now was there a plain in the middle between both camps: where each army stood before their rampiers, embattled, and ranged in array, with banners displayed ready to fight. The Volcians were somewhat more in number, wherein upon they began battle dilated and as if they let light by the enemy. But the Roman Consul neither advanced forward, nor suffered his men once to shoute and answer ever again, but charged them to stand still with their javelins full in the ground, until the enemies were come within the reach of hand fight, and then to lay about them lustily with their swords, all that ever they could. The Volcians out of breath with running and shouting, charged the Romans, who seemed for fear to stand still: but after they once perceived that they were hotly encountred by them again, and saw their swords glittering in their eyes, they were troubled therewith, as if they had been entrapped and fallen into some trains laid for them, and so turned their backs. And by reason they came running before to
A to battles, their strength would not hold out now to run clear away: The Romans contarily, because at the beginning of the fight they had food quiet, were treath of body, and soon overtook them thus overruled, won their camp by force, and after they had driven the enemies out from thence, chased them into Velitrae, and entered the Town pelmen one with another in a medley the Victor together with them that were vanquished. More bloodshed there was by execution of one them with another, of all ages and sexes, as they came in their way than in the very battle. A very few, even such as without weapon yielded themselves were spared and pardoned.

Whiles these things were doing amongst the Volcians, the Dictator dissected and put to flight the Sabins, with whom he had much cruel war: yes, and forced them to abandon and quit their camp. For having lent his horsemen into the main battle of the enemies, which they had but slightly strengthened within, and betided the ranks there very thin, and all to stretch out the wings on both sides more at large, he brake their arrates: and when they were once disorder'd, the footmen came in upon them: and in the same brunt were they Masters of their camp, and so the war ended. There was not in those days a braver battle fought and more renowned, setting aside that only at the lake Regillus. The Dictator rode in triumph unto the City. Over and above the accustomed honors, both he and his posterity after him were allowed a certain place in the great Race or Theater, called Circus; for to behold at ease the solemn games, and there was set the ivory chair of efface, called Sella curulis. The Volcians thus vanquished, loit the territory about Velitrae, and new inhabitants were tenchit from the City to people and to till the grounds, so that it became a Colony.

Somewhat after this, there was a field fought with the Equians, but in truth, full against the Conns his will: for they that were to climb up a steep Hill (to their disadvantage) for to meet with the enemy. But the Souldiers blaming him for tillring out, and making delays, to the end that the Dictator might be out of Office before they made return to the City, and so his word and promise, like the Conns before him, should come to nothing, drove him perforce to lead up his army, rashly and at adventure against the Hills. This being an enterprize ill ordered, and an error escaped, tell out notwithstanding very well through the cowardice of the enemy: who before they were come within shot and the darts cast, amazed at the venturolus of the Romans, forsook their holds which they had in most defensible places, and leapt down into the valleys over against them. There was booty & pillage good enough, and a bloudles victory.

Having iPed thus fortunately abroad in three several wars, the Senators and Commons were not careless of home-affairs, what would be the issue thereof. The Bankers and Tiuers, what with favor, and what with subtle and cautious policy, had devised beforehand and wrought such means, as might frustrate and disappoint not only the Commons, but also the Dictator, and put them by their expectation. For Velitian, after the retreat of Venusius the Conns, dealt first and above all other matters and causes at the Council table, in the behalf of the people that had achieved such victories, and proposed to know their minds, What should be done with those enebted, endangered, and imprisoned persons. "Which motion of his being disliked and rejected: I see well (quoth he) that I cannot please you, so long as I persuade to concord and unity: wish ye will (trust me truly) ere it belong, that the commonalty of Rome had more Patrons and Advocates like myself. As for me, I will neither bear my citizens any longer in hand to deceive them, nor be a Dictator in vain to effect nothing. Civil discord at home, and foreign war abroad, cauad the State to have need of this office. Now, when peace is gotten without, behold it is crossed and hindered within; yet had I rather be present at the light of a mutiny and insurrection when I am a private person, than whiles I am a Dictator. Thus went he out of the Council-house, and yeilded up his Dictatorship withal. The Commons saw plainly what the matter was, and how upon a difficulty and grief that he took in their behalf, for very pitty and compassion of them, he gave over the place: and therefore, as if he had fully discharged himself of his faithful word to them given, (for that there was no default in him, but it had been performed indeed) they accompanied him along home to his house with hearty affection, praising and commending him all the way they went. The Lords of the Senate began then to fear, lest if the army were broken up and discharged, there would be some secret conventions, and new conspiracies contrived: therefore, albeit the sufferers were taken by the Dictator: yet because the soldiers had sworn allegiance to the Conns, supposing they were still bound to warfare by virtue of that oath, and pretending a colony that the Equians tenued war, they commanded the legions to be led forth of the City. This happened the funeral the sooner and set it forward. At first as men said, they comploted and laid their heads together about murdering and making way the Conns, to the end they might be acquit of their oath unto them: but afterwards being better schooled and advised, that no man's confidence can be cleard of treble, and discharged of an oath once taken, by committing a famil ak and working mischief, they withdrew themselves out of the way by the petition of one Sicinius, and without couage of the Conns, departed as far as Mount Sacre, on the farther side of the River Ama, three miles from the City. This is the more common report, and goeth more certain, than that whereof Piso is the Author (namely, that the commons retired themselves to Arretine.) There, without any head or Captain, they encamped and fortified themselves within a trench and rampier, and kept quiet for certain dayes, neither taking nor doing harm;
harm; as having carried with them such things only as were necessary for the sustenance of their life. Great fear there was in the City, and in this mutual and reciprocal fear, all men were perplexed and to know what to do. The Commons fortnight after the yellow fever had broken out in the City, they were in such straits whether it was better they abode still among them, or followed after their fellows. For long they sought, and a multitude once disbanded; still in quiet? Again, in case any foreign war should arise in the mean time, what might ensue thereupon in the end? In conclusion, there was no hope behind to be looked for, but in the concord of citizens: and therefore the Commons man way or other, either by reasonable conditions or unreasonable, were to be reconciled again and reduced into the City, there was no remedy. So it was thought good and agreed upon, that a Senate of Senators (a fair open and eloquent man) grasped, withal and well-beloved among the Commons, for that he was from them descended) should be sent as an Orator to treat with them. Who being received into the camp, after that old and harlot kind of eloquence in those days, spake as men faith to this effect, and told this tale and parable: "Upon a time (quoth he), when as in man's body all the parts thereof did agree, as now they do in one but each member had a severally intent and meaning; yea, and a speech by it self: so it befell, that all other parts besides the belly, thought much and repined that by their careless-ness, labor and ministrer, all was gotten, and yet all little enough to serve it: and the belly it self lied full in the mids of them, did nothing else but enjoy the delight some pleasures brought unto her. Whereupon they mutined and conspired altogether in this wife. That neither the hands of K should reach and convey food into the mouth, nor the mouth receive it as it came, not yet the teeth grind and chew the same. In this mood and fit, whiles they were minded to famish the poor belly, beheld the other limbs, yea, and the whole body besides, pined, wafted, & fell into an extreme consumption. Then was it well seen, that even the very belly also did do small service, but served the other parts, as it received food it self: seeing that by working and concocting the meat throughly, it digested and distributed by the veins into all parts, that refreshed and perfect blood whereby we live, we like, and have our full strength. Comparing herewith, and making his application to wit, how like this intestile and inward digestion of the body, was to the fell stomack of the Commons, which they had taken and born against the Senators, he turned quite the peoples hearts. Then began some treaty of union and concord: and among other arts, it was conditioned and granted, that the Commonalty should have certain safe and inviolable Magistrates of their own among themselves, such as might have power to affit the Commons against the Commons: Item, that it might not be lawful for any Senator to bear that office. So there were created two Tribunes of the Commons, C. Tacitus, and L. Albinius. And these elect three other fellow officers unto them, Of whom Secundus, the Author of the sedition or insurrection was one, who were the other two was not for certain known. Some say there were but two Tribunes created and no more in the mount Sacer, and that the sacred law was there made concerning their immunity. During this insurrection and revolt of the commons, Sp. Cossius and Posthumius Comitus entered their: Comitia. In whose place a league was made with the people of Latium. For the establishing whereof, one of the Comitia stayed behind at Rome: the other was sent unto the Volscian war, who discomfited and put to flight the Volscians of Antium, chasing and driving them into the City Longula, which he won. And immediately he took Mucaneus a Town of the Volscians, and after that with great force assaulted Corioli. There was in camp then among the flower of gallant youths, one Caius Martius, a Noble young Gentleman, right politic of advice, active before, and tall of his hands, who afterwards wasurnamned Corioli. While the Roman army lay at siege before Corioli, and were amzned wholly upon the Towns-men within, whom they kept fast shut up, and feared no present danger at all from any forrain war without: behold, all on a sudden the Volscian legions that came from Antium, affiaied them: at which very instant the enemy also fell out of the Town. Which Martius seeing, who by good hop quartered and warded there, with a lawful band of elect men, not only repressed and stopped the violence of those that imputed and brake upon him, but also whilsts the gate fully opened, fiercely rushed in himself; and having made a foul slaughter of people thereby, at his first entrance into the City, and caught up fire at a venture, flung it upon the houses that stood upon and about the walls. Whereupon arose a great outcry of the folk within the Town,却又 together with lamentable weeping and wailing of women and children, as commonly is seen in such a fright. Which at the very first, both hardened the Romans, and also troubled the Volscians: and no marvel, seeing the City taken before their face, for which they were come to rescue. Thus were the Volscians of Antium defeated, and the Town Corioli won. And Martius through his praiseworthy, so much obscured and stopped the light of the Comitia his fame, that it had not been ingraven in brass for a remembrance and monument. That there was a league with the Latines, and the fame made by Sp. Cossius alone (for that his companion was absent) there had been no record of all, but forgotten quite it had been, that ever Sp. Cossius warred with the Volscians. The same year died Meneius Agrrippa, a man all his life time before beloved indifferentely of the Senators and the Commons: but after the insurrection, much more dear unto the Commons than before. This truce-maker, this mediator for civil attonement, this Embassador and Messenger from the Senators to the Commons, this reconciler and reducer of the Commons
A home again into the City, had not at his death sufficient to defray the charges of his funerals: the Commons therefore made a puritie and a contribution of a Sextant by the poll, and were at the coif to inter and bury him worthily.

After this were made Consuls, T. Gracchus, and P. M. A. Montanius, In which year when all was quiet abroad for any war, and the dilution at home healed up clean, and skinned: another calamity at more grievous entered the City. First, a dearth of corn, and all manner of victuals, by reason that the grounds upon the departure of the Commons were neglected and untended. Here-upon infested famine, even such as usually is incident to men beggad, and very the houhold of bondervants, ye, and the commons too, had utterly perished for hunger if the Consuls had not in time made the better provision: by sending pursuivants all abroad to buy corn, not only into Hesperia, by passing along the river on the right hand from Hostia, and on the left hand by Sea, (passing through the Volckian Country) even as far as Cumae: but also into Sicily, there to lay for grain. Such was the hatred of the borderers: that Rome was enforced to have need of succor and relief from afar. Now when they had bought certain corn at Cumae, it was no sooner embarked, but the ships were stayed and arrested there, by Aristeodamus the tyrant for the goods of the Tarquin, whose heir in remained he was. In the Volckian Country and Pomponius, they could buy none for mony. There, the very Pursuivants themselves were in danger of violence, by the men of the Country. Out of Tuscan there came corn up the Tyber, whereas the Commons were satisfied and refreshed. And considering the frights they were in for want of victuals, they had been fore disposed and vexed with wars besides, and that in a very ill time, and unfeeliong for them: but that the Volckians, who now were in readines, and upon the point to make war, had a penitence that raigned hot among them. Which heavy croes and affliction, the enemies were so discouraged with, that when the plague began to lay, even then they continued ill afraid.

The Romans both at Miltiae augmented the number of the inhabitants and also at Norba, finding a new Colony into the Mountains: to be a Fortrefs and strength for all the territory of Pomponius. Moreover, when M. Montanius & A. Sempionius were Consuls, great store of corn was brought out of Sicily: and it was debated in the Senate-house, at what price the Commons should be therewith. Many thought the time was now come to wire the Commons, and keep them under, and to recover again their royalties, which by their departure were forcibly wrested and dismembered from the nobility. But above all others Martinus Coriolanus, an utter and cap- nental enemys against the Tribuns. Why see I (as one brought under the yoke of servitude, and put as it were unto my raimone, by Robbers and Thieves) these Magistrates of the Commons? why see I Sestius mighty? Shall ever one of their indignities longer than I needs must, I that could not bear Tar- grumius to be King, Shall I brook and suffer Sestius?. Let him depart aside now, and take his Commons with him: the way is open to Mount Sucea and other Hills: Let them carry away with them the corn out of our possesions and Lordships, as they did three years ago: let them enjoy, take for their use, and spend the store, which they in their foolery and fury have provided. I dare be bold to say, that when they are by this calamity once tamed, they will rather till and husband the ground themselves, than with weapon in hand, and by way of im- fretion, forbid and hinder the tillage thereof. I cannot to soon lay, whether it had been as meet, as I suppose it was possible and easy to effect, that the Senators by offering more gentle conditions in the prices of corn and victuals, might have eased themselves of the Tribuns authority over them, and also have been disburdened of those impositions which will they, till they were laid upon them. Well, this seemed to the Senate a sharp centurie and severe sentence of Coriolanus, and for very anger also it had like to have caused the Commons to rise up in arms. For they muttered and gave it out in their teams, 'That now they were laid at and

E aliated with famine like enemies, deprived and bereft of their meat and pithe: that the outlandish corn, the only sustenance and food which fortune had furnished unto them beyond all hope, was snatched and plucked from their mouths, unless the Tribuns be delivered and yeelded Prisoners hand and foot bound to C. M. Mart. unless he might have his pennys worth of the back and shoulders of the Commons of Rome. For he was now start up and become their tormentor and hangman, to command them either to death, or to servitude. As he went out of the Council house, they had run upon him with violence, but that the Tribuns, as good luck was, served him with procis in time, to appear at a day, and come to his answer. Here-with their furious anger was appeased. For now every man knew, that he was him self to be the judge and Lord of his enemies life and death. Mart. at the first scorned the Tribuns thundering threats, and gave the hearing, as though he made in all reckoning thereof, saying: That their authority had power granted by limition, only to aid, and not to punish: that the Tribuns were Tribuns to the Commons, and not to the Senators. But to slightously were the Commons bent, and to let upon mischief, that there was no other remedy, but one man must pay for it to spare & excuse the rest of the Nobles, Howbeit: the Senators did what they could to with them: by opposing hatred and displeasure again, and making all means, what either privately they were able of themselves, or jointly by their whole Order and degree to procure. And fitt, this confron they attayed.
affayed to slay and overthrow the suit commenced; namely, by setting their followers and retainers in sundry places to deal with the Commons severally one by one, & what they could to affright them from meetings and assemblies together. Afterwards, they came all forth at once into the Forum or common place. A man that had seen them would have said they had been the parties themselves in trouble and accused, ready to hold up their hand at the bar: such praying, such a beseeching they made of the Commons, in the behalf of this one citizen, this only Senator; that if they would not in their love acquit him for their sakes, as innocent and unguilty, yet they would give him unto them as an offender and faulty person. In conclusion, when his day came, he made default and appeared not, yet continued they still in their angry mood against him. And being condemned in his absence, for contumacy, departed into banishment to the Volscians, I menacing his own country as he went, and carrying even then with him the revenging flock of an enemy.

The Volscians at his coming received him courteously, and friendly intreated him every day more than other, as they perceived his anger more and more toward his countrymen, by many complaints he made of them, and threats withal that he oftentimes gave out against them in their hearing. He made his abode and sojourned in the house of Accius Tullius, who at that time was a mighty great man among the Volscians, and one that ever bare mortal malice unto the Romans. And whiles the one of them was provoked with an oldranked grudge, and the other set on and pricked forward upon a fresh quarrel and occasion of anger, they both laid their heads together and complotted to make war upon the Romans. This only thing flood in their way to crofs their designs: They thought verily their Commons would hardly or scarcely at all be brought, to riie and take arms again, which they had so often unhappily attempted: And besides, their courages were well cooled, and theirflammakd abated by the los of their youth in many and sundry wars, often times afore, and now at last, by the late pestilence and mortality. They were therefore to go cunningly to work; that for scarce as the old hatred against the Romans was grown out and worn away, their hearts upon some new anger might be chafed and galled again. There were by chance at that time in Rome, the great Games and Plays in hand, to be set out anew the second time, the occasion whereof was this. A certain householder one morning betimes before the shows and games began, had beaten with rods a poor slave of his under the fork which he carried on his shoulders, and driven him along through the mids of the Circus or Theatre: and with that began the plays, as if there had been no matter therein of scripture or Religion. But not long after. one T. Latinus a mean Commoner had a dream or vision: In which he thought that Jupiter complained and said, that the Dancer before the plays pleased him never a whit: and unless those games were newly exhibited again, and that very stately and sumptuously, some great danger should befall the City: willing him withall, to make relation hereunto of the Comit's. The man albeit in truth he was not without some sene and feeling of Religion and the fear of God: yet made he no such great scruple at the matter, but that the reverence he had of the Majesty and countenance of the Magistrates unmounted and dashed it clean: for ever haply he should become a talking rock in mens mouths, and be mocked for his labour. But this delay and sleeping of the matter, he bought full dear. For within few days his ten hapled to dye. And because he should be out of doubt what was the cause of this his losse and great misfortune, whiles he was troubled in spirit, with anguish and sorrow, behold, the same vision appeared to him again in his sleep, and seemed to ask him whether he had not yet sufficiently paid for this disobedience and contempt of God? threatening moreover, that in case he made no greater hast to certify the Comit's thereof, there was a greater judgment and plague toward, and that very near. Now was the thing more evident than before, and paid all paradventure. Howbeit he neglected and dave it off still, until he was himself overtaken with a grievous disease, and brought to great weakness in all his joints, then verified the wrath of the Gods taught him to be wiser, and being overwearied with harms past, and in fear of more presently to enlive, he conferred with his kinsfolk and friends to be advised by them. When he had declared unto them what he had seen and heard: namely, how Jupiter had so often appeared unto him in his sleep, and that the fearful displeasures and threatenings of the heavenly Gods were shewed plainly by sundry mishappenings fallen upon him: by the full content of all them that were about him, he was brought in a litter to the Comit's, into the Forum or common place, from whence by the Comit's commandment he was carried into the Concele of house. Where, when he had made report unto the Senators of the same things, to the exceeding wonder and admiration of them all, see another strange miracle: He that was brought into the Senate house a lame crippe of all his limbs, after he had once delivered his errand, returned home to his house (as it is recorded) found upon his feet. Hereupon the Senate decreed, that the Games should be set out as magnificently as could be devised.

To these solemnities referred, by the motion and persetting of Accius Tullius, a great number of Volscians. But before they were begun, Tullius according to the compolt between him and Martius at home, made a step or errand into the Concele of Rome, laying that he would willingly commit and treat with them apart, of important affairs concerning the State. When the room was clear, and every man gone, he began in this wise: "Loth I am (quoth he) if other wife I could chuse, to speak out but well of my country-men and fellow citizens. Yet come I"
A. "not to complain of any action of theirs already past, but to give a caveat, and provide that "nothing be practised hereafter, th.e nature and disposition (I may tell you) of our people, is "too too inconsistent and unlayed, more I know than I would they were, a great deal: that have "we found and left to our great cost and manifold image, we lay who verify at this day by your "long inaction, and not by good desert of ours, do find in good terms and peace of war, to "There is now here a great multitude of Volsci, the Plays and Games ready to be represented "and celebrate, Your City will be wholly amused in the beholding thereof: I remember upon "the like occasion, what was sometimest enterprised and wrought in this City by the youth of the "Sabins: and my heart doth tremble and quake for fear, let them not as before, rash and foolish "part be played by ours: thus much, O ye Confils, I thought good in our behalf and yours both, "to give you notice of beforehand. As for me, I am minded presently to go from hence home, "left I being here seen, might be thought in some word or deed accasy into them, and incor-

mable. Having made this speech he departed. When the Confils had declared in the Senate this thing so doubtful, and yet proceeding from the mouth of honour and certain an Author, beheld, the credit of the man (as commonly it is seen) rather than the likelihood of the matter, caused them to be weary and circumpect, yea, although there was no such need or caule at all. Whereupon the Senate made an Act, that the Volsci should be jogging out of the City. And divers cryers or Bedels were sent out: legy wayes, to command them to avoid and be packing before night. At the first, the Volsci were only much affrighted, and ran every man to and fro into his Inne to fetch away his things. But afterwards in the way homeward, they began to think more and more of it, and to grow melancholy: thinking it a great indignity, that like polluted and prosen persons, they should be driven from the Games, on festival holydays, discar'd (as a man would say) and excommunicate out of the company both of God and man. Thus as they went along all on, as it were in one continued and joynt train. Tullius (who was gone afore as far as the Frontine head,) received the formolt and chief of them, as every one came, and entertained them with complaints and words of indignation, and drew both them who willingly gave ear to his words of folly framed and tending to stir more coles, and also by their means the rest of the multitude into a plain field, lying hard under the high way fide. Unto whom assembled together as it were to hear a sermon, he thus began to speak: "Admit (quoth he) you could forget the old wrongs and abuses offered you by the people of Rome, the loaves and overthrow'er of the Volscian Nation: yea, and all the other quarrels whatsoever: how can ye put up this days spightful reproach and dishonor received at their hands? who to our great disgrace and shame, have begun their solemn Games? Perceived you not how they have triumphed over you to day? how as ye departed ye were a spectacle and pageant to all men, citizens and strangers, and to so many neighbour nations adjoyning? how your wives and children were brought as it were in a flock to see them sport and to laugh at: what conceit was in their heads (think ye) that heard the voice of the Bedel? what thought they that beheld you as you didslid: what imagined they that happened to meet this ignominious troop as they marched? Even this & no other, that there was some wicked design among us, not to be named, whereby we shoul'd be made captives, have E. stayed and polluted their games if we had been present at the fight of them, & have committed some haunous act, that would require by some satisfaction of justice to be purged? and for that cause we were disenfranchised having any conversation, fellowship, and society of good and godly men; and by that means how can ye chuse but think of this. That we enjoy our lives still, only because we hathen our removes, (if this may be called a remove, and not rather a plain taking of a flight and running away,) And yet ye reckon this no enemy City, where, if ye had stayed but one day longer, ye had dyed for it every one. Defiance is given already and yet denounced as a gainsay; but if ye be men indeed of courage, to their great cost and mischief, that have denounced it, Thus being of themselves kindled enough with indignation, and by these words en-

flamed and set on fire, they went every man his way from thence home: and so effectually solicited F. Each one the people where he dwelt that in fine the whole nation of the Volscians revolted and rebelled. To manage this war, were chosen General commanders by one consent of all the cities, Accius Tullius and Cr. Martius the banished Roman: in whom of the twain they reposeed greater hope and this their hope failed them not. So that it soon appeared that the puissance of the late of Rome confin'd more in the dexterity of good Captains, than in strong armies of foilliers. For first he went to Circius, from whence he espell'd the Roman Colonies, and delivered the City clear: and free unto the Volsci. Then by crois wayes he passed into the Latin fcrest, called Pidcello, Latins, and regain'd from the Romans, thine their Towns newly gotten afore, Saturnicis, Lepus-

a, Petilia and Coritli. After this he went Lornovium again, and in forward he forc'd Cr. ho, C 20

Vetelia, Tribus Labiens, and Padanam. And left of all from Padanam, he march'd on toward the City of Rome, and at Cloanes, five miles off, he encamp'd and forrag'd the territory about, pressing with the forrarers certain guides, to keep them from loypling and doing harm in the Nolenners Landes. were it that he were more spightful to the Commons or that thereby some differnd might arise between the Commonalty and the Senators: which doubtles had done grown for mightly had the Tribus already by their complaints and accusations, provoked the Commons forward (who of themselves were flieth enough) against the heads and Magni-

fates of the City, but that the fear of forrainers dangers, the greaet bond of civil concord
that can be, held them in and knit their hearts together, were they never so jealous, suspected, H and hateful afore one to the other. Herein only was all their difference, that the Senate and Conuls, repose hope in nothing else save only in war: the Commons on the other side were de-
sirous of any thing whatsoever, but war.

Now were S. Nautius, and Sex. Furius Conuls: who as they were farreying and murthering
the legions, and disposing of a good Corporis de guard upon the walls, and other places wherein
they thought it expedient to keep a standing watch and ward: behold a mighty number called
and cried hard for peace, and with their detidious clamours put them in exceeding fear: yea, and
afterwards forced them to assemble the Senate-house together, and to propone concerning the sending
of certain Embassadors to Cn. Martius. The Lords of the Senate seeing evidently the commons I
hearts to fail them, accepted and granted the motion propounded. Whereupon were Oratorious sent
unto Martius to treat for peace. At whole hands they received this heavy and fruit answer:
"If so be the Volsciian had their Lands restored to them again, then there might be some parle
and treaty of peace: but if they will needs at their pleasure still enjoy that bootie which by war
they have gotten, then would he in remembrance of private wrongs done unto him by his
country-men, as also of the friendship and courteasily shew him by strangers that had given him
entertainment, do his best to make it known unto the World, that his courage and fame is
incensed, and not abated or quailed by his banishment. Then were the same Embassadors sent
again the second time but they might not be admitted once to feel foot within the camp. It is re-
ported moreover that the very Priests in their Pontificilium, in their rich vestiments and goodly K
ornaments, went with supplication to the tents of the enemies, and turned his heart no more than
the Embassadors had done before them. Then the dames of the City came flocking all about Ve-
toria the Mother, and Volumnia the wife of Coriolanus. Whether this proceeded from any publick
Counsel and was done in Policy, or came only of womens fear, I find but little in any records.
But howsoever it came about, this one thing is certain, they periowed so effectually with them,
that both Victoria an aged woman, and also Volumnia with her two little sons that she had by
Martius, went toward the enemies camp, to see if women by their prayers and tears, might move
the City, which men with speare and shield could not defend. When they were come into the
camp, and word brought to Coriolanus that there was an exceeding great train of women thisher
arrived at the first, he as one that had relented, neither for that publick Majesty in the Embassa-
dors, nor yet at the religious reverence, which he both conceived in mind, and saw with his eyes
in the clergy, stood much more fittily bent against the tears of fifty women. But afterward one of
his familiar friends, who had seen and known Victoria there, mourning and bewailing exceedingly
above the rest, as the floor betwixt her daughter in law and her little Nephews: "If mine eyes
be not matches (quoth he) and deceive me not, here is your mother, your wife, and children. Where-
cat, Coriolanus, turning like a man well near beside himself, arose from his seat, and ran to meet
his mother, and to embrace her. But the woman falling in heed of prayers into a fit of choler:
"Let me know (quoth she) before I suffer thee to embrace me, whether I am come to an enemy
or to a son, whether I be in thy camp as a captiue prisoner, or as a natural mother. And have I
lived indeed so long, and rubbed off still in this miserable old age of mine for this, to see thee first M
a banished man, and after that to become an enemy? Couldst thou find in thine heart to waite
and poilt that country which bred thee, which fostered thee, and brought thee up? And be
it that thou hither marched with a cruel intent and full of threats, would not thine anger and
fell wrath flake, when thou didst set foot within the borders and marches thereof? And being
come within the sight of Rome, were not this in thy mind and thought. Within those walls
yoner is my house, there are my house-gods, my mother, my wife, my children? Why then,
beliefe I had never been a mother, and born a child, Rome had not been assaulted, and If I had
no son at all. I might have died wel enough in my native countrey, while it remained free. But
as for me, neither can I suffer ought, more for thy dishonesty and shame, nor more to mine
own calamity and misery than this: and most wretched cattle though I be, yet long time to I N
cannot continue, But for thee here, look thou well to it, I advise thee and have pity of them,
who if thou go on as thou beginnest, are like to feel untimely death, or endure long captivity.
Then his wife and children hung about him, and clipped him: whereas the women fell a weeping
on all sides, bewailing their own cafe and the state of their country. So as at length the man was overcome. And atter he had taken them in his arms likewise, he let them go; and himself d'fledged and removed his camp backward from the City. When he had withdrawn the
legions out of the territorie of Rome, he gat him self, men said, such hared and displeasure for this
action, that it colt him his life: and murdered him, was some report one way, some another. But I
find in Furius a most ancient writer, that he lived untill he was an old man: who reporteth this
of him: That oftentimes in his latter dayes he used to utter this speech: 
A heavy cafe and most O
wrested for an aged man to live banished. The men of Rome enviied not these women their due de-
served praies. So free was the world in those dayes, from depraving and detracting the glory of
others. For in memorial hereof to all posterity, there was a Temple built and dedicated to Fortu-
na Matrelbris, i. Wemens fornune.
After all this, the Volsciians joyned the Aequians unto them, and returned into the territorie of
Rome. But the Aequians would no longer abide Asina to be their Commander. And upon this
A this title between the Volsci ans and Equins, whether of them should appoin t a General over the army raised joy ntly of them both; if it they grew to a mutiny and afterwards to a real battle. Such was the good fortune of the people of Rome, that two armies of their enemies, were thus by civil discord and contention, no less mortal than obstinate, overthrown and brought to naught. Confii then were C. Seminius and Q. Fabius. To Seminius were allotted the Volsci ans, and to Q. Fabius the Hernicks (who also were out and up in arms) for their federative Province. That year were the Hernicks: sma rt, but with the Volsci ans they fought to, as they departed on even hand, gaining and taking the like.

After them were C. Caesius, and Procclus Virginus made Consils. Then was there a league B concluded with the Hernicks, and two third parts of their Lands were taken from them. Whereof the one moiety, C. Seminius the Consil was minded to distribute among the Latins, the other among the Commoners. To this donation he laid too alter a good portion of ground, which being Commons by right, he found much fault, that it was in the tenure and possession of private persons. This act of his made divers of the Latins, namely, in h. h. as great landed men and interested therein, to flame for fear of hazarding their estate. Over and besides, the Senators all in general were in great perplexity, lest that the Consil by this largess should give rise by popular favour to such greatness, as might prejudice their tree hold yet and endanger the very main chance of public liberty. And this was the first time that the law Agraria was published: and so forward unto this present hour, it was never debated of, but with exceeding great airs and troubles of the State. The other Consil within and those largesses, with the general consent of the Senators, and without contradiction of any Commons: who at the very first began to militic, and utterly abo t that the donation was to common and from the natural citizens, extended to their allies and confederates. Moreover, they might oonetimes hear even the Consil himself Virginus, openly in his house on Orations before the people, to deliver by way of prophecy, and as it were to prognosticate, "That this was a great largess of his brother Consil, and that those grounds would in the end etruide the richer thereof, and that it was a very high way to set up a Kingdom again. For to make other inen (I pray you) were their allies, and the nation of the Latins affect to the same? To what people either, was a third part of the Lands won by conquest; again to the Hernicks effect d enemies but a while for, but that these nations might have..."

CQ. Ca si us to be such another Caesar of them, as Coriolanus was. And thus by dissing and crossing the law Agraria, he became now to be popular and gratifying the people. Then both Consils dri ven much, who might please and gratify the Commons most. Virginus, by giving out that he would maintain and infer the Lands to be divided, so they were assigned to none but to the citizens of Rome: Caesius again, who in the largesses of the Lands, seemed to Court and inflame himself with the allies and thereby was of the citizens left regarded and reputed to the end, that by some other benefit he might regain the hearts of his country men was of opinion, and made a motive, that the mony which was received for the Sicilian corn, should be repay ed unto the people. But the Commons refuted and abhorred that, as a very brute and ready bit for a Scepter and a Kingdom. So greatly were all his gifts, for the deep rooted suspicion and jealousy of his aspiring to a Kingdom, lost in the counsels of men, as if they had flowed in wealth, and been rich enough. And for certain it is recorded, that so soon as he left his Office, he was condemned and put to death. Some report, that his own father did the execution; and that upon examination privately had at home within his house, he finding him faulty, whipped him in, and so killed him, and conscripted the goods and chattels of his son, as a Deeds of Tower, whereof a Statue or Image was made, with this Inscription or Title, Giv en out of the house of Caesius. I find in some records (which founder nearer to the truth) that he was by the Quirites of Cai s Fabius, and L. Vedius, enatom of treatment, and being convicted, was by a verdict of the people condemned, and his house by order from the whole City, railed and pulled down. And at this day, it is the vovv yard that lieth before the Temple of Set. But how sooner he had his trial and judgement, privately or openly condemned he was when Sir. Cornelius and Q. Fabius were Consil. Long continued not the peoples angry and fight against Caesius. So sweet was the law Agraria in it fell, when the Mntor and Upho desirous of being out of the World, they long ed to have it on foot again. Which desire of theirs was the rather set on fire, through the pinching nigardie of the Senators, who having that year indulged the Volsci ans and Equins, kept the lojdards fasting, and defrauded them of the pool. For what prizes sooner were gotten from the enemies, the Consil E this told and brought into the Exchequer or Chamber of the City.

Now was the name of F his already adored to the Commonality, for the late Consil's take, yet obtained the Senators so much, and he'd their own son, as Cai Fabius was created Consil with L. æmilius. This made the Commone good the most and bent to mischief. And election at

C home caused war abroad, To rain war return'd it. Difficult for a whole. Both Senators and Commons with one accord, under the conduct of æmilius fought fortunately with the rebellious Volsci ans and Equins, and defeated them. Thus by more enemies perished in the chase, than were slain in the battle: to hourly the horsemans pursued them when they were once dis or- rinated and gave not over. The name was the Temple of Caesar consecrated in the Idea of Qua r iis. It had been voted also come in the Latin war by Pufhiumus the Dictator. Hision was created Dianum, for that purpose, and dedicated it, Temple of Cale-

C. The law Agraria last publish for the divil of waft lands among the Commons, St. Virginia z against the law Agraria.
This year also the Commons hearts were set upon the law Agraria, and longed after the H sweats thereunto. The Tribuns of the Commonalty and crediting their popular authority, with propounding a law as popular and acceptable to the people. But the senators supposing verily that the multitude was furious and outrageous enough, and too much of themselves, without any hire and reward, stood in dread and horror of these last efforts, as the very allurements and provocations, of thievery and heady threats, &c. The foremost champions of their side to withstand the law, were the consults. That part therefor and State of the City had the better hand, not only this present year, but for the next ensuing. For they chose M, Fabius Cæsus his brother, for the one consul, and L. V. Livius for the other, a man of the raven more odious in the eyes of the Commons, in regard of his late accalumation of Sp. Cæfius, in which year also there was strife and much ado with the Tribuns. But both law and law-makers with their gloriuous bragging and vaunting of their goodly donative, which they could not effect, proved vain and came to nothing. Upon this, the name of Fabius, who after three consulships together one after another, by them born continually without intemination, were inured and tried in the broils and contentions of tribuns, was in great regret and reputation: and in his honour and family remained till for a good while after, that dignity, as an honor well and worthily bestowed upon them, Then began the Veientian war, and the Volscians likewise rebelled. But for any wars abroad whatsoever, they had strength enough and to spare, if by jars at home among their own selves they had not abused the same.

Besides this disquietness and afflication of all men's minds, occasioned by these diffusions, there happened (to amend the matter well) prodigious, and strange tokens from Heaven, daily in a manner threatening both in City and Country the heavy hand of God. And when as the footthieves and wizards were sent out unto, to teach forth the cause of Gods wrath and indignation both in public and private, as well by inspection of the inwards of sacrificed beasts, as by aspect of birds and souls, they could assign it to nothing else but this, that there was some error committed in their sacrifices and divine libations. I hope fearful and prodigious signs proceeded till to far, that one Opitius a retailed Nun convicted and condemned of incest, suffered death.

After this, followed Q. Fabius and C. Tullius consuls, In which year the discord at home was nothing les and the war abroad far greater. For the Equians rose up in arms: the Veientians also entered the confines, and made much toil. And whiles they were more and more careful about these wars what order to take, Cæs Fabius and Sp. Furius, were made consuls. By this time the Equians assailed Artona a City in Latium. And the Veientians having sped themselves with prizes and booties, made great cracks that they would gi: an assault upon the very City of Rome. These fearful news, which ought to have abated and taken down the flames of the Commons, made them much more fierce and tell, and they returned of themselves unto their old bias of refusing war: but Sp. Licinius their tribune, thinking now the time was come to enforce upon the senators the law Agraria. upon this exigent and extreme point of necessity, had taken upon him to stop the levying and getting out of an army. But he drew upon his own head the whole hatred and displeasure of the Tribuns themselves and their authority. For the consuls opposed themselves against him no more bitterly than his own companions in office: by whose M affilation the consults went through with the Murder. And for two wars at once, there were enrolled two armies. The one under the leading of Fabius, against the Equians, the other, against the Veientians commanded by Furius. Against whom there was nothing done worthy of remembrance. As for Fabius, he had somewhat more to do with his own men than with his enemies. That man himself alone was he, that being consul upheld the Common-wealth, which his army for hatred of their Consul, had as much as in them lay, utterly betrayed. For when as he (above many other warlike feats and parts of a worthy General, whereof he shewed singular proof, both in preparation, and also in marching of the war) had so marshalled and ranged his battall, that with ending out the horsemen only, he disordered and brake the ranks of his enemies hotly: behold, the footmen would not follow on after that disarray: neither, when the exhortation of their leader whom they hated, prevailed not, could their own shame at least wise, and the public dishonor for the present; nor yet the imminent danger like to ensue (in case the enemy had taken heart again and made head) force them to amend their pace one jot, and make more speed. Neither could be possibly make them (if to do nothing else) in all march till in battery array: but still against his commandment they retire with their ensigns: and as men forsooth in their hearts and ill raptus, (that he had seen them would have said they had lost the field) cursing their General one while, and the valiant service of the horsemen another while, they return to their tents. Neither wilt the General what way to remedy this to pestilence an example and dangerous precedent. Thus we may see, that brave men, of singular and excellent wits, have been more to seek and fail in their skill, how to govern a subject than to vanquish an enemy. The Consul returneth to Rome, having purchased more hatred of his froward and stubborn foillers, than won honor by his martial prowess. Nevertheless, the Senatores prevailed so much that the Consulship kept residence till in the name of the Fabius. So, they created M. Fabius Consul, and join with him Cn. Markus for his colleague.

This year likewise, had one patro e and maintainer of the law Agraria, to wit. Tiberius Poustificins a Tribune. He taking the same course, and following the steps of Sp. Licinius, hindered the
A the mutters for a while. And when the Senators were herewith disquieted again, then Ap. Clodius rose up and said, "That the year before, the Tribunes power was overmastered, and the
neck of it broken in proof, only for that precedent, but in example for ever hereafter: for such
as it was well seen then by experience, that of it fell even among their own selves it fell spicies;
and never will there want at any time one good Tribune or other, that would be glad to get
the hurt and victory of his fellow, and, the favour also of the better part for to purchase the
good of the publick. And that there would be more Tribunes, if more were needful,
ready to afflit the Consuls: and if there were but one, even that one were sufficient to find
against all the rest, So that the Consuls and LL of the Council; would but do their endeavour, to
B win unto the State and Senate, some certain of the Tribunes, if they might not compacts all,
The Senators being thus schooled and taught their lessons by Appius, both all ingeners would
courteously fail and friendly intreat the Tribunes, and also in particular as many of them as
had been Consuls, according to that interest that each man had in any one of them privately,
partly by favour and friendship, and partly by countenance and authority, prevailed so with them,
that they were willing and well consent to employ the Tribunes authority to the good and safety
of the Common-wealth. So by the help of four Tribunes, against one that hindered the good
of all, the Consuls took muster of the fouldiers. Then let they forward on their voyage to war
with the Veientians: unto whom from all parts of Histria, they came to aid and succour;
not so much for any love that they bare to the Veientians, as in hope that the punifhament of Rome
C through intellence and civil disaffection, would decay and come to nought. For in all the Dics
and Assemblies of the States of Histria, the Princes and Peers gave it out and said, That the
power and greatness of the Romans was ever-lasting, if through mutual discord they were not
in among them selves: which had been found the only base or weathy and flourishing Cities,
where mghty Empires became mortall and subject to a small end. "Which micht hie (by
"they) this long time hath been prevented and delayed, partly through the fadge and prudent
government of the Senate, partly by the patience and long humour of the Commons:
but now they are come to a great extremity. Divided they are, and of one City become twain;
each part have their severall Magistrates and laws by themselves. At the first, however they
were went to be at odds, and to fall out at the mulling of foulards; yet in war they would
hold together and obey their Captains. Howsoever they fared at home in the City, were the
D State nether so far out of order, yet so long as martiall discipline was on foot and took place, they
might be reformed, and all troubles laid. But now, the former use and customes of disobeiyng
Magistrates within the City, is taken up by the Roman foulards in the very Camp. For no
longer since the last war of all, in the time of battle and conflict, their whole Army agreed
of their own accord, nor forced by any extremity that they were put unto, for to give the Veien
sians, as much as in them lay, even after they had lost the field, the entire victory and honour
of the day. For they abandoned their enimies, left their Generals alone in the skirmish, and
against his will retired themselves into the Camp. And furthermore, if they hold on still this course,
Rome may be won by means of her own fouldiers: there needs no more to do, but to proclaim
E and make them over war: For even the very defeated and gods themselves would perform all
the rest. Upon these hopes and deep perditions, the Tuscanians, who afore were wont other
whiles to have the better and sometimes to take the worse in their wars put themselves in arms.
The Roman Consuls likewise were in fear of nothing else so much, as of their own power;
their own force and weapons: being affrighted at the remembrance of that foul and shame-
full example, and that few part paid in the last war: lest peradventure they should put upon
this point of hazard, as to be in danger of two battall at once. And therefore into doubtfull
and perilous a case, they held off fight, and kept themselves within their Camp, till haply time
and space would effluve their anger, bring them into the right way again, and reclame them to
good and reasonable order. The enemies hereat, as well VEientians as the other Tuscanians, made
F the greater haufe, and were more sharp let, and provoked them to the field: fir'd by riding up
and down before their Camp, hard at the gates thereof, bravely and challenging them forth, at the
lait, seeing they could not prevail, they fell to eating and taking one while upon the Consuls them-
selves: another while upon the whole Army. in these and such like terms: "A gay matter indeed,
and a proper device to save their cowardice, and under a colour of civil dissention to cloak their
fearingness and the Consuls forsooth militrily more the faithfulness and loyalty of their fouldi
ers in service, than they doubted their valour and sufficiency of service. Mary, here is indeed a
new kind of mutiny. What? Armed men to hold their peace, and sit still? Hitting them in their
feet besides, with their new start-up rising and late springe battle beginning letting fly against them
lies and truths one with another, and spared not. For all this foule flir they kept, stuffing and
G reviling them under their very trench, and hard at their gates, the Consuls themselves were not
one jot troubled, but the foolish and ignorant multitude what with anger, and what for theme
of these reproachfull terms, was much discomposed. and one whiles wholly gave over to reg
and think upon home troubles and dissensions, and had rather their lives be revenged of their en
emies: Anon again they would not in any case prurge the Nobles and Consuls, nor with them
good fouldiers. Thus the hatred both against the enemies without, and the Consuls within drove
in together in their hearts: until a length forraine occasions got the malady over them: so proudly,

The speeches of the Tuscan Princes in their Councils.
to insolently the enemy scorned and made a game of them. Whereupon they came thick by troops to the General pavilion, calling upon them to fight, requiring to put forth the banner and signal of battle. The Consuls laid their heads together and as taking good advice, conferred on the matter a great while. To fight they were most willing and desirous: but this desire was to be kept back and dissuaded and thereby augmented: to the end that by holding off, by opposing themselves, and making some play, they might let the foanders on and being once set on it, they might make them follow more eagerly at once. In conclusion, this answer was returned unto them: That they made too much haste: it was not yet full ripe, nor the time come, to give battle: they must hold themselves contented and keep within their tents: proclaiming moreover, that no man be so hardy as to fight: and whosoever attempted it without their warrant of commission, they would proceed against him with all rigor as a professed enemy. Thus were they dissuaded. And the less willing they thought the Consuls were, the more eager were they, and set upon a battle. The enemies besides, when they had intelligence that the Consuls were not disposed to fight, and had taken order to the contrary, were kindled and inflamed to much the more. For now they supposed they might brace it, and inflit upon them falsely without danger. For why? The Consuls durst not trust the foanders with weapon in hand: now were their mutinies come to the height and to break forth in extremities: now and never before the Roman Empire and Dominion was at an end. Prentending confidently upon this ground they ran together into the gates, redoubling a thousand villanous and opprobrious terms, and much ado they had to forbear at first faulting the camp. Now could the Romans on the other side hold no longer & endure this contumely and indignity but came running from all parts of the camp unto the Consuls. And now not leisurely as before, make they request, and by mediation of their chief centurions but all at once on every side pour them with pite and clamours. Now was the matter come to ripeness, yet how were the Consuls and hold off. Then Fabius, seeing the tumult in reality & that for fear of a mutiny his brother Consul had yielded already, said: let us to be made by sound of trumpet and thus he spake: I know full well O Mucius, that these fellows are able to win the victory: but that they will do I know not, and they themselves have asked me to doubt. I have therefore let down my regard & firmly resolved not to give the signal of battle, let us swear to retake out of the field with victory. Once did the soanders in battle decree a Coll. of Rome: but the gods in heaven shall not decide. Then M. Flamininus a Centurion, one of the foremost that called for battle to instantly, Return will I (quoth he) O M. En ans. A victor out of the field: and if I fail then I beheve father Jupiter Mars & all other gods to make me a full example and shew their wrath full displeasure upon me. The same oath after him took the whole army, even very man against himself. Thus when they had sworn in the trumpet sounded. Then buckled they themselves toward battle, full of anger full of hope. Now they bid the Tuscan revile and rail their fill: now being at all points armed, they wished they had afore them men to man their enemies, those that were so lively and lusty with their tongues. Right valiantly bare themselves that day as well the Commons as the Nobles, but the name of the Fabius the Fabius lay past all the rest and won the spurs. Who in this piece of service purposed to gain again the hearts of the Commons, with whom in many civil contentions were set against them, and to do them embattled themselves. The enemies likewise both the Venetians and also the Tuscan legions were nothing behind, as making almost fire reckoning that they should be fought within no more than the Aquilans had been. Nay they were in hope of some greater disorder amongst them, and that considering that they were no content and the occasion of ought they would play a more shameful part, and shew them their leaders a base and not. But it fell out for otherwise. For never in any other war before, gave the Romans a hotter charge upon the enemies: so much had they of the one side with spitful tails and reproaches nestled them, and the Consuls on the other side with their long delays when they were, Scare had the Tuscan any time to put themselves in battle array but at the very first encounter and the casting their javelins carefully from them (I know not how) rather than levelling and charging them against the enemy, they came presently pell-mell to hand-strokes, and to deal with their swords, which is the cruellest fight of all other. The Fabius among the foremost in the forefront fought valiantly, shewing their companions a brave fight, and a noble example to follow. Where Q. Fabius who had been Consul the third year before, the leader and foremost of them all while he advanced himself and rushed amongst the thick of the Venetians and stultified with many of them together was not aware of his deadly enemy so near: but beheld a certain Tuscan, a mighty man of strength and skillfull at his weapon, ran him through the breast with his sword, which was not so soon drawn forth of his body, but Fabius fell down headlong upon his wound and died. Both armies felt the fall of that one man: and therewith the Romans retired. With that M. Fabius the Consul leaped over his body as it lay along, and holding forth his target between: Why, foanders (quoth he) is the oath ye took to march away and retire thus into the Camp? And are ye more afraid indeed, of these most dastardly enemies, than of justice and Mars, by whom ye swore? But I, who was not sworn at all, will either make return with victory, or else O Q. Fabius, fighting here by thee I will live and die by thy side. To whom, Cæs Fabius, who the year before was Consul replied again: Think ye brother, with those words to make them to fight? Nay, the gods are they that must do it, by whom they have sworn, And let us like noble Knights, and for the honour of the Fabian house...
The Second Book of T. Livius.

A. "Till up and animate our soldiery by fighting rather than by exhorting. Thus rode the two Fabii with lance in left into the forefront, and drew the whole battalion with them. The fight of one side being thus renewed, Cn. Marullus the Consil in the other wing betirrled himself, and did for his part as valiantly: Where heaped almost the like fortune. For as in the one wing the soldiery followed Q. Fabius, so in this they cheerfully went with the Consil himsell\footnote{S hunts the Consil himself, and so were they that he had defeated the other point, was ready with victory to affist them, and so upheld the middle of the Army, that now began to shrink.}, changing the enemies arose there as sitcombted. And when he was sore wounded, and therupon gone out of the battel, his men opposing him to be slain, drew back, and had indeed lost ground and given way to the enemy, but that the other Consil with certain Cornets of horsemen, sallied again into that quarter, and cried aloud that his fellow Consil was living: and that he had before defeated the other point, was ready with victory to assist them, and so upheld the middle of the Army, that now began to shrink.

B. "Thus knowledge and presence of the two Consils made the soldiery take heart after. Here withall besides, were the enemies battalions the thinner and weaker, because they trailing upon their exceeding number, had drawn out those that were to serve for succour and supply, and lent them way to affist the Camp. In the suripping whereof, finding no great ado and small resistance, whilsts they had more mind to ride for pallage, than to fight for the victory, they lost time. In the mean time the Roman Tufcans, who were notable to hold out the first allait and entrance, having dispatched to the Consils certain messengers, to give knowledge in what terms they stood, call themselves round in a ring, and retired themselves to the Praetorium or Generals lodging, and of themselves alone, made head and renewed the fight. Likewise Marullus the Consil being ridden back to the Camp, at every gate for certain soldiery in guard: and so enclosed them within, that they could not get forth. The Tufcans being in this desperate case, lared more like mad men than orderly soldiery. For when as they ran here and there every way, according as they had any hope to find out line and to escape, and had made fundy offers and attempts in vain: behold one troup of tall fellows in a body, made no more ado, but knowing the Consil, who by reason of brave and goodly armure was a fair mark charged upon his own person. The first volley of their shot was received by those that stood about him, but their violence afterwards could not be endured. The Consil himself was wounded to death, and fell down in the place, and all the rest were decommited. Whereupon the Tufcans took more heart unto them, but the Romans were so dishearted that they ran all about the Camp in great fear. And in extremity jeopardy had they been but that the Lieutenants caught up the Consil body, and made pallage at one gate for the enemy. Through which they rushed forth, and dismarched disorderly, until they light upon the other Consil, and then the Consil himself: Where they either fell again upon the edge of the sword, or were scattered and put to flight. This brave Victory thus atchieved, was heavy yet and forsworn for the death of two noble personages. And therefore when the Senate had decreed a Triumph, the Consil returned this answer: 'That willingly he allowed thereof in regard of the pilling good service performed in that war, in case an Army might triumph without a General. But as for himself, seeing that his house grieved and mourned for the death of his brother Q. Fabius, and that the".

C. "Common-wealth was half fatherless as it were, for the loss of a Consil, he would not accept the Lawrel to deformed and fouily blemished both with publicke and private forrow. This Triumph thus by him related, was more honourable than all the Triumphs in the world, by which we may see that glory defiled in due time returneth otherwheres in greater measure. Then legemized he with great honour the obelques one after another, first of his fellow Consil, and then of his own brother. And he himself made the funeral Orations for them both. But so as in yielding unto them their due commendations, he went himself away with the greater part, and not unmindfull of that rule which he had learned in the beginning of the Consilship, to win again the hearts and love of the Commons, he divided the care of his hurt and wounded soldiery among the Senators. With most of them the Fabii were charged, and of".

D. "None were they better tended and looked unto than of them. Whereupon the Fabii now waxed popular, and that, for no other policy and intent, but only to do the Common-wealth good: and therefore with the favour and good will of the Commons, as well as of the Nobles, Cn. Fabius was created Consil with T. Volumnius: Who principal care above all was this even before war, before mullers, before all things else, that seeing now in some measure there was good hope of concord begun already, the hearts of the Commons might be perfectly linked and united together with the Nobles and that, with all speed possible. In the beginning therefore of this year, before that any Tribune of the Commons should prefer the law Agrimenius, he thought good and gave his advice, that the Nobles should prevent all, and go in hand first themselves to perform their part, and drew their bounty namely, in purging the lands gotten by conquest, and freely bestowing the fame as equally as might be among the Commons. For it was meet and requisite that they should be possessed thereof, whose spirit of bowes, ray, whose blood had paid for the purchase. But the Senators could not hear of that ear, but milkified of the motion: ye, and some of them complied and said, that the lively spirit and couragious disposition of Cnus, which sometimes he had, was now by reason of excessive glory, grown to be toyfull and full of vanities. And there an end of civil faction for a time.

E. "But the Latines were much troubled with the incursions and inroads of the Equians. Thither

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G. 2

W.35
was Cæsars with an Army in their, who invaded and overran the very country of the Equians, forra-£
ging and spoiling as he went. The Equians thereupon retired, & put themselves into their towns, and kept close within the walls, whereby there was no memorable field fought. But at their enemies the Veientians, they received an overthow, and that through the rashness of the other Comitii: and had not Cæsars Fabius come to the rescue in good time, the whole Army had been utterly lost. From that time there was neither war nor peace with the Veientians: but their dealing was such what after the manner of robbing. For when the Roman Legions were abroad, they would leave the field: & take to their Cities; when they perceived the Legions were removed and gone, they would make excursions and waste the country. Thus they paid them mock-holiday, and dallied with them, shifting off war with quietness, and quietness again with war, by turns. So as the Romans could neither all wholly ret reft careless & secure for them, nor yet go through-fitch, & make an end once for all with them. Besides, other wars were either presently at hand, or war, from the Equians and the Volsci, who could no longer fit still, than until their fresh grief, and pain of the last defeat was over-pall'd or else the Sabins, never other but enemies, yea, and all Haurisci, were all like all shortly to rise and take arms. But the Veientian a continual enemy, rather than dangerous provoked them to anger with reproachful taunts, other than with any great peril or hurt. And yet as little as it was, it might not time be neglected, nor gave them leave to be employed in the mean while elsewhere. Then came the whole house and kindred of the Fabii unto the Senat, in whose name all alike the Conflui in this wise: "My Lords of the Senate, the Veientian war had need rather of a resident garrison, as ye know well enough, to keep the territories, than great forces for expedition. As for ye see to other wars. Let the Fabii alone to deal with private enemies with the Veientians. We dare undertake and warrant, that the State of Rome shall receive no dishonour nor danger there. We are fully minded and resolved at our own proper cost and charges, to maintain and managethat war, as appropriate and peculiar to our name and family: the City shall be charged neither with men nor money there. Great thanks were given them for this their forwardness. The Comitii being come out of the Senate house, was attended home with the whole generation of the Fabii who stood at the porches of the Council Court, expecting the Senat's decree. And being commanded to be ready in armor well appointed the next day, and to give attendance at the Comitii's door, they departed from thence home to their own houses. The brut heerof spread all over the City, All men extoll the Fabii up to the skie, saying, That one family had taken upon them the whole burden of the City. The Veientian war now is become (say they) a private charge, and requirith the power and force onely that private persons could make. O that there were such families more in Rome of that stomack and valour: that one of them might take the Volsci in hand, and another the Equians, Surely all the nations bordering hereabout might soon be subdued, and the people of Rome first fill the whie and rest in peace. The day following, the Fabii armed themselves, mounted on horseback, and repaired to the Rondium aloof the wall, as they were commanded. Then came the Conflui forth, clad in rich coat of arms, and standing in his porches, beheld his whole blood and lineage armed and marshalled in order, and being received in the midst of them, confed the guidons and Cornets to be advanced. Never marched three along the City an Army either less in number or more renowned for their fame and the admiration of men. Three hundred men of arms they were; and six all nobly defended, of one flock, of one race and name all. And of all them there was not one that a lige and prudent Senate would have relented at any time as insufficient to be a Leader and Commander in the field. Thus furnished with the force and strength that one only Family could make, they advanced forward, threatening and menacing the ruin and destruction of the Veientians. There followed a number and multitude of Citizens: one private company by themselves of kinsfolk, allies, friends, and fellows, calling in their minds no mean matters, neither of hope nor fear, but all exceeding measure and surpassing another of the common people, moved with a careful regard, and anonied again in a favourable applause and admiration of their enterprize, crying with one voice, Hold on right valiant Knights, March on a Gods name in happy hours: God grant lucky speed, answerable to your magnificent attempts and declensions: and look for, at our hands from henceforth, Comitii, triumphs all rewards and honourable dignities whatsoever. And all the way as they passed along the Capitol, the Capitol, and other Temples there they behoght the gods, as many as were present to their eye, as many as they could conceiue in their minds, to vouchsafe that equadron to be attended upon with good successe and fortunate felicity, and soon to return home again in faety to their native country and loving parents. But alas the while, in vain were all these prayers made. Then set they forward on their journey leaving Jus Church on their right hand, taking the ingrations and unlucky way, from the gate Carmentalis, until at length they came to the rivet Cremera, That was thought a convenient place to forctifie in, and there to plant a garri-

*At this day
Felia or Voice.
A power out of *Hecatricia*, and assaulted the fort of *Cremora*, and also the Roman Legions, under the conduct of *L. Aemilius*, encountered the Tuscanians in open field. And yet the Tuscanians had hardly time enough to put their files in order of battle: so suddenly at the very first skirmish, whiles the files were entering into array under their colours in the vanguard, and the inco- 
cours and dressing a paling and disposing in the rearward, a Comet of Roman horse charged 
them to body on the flank, that they had not room and space either to begin fight, or to keep their 
landing lute. Thus were they discomfited, and chased back as far as *Sacrambra*, i.e. Red rocks (for there they were encamped) where they humbly craved peace. Which when they had obtained (see their inbred inconstancy to naturally engraved) they were weary of it, and repented thereof,

But after the Roman garrison could be withdrawn from *Cremora*. And to the *Fabii* once again skirmished with the Venetian Nation, without preparation of greater war. Neither made they in- 
roads only, and sudden violent invasions into the Territories but sundry times they encountered with banners displayed, and joined battle in plain field. And that one house and kindred of the 
Roman people carried oftentimes the victory away from that most mighty and rich City (in those 
dales) of all the Tuscanians. This took the Venetians at the first for a foul disgrace and indignity, 
but after wards they devised to lay trains, as occasion should serve, and entrap their fierce and hardy 
enemy: and well apace they were and rejoiced, that the *Fabii* upon the good success that still followed them, were become more bold and venturous. And therefore divers times when the Romans were abroad a plundering, they would drive carrel in their way but yet so, as they might seem to light upon them by chance. The rustic peasants made flee as if they fled out of the 
Country, and left the fields waste: yeas and the companies of soldiers went out to restrain and fly 
their spoilage, made shew of running away, pretending oftener they were afraid than they had 
cast indeed. So as now the *Fabii* by this time set to light by their enemies, and thought so well 
of themselves, that they believed verily their power was invincible, and might not be withstood 
in any ground, or at any time what soever. This conceit and hope of theirs let them so aloof, and 
made them so bold, that espying upon a time carrel far from *Cremora* (for there was a large plain 
between) although here and there they might desry armed londiers of their enemies, yet from 
their fort they ran down with bridge in their horse neck. And when unadvisedly without fore- 
thought, they were past the ambusc, which was laid covertly about the very way that they were to 
pafs, and were strafing here and there disorderly, driving the carrel away, which gadded in and out, 
and as their manner is when they becast and affrighted, then suddenly start the enemies all at 
one once out of the ambuscment: so as both before and behind and on every side they were beleal 
and enworned with enemies. At the first the very houting and outcry they made round about terrified 
them: afterwards flew their shof from all sides. And as the Tuscanians gathered themselves together, 
the *Fabii* were soon hemmed within a round battallion of enemies, hasting armed thick and close 
one to another: and the nearer the enemies approached about them, in so much less room were 
they enforced also to cast themselves into a ring, Which, considering their arrayes were thrust to 
thick together in so straight a compas, made their small number appear the less, and the multi- 
tude of the Tuscanians to carry a greater shew. Then forbearing to fight as they first intendent, 
on every hand alike, and with all at once, they made head to one only place. Thereto they endeavoured with might and main, body and armours; and with a pointed pavelt wedgewise pier- 
ced through and made themselves paffage. And they took the way that led to a little hill, ri- 
ising up with an easy ascent. From whence at first they made resistance only and kept their ground: 
but soon after, when by reason of the vantage of the hill, they had some time to breath them- 
selves, and to take heart again after to great a fright, they forced the enemies also to give back that 
were mounting up the hill. And as few in number as they were yet by the benefit of the ground 
they had gotten the better if the Venetians had not for a compas about the hill side, and gained 
the very top and pitch thereof. Thus became the enemy again to have the upper hand. And fo 
were the *Fabii* slain every man, and not one of them escaped, yea, and their fort overthrown 
and rated. Three hundred and fix there were that died, as all writers doe agree. One only of the 
name was left behind at home, well near fourteen years after to renew and enreafce, as out of the 
*Rock*, the name of the *Fabii*, and to prove in time to come the greatest prop and pillar that 
the people of *Rome* should have in their dangers and extremities many a time both at home and 
abroad.

But ere this heavy loss and overthrow happened, *C. Horatius* and *T. Mencius* were Con- 
fuls. *Mencius* was sent forthwith against the Tuscanians puffing now up with pride for this their vi- 
citory: with whom then also he forgot unfortunately and sped but ill. For the enemies surprized 
and got the *Municulum*, and the City and sorely were besieged, (considering that besides war they 
were greatly distressed for want of victuals, for the Tuscanians were passed over the *Tyber* but that 
*Horatius* the Confus was called home from the Volscians. And so near approached the enemies 
in this war and press'd to the very walls, that first there was a skirmish on even hand at the Temple 
of *Spes*: and another again at the gate *Collina*. Where albeit the Romans got but very small 
profit of the enemy, yet did that conflict upon a little recovery of wounded courage prepare the 
found driers to better service in the battles ensuing.

Now were *A. Virginius* and *Sp. Serviliius* created Confuls. The Venetians after this late de-
feat, came no more into the field, yet they robbed and waffled still, and from the *Janiculum* as 
from
from a fortress and place of safe retreat, they would make excursions out into the Territory of Rome, all about, and neither cartel nor country people could any where be in safety for them. But afterwards, they were overtaken themselves in the same vile that they had caught the Fabii with, for as they followed after certain cartel, which were driven forth here and there of purpose to draw and train them abroad, they were plunged themselves headlong into an Ambuscado laid for them, and the more they were, the greater was their slaughter. Upon this foil, their cruel and fell anger gave the occasion and overture of a greater overthrow. For having crossed the Tyber in the night season, they gave the attempt to make an assault upon the Camp of the Consul Servilius, but being discomfited, and many of them slain the rest retired themselves from thence, and with much ado recovered the jniucle. Straight after this, the Consul also passed over Tyber, and encamped himself strongly under the Janiculum. The morrow morning by sun rising, to venous, he was by reason of his fortunate flight the day before, and more for the scarcity of corn and victuals, which drove him to take heed not how rash and dangerous courses, so they tended to more quick and speedy expedition; full fondly he advanced forward, and marched up the steep hill of the jniucle, and charged the enemies bold; but being set back himself from thence more shamefully than he had the day before repelled the enemies; yet by occasion that his fellow Consul came in the while to refuce, he and his Army both were faced: and the Tuscan encloseted between both holts, were forced to turn their backs both to one and the other, and were killed every mothers son. Thus by a rash enterprise (which as good luck was) sped well, the Veientian war came to an end; the City then, as it enjoyed peace, so it came again to be better stored of corn and victual; both for that there was some grain brought out of Campus, and also because the old store that was hoarded up came abroad, by reason that no man now stood in fear of death to eneine.

Afterwards upon plenty and ease they began to be bold again, and their heads to work, seeking to broach old troubles at home, since they had none to occupy them abroad. The Tribunes they fell to solicitate and infect the Commons, with their venome and payson, the Law Agraria; inciting them against the Nobles that gain sd it: not in general terms only, but also by touching particular persons. For Q. Confidius and T. Geminius, who were for the Law Agraria, framed an indenture, and sued T. Memnius. And this was laid to his charge, to wit, the loss of the fort and garrison at Cremera; for that, he being Consul lay encamped not far from thence. But of this danger he soon stopped the course, both because the Nobles laboured and took his part, no less than they had done afore for Coriolanus: and also the affection and favour that men bare to his father Agrippa, was not worn out, and cleared. The Tribunes sued moderation therefore in the penalty, or having commenced a capital action against him, and convicted him thereof, they set a fine on his head of 10000 Aes. Howbeit this cost him: he: for he grew, men say, in to such a melancholy fit for shame of this disgrace, that he fell thenceupon from grief of heart upon a pining sickness which followed him to his dying day. Then was there another accused and brought into trouble to wit, S. Servil ius. So soon as he was out of his Consulship at what time as C. Numius, and P. Valerius were Consuls. In the beginning of whose year the Tribunes L. Catulus and T. Statius, called him straightway to his answer. Who assigned the violence of the M. Memnius to Memnius did, by his own intreaty and the prayers of the Nobles. But bare himself confidently upon his own innocency, and the good grace wherein his flood, Blamed he was likewise, and charged for the battel with the Tuscan at Janiculum. But being a man of an hot spirit and stout courage, as he carried himself before in the publice danger, so now in his own private peril, by resorting in a bold and stout speech that he made, not only the Tribunes, but also the Commonalty, and calling in their teeth and reproving them, for the condemnation and death of T. Memnius, by whose fathers means the Consul being in times past restored, had obtained first those very Magistrates and Laws, whereby at this day they execute such rigour: he went through all his troubles, and with much boldness avoided the present jeopardy he flood in. The testimony of his Colleague Verginius blood him in great head, who produced forth as a witness, N. Memnius himself, to him with himself in all his worthy acts. But that process of judgment which passed against Memnius (so altered were they now, and repented therefore) did him much more good, and struck it dead sure.

When this broil and contention was ended at home, the Veientians began abroad: to whom the Sabins also had joined their power. Whereupon the Consul P. Valerius, with the aid of the Latins and Hernicks, was sent out with an Army to Visii: and incessantly he set upon the tents of the Sabins, as they lay encamped under the walls of their confederates, and put such a terror among them, that while they ran forth scattering by bands and companies, some at one gate, some at another, to repel the violent assault of the enemies, he happened that the gare which he first advanced his signs against, was won. And within the tent small fire there was, but much man-slaughter. The tumult and noise hereof was heard from out of the Camp into the City, and the Veientians in great fear ran hasty to their weapons, as if Visii had been surprised. Some make speed to succour the Sabins; others do what they can to affright the Romans, who were wholly troubled about the pilage of the Camp. For a pretty while they were put to some trouble, disordered, and withdrawn from their purpose: but afterwards they themselves advanced their banners, and made head against the one side and the other. The horsemen withall, set in by the Coff
A brake the Tuscans array, and put them to flight. And thus in one hour two armies were disabled, two most puissant nations, and nearest neighbours to the Romans vanquished.

While these exploits were performed about Veii, the Volscians and Equians had encamped themselves in the Country of Latium, and harassed the marches thereof. When the Latins of themselves, with the help only of the Hernikes, and without any Lictor or aid at all from the Romans, forced to abandon their tents; and besides the recovery of their own goods again, atchieved a great and rich booty. Notwithstanding all this, the Consul Naevius was sent from Rome against the Volscians. They were not well pleased; I believe, with the manner of it, that their allies should wage war at all with their own power and direction, without the Army and conduct of the Romans. He spared not to work all the mischief he could, all abuse and spite possible against the Volscians; yet could not they be brought to fight a set field. Then succeeded L. Furius and C. Marcius, Conuls. To Marcius fell the charge of the Veientian Province, howbeit, there was none at all. But at their own suit, a truce was granted unto them of forty years. And they were enabled to find corn and victualers pay. Peace was not so soon procured abroad, but presently enuied difcord at home. For at the imitigation of the Tribunes, by occasion of the Law Agricola, the Commons were set a madding. But the Consuls shared neither with the condemnation of Marcus, nor yet with the peril wherein Servilius stood, relit all they could. And when the Consuls were once out of their Office, Servilius a Tribune laid hold upon them, and arrested them: and L. Eumius with Opiter Virginins enter their Conulship. In some Annals or yearly records I find Pop Scure Julius Conul instead of Virginins. But in this year, whatsoever they were Conuls, Furius and Marcius being indicted before the people, were thrown in jail at a very and most cruel weed to the younger sort of Senators, as well as the Commons perceiving, despairing, and warning them to forbear and refuse all dignities and offices of state, yea, and all charge of the Common-wealth. And as for the Commons they rose some them, their purified robes with purple, and chair of state, they shewd no otherwise of them than of the pagans carried in a funeral pomp. And that with these gorgeous ornaments and signes they were but defined to death: much like to beasts adorned with sacred white ribbons and labels, appointed to sacrifice, but if the sweetnefs of a Conulship were such, let them consider now what, and persuade themselves, that it is become private and overwrought with the power of the Tribunes: and that the Conul, as it were the Tribunes serjeant; must do all on his beck and command. For if he quetted neuer so little, if he seemed to regard the Senators, or make account of anything else in the whole State but of the Commonality, let him set before his eyes the exile of Conuls, the judgement and death of Marcus. The Nobles incensed with their speeches, from thenceforth began to consult and confer together, not openly and in publicke council, but privately, and apart from the privity of many. And when they were resolved once upon this point, that those accused parties now in trouble should be enlarged one way or other, by hook or crook: then the cruellest advice, and harddest course that could be delivered but pleased them and for to put in execution the most audacious defignations whatsoever, there wanted not one or other to give counsel. Well the law day of trial came, and when as the Commons gave attendance devoutly in the Forum, in great expectations of the sequel and issue, they began at first to marvel much, that the Tribunus Servilius came not down in place: and suspecting somewhat because of his long carrying & delay, they imagined that he durst not for the great men and chief Magistrates of the City: and so they complained that the common cause was forlorn and betrayed. At the last, they that kept about the door & porch of the Tribune his house, brought word that he was found at home feckerd, which news being once notifed through the assembly, mark how an Army is dispersed and scattered when their General is slaine, even so, in all the world the Commons fled and every one some one way some other. But above all others the Tribunes were in body near being thus by their fellow taught how little help or none at all, their lacred and redoubted Laws afforded. The Nobles could not dissimile his their joy, nor use it with moderation but threw it excellingly and so little reported any one of them of the last committed, that they avowed it, and took it upon them, and would not seem culpable in the action; but gave it out in plain terms, that the Tribunes by foul means were to be tamed & their wings clipped in a trice. Upon this their victory, so shameful a precedent in times to come there went out an edict for the publishing of a muste: and whiles the Tribunes were in this scare danced the Conuls: without any contradiction, went through with it clear. But then were the Commons much more offended at their Tribunes: first and last, till then at the Conuls rule and imperious government lying. Farewell freedom now, farewell libertories and all: now is the old world come again, and the Tribunes authority is both dead and buried together with Servilius. Now they were to go in hand and back themselves, of other cause, how they might withstand the Senators proceedings: and seeing they were destitute of all other help to rely themselves upon. the only way was for the Commons to trull to themselves, & stand upon their own guard. Whereas therefore, there gave attendance upon the Conuls Lucius Furius and Vergines, Commons all and no better, none more contemptible and base minded, if they met with those that would set them at naught: they might thank themselves only, and their own timorous conceits & imaginations, that such things were so dread and terrible, thus having animated & provoked another with these speeches there was a Sergeant lent from the Commons to one Publius a Comonner, who because he had been
been a Leader in the field of certain bands; pleaded his immunity for being a common foudier. A
gain, Volero calletth for help to the Tribunes: but there being no man to refute him, the Consuls
commanded the man to be left out of his cloaths, and the rods to be made ready to scourge
him. Then quoth Volero, "I appeal unto the people, seeing the Tribunes had rather have a Citi-
zen and freeman of Rome beaten with rods in their presence, than be murdered themselves by
you in their beds. But the more fiercely he cried on, the more cruelly fell the Lictor to
cut and flie his apperell for to uncaine him. Then Volero being himself the stronger man, and
affifted with all by some whom he called unto him, thrust the Sergeant from him: and where he
perceived the maines out-cry and loudest noise of his adherents, that turned and chas'd in his
behalf, thither retired he, to shroud himself among the thickest, crying: "I appeal and beseech the I
Commons of their protection and succour. Help Citizens, help fellow-soudiers. Never lay
and wait for the Tribunes until they come, who have themselves need of your assistance. Here-
at folk were raised and gathered together, and addressed themselves as to a Battel. A foul piece of
work was toward, full of exceeding danger, and like it was, that no man would have had regard
either of common law or private honesty. When the Consuls in this so great a broil and form
of outrage came in, to prevent further mischief, they knew soon by experience how flenderly
guarded against danger, the Majesty of Rulers is, where force is wanting. For their Lictors were
beaten, mangled, and ill increas'd, their rods broken all a pieces, themselves driven out of the
Common place, and forced to take the Senate house, doubting how far forth Volero would pro-
ceed in the train of his victory. But when the riot was well appeas'd, they assembled the Sena-
tors together, and complained there of their injuries received, the violence of the Commons,
and the audacious presumption of Volero. After many opinions and sharpe cures delivered
among them, the Ancients and Elders prevailed at length, who thought it not good to let the
anger of the Nobles against the head-strong rathnes of the Commons, and the Commons so
highly favoured and embraced Volero, that in their next election they made him their Tribune
for that year, wherein L. Pinarius and P. Furius were Consuls. Who contrary to all mens expec-
tation, that thought verily he would have exercis'd his Tribuneship in molesteing and vexing
the Consuls of the former year, preferred the publice cause before his own private grievances,
and gave not the Consuls so much as one foul word. Only he preferred a Law unto the people. That
the Magistrates of the Commonwealth might be created in a ward-Lect, or Assembly of the Tribes L
and Wards. Thus under a title, which at the first sight seem'd nothing hainous, pass'd a matter
of no small consequence, but such as abridge the Nobles of all power and authority, to create
tribunes whom they would, by the sueftiges and voices of their vaials and favorites. But when
the Senators resolv'd with all their might, the going forward of this Act most pleasing and
plausible to the Commons, and yet none might be found of the brotherhood of Tribunes, that
by the authority either of Consuls or of Senators could be brought to joyne in his way by their
negative voice, which was indeed the only means to coerc it: the insinuate, notwithstanding in
telle fo weighty to wield, and fo hard to be compassed, held out with much debating the year
through. The Commons then made Volero Tribune again. The Senators on the other side, sup-
pposing the matter would now come to a final trall once for all, creat'd for their Consul Ap. Clau-
mus, the son of Appius; who even for the old contentions maintaine'd by his father, who was
both hated of the Commons, and also hated them again: and he had for his companion in govern-
ment T. Quittance. At the very beginning no matter was treat'd of before that Law. But as Vol-
ero was the first deviler and broacher of it, to his fellow Letterius was the more enmity and hot
maintainer thereof, as he came more fresh unto it. The house he was besides, by reason of his
great military glory, for that in thole dais there was not a tallerman of hands, nor more active
than he. Now, when as Volero went to the substance of the Law in hand, without any circum-
stance of words, and forbears to inveigh against the Consuls perion, Letterius began his spech
with challenging Appius and his house, as most proud, and cruelly affected to the Commonalty
of Rome: avouching earnefully, "That the Nobles had made, nor a Consul, but a battyctor of N
mentor, to afflict and mangle the Commons: but being a rough-hewn soudier, and counselled
'to make Orations, his tongue could not frame to express his mind as freely as he would: and
'to his utterance failing him: Since that (quoth he) O Quittance, I cannot so readily deliver the
'my in speech, as I can make that good indeed which I have spoken: Be you here to morrow and
'me in this very place I will either get this Law enacted, or I will lie in the dust and die before
'we you all. The next day the Tribunes were gotten into the Temple or h. l. h. [in the Com-
mons and Nobility abode still in the assembly of the people, for to hinder the passing of the Law. Then
commanded letterius all the rest to avoid and depart, but those only that were to give their
voices. The young Gentlemen of the Nobility stood still, and gave no place to the Tribunes Of-
. Then will'd Letterius some of them to be attache'd. But the Consul Appius spake again, O
'Not that a Tribune had authority over none but Commoners: forasmuch as he was a Magistrate,
'not of the people, but of the Commons. Neither could himself of his absolute power (Consul
'though he was) oblerve the custom of his ancillors: command any man to avoid: for that the
'minor form of words ran thus: May it please you, Masters, O Queries if you think good to depart.
 Soon was he able, thus laying the Law unto him, by way of form and contempt, to outhe
Letterius, and put him down. Whereupon the Tribune chaf'd, and set into an heat, fende's an
Office
Officer to the Conful: the Conful likewise, a Lictor to the Tribune, crying often aloud, that he
was but a private person without command, without Magistracy, And doth the Tribune had
been hardly used, but that both the assembly rose up in a rage, and took part with the Tribune
against the Conful: and also there was a concourse of the multitude, routed out of all parts of
the City into the Common Hall. Appius not withstanding stood stilly to it still, and abide the burst
of this tempestuous storm: neither had this brooke fluid without some bloudshed, in case Qvinus
the other Conful, had not left some of the Aldermen that had been Conuls, to get his brother
Conul by force (if other wise it might not be) out of the Hall, whiles himself was in hand,
one while with the Commons, to appeale their try, by way of intreaty and with fair words,
other whiles behoght the Tribunes to break up the assembly, persuading with them to take
more leisure in this their heat and anger: for that time and place would abridge nothing of their
power, but would joynt counsel and advice there to concludind withall that both Nobles should
be ruled by the people, and the Conul ordered by the Nobles, Hardly and with much ado were
the Commons queated by Qvinus, but far more trouble had the Nobles to still the other Conulf.
At the length, when the assembly of the people was dissimified, the Conuls called the Senate
gether, Where after much variety of opinions, proceeding from fear and anger, according as the one
or the other swayed among them: look how much longer time they had to reclame their mind
from violent courtes, and legally with deliberation to consider of the matter: so much the more
their hearts went against all concension, and farther strife: insuch, as they yeelded Qvinus
hearty thanks by that his travel by parties, the discord was well alliaed. And to Appius they
were petitioners, 'That he would be contend, that the majesty of the Conulf might be no great
more than would (and with the unity and concord of the Citizens. For whiles the Tribunes for
their part would needs have all and the Conul on the other side draw all to them: between this
this pucking and hating there was no strengt left in the midst: and to conclude, the Common-
ning was sent, torn and dismembered between the rulers thereof: who strove rather for the man-
ning and rule, than for the safety and preservation of the State. Against whom Appius replied
with a solemn protestation before God and man, and said, 'That the weal publique was aban-
doned, destroyed, and betrayed by none else but foolish fear: that the Senate wanted not a Con-
but the Conul wanted Senators: who now yeelded to harder conditions than they had be-
fore time in mount: Sacer, Howbeit overweighed at length by the general consent and accord
of the Nobles, he was content: and to the law passd quietly, was by royall consent authorized. Then
and never before were the Tribunes created in a congregation of the tribes, and by their voices
Peto writeth that there were three more made to the other as if there had been but twain before:
be named also the Tribunes, to wit C.Scinius, L.Nuncius, M.Duellus, Sp.Iulius L.M.
Then had the Volscians and Equians, between the civil sedition of the Romans, & the begin-
ing of war, harried & wafted the country: that in case the Commons had made an infreret-
tion, they might have retired to them as to a lure place of retreat & refuge. But when all was hufte
& matters compounded between the Nobles and Commons, they removed their camp backward.
Appius Claudius was sent against the Volscians: and to Qvinus fell the Province of the E-
quians. The fame rigorous severity continued Appius still in warlike, that he used at home in
the City but to much more freely, for that he was not curbed nor held in by the Tribunes. The Com-
mons he hatred more than his father had done aforetime: he was overweighed, and had taken the
foil in their hands: and being the only Conul, oppoied against the Tribunes power yet managhe
his head, the law passd clear away, which the former Conuls his predecessors, with les ado, nor
with so great hope and expectation of the Nobility, had ever hundred and fluid. This his anger
and indignation gave an edge to that fell formack of his by kind, for to plaque and punis his foid-
diers with impomous and lordly command. But lo they were to learn again and disobey, that
by no forcible means they could be tamed doing all things that they did lillye flowrwardly, and
sillyboomy. Neither bafted they for shame, nor mould in awe for fear. If his will was they
should march on space, they would on act purpose go far and softly: If he encouraged them
in proper person to intend their busines, they woule all of them flack their former service, wherein
they were enter'd of themselves: whiles he was in place, they would hang down their heads
and look on the ground, as he pass'd by they would soo curtly curse him in their hearts. So as that
invincible formack of his against all hatred of the Commons, woule now and then grieve here-
At. And wen he say that all the threewef and rigour that he used was in vain, and that now
he could do no good with his soldiery, he fell to the king, the Captains and Centurions, saying,
They had spoilt and marred the Army, terming them Tribunes of the Commons, and other-
whiles in taunting-wife nicknaming them Vol-racs. All these doings were the Volscians aware of,
and therefore were they more eager and forward, hoping that Appius should find the Roman
Army as inrowd and disobedienc of the soldiery to Appius Claudius in their Generall,

The curtly formack and disobedienc of the soldiery to Appius Claudius in their General,
The curtly formack and disobedienc of the soldiery to Appius Claudius in their General,
that the enemy thus far forth Victor, might be kept from the Wall and Trench: and yet so, as it was very apparent, that the soldiers paffed for nothing else, but only to save the Camp for being won: for some of them rejoiced at their own losR and detraction. Whereas, the touft flamock of Appius was nothing daunted nor his heart broken: but he minded to deal cruely with them; and therefore fummoned a general assemblq. Then the Lieutenants, Marshals, and Colonels, came running unto him, advertising him in no cafe to try matterie, and to enforce his authority. The very ground and strength whereof RESTED wholly in the accord of obedient people: adding moreover, that the soldiers commonly gave out, that they would not go to the assemblq: but rather they might be heard every where, calling upon them aloud, to dislodge and remove out of the territory of the Volscians: moreover, that the enemy now Master of the field, was but a while fnidly advanced to the gates and ramparts, and well near possessed of them: whereby, they were not only to suspect, but might evidently see before their eyes some great matter toward of dangerous consequence. Whereupon at first he was over-rulled, and (forasmuch as his soldiers thereby should gain nothing but delay of their punishment) remitted the assemblq for that time: and after proclamation made to let forward in their journey the next day, and to depart in the morning very early, he caused the trumpet to sound the remoue, and to march away, The Army being gone out of the Camp, and ready to be let in order of a march: at length, the Volscians who were gotten up by the shame of the trumpet, plaid upon the tail of the rewurad: the noise whereby paffed from thence to the vanguard, & so disordered the enigns, so troubled the ranks by reason of that fright, that neither could the direction and commandment of the Captains be heard, nor the Army be brought into bateal array. No man minded any thing at all but to run away and disorderly in great numbers, they fled back over the dead carcasses and armors that lay on heaps, and to escape; and never fray they their flight, untill the enemy gave over the chase. At the last, the Conful having called his soldiers together, that were run away so scattering, (for with all the speed that he made after to call them back, he could not reclaim them;) encamped without his enemies ground in a place of security. Then he called them all together to an assemblq, and inveighed bitterly, and not without just cause, against the whole Army, as having betrayed the discipline of war, and forsaken their colours: asking every one of them what was become of their banners? And what they had done with their weapons? And as many soldiers as were unarmed as many enemies as had not their ensigns, the Centurions also, and those that received double allowance, and forsook their lands and companies, he caused to be charged with rods & to lose their heads. The whole number besides, were by lot touted, and every tenth man as it fell out, executed. But contrariwise, in the expedition against the Equians, the Conful and his soldiers, strove to exceed one another in courage and kindneff. Quintus was by nature mild and cheerful, and the cruelty of his brother Conful, that never sped well, made him take more joy in that hie gentle disposition. While the General and his Conful comKred thus together, the Equians durst not confront them, but suffered their enemies to range all abroad and desrize the country: so as in no former was got they greater booties from thence, and all was beloves among the soldiers. Over and besides these gratitudes, they had their due prizes and solemn commendations, wherein soldiers take no less delight than in rewards and gius. So, that Army returned home better affected to their General, and also to the Nobles for their Generals sake: reporting that the Senate had given them a loving father, but to the other Army a lordly matter. This year thus spent with variable fortune abroad in war; with grievous discord as well at home as abroad, was above all most memorable and famous for the Tribe-Leeft. A matter of more note, in respect of their victory that entred into the action, than of consequence, in regard of commodity that grew thereof. For the very Leet it fell less credit by excluding the Nobles out of that assemblq, than either the Commons got strength, or the Nobles did forgo thereof. But more troublesome was the year following, whiles L. Valerius & T. Aemilius were Conuls, both for the variance of the three States about the law Agrarian, and also for the arrangement of Appius Claudius, Whom, being a most bitter adversary of that law, and a great maintainer and Upholder of those that possessed and held the common N land, as if he had been ever a third Conful, M. Dileius, and C. Secius arrested and excluded. Never before that day came to the bar, a person to be tried before the people, so odious unto the Commons: charged with so many wrongs done of his own, so many of his fathers afore him, in regard whereof they were highly displeased and offended with him. The Nobles likewise had not lightly laboured to earnestly nor strained themselves so much for any one as for him. Who being the patron and protector of the Senat the maintainer and Upholder of their post and dignity; a man ever opposed against all the troublesome broils of Tribunes & Commons, was now delivered as a prey to the Commons in their anger and only for that he had over-shot, and paffed himself in heat of contention. But of all the Senators that ever were, Appius Claudius of him self alone was he, that cared not a ruth either for Tribune or Commoner nor yet for his own arrangement. No men-o-erring threats of the Commons no earnest prayers of the Senators could one make him, I say, not to change his apparel, and in humble manner to seek and crouch unto men for to be good unto him: no nor so much, as when he came to answer for himself before the people, one whit to mo life and let fall (as it were) that rough and sharp kind of temp that he was wont ordinarily to use. He kept the same fierce countenance still, the very same frowardneas and crabbedness of vilage, the same spirit of boldness in his apology and defence, Infomuch as many of the Com-
The second Book of T. Livius.

A Commons were no less afraid of Apries standing prisoner, there arraigned at the bar, than they had been of him, sitting as Conful in his office chair of state. In pleading of his cause, he spake briefly and at one to the point, with the same accusatory spirit that he had evinced in all his pleas and actions. With his boldness and resolute cunff, he so amazed both Tribunes and Commons, that they themselves deferred the day of giving sentence, and inferred afterward the time to hang and depend still undetermined. But not long after, even before the Law day appointed was come, he flunk and died. Whole funeral prayers when as the Tribunes went about to hinder, the Commons would not inter, that the death of so worthy a man, should be defrauded of the due honour and solemn obsequies, and gave audience as quietly and attentively to the commendation of the man now dead, as they did afore to his accusation while he was alive: and with a goodly train attended his corps to the grave.

The same year Fiors the Conful made a voyage with an army against the Equians, and seeing he could not train the enemy forth to fight, he made a bravado to affright the Camp: but there fell such a terrible form and tempest from heaven, with hail and thunder-claps that he was dispointed of his enterprise. And thus he was made more strange and wonderful: he had no foster founded the retreat, but the weather proved to be fair and calm again, that he made some truce and matter ol convenience, to give a second assaunt unto the enimy, as if it had been defended by the special power and providence of God. So all the heat of war turned to the waiting on of the Conful. The other Conful fortus warred with the Sabins. And even there also, because his enemies were within their walled towns, the Territories were spoiled. But afterwards, the Sabins being taken, not only of their villages and hamlets, but also of the good towns and fortresses whereof, in those parts there were many and those well peopled, encountered the foragers and after a doubtful skirmish, they departed about; and after the morrow after raised their Camp and retired themselves back into a place of more security, which the Conful taking for a sufficient argument and proof, that the enemies were defeated, left them to, and dislodged likewise without any end of the war.

During these wars and whiles discord continued in the City at home, were T. Numittus Priscus and A. Verginius created Consuls. Now it seemed that the Commons would no longer abide the deferring of the Law Ascription. And as they were about to put it to a venture and to try the utmost by extremity they took knowledge partly by the smoke and flame of the villages on fire, and partly by the running away of the villagers, that the Volscians were near at hand. Which occurred reproved and kept down the sedition which was now come to ripping, and ready to break forth. For the Consuls forced by the Senate immediately to the war, by taking the senecile youth with them out of the City, reduced the rest of the Commons to more quiescence. And the enemies verily made no further attempt, but after they had given a false alarm, and let the Romans in a foolish fear diminished away as speedily as they could. Then Numittus went to Asculum against the Volscians, and Verginius against the Equians; where having well-near received a great loss and defeat by a train laid for him: such was the prowess and manhood of the soldiery, that they recovered all again, which by the negligence of the Conful had like to be lost. But better was the conduct and government of the Army against the Volscians. For there, at the first skirmish the enemies were disordered, put to flight, and chased as far as to Asculum, a City f. that time i. of right great dilution and importance, The Conful durst not assail it, but went from the Antares Cense another town, but nothing so wealthy. Whiles the Equians and Volsci thus amased the Roman Armies and kept them occupied, the Sabins were come robbing and spoiling to the gates of the City of Rome. But within few days after, they themselves received more damage than they brought, by occasion that both Consuls with two armies were entered in great anger into their Confinis. In the end of the year Rome there was, but disquieted, as at all times before, with the variance between the Nobles and Commons. The Romans in a peevish and angry fit would not be at the Hecution of the Consuls. So by the Senators only and their followers.

F there were elected Consuls, T. Quininius et Q. Servilius. The like year to the former these Consuls had seditions and troublesome in the beginning: but afterwards upon a fraught was quiet and still. For the Sabins with a running Camp having pulled over the plains of Ceregnosum, and put all to fire and word about the ther Abis, were chased back, well near from the gate Galba and the walls: howbeit they decayed away with them exceeding great booties both of people and cattle. Whom the Conul Servilius followed hard with a power ready to bid battle, but could not overtake their main army in any even ground meet to pitch a field in, Howbeit he forsook and wast the Confini all about so as he left no corner clear that felt not his fingers, and returned with purchase of many rich prizes of all sorts. Likewise among the Volscians they iped well and had lucky hand by the good demeanour both of captan and foldier, First they joyed battle upon a plain and fought with very great slaughter, and exceeding much bloodshed on both sides. And the Romans (who for their small number were more apt to feel the los) had lost ground and disordered: if that the Conful by making a fish for a vantage, and crying that the enemies fled from the other wing, had not encouragethem and renewed the battle again. And so by giving a new charge, whiles they thought they had the better, they got the better in very deed. The Conful fearing again, by pressing too hard upon the Army, to enforce them to turn and make head, founded the retreat.
between wherein they rested quiet, as though there had been a secret truce agreed between them. In which mean space, a great sort of people from all parts of the Volscians and Equians repaired to the Camp; thinking verily, that if the Romans were aware of them, they would depart in the night season. Whereupon, at the third watch they came to make an assault upon their Camp. Quintus after he had quieted the tumult, which upon this sudden alarm arose, and given commandment that the soldiers should keep themselves within their pavilions, brought forth a company of Horsemen to guard the gates, and caused certain couriers and trumpeters on horseback to wind and sound before the trench and counter-trench, and so to hold the enemy in suspense and expectation until day-light. The rest of the night was so quiet within the Camp, that the Romans had time enough and good opportunity to take their repose and sleep. This I show of footmen in their harness, whom the Volsciens imagined to be more than they were, and all Romans: the neighing beside, and noise that the horses made by reason of their strange riders that they were not used unto, and the round aloof of their trumpets and horns that made them to set up their ears, and to flamp and lime outrageous, amased the enemies waiting when they would charge upon them. When it was day, the Romans being in heart and breath, as having slept their fill, came forth and embattled themselves, and at the first shock discomfited the Volsciens, armed with long flanding and overwatched with all. And yet the enemies rather gave ground and retire themselves, then tempted to be driven from their strong-hold, because they had at their backs certain hils, whereunto they might retire behind the Principals, and not break their ranks, and lose themselves. The Consul seeing he was come to a place of disadvantage, made a stand. The footmen hardly would be stayed, calling and crying to the Consul to go low upon them seeing they were discomfited. The horsemen were more eager, riding all about the Consul, and with open mouth cried out, that they would advance before the enemies. While the Consul held off, in a mummering what to do, as he was assailed of the valour of his horsemen, so he little troubled the ground; they all at once let up a shout, that they would fight forward, come what would; and as they cried, so did they in good earnest. And pitching their javelins in the ground, that they might more firmly get up the steep place, they took their full carres, and ran up the hill. The Volsciens having in their first burst spent all their darts, and other shot which they had ther before, and made no haste to take up foones that lay under their feet, let drive at the Romans as they climbed up, and so thick and threefold they belted them that they annoyed them before, and beat them down the hill. Thus the left wing of the Romans was well-near overcharged had not the Consul at the point, when as they were ready to retreat, blamed them first for their nathless, and then for their cowardice, and made them for very shame to flake off all fear. First, they go to it stoutly, and kept the ground, and after, as their strength served them, considering the ventage of the place which the enemies had gotten, they adventures to set foot forward, and won ground with a fresh shout and outcry. And taking their carre again the second time, they fir in all they can, and at length overcame the disadvantage of the place. Now when they were almost at the point to win the very pitch and ridge of the hill, the enemies turned back. While they ran on heaps in dismay, both they that fled, and they that followed, happened both at once in one company into the enemies Camp, which in that fright was won. The Volsciens, as many of them as could escape, ran as fast as their legs would carry them to Amiens. And to Amiens likewise was the Roman army conducted: and after a few days siege, was surrendered upon no fresh, and new force of assault but for that presently upon their unfortunate conflict, and loss of the Camp, their heart were done, and utterly failed.

The Third Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the third Book.
A year after the foundation of Rome. And as the Government of the State was translated from King to Conuls: so was it now from the Conuls to the Decemvirs. They having possessed tables of laws, and borne themselves modestly in that holy dignity, were therefore by the consent of the people permitted to remain in office the second year: but after they had committed many infelicitous parts, they would not give over their voice of Magistracy, but held it till the third year: until such time as their obstinacy and intolerable rule came to an end, occasioned by the sordity of Appius Claudius: who being detained upon a voyage, suborned one to make claim upon him, as his blood-covenant upon her father. Virginians was driven of necessity to catch up a wife from a butcher's stall next by, and to kill his daughter; as having no other means to save her from the bands of him that prepared to abuse her body indecently. The Commons

The third Book of T. Livius.

The third Book of T. Livius.

After the winning of Aesivus, T. Cæcilius and Q. Fabius were created Conuls. This was that Fabius, which only remained alive of all the name that perished at Censora. Now had Cæcilius in his former Conulship perused to distribute certain Lands among the Commons, and therefore in this second like-wise, both the fatucers of the law Agraria were ingred hope of the foresaid law: and also the Tribuns supposing verily that now by the help of a Conul, that might be brought about and obtained, which oftentimes had been enterprised against the pleasure of the Conuls: took the matter in hand and gave the attempt: and withal, the Conul still continued in the same mind. But the great minded men and many of the Nobles, finding themselves grieved, and complaining that the chief head Magnific of the City butted himself, with the Tribuns suits, and was by large giving away of other men's possessions, become popular and gracious with the people, turned the whole burthen and tedious heavy load of this action, from the Tribuns upon the Conul his head, and a cruel broil was toward, had not Fabius, by a device and policy to neither party offensive, made an end of the matter with expedition. For whereas there were certain Lands gotten by conquest from the Volscians the year before, under the conduct of T. Quinctius: there might (said he) a colony be brought to Aesivus, a City near adjoyning, very commodious, and seated by the Sea side: to show the Commons without any grudging or complaints of the possessors of Land-lords, be seized of Land, and the City rest in quiet and Unity. This opinion of his was accepted of all hands. And they created three special officers or Triumvirs, for the division of the said lands, to wit, T. Quinctius, Att, Virginius, and E. F. Ennius. Then proclamation was made. That whatsoever would hold any of the Land, should give up their names in writing. But plenty, as the manner is, soon cau'd loathing: for there were so few that presented themselves, that to make up the full number of the inhabitants, they were fain to adjoin unto them certain Volscians. The rest of the multitude had rather (as it seemed) to keep a calling for Land at Rome, than be possessed of Land elsewhere. The Eæquians craved peace of Q. Fabius, who was come against them with an army: and they themselves by making a fadain introde into the territories of Latium, cancelled the same and made it void. But the year next following, Q. Servius (for he was Conul with Sp. Posthumius) being sent against the Eæquians, kept a standing camp in the Country about Latium, but by the reason of a contagious diseaze or a plague, that raged in his army, they were of necessity forced to keep quiet within their tents. So their war was deferred unto the third year, when as Q. Fabius and T. Quinctius were Conuls, and for almost as much as Q. Fabius, had upon his victory before granted peace to the Eæquians, he had an extraordinary commision directed unto him for the rule of that Province. Who being thither went, with full assurances, with the very fame of him, and name of his army, would quiet the Eæquians, but Embassadors to the Council of that Nation, with this message: "Q. Fabius the Conul, saith, that as he came before peace from the Eæquians unto Rome, so he bringeth now war to the Eæquians from Rome; having now his sword in the very fame hand, which he gave unto them before in friendly manner unarmed. Whole treachery he is and perjury, that is the cause of this; the Gods can witness now, and in some measure will revenge hereafter. Nevertheless, he for his part, however the case standeth, desirith that the Eæquians would yet befriend themselves of their own accord and repent rather than stand to the extremity and abide those calamities and miseries that follow war. If they would come in therefore and be forry for that they have done, their submission should be received: and they taken into the safe protection of his clemency, whereof already they had experience. But in case they persist still in their disloyalty, and take pleasure in being foriwomen: be they well assured, that they should have the ire and wrath of the Gods more than their enemies to fight against them. These words little or nothing at all moved any men there; that the very Embassadors did like to have been very hardly used and evil entreated, yet,
and an army withal was sent forth as far as *Algidum* against the Romans. When these tidings were brought to Rome, the indignity of the thing and the shameful manner thereof, rather than any fearful peril otherwise, roused the other Confil out of the City. So two Confils or royal armies approached the enemy in order of battle, ready to try it out presently by the din of sword, but the day being (as it fell out) wetter, spent there some snow from out of the place where the enemy kept ward. This is to make a show of war only (ye Romans) and not to war indeed.

"Let your battalions in array against night forsooth, that now drawn with hard on: we had need of more daylight I wis, for the biffines in hand, and to try this quarrel. To morrow therefore at Suntiing, see you come again into the field; ye shall have fighting near or, your hands full. The followers nerved and galled at these words, retired back into the camp until the next day. I thinking the night was long, that kept them from battle land; so for that time they relieved their bodies with food and sleep. On the morrow to soon as it was day, the Roman host being stirring somewhat more early, and ready in array, and length the Equians likewise shewed themselves in field. A sharp fight there was on both sides, by reason that both the Roman soldiers fought in anger and deadly hatred; and also the Equians upon private confidence, that bare them witness how they embarked themselves into this danger, and were out of all hope ever to be trusted again, were forced to hazard all upon a cast, and venture the utmost. Yet were not the Equians able to endure long, the violent fight of the Romans, but were discomfited and put to flight. And being returned within their own Frontiers, the unrelent multitude for all this, were never the more inclined to peace but reproved and blamed their Captains: 'That they put the trial of the issue to a let field, in which kind of fight the Romans had singular skill, and surpaßed them. As for the Equians, they were better at robbing, spoiling, and foraging, in making incursions and invades; and a better and safer kind of service it was, here and there in handful places, to skirmish with forces divided, than reduce all into one grofs army, and to pitch a field. Leaving therefore a guard to defend the camp, they went forth, and with such a tumult invaded the confines of Rome, that the very terror thereof reached to the City. This flat, especially coming so fondly and unlooked for, made the Romans fear the more. For who should ever have doubted and inspected, that their enemies so lately vanquished, and in manner belied within their own camp, could possibly think upon entering into the lands of others, and to drive booties. Besides, the ruffian peasants came in at the gates, crying, and saying, that they were not petty companies, and small handfuls of thieves and robbers, but (such was their footless fear, augmenting and making everything greater) whole armies and legions of enemies were at hand, and marched space with banners displayed full against the City. From their mouths, they that were next made report unto others: as they heard news from they knew not whom, for they let them abroad they cared not how, but even in the carriage they added somewhat of what their own and cowey laid good foore. Here was running, there was crying alarm & generally such a confusion every where, as if the City had been quite lost. By good hap Quintus the Confil was returned from *Algidum* to Rome. That remedy cured all and layed the hear. When the tumult was appeased, he rebuked the people for fearing those enemies whom heretofore they had vanquished, and placed good guards over the gates. Then he assembled the Senate, and by the authority and assent of the Nobles, proclaimed *Lustitia*, a general cessation or vacation in all courts of law; and went himself forth in person with a power to defend them marches, leaving Quintus *Servilius* Prefect of the City; but the enemy he found not in the territory all about. The other Confil performed his affairs passing well: who having certain intelligence, which way the enemies would come, set upon them laden with prey, and (by that means marching more heavily in disorder) made it a dear booty unto them, even as much as their lives were worth. For few of them escaped the Ambush, and all the pillage was recovered. So the return of Quintus into the City, made an end of the publick Lawful an above-said vacation which lasted but four days. Then was a Cenaie or Affirmation set of mens goods and a mutter or view taken of the number of Citizens, together with a solemn purging of the people, called *Lustrium*, celebrate by Quintus. And there were numbered of Citizens 14,414 polles over and above men, and women that lived single, or had no children, and al orphans besides. And among the Equians afterward nothing was done worth remembrance: for they betook them to their strong Towns, suffering their territory and villages to be conflagrated with fire, and spoiled. Thus the Confil, after he had divers times overrun the Country of his enemies, with a cruel army wailing and spoiling as he went, returned home to Rome with great honor and a large booty. Then were Coff. *Aelius Poppionate* *Albinus*, and *Sp. Furis*, Some have written them *Puliti*, who indeed are rightly named *furis*. Which I note, left any man should think they were hinder men, whereas the variety is only in the name. No doubt there was, but that one of the Confils would war with the Equians: and therefore the Equians sought for side of the Ectranne Volcians, which being gladly granted and lent with speed, (such a perpetual hatred bare those Cities always against the Romans) there was great preparation for war in most forcible manner. The Herniks having an inclining and knowledge thereof, certified the Romans afore-hand, that the Ectranne were revolted and banded with the Equians. The Colony *Antium* likewise was had in jealousy, for that when the Town was lost, many people fled from thence to the Equians, who all the time of the Equian war, served in the field, and proved the most hearty soldiers and scourer of all others. And now when the Equians were driven into their Towns, that multitude
A multitude being flipp'd away and retired to Antium, withdrew from the Romans the allegiance of the Colones and inhabitants there, who were already of their own inclination unfound and not to be trusted, But before the matter was come to ripeness, and they entered into any action, the Senate upon intelligence given that they intended only, and were upon the point to revolt, gave the Coll, in charge to fend for the chiefmen and head persons of that colony to Rome, and to inquire and learn of them in what terms Antium stood: who being come withing enough, without any great intretacy, and convenyed by the Comulls before the Senate, made answer to their interrogatories in such manner, that they were sent away more inspected, than at their first coming, whereupon they resolved fully of war. 

Sparius Firmus one of the Coll, to whom that province by lot fell, having taken his voyage against the Equians, found the enemy spoiling and waiting in the territory of the Hermicks: and being ignorant what number they were (for that in no one place they were all discoered together) he rashly joined battle, and hazarded his power, being in number and force inferior to the other. And at the first encounter he was driven back, and retired into the camp: and yet was he not palt all danger and insecurity there: for both the night following, and the next day after, the camp was so fireightly beleit, and to holy assault, that he could not dispatch so much as a messenger from thence to Rome. The Hermicks sent word both of the infortunate fight, and also how the Comull and his army were beguiled. With which news they so terrified the IL of the Council, that they granted Posthumus the other Comull the iolent commision, To se to the State, that it suffered no danger and damage.

The form of which order and decree, hath been always accounted to signify some great extremity of the Commonwealth. And thought best it was, that the Comull himself in proper person, should abide at home to enrol in the matter book, all those that were able to bear arms: that T. Quintus should be sent as Pro-consul or Vice-consul, with a power of confederate Allies to drive the siege and recu the camp: and for the furnishing of this army, the Latines, the Hermicks, and Colony Antium, were commanded to fend unto Quintius, Subaynt fowlers (for so they termed at that time, the aids and supplies taken up in haine and a sudden.) Many attempts were made, much skirmishing, and sturdy assault for certain dayes on each side were encircled. For the enemy made with more in number, arrayed in divers places and sturdy ways to cut off and diminish the power of the Romans, as not sufficient and able to make head at all.

Turns. For at one time they both made an assault upon the camp, and withal sent out certain of their forces to waft the territory of Rome, yea, and to give the venture upon the very City, if they could eipice any good opportunity to offer it. E. Valerius was left behind to defend the City, and Posthumus the Comull was sent out to refrain and withstand the wafting of the marches. No point of care or travall on any hand was flaked, watch and ward both night and day was let in the City, a good Corps de Eguard appointed afofe the Gates, and fowlers belowed upon the Walls: and (that which was needful in so great an hurlyburly) for certain dayes it was no Terms, or interdiction of Law was observed. In this mean while, Quintius the Comull, who at the first had quietly endured the siege and made no resistance, suddenly and at unawares falled out at the broad gate called Decumanus, upon the enemies: and whereas he might have chafed them, he made some fray of that; for fear lest on some other side, they would have given assault upon the camp. But Eurius the Lieutenant (who also was the Comull his Brother) engaged himself too far, and upon a hot desire of pursuit and following the chase, neither saw he his fellows as they retired, ne yet the enemies as they came to charge him on the back. Thus being shot out from all the rescue, after many effays made (but all in vain) to make way through unto the camp, manfully fighting he was slain. The Comull likewise hearing that his Brother was environed all about with enemies, returned again to fight: but as he ran more tally than warfly into the midit of the skirmish, he was fore wounded, and being hardly and with much ado faved by thosse that were about him, he both diquitted and damned his hearts of his own men, and made his enemies more fierce, lusty, and courageous.

Who were so animated and let on fire, both with the hurt of the Comull, and also with the death of his Lieutenant, that nothing afterwards could stand in their way: no force was able to stay them, but that they beat the Romans again into their camp: where they were besieged before being now both in hope, and also for strength worse than they were before. So that their main State then lying a bleeding, had utterly perished, but that T. Quintius with a supply of strangers: namely, a power of Latines and Hermicks, came to the rescue in time: who charging the Equians behind, whiles they were wholly butted in assailing the camp, shewing them within the Lieutenant's head in a great bravery and pride, at the same instant caused a tally out of the camp, by a signal that he gave them a far off, and to inclosed round about a great number of the enemies. Small was the slaughter, but great was the flight and scattering of the Equians in the territory of Rome: upon whom (filagring here and there and driving their booties afore them) Posthumus, who in divers convenient places had beloweit certain companies and bands of fowlers, ran violently. And as they fled every way in ditary, they lighted upon Quintius as he with the hurt Comull returned with Victory. Then the Comull's army bravely did their endeavour, and had a goodly day of them: and was revenged both for their Comulls wounded, and also for the death of the Lieutenant and the Squadrions with him. Many losses and overthrowes were given and taken on each side for certain dayes. But in so ancient
a matter as this was, hard it is for a man upon his credit, to let down precisely the certain num-
ber either how many fought, or how many were slain, Howbeit Valerius Antias boldly reckoneth
the exact numbers, namely, that there died of the Romans in the Hernicks Country 5000, and of the
Aquian robbers, who went up and down spoiling and pillaging in the territory of Rome, were
killed by A. Petuluminus the Col. 2400. The rest of the multitude, which laden with spoil and
in the hands of Quminius, were not to quit, nor escaped with the loss of so few mens lives: for
of them the word devoured 4000, and to account the number exactly, 200 (quoth he) and 30
jult. Then returned they on all hands to Rome, and the foresaid vacation or law-fetch ended.
The skie was seen much on a light fire, and other strange wonders either appeared indeed, or
presented to the fearful people vain apparitions, and fantastical lusions. However it was, for to
avert the dangers by these prodigious and terrible tokens prefaged, there were proclaimed festival
holy days for three days together. During which time all the Churches were replenished with
men and women, making supplications and prayers for the favor and mercy of the Gods. The
bands and squadrons of the Latins and Hernicks, after great thanks given them by the Senate for
their good service in this war, were discharged and sent home. But the Antiate lounders, 1000
in number, who after the battell was fought came tardy, and too late for to succour, were dis-
miffled in manner with ignominy and shame.

Then was the great Lect or assembly held, for the election of Magistrates: wherein L. Eutinios
and P. Servilius were created Conoils: and on the * Calends of Sextiles (for on that day) began
the year then, they entered their Conoilschip. A grievous and heavy time it was, and as it continued,
K a year of plague and great mortality, both in the City and Country, as well among brute beasts
as men. And the receiving of the Country paents with their cateil into the City, for fear of rob-
belling and spoiling, encreased the contagiousness of the sicks more the more. For, that confused
medly of all sorts of beasts, both annoyed and empoisoned the citizens with the unclean and
unusual smell, and also filled with fulny heat and overmuch watching the rutul people,
lying pestered together, and thruf up into close rooms and stroke lodging. The mutual reconcile
one to help and Minister unto another, and the very catching of the diseas, set it all abroad.
Thus whiles they had much ado to endure their present calamities, behold, to mend the matter,
all of a suddain, the Hernick Embassadors bring word, that the Aquians and Volscians having re-
died a power joyned together, were encamped within their limits: and from thence with a mighty
army waited and destroyed their territory. Now, besides that the small affembly in the Sen-
ate-house, was to thefe their allies an evident token that the City was fore visited with the per-
itience, they received also an heavy answer from them, namely: That the Hernicks themselves to-
gether with the help of the Latins, should defend their own: as for the City of Rome, it was with
the heavy hand and visitation of the Gods, dispeopled by the plague: but in case the sicks were
decreased in some measure and took up in any time, they would willingly aid their confederates,
as they did the year b. fore, as as they had done at all times besides. Thus departed their allies, and
for their ill news they brought thither, they carried with them home again a worse answer and
miflage, to wit, That they shoule by themselves suffice that war alone which hardly they were
able to support, if they had the power of the Romans to assist them. Long stayed not the enemy in M
the Hernicks country, but went forward from thence into the territory of Rome, defolate already
(God wot) without the injury of war, and little need there was of calamity that wayes: where
meeting with no man at all, no not so much as one unarmed, and passing over the Country,
disfurnished not only of Garrisons to retift, but also of people for husbandry and tillage, at length
they came to the third ilone, i. within three miles of Rome, to the broad port high way, called
Gabinis, leading to Gabii. The Roman Col. Eutinios, was now departed this life, and his brother
Col. Servilius did lieg on at the point of death, in small hope of recovery. Most of the peers
and principal ancients were infected, and sick in bed, so was the greater part of the Nobles, and
welne all the serviceable men of war: so as they were not able toer forth an expedition or voy-
age abroad, as meet was in so great a tumult, no nor scarce to keep any ordinary let guard at home
for the defence of the City. The Senators such as age and sickness would permit, took the charge
in proper persons of watch and ward, The Eides of the Commons went the round, and had the
charge to see all well & in good order: so that upon them now refted the government of the State,
& the Majestie of the Conoils Regiment. Thus when all was fororded, no head to direct, no strength
of man to execute; the Tullar Gods, Protectors of the City, and the good fortune alone that ever
waited upon her, preferred the same chance. This made the Volscians and Equians to carry with
them a mind and intent, rather to deal by way of robbings and spoliations, than in any hostile
manner like profleded warriors: for to small hope had they, or none at all, of winning the City: so liet
little heart, so much as to approach the walls, that even the very roofs of houses, which they defired
a far off, and the flight of the tombs and graves: so near at hand, turned their minds clean and
dunted their courages. So as over all the camp they began to mutter with themselves. What they
meant to spend time idly and sit still without spreading in a wait and defeat Countrie, within the
mortality and purified air and corruption, both of people and castle; when as they might as
well invade those parts that flood clear and found, and namely the rich, plentiful, and fat fields
of Tufculum: and therewithuddainly at once they pluck'd up their ensigns, and by crofs ways
passt through the * Luvian countries, even to the mountains of Tufculum: and thither turned
they

* Fratricida.
* Val members.
A they the whole force and tempest of the war. In the mean time the Herniks and Latins moved not with piry and compassion only, but also for very shame, in case they had neither withstood their common enemies, marching to Rome with a great army, not relieved their bereaved friends; joyned their powers together, and set forward to Rome: where not finding the enemies, and after the battle that went of them, and tracing their fresh tracks and noting, they encountered them as they came down from the hills Country, of it, where to the vale of A. = Where they made no staying bargain of it, but fought to their loss, so as their fidelity unto their allies, had but bad success for that present. And in Rome there was no less mortality of citizens by theickness, than there were Matters abroad of their allies by the edge of the sword. For the other Conful, who alone survived hitherto, now died. There left this lie also, other noble personages, M.Velarius, Tussus Verginius, Auguris: and Ser. Sulpicius the Curio Maximus. But among the bale and common sort, the violence of the disease raged and spread, I know not how far. The Senate now delituded of all help and comfort of man, moved the people to devotion, to their heads, and prayers unto the Gods. And commandment was given to all men with their wives and children, to go in procession, to pour out their supplications, and crave mercy at Gods hands. Thus being by public authority called forth to perform that which every man was forced unto by his own proper calamities, they filled all the Temples and Chappels, the Danes and anc. Matrons, lying groaning and weeping the Church floors and pavement with their hair and tears, hanging looped humbly entreating pardon of the Gods; and an end once of the petition e, Whereupon, were it that they had obtained the mercy of God, or that the more dangerous and contagious lesson of the year, was now well overpast: their bodies by little and little, having escaped the danger of disease, began to recover and was more healthly.

Then let their minds about the care of the Common-weal, and after certain intervals determined or ended, P. Valerius Patroclus, the third day of his Interregn or Regency for the time, created Conils L. Lucretius Tricipitiuns, and T. Verginius Farnesius, who they will: who * three days before the Ides of Sexilis, began their Confulship. By which time the City was grown to strong again, that it was able not only to maintain a defensive war, but also to enter the field and still others. When the Herniks therefore gave them advertisments that the enemies were passed over into their borders: they made no delay, but readily and willingly promised their aid, and levied two Confular armies. Verginius was sent against the Volscians, to begin with them, and to war within their own Country, Tricipitiuns was opposed in the Frontiers of their confederates, to keep them from invasion and waffling, and went no further forward than to the Herniks. Verginius at his first encounter and confronting of his enemies, discomfited and put them to flight. But Tricipitiuns whiles he lay full encamped in the marches of the Herniks, milked of the army of the Robbers: which was conducted over the Mountains of Prene, from whence they came down into the Champsian, and spoiled the territories of Prene and Gaces: and from thence they fetched a compass about unto the Mountains of Tufculum. The City of Rome likewise was put in great fear, rather upon the iidemanan occurrence of this alarm, than for any want of power to resist their violence. Quinque Fabii, at that time was Proovit or President of the City, who put the youth in armor, disposed guards in places convenient, and made all safe and in good security. The enemies therefore who had raised a booty out of the parts adjoining, durst approach no nearer, but call about with their army and retired: and further they went from their enemies City, so much the more careless they were, until they light upon the Col. Lucerins, who by his epilals and scouls, was at one time acquainted what ways they would take, and was ready also to try battle. So with refection and prepared hearts, they set upon them, that with the idem than were amazed. And albeit they were in number fewer, yet they discomfited and put to flight a mighty multitude of them, and drove them within the hollow valleys, where because they had no ready way to get out, they kept them inclosed on every side in such fort, that the whole name and nation weinper of the Volscians, there utterly perish.

In some Chronicles I find that there were 13470 slain in the fight and chase, and 1350 taken Prisoners alive, and 27 eneign or banners brought away. It may be well that the number perhaps doth somewhat exceed the truth, yet a great laughter there certainly was, The Conils having achieved this victory, and gotten a mighty great prey, returned into the same landing camp again. Then pitched both Conils together, and the Volscians joyantly with the Equians, rallied their Forces thus decayed and weakened, into one place, and made one entire army. This was the third field fought, in that one year, and by the same good Fortune the Romans want the victory: and having vanquished the enemies, they were Makers alio of the camp. Thus the City of Rome recovered her seat, and returned to her ancient good estate. But this happy success in war, immediately stirred up civil troubles at home. C. Terentius Atis, for that year a Tribun of the Commons, supposing in the abien e of the Conils, good opportunity was offered to let on foot the Tribuns actions, and their proceedings: for certain days together gave not over before the Commons, to accuse the great pride and inflency of the Nobles; but especially he inveighed against the Conils Regiment, as being too absolute, and in a free state into liberty, For in name only (quoth he) leis odious and hateful it is than that of the K. K, but in fact in very dead, more grievous and cruel. For why? Instead of one Lord, the City hath received twain, and those having authority beyond all measure, unlimited and infinite: who being them-

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\textit{I be third Book of T. Livius.}

...selves at their own liberty and unbridled, turned the edge of all fright and dreadful Laws; yea, and the rigor of all punishment, against the Commons. But left that their licentiousness should continue for ever, he was minded to prefer and publish a Law, by virtue whereby of there should be five men created, who should set down certain conditions, to limit and gage the authority of the Conuls: and look what authority and commission the people granted out upon them the fame should the Conuls exercise, and no more, and not rule of themselves, and use their own will and licentious left in stead of Law. This act being once published, and the Nobles fearing, left whiles the Conuls were away, they should be taken down and yoked. Quin. Fabius President of the City, assembled the Senate, who so bitterly and sharply inveighed against the Law and the Law-giver himself that if both the Conuls themselves had stood about the Tribun of purpose to contradict and cross his proceedings, there had been no threats nor terrible menaces left for them, to have thundered out. For he laid forth unto his charge, that he had lain in wait and now having spied the time to fit his purpose, had given the venture to affail the C.W. and the State, and in case the Gods in their wrathful displeasure had lent among them such a Tribun as he the year before together with war and pestilence, there had been no remedy then, but he must have had his way, and then they had been all undone. For when the Conuls both were dead, and the City lay bed-rid as it were, in a miserable confusion of all things, he would have made laws then indeed, to the utter abolishing of the Conuls authority out of the Common-wealth, and been a ring-leader to Volcians and Æquians both, for to have assailed the City. For what might not he have lawfully done by virtue of his place? If the Conuls had either proudly or cruelly proceeded against any one Citizen, he might have entred an Action against them, and convinced them for both before those very Judges, of whom peradventure some one had been by them hardly dealt withal. This would have been the course and end of it. And he that thus did, should not cause the Conuls authority and rule, but the Tribuns power to become odious and intolerable, which having been of late well quieted and reconciled unto the Nobles, began now ariew to come unto the old places, and to be troublesome again. Neither intreated he him not to go on still as he had began. But ye my Matters (quoth Fabius) that are the rest of the Tribuns, we would requite you to consider well that point especially: That this power you have, was brought in for the succour and relief of every particular person, and not to the general prejudice and undoing of all. Again, that ye are created Tribuns of the Commons, not enemies of the Nobles, A heavy and lamentable case it is to us, odious and hateful unto you and will breed you much ill will and displeasure, in case the C.W, now forform, should thus be invaded and affaited. Ye shall love nothing of your own right. I assure you, nor, you shall avoid much mislike and hatred of men, in case ye be in hand and deal with your brother Tribun, to put off this matter and defer it wholly until the Conuls coming. Why, the very Æquians and Volcians themselves the last year, when both our Conuls were dead of the plague prefied not hardly upon us, to prosecute any proud and cruel war against us. So the Tribuns commended and persuaded with Tarentians: and this his commenced suit or action being adjourned in outward show, but in very truth let fall quite and disfamed, the Conuls forthwith were sent for home. Licentio returned enriched with a right great booty, but with far greater honor and renown. \textit{Who at M} his very first coming was himself more glory. by laying abroad in \textit{Mars} field all the prizes, that every man for three days space might know his own and have it away. All the rest, that had no owners to come forth and make claim, was sold in port-sale. By all men consent, the Conul was thought worthy of triumph; howbeit that matter was put off by reason that the Tribun had not yet done with his law: which was the thing that the Conul thought meet should be first regarded. The matter was debated and created for certain days, both in the Senate and also before the people. At last the Tribun yeilded to the Majesty of the Conul and gave it over. Then was due honor rendered both to the General and also to the army accordingly. He triumphed over the Volcians and Æquians: and in his triumph his own legions followed after him. To the other Conul grained it was that he should in a kind of triumph called \textit{Oriol}, ride into the City, but not without his foildiers. The year next ensuing, the Law \textit{Tarentina} was by the whole CoEdge or fellowship of the Tribuns revived and propounded again: which put the new Conuls \textit{P. Velleii} and \textit{S. Volcius} to some trouble. And in the same year the state seemed to be on a light fire, and there was an exceeding earthquake. And that which the year afore was no credit given unto, was now for truth believed, to wit, Thara a Cow did speak. Amongst other strange wonders it rained flesh: during which flower, a huge number of fowls flew among, and were reported to have snatcht it and carr'd it away as it was in falling. But that which fell down and stattet their tallons, lay scattered here and there for certain days in such a forth, as the fencech changed not at all, nor the flesh one jot taken and corrupted. Then the books of \textit{Sibilla} were perused by the Duumuris debated over matters of Religion who fore-told of some dangers to enyle by a Company of strangers, and gave warning to look left happy some assault should be made upon the highest places of the City, and thereof a slaughter and massacre enyle. Amongst the rest, warning was given to abstain from civil discord and mutinies: which the Tribuns found fault with: as a devisd mater to hinder the law. Whereupon great debate and contention was like presently to grow. But behold, (that the revolution and consile of trouble might turn about every year to the same point,) The Hermits bring news that the Volcians had Æquians for all their wings were wellcliped,
A ped, and their forces greatly decayed, began together and levy new armies; Item, That in Anni
num lay the whole weight and importance of the affairs, and all depended upon it: That the An-
tiarch coloners held their councils and had their meetings in open balls, as Etectum, but Anti-
arch was the principal fear of the war, and from thence came all preparations and forces whatever.
As soon as these news were reported in the Senate, order was given to muster soldiers: and that
the Consuls should part between them the administration and managing of their war, so as the one
should have the charge against the Volsci, and the other against the Aquilans. But the Tri-
buns ran out openly in the common Hall before the people, "That this was but a made mat-
ter of the Volsci war, and a tale devised by the Hermis, who were suborned and framed to
play their parts in the Pageant, and to serve the turn of the Nobles. And that now verily the
freedom of the people of Rome was not oppressed or endangered by plain prose & virtue,
but finely shifted off and dailied cunningly withal, by flye and crafty inventions. And for all
as it was an unlikeliest thing and incredible, that the Volsciens and Aquillans after so great
slaughter committed upon them, whereby they were all in a manner killed up, should be able of
them selves to wage war there, for all things new enemies fought out: A faithful Colony near
adjoining, was now hundred and defamed: war was pretended for a show against the Quiriti
and innocent Antiarch; but in truth, intended with the very Commons of Rome, whom they
were to drive out of the City, and make them Citizens也就是说.." God knows
whither) to be avenged at length of the Tribuns. And thus the Law (lay the Tribuns, for they
muit think their drift is to this end and to none other) should be troden under foot, unless
whiles all is entire and whose, and nothing done, whiles they remain at home in their houses,
whiles they be in their houses, they take heed and look well about them, that they be not dif-
possessed of the City, and take the yoke of servitude upon their necks: affuring them that if
their hearts only served, they should want for no help; and that all the Tribuns agreed and were
of one mind, that there was no cause of fear abroad, no fowre war to trouble them; last of all,
that the very providence of the Gods the year before restored them that their liberty might with
safety be defended. These and such Remontrances gave the Tribuns out. On the other
part, the Consuls casting their eyes on the bad to be set, even in their fight and presence, began to
matter. Thither ran the Tribuns down in all haste, and drew the whole assembly of people with them.
And, to make as it were a proof and tryst, some few by name were called, and straight-
ways began a lit. For whom overseas the Sergeant by the Consil his commandment arrested, the
Tribuns charged again that he should let go. And neither side contained within the limities
and compacts of their commission and fruitful authority: but premised of their might and strong
hand, to attain unto their desired purpose. For even as the Tribuns had demanced themselves
in forbidding the matter, semblably the senators besfirred themselves to stop the law for going for-
ward: which was propounded every Court day, and when the people might assemble. And ever-
more the brash began, when the Tribuns commanded the people to avoid the Hall, for that the
Parlament would not endure them to be set out and exit. Few or none of the ancients would
be present at these trouble, some elifs, being in such as were not to be managed and ordered by fage
Council, but wholly left to the rashness and boldness of young and green heads. The Consils also
were much absent, and forbear to be in place, for fear left in such a conilled hurribity their Ma-
jecty and dignity, might have been infected to some shameful contumely and disgrace. But there
was among them one Quidus Quintus, a lusty young Gentleman and a stout, in regard both of his
noble parentage, as also of the goodly tall personage and strength of his body. Besides these good
parts that God had bestowed upon him, he had won himself many ornaments by landry exploits
achieved in wars; He had within an eloquent speech and a good grace at the bar, so as, in one word,
throughout the whole City, there was not one thought to be more ready in tongue, or
taller of his hands. This Quidus Quintus finding in the midst of the Nobles, higher to be seen above all the
rest, as that in his speech and strength, carried afore him the countenance and authority of all
Dictators and Consuls, was the only man that bare off the brunts of Tribuns, and forms of the
common people. Many a time were the Tribuns driven out of common Hall, the Commonalty
defeated and put to flight by the conduct of this Captain. Whomsoever came within his reach,
was sure to go away throughly beaten, and a fearful. So as it evidently appeared, if this
course might have been allowed, the law had soon been checked and overthrown. Now when all
the other Tribuns besides being there with dismayed and well armed, Antiarch alone,
being one of their fellowship, was to bold, as to enter an action against Quidus of a capital crime.
By which deed of his, he rather fired, than leared his hot and furious nature. For so much the
more eagerly withstood he the Law, coursed and troubled the Commons, and persecutted the Tri-
buns as it were with open war. The plaintiff in the mean time, suffered the defendant to run on
still, and with many oratudes to kindle more coals of ill will and hatred upon his own head, and
to minister further matter of crimes to be charged with. And all the while he ceased not to press
the Law to proceed, not so much of any hope to bring it to pass, as to provoke and set on work the
giddy head and humorous vein of Quidus. Whereby, it came to pass that many follies and crimes
were committed both in word and deed, by the younger fort: and evermore the blame light upon
poor Quidus: he alone was always charged, because he had been once impeached. But nevertheless
he gain'd way and crost the Law, and Anitus Virginius ever and anon would entertain the Com-
mons with thefe and fuch like speeches, "See ye not already (quoth he) Quirites, that ye may
not now have Cæfo your Citizen, and the law which you desire both together. But what mean
I to fpeak of your Law? It is your liberty that he infringeeth and feteth himfelf againft, and in
pride and arrogancy he exceedeth all the Tarquinius that ever were. But wait, ye were befent until
he be made a Conun or Dictator, whom ye fee already, being but a private perfon to bear him-
self to greatly of his strength and boldnefs, as to Lord it over you, and rule as a King. Many fo-
othed the Tribune and laid the like, adding moreover, how they had been well knocked and bea-
ten at his hands: and were forward enough of themfelves to fett the Tribune on, to proceed in
his commenced action againft him.

Now was the law day of judicial trial come: and it leemed abroad, that all men verily thought
that the very foundation of their liberty conftited in the condemnation of Cæfo. In conclufion,
driven he was with much indignity and shame, to creep and crouch unto every uman, submifly
creaving their favor one after another. There fancoed him his kindred and recrec friends the bent
men of the City, Tullus Quinthus Capitolinus, who had been thrice Cefili, fpake in his behalf: and
after he had reckoned up many honors and dignities, both of his own and aof his family, af{}-
med, that neither in the home and race of Quinini, nor yet throughout the City of Rome, was ever
fene fo great towardnes, no fuch fhew and likelikood of ripe and perfect vertue and proueus as in
Cæfo faying, that he had been fift his fouldier, and ferved under him: and that with his own
eyes he had fene him ofteimes fight valiantly hand to hand with his enemies in the field. Again
Kep. Fanfs made this good report of him, That upon a time, when himelf was in great diftreß
and extremity, Cæfo was fent unto him from Quinthus Capitolinus, to help at a pinch: and that there
was no one man, by whole good service, as he thought, the Weal- pubblic at that time was more
relied and reforred, then by his, L. Lucceius the Conufi laft year before glittier in his bright
grdoi foith and now, joined with the ret: allowing Cæfo partaker with him in his praiue-worthly
acts: he recounted his brave combats, reheared his noble exploits, both in his rodes and voiges,
and in the pight fielde-riding & confonelling them in that any way they would contain him fill
for to be a Citizen of their own City, rather then of any other, this excellent young gentleman,
furnished with all good gifts of nature and fortune, like to prove a singular fary of the publifh
affairs, into what City and State ever he fhould come. As for thofe hea and halines (quoth he) L.
which was in him miifked and offensive, age and time would daily diminish, and bereave him
of it: grave and fage counfell, which now was wanting, would come on space every day more
then other. Seeing therefore his fults waxed old and faded, his vertues now were in their growth,
flourifh'd, and grew ripe unto perfection: they fhould permit to brave, to rare a perfon, to live
filly among them, and be a good old man in this their City. His father among the ret, L. Quin-
inius, furname Ceninvarus, went another way to work: who by not iterating fill his praiues,for fear of
heaping more matter of envy and repine, but craving pardon for his widnefs and youthful de-
mnour, befoule: them for his fame at leafewife, to give the lion as a preuent to his father, who
neither in word nor deed had ever offended any perfon. Some rook no heed and gave a deaf ear
to his prayers, either for modefte and reverenc, or for fear. Others complaining how they and M.
their's been beaten and hardly ufed at his hands, bewraile and fhewed plainly by their fhred
and church anwers what their judgment was. Besides, the common miilke and male concei-
ved againft the defendant, there was one perilous matter and crime above all that touched him
very neer. And that was this: M. Volteius Filerus, who certain years before had been Tribune of
the Commons, came in againft him as a wittes, and depoled, how that not long after the plague
was in the City, he hapned upon a company of youthes as they made a riot and robbery in the
Subura: where there arde a brawland fray, in which his elder brother, a man well in years, and
not throughly recovered of his ficknefs, was with a buffet with Cefo his fift fell'd to the ground,
and lay there for dead: fo as he was faine to be had home between men arms: and as he deemed,
of that blow he died: yet might not he as hainous as the fact was, bring his action and profecute
him, for fear of the Conuits of thefe fett years. As Volteius therefore, the whole court was
moved therewith, in fo much that Cæfo escaped hardly, from being murdered, in that rage and fu-
rey of the people. Then Virginius commanded to lay hold on the man, and to have him away to
prifon, The Paritius again by force refifted force, T. Quinthus cried out. That he who was under
arrett for to make his appearance, and aniver at a day for his life, and who fhottly fhould come
to bighial and be judged, ought not beforeentence of condemnation, and before he had pred-
plead themselves, thus violentely be miiffed. The Tribune replied again, That his meaning was not
to punish him before he were condemned: howbeit by his leave he would be to boold as keep
him faft in prifon, to be forth-coming at the lau day: that he who had killed a man, might fuf-
fer therefore according to the law of Rome they should award. Then were the Tribunes called un-
to for their help, who by the means of an indifferent decree then made, fhewed their lawful fa-
vours with heed. By verne whereof they forbidd expressly, that he fhould not be imprisoned but
pronounced that it was their wil and pleasure, that the defendant fhould personally appear, and
a piece of money be promis'd unto the people, in cafe he made deuice and failed of his ap-
pearance. Much question there was what sum of money fhould be thought reasonable to be pro-
mised. And the matter was put over unto the Senate to be decided: and whilst the Senators fate
there-
A thereupon, the defendant was kept still in ward within the common Hall. At length they thought it good and set it down, that he should put in iuries. And they bound each iury in 2000 fl. After, how many of these should put in bond, was left to the will and discretion of the Tribunes, which was a long time past with the defendant. And no more. With for many iuries the plaintiff bound the defendant personally and permanently to appear at his day. This man was the 1st Roman that went under iuristic and put in good pledges to make his public answer. Thus being enlarged out of the common Hall and dismissed the next night following, unwares to the Conisil, he departed to the Thanes into exile. When the day of this judgement was come, and that it was ali- 
ed for his excite. That he was out of the town, and gone into banishment: yet nevertheless,
The Proclamation of Appius Herdonius, Captain of the slaves.

The Oration of P. Vatrus to the people.

their number was, they paied the rest of the night, disposing strong watch and ward in all meet and convenient places of the City. But the day light disclosed the war and the Captain thereof. Appius Herdonius from out of the Capitol proclaimed freedom to all bondmen that would come and follow him: taking upon him fortooth to defend the cause of most miserable captifs: namely, to restore home again unto their native country all such exiled persons, as had been wrongfully expelled, and allow to take away the heavy yoke of slavery and bondage. Which thing he could with it might be effected and brought about with the good will and helping hand of the people of Rome. But in case there were no hope & comfort there then he would lay the Volscians & Eequians ye, and procure what means he could, by all hard courtes and extremities whatsoever. Now the Nobles and Coff, began to see more into the matter: and besides those dangers that were in view, and presently threatening, they feared some practice from the Volscians or the Sabinus: and few, there being already many enemies in the City, the legions and Ticuians shold combine together, and come upon them. Over and besides, let their old enemies and perpetual, the Volscians & Eequians should now at once, not, as aforetime, invade their borders and drive booties, but give an attempt upon the very City, which was already in some part, taken and possessed by enemies. Many and sundry were their fears. But of all other the dread and jealousy of their own bond slaves presented unto them most imminent and present danger: for fear, left every man harboured his enemy at home in his own house, whom neither he could trust securely, nor yet mistrust without some jeopardy: fearing left being once dissevered, he might prove the more malicious and bent to do a mischief. And to such frights they were driven, that with all their concord and agreement, they hardly were able to remedy the matter, and to stop the extremity. So greatly the future troubles like to ensue, exceeding those that presently appeared and were inight, that no man feared either Tribuns and Commons. That mild and gentle kind of malady, in comparison of others, and rising always by occasion of reft from all other. Seemed then by reason of a foreign terror, filled clean and brought aflee. And yet see, that was the only thing in a manner that lay harded upon them, ready to bear down to the ground their state, which now began already to shrink and reell. For so intirely and madly were the Tribuns bent, that they flily would stand to it, and bear men in hand, That it was no war, but a vain illusion and colour of war, and no other, that had teiled on the Capitol for nothing else but to withdraw the minds of the Commons from intending and following their Law: and that a fort of clients, followers, and favorites of the Nobility and Gentry were gathered together, who if they might once perceive that the Law were passed, and that all the ill thev had made, took no effect, would flip away soon and be gone, in more silence I wis, than they thither came. Whereupon they called the people away from their armor and weapons, and summoned them to an assembly, to go through with their Law and Enact it now or never. In the mean time the Coff held a Council fearing a greater mischief to ensue from the Tribuns, the enemies had wrought in the night season. And when word was brought that arms were laid away, and that the people had abandoned their quarters where they were set in guard, then P. Val, leaving his colleague to keep the Senat together, departed hastily out of the Court & went straight into the Temple to the Tribuns: 'What work is here my Masters (unto he:) that are Tribuns? M'

Are ye about to overthrow the State indeed, under the conduct of Appius Herdonius? and who was not able to foli it and do any thing with your bond slaves and servants, was his hap good as to corrupt and instigate your selves? Is this your pleasure and to your good liking, whiles the enemy is over our heads, to have our armor laid aside, and laws preferred? Then turning his speech to the whole multitude: I ye take no regard nor care (O Quirites) of the City if ye pas not for your selves yet have some reverence, and stand in fear of the Gods of your native country, which by your enemies are now taken Prisoners and captive. Is, that most bountiful and Almighty God, Queen Juno and Minerva, with all the rest of Gods, Goddeses (and heavenly lights) are befieged: Outlaws and bond slaves are encamped about your Tsueral Gods, and have in possession the Prorectors and Patrons of your City. Is this, think ye, the form of a wife and well governed City? Is it in good case indeed and as it ought to be? So many enemies nor only within the walls, but also afoot upon the hill within the City, over looking and condemning both Hall and Court: and all the while, the people assembled in the Hall. Senators sit in Court like as when we enjoyed peace and were at rest: the Senator he delivereth his opinion at the Council boord: the citizens of Rome besides, are but in their ingredients and giving their voyces. And had her not been more meet and decent that both Nobility and Commonality, Consuls and Tribuns. God and Man, all armed together, should let to their helping hand, should run up into the Capitol to deliver, fast and in quiet that most lately and face passing honore of Hp.

Opt. Macc. O Father Roundall, vouchsafe, I beseech thee, that mind and that courage unto thy succours and policy, whereby some time thou didst recover and win again this freedom from those fame Sabins, betrayed and lost by corruption, and for a sum of gold: command them to enter even that way which thou first ledst, and thy valorous army followed after. Lo, I the Consul fail, but forth as a mortal man possibly may, will follow thee an immortal God, and thy footsteps. The conclusion of his speech was this, That as he put himself in arms, so all the Romans shall do the like, And in case any man went about to hinder this he would without regard of Consuls rule and dignity, or Tribuns authority & might, pass for no faced or inviolable laws: but what
The third Book of T. Livius.

A or otherwise he was in Capitol, in market place, all as one, take him for an enemy, and deal accordingly, let the Tribuns (for as much as they forbade to take arms against Ap. Herodotus) command hardyly, and spare not, to arm against P. Valerius the Conful: it should be well seen that he would dare and do that by the Tribuns, which the first of his house and name sometime had done by the KK. A great broil was toward, and no other like, but that they would have gone together by the ears, and that the mutiny of the Romans, would have been a godly spectacle to the enemies for to behold. But all this while, neither could the law be preferred, nor the Conful go up into the Capitol. The night at length stayed the brants begun, and built all, the Tribuns bearing the armed forces of the Conils, yeilded to the darkness of the night, and gave over, Now when the principal Authors of the discord were once gone out of the way, The Nobles went about to the Commons, intruding themselves into their companies as they were not in knots together: where they would enter into talk and discourse with them, according to the present occasions and the time, admonishing them to take heed into what danger they brought the State, for as much as now (quoth they) it is not a matter of debate between the Senators and Commons: but both Senators and Commons, the Cattle and strongest hold of the City, the Temples of the Gods; their houses both publick and private, were ready to be yeilded unto the enemies. While these things were a practicing in the common place, for to appease the detention: the Conuls for fear, left the Sabins or the Venetians, enemies both, should stir and rise, were gone to the gates, and all about the walls. The same night came tidings also to Tusculum of the taking of the Castle, the surpriung of the Capitol, and likewise of the trouble some State wherein the City was, At that time was L. Camillus, Dictator of Tusculum: he forthwith called a Senate together, brought in the Messengers of the foretold news, and thought it very expedient and needful not to wait until there came Embassadors from Rome to crave their aid: for that the present peril it fell alone, the urgent necessity, their social Gods, and the faithful bond of league, required no less at their hands than to rend succors: adding moreover, that the Gods would never give them the like occasion and opportunity again, to gratifie the Romans: to bind and oblige them by a bound benefit and pleasure done, to mighty a City, and to confer a neighborly benefit. Whereupon it was decreed, to receive them with all speed. The able men of service were taken up and enrolled, mention and armor given them in their hands: who advancing toward Rome by break of day, seemed a far off to be enemies, and were taken for the Aequians or Volkitian.

But afterwards, when this foolish fear was overblown, they were received into the City: and marched down in order of barrell to the market place. Where, at the same time Pulb. Valerius having left his fellow Conul to guard and fortify the gates, was setting his men in array. The authority of the man had prevailed with the people, for he promised and affirmd them, that if the Capitol were once recovered, and the City fell in quiet, if they would suffer him to be informed what fraudulent and secret mischief was underhand practiced by the Tribuns under colour of this Law, he would in remembrance of his ancestors, and of his surname (which in regard of the affectionate love unto the people, as a special care, as it were by inheritance from his forefathers, was recommended unto him) not hinder and trouble the meetings and assemblies of the Commons, nor cross and thwart their proceedings. They followed him therefore as their Captain, and they the Tribuns what they could (for all would not serve) advanced forward, and matched up against the rising of the Capitol Hill. The Tusculan Legion stuck close unto them, and followed after. Citizens and Associates both did their best, and strove who should regain the Capitol first, and have the honor of that day. Each Captain exhorted and encouraged his men, then began the enemies to fear, and will not well what to tryst unto, but only the intuition of the place. Then the Romans and their allies seeing their fear, came forward and advanced their standards against them. Now by this time were they broken into the port of the Temple. Where P. Valerius fighting manfully among the formost in the vanguard, was slain, P. Valerius a Consul, F. F. a Consular man, saw him when he fell: who gave his men in charge to cover his body, and kept himself into the Consils room, and fought in his stead. The soldiers for heat and eagernes of fight, took no regard, and came to no knowledge of this so great mischance, but got the victory, ere they knew that they fought without their Captain. Many of the outlaws were there slain, and polluted the Temple with their blood. Many taken alive Prisoners, and Herodotus himself was slain outright, so the Capitol was again recovered. The captives, as they were either bond or free, were executed every one according to their condition and place. The Tusculians had thanks given them. The Capitol was cleansed, purged, and hallowed anew. The Commons, as it is reported, call’d Quadrans or mice into the Consil his house, that he might with greater pomp of funerals be brought to the ground.

When all was appeased and in quiet, the Tribuns were called with the Nobles to perform the promise of P. Valerius: they were instant also with L. Lucullus, to afford the soul, and keep it from blame of his fellow Conul late deceased: and to permit the law to be fet on foot and go forward. The Conul studiously demised to suffer them to meddle with the law before he had instituted a fellow in his place. And these contentions held unto the time of the grand Election for the filling up of a new Conul. And in the month December, after much fit and laboring of the Nobles, was L. Q. Cincius Consul, the father of Cato, created Conul and presently to enter into his office. The Commons herewith were much troubled and stricken dead, now that they
they were to have an angry Conful, and mighty withal: considering the favour of the Nobles, wherein he stood, and his own virtue & prowess beside; by reason also of this three sons of whom there was not one, that for hauteur of mind came behind Cæs, and for wisdom, discretion, and moderation (when time and occasion served) went far beyond him. Who being once entrèd into his office, in all his publick speeches and orations, continually ceased not as well to bridle, restrain, and keep in the Commonality, as also to chastife sharply the Senate; through the remembrance of which degree & want of courage, it was come to pass that the Tribuns became now to continue still in office, and not as in the Common-wealth of the people of Röm, but as in some unly and disordered house, with their lawful tongue raised as it were, and ruled the colo: saying, That to gether with his son Cæs all virtue and constancy, all commendable qualities that grace young Gentlemen both in war and peace, were chased and utterly banished out of the City of Röm.

In lieu whereof, blablers, mutinous persons, and lowers of faction and division, are become Tribuns the second, third, and the third time by imprudent councils & few practises live leafe in the City like Princes and Kings. That same Aclus Virginus there, (quoth he) hath he delivered less punishment than Apl. Herodion, because he was not in the Capitol with the rabble of other Rebels? Nay, much more a good deal, it would weigh the matter a great and truly.

Herodion, (if there were nothing else) yet by professing himself to be an enemy, advertisit you, and gave you warning in a manner to arm your selves. But he, by bearing you down to confess, that there was no war, what did be else but disarm you, and as it were, take your weapons from you, and offer you naked to the devotion and mercy of your bondmen and outlaws? And have ye (under correction be it spoken, and laying the reverence and honor of C. Claudius here, and P. Valerius that dead is) advanced your enigms up the Capitol Hill, before you had rid the market place and common Hall of their enemies? It is a shame (before God and man I speak it) when our enemies were in the Capitol and Capitol, when the Captain and Ringleader of outlaws and slaves, abode and lodged within the Chappels and Sanctuaries of Cap, Opt. Mex., to the proclamation and polluting of all, that they at Tufculum should take them to their weapons before us of Röm, and that it should be doubted, whether L. Mamilius the Tusculum General, or P. Valerius, and C. Claudius, the Roman Consils, should have the Fortresses of Röm: and that we, who heretofore would not suffer the Latins in their own defence, when they had their enemies in their borders, should again as once to take weapon in hand, should now our selves have been surprised and demolished, had not they, the very same Latins of their own accord, put themselves into armor for our fakes, in this your succouring and helping the Commons; (O ye Tribuns) to expel and cast them unarmed before the enemy, to have their throats cut? I wis, if the meanest or basest person of your commonality, which you have dismembrd from the whole body of the people been fided, and made it, as it were the native country of your own, and a Common-wealth peculiar only to your selves: If any one of them I say, should bring you word, that his house was burnt about, with a company of servants and slaves in armor, you would think it meet that he were aided and succourd: And when Cap, Opt. Mex., was besieged with a power of armed onlaws and bondslaves, was he not worthy of man help? And yet these men would be counsell, and held for Sacrosancti, i. Sacred and inviolable, with whom the very Gods themselves are M. not fared and inviolate. And notwithstanding, that ye are thus overchargd and stayned with sins both against God and Man, ye go up and down, and say, That this year you will get your law to pass, and make it sure. In truth if ye prefer it again, then I must needs say the Common-weal is ill bled, and had a shrewd turn that day whereon I was created Conils, and wrore a good deal so at what time P. Valerius the Conful was slain. But now first and foremost (quoth he) O Quires, my colleague and I both, are minded to lead forth our legions immediately against the Volscians and the Equians, show the Divine Providence of God hath appointed it, I know not, but surely we find the Gods more gracious and favorable unto us in our wars ordinarily, than in time of peace. And in what danger we had with those nations, in case they had known that the Capitol was in the hands and possession of outlaws, better it is to gust by that which is past, than to try indeed by present experience. The Conful his Oration moved and galled the Commons; The Nobles took heart, and were in a good belief that the world was well mended, and the state better reformed. The other Cof, more hearty to follow than to lead, and who was well content, that his fellow had broken the ice before, and taken in hand to deal first into weighty a matter, willingly challenged unto himself the charge to perform the pret & office of a Conful, in the execution and accomplishment of those desings. But then the Tribuns made a game therat, and letting light at the Conful his words, inferred again and demanded, how the Conuls would lead out an army, and no man suffer them to moulder flourishes. Marry (quoth Quires) we need no muttering at all: for, at what time as P. Valerius armed the Commons to recover again the Capitol, they were all sworn up to him, and took their oath in this form, To observe together at the Conful his commandement, and not depart from their colours without his leave and licence. We will and charge you all therefore, that have taken this oath to present your felves to morrow, with your armour at the lake of Regillus without fail. Then the Tribuns began to cavil and wrangle and would needs have the people dischargd in their conscience of that oath; alitting how they would take that military Sacrament. Quires was but a private person, There was not as yet, that neglect & contempt of the Gods entered into the world, which now reigneth every where and is to rife: neither did men interpret their oaths, and continue laws, to serve their own purpose,
The third Book of T. Livius.

A purpose, but rather attempted and framed their lives and demeanour thereunto. The Tribunes therefore, seeing no hope to hinder the thing, began themselves to treat about setting forward the army: and the rather, because there ran a rumour abroad, that the Angors were commanded to attend at the lake Regillus: and that by them a place should be hallowed and consecrate there, wherein the Conuls might duly commune and confer with the people, concerning all matters, according to the flight of birds: to the end that whatsoever at Rome had passed under a law, entered by the violent force of the Tribunes: the same might there in a lawfull assembly and general Session, be abrogated & made void by the suffrages of the soldiers, who without doubt would accord to that, which should请and the Conuls pleasure. For by reason that there was no B appeale in force without the city, above one, the Tribunes themselves also, if they came thither, should be subject as well as the multitude besides of the people, to the commandment of the Conuls. These matters feared them indeed and put them in a bodily fear, but the greatest thing above all the rest that disquieted their hearts was this, that Q. Licinius oftentimes had given out and said, that he would not call an assembly of the people for the election of Conuls, for that the city was grown far out of frame and temper, that it might not be reformed and cured with ordinary and usual remedies: but that the Common-wealth had more need of a Dictator, that whooeover were about to trouble the state of the city, might well know that there was an absolute D. Atarship, that checked all appeals. The Senat was assembled at that time in the Capitol: this time came the Tribunes with their Commons greatly disquieted and troubled. The multitude cried C out and betought one while the Conuls of their favour, another while the LL. of the Senat of D their protection; but could not once remove the Conul from his opinion (such a pitch had he taken) before the Tribunes gave their word and faithfull promise, that they would be wholly ruled and ordered by the Senators. Then the Conul pronounced the demands and petitions of the Tribunes and Commons, and the Senat enacted these orders and decrees. First, that neither the Tribunes should that year prefer their law: nor the Conuls lead out of the city any army. Item, from henceforth, the Senat deemed it not to stand with the weal publick, that Magistrates should continue still in place from year to year, and that the same persons should be more than once chosen Tribunes. The Conuls for their part, were overruled and ordered by the Senators. But, lay and gainlay what the Conuls would, the same Tribunes were chosen anew: and the Nobles also because they would not be one ace behind hand with the Commons, would needs choose L. Quentin as his wife for their Conul again. But all the year through was not the Conul more earnest and vehemenc in any action and speech whatsoever then in this. Should I marvell my Lords of the Council (spoth he) that you bear no stroke with the Commonly, and your authority is so little worth among? Why, you, even your own selves let light thereby: seeing forboth, the Common they, brake the ordinance of the Senat, touching the continuance of Magistrates yeares also, because ye would E not seem to yield one inch in summe and folly to the multitude, are as ready and willing to F enrage the famer: as who would say; this were to have more rule and authority in a city, namely, to use more levity, incon sistence, and licentiousnesse. For it is a point of much more lightnesse G and vanity, I assure you, for men to disfarrall the acts and decrees of their own making, then of H others. Ye that be Senators and Fathers of the C. Wiminate, and Iaparte not, the ignorant, lewd I and incomconsiderate multitude: ye that should give good examples to others, sin ye hardly your selves, and do amends by the others: neither then let others by your example do well: J too large as I, for my part, take not after the Tribunes, nor suffer my selve to be declared Colagin, by K an express act of the Senat. As to you, O Claudius, I would exhort you, that both your felow would L restrain the people of Rome of this their licentiousnesse, that they have not their defire, and M all that you would pervade your felow thus much of me, that to farce will I be from thinking N my honour by you impared, rather I will take my glory to be increased by the defiling and O refusing a dignity, and the ill will and envy abated and diminished, that might grow upon the P communion thereof. Whereupon both the Conuls jointly together made an edict and proclamation Q that no man shouild by his voice Jo nominal Quinins, Conul: and if any man did, they would not allow of his election. So there were created Conuls. Q. Fabius Vibulanus the third time, and S L. Cornelius Malagonius the first in this year was held a seeling and numbering of the citizens, but touching the Lustrum, there was some estate of conference, because the Capitol had been taken, and the Conull flaim. When Q. Fabius and L. Cornelius were thus Conuls, suddenly in the very beginning of their year began great treaties for the Tribunes on the one side, as their guile was, let the Commons work the Latins and Herinicks on the other side, sent word of great wars from the Volcicns & Equians: that the Volcicns legions were already at Anniwm, and the Colicin is felt greatly suspected to rebel. Yet hardly could the Tribunes be brought to agree, that preparation should be made forth and to prevent this war. But upon these news, the Conuls parted between themselves the charge of all affairs. Fabius was appointed to lead forth an army to Anniwm: and Cornelius to abide at Rome for the defence of the city, for fear left some part of their enemies. As the Equians manner was in running camp make rodes and forget the territories about. The Herinicks and Latins were by virtue of the league, charged with the finding of certain soldiers, so that the whole army should consist ofij parts of consedates and one third of citizens. When, at the day appointed the Allies were come, the Conul pitched down his tents without the gate Capena: from whence when he had taken a general mutter and purged his armie, he marched towards Anniwm.
and encamped himself not far, either from the town, or the standing camp of his enemies: where H. the Volscians seeing no forces yet come unto them from the Aequians, had no heart to fight, but made preparation how they might keep themselves quiet and safe, within their mure and ramp.

The morrow after, Fabius made not one entire battell of Allies and citizens mingled togeth., but three battells severally by themselves, of three sundry nations, & ranged them along all about the countercarp and trench of his enemies. Himself was in the midst with the Roman legions, and gave commandment to observe heedfully and mark the signall: that the Allies also should both begin battell and also retire, when he found the retret. In like sort he placed the horsermen behind the Principe at the back of each ballest. Thus in three sundry parts he assailed the camp, and environed it round about, and charging lustily hard upon them on every side, he beat the Volscians down from their rampier, for they were not able to endure his violence. And having gotten over all their trenches and fortifications, he drave the fearful multitude clean out of their hold, that now were retir'd to a side and corner of the camp. The horsemen might not easily get over the trench, and flood full of purpose to behold the fight, and to mark their when they should file: but having once gotten them in the open fields, they chased them as they ran a way on heaps: and by killing them in their fearfull flight, deferred their part in that victory. Great was the execution both within the camp, and also without the rampiers, as they fled, but greater was the pillage, for that the enemies had much ado to carry their armour away with them, and but that they throwed themselves as they fled in the woods, they had perish'd every man. During these exploits about Antium, the Aequians having fear before them the talliet and lustieth K. young men they had, intruped the citie of Tusculum, upon a sudden and at unawares in the night, and with the rest of their power they were encamped not far from the walls of Tusculum, intending to interceopt and lay the army of their enemies. Times hierence came in poite to Rome, and from Rome to the camp before Antium: which troubled the Romans as much as it news had been brought, that the Capitol was taken. So freth in remembrance was the late defeat of the Tusculans: and the like jealousy seeming to challenge and redemand remembled and necessity, Fabius issuing all other things aside, caused the booty in all hale to be conveyed out of the camp to Antium: where having left an indifferent guard, he halted in space in order of ballest toward Tusculum; by reason whereof, the soldiers could take nothing with them, but their armour, and such baked or boiled meats as were at hand ready. The Conull (Corvinus) sent a convoy of victuals unto them from Rome. Thus for certain months continued the war at Tusculum. The Conull (Fabius) with one part of his host sallied the camp of the Aequians: for the other part he had let the Tusculans have, to win again their fortres. Against all force it was impregnable, but in the end famine constrained the enemies to abandon it. To which extremity being at length driven, they were by the Tusculans disarmed and compelled to passen under the yoke. Who as they fled homeward with shame enough, were overtaken by the Roman Conull in Alginum, and put to the word every one. After this victory, he encamped with the rest of his army at Colame, for to the pace is named. The other Conull likewise seeing that there was no danger threatening the walls of Rome, now that the enemy was discomfited & repuls'd, departed him self from the city. So the Conulls entering two waies the borders of their enemies, made sharp war and ipovted the Volscians of the one side, and the Aequians on the other. I find in most writers that the Aequians in this year rebelled: and that L. Cornelius the Conull managed that war and won the town. But for as much as there is no mention made of that matter in any ancient writers, I dare not avouch it for a certain truth.

This war was no sooner brought to an end, but the domesticall Tribunes war at home put the Nobles in fear: for the Tribunes cried out that this was cauculose and fraudulent dealing, thus to keep the armies abroad, for nothing els but to dispoint them for publishing the law. Yet nevertheless, since they had begun it, they would not give over, but go through with it, and an end, Howbeit P. Lutcretius, president of the city for the time prevailed thus much with them, That all Tribunitian actions should hang & be deferred unto the coming of the Conulls. There was besides a new occasion arose of fresh trouble. A. Cornelius and Quintus Servillus, Quellors, gave Nummons to M. Volfecus to make his answer at a day, who laid to his charge that he without all doubt, had been falsely witness against Caeo. For by many prelumptions and evidences it appeare, that neither Volfecus his brother, from the first time that he fell sick and took his bed, was at any time seen openly in the streets, or so much as to have fit up, and mended any whilste of that disease which held him many months, he languished and confirmed away to death: nor about that time, whereon the deponent supposed the deed was done, was Caeo once seen at Rome: it being plainly affirmed and proved by those who served together with him in the wars, that he was ordinarily all the time fighting under his colours as well as they, without any passport or licence to depart. And to make this good, many there were that of themselves privately challeged Volfecus, and offered to traverse the law and to be tried by any indifferent and competent judges. But when he durft not abide the trial and to be judged, all these things put together and to commend one to the other made men doubt no more of the condemnation of Volfecus then of Caeo, which was grounded upon the bare testimony of Volfecus. The Tribunes were only the flay, who said plainly they would not suffer the Quellors to hold any feisions or judiciall court, for the trial of the defendant, before they had a solemn assembly about their law. So were both these matters
The third Book of T. Livius.

87

A. matters put off unto the Conuls coming. Who being entered with triumph into the city, with their victorious armies, & no words made of the law, many thought the Tribuns were clean danted and friken dead. But they (for that the year now was at an end) aspiring to be Tribuns the fourth time, left all their hot contention for the law; and reserved themselves wholly to argue and reason at the assembly for the Election of new Magistrates. And albeit the Conuls had sent all their might and main against the continuity of the Tribunship, as earnestly, as if a law had been propagated, tending to the usurping and abridging of their majesty, yet got the Tribuns the malice, and had the hand of them in the end. In this year peace was granted upon respect and petition, unto the Equians. And the Seffing, which the year before began, was now finished.

B. And this was counted the tenth general Survey and tolem purging of the cite from the foundation thereof. There were numbered in the Cente-book of citizens 133419. polities. A glorious and honourable venit was unto the Conuls, both at home and in war. For they not onely procured peace abroad, but also the citie was, if not in perfect concord and unity, yet in little trouble than at other times. L. Minutius, and L. Naunius, that there were created Conuls, entered upon the reliques of the two matters begun the former year. And much after one fort, as the conuls crossed the going forward of the law, to the Tribunes hindered the judiciale proceeding against Vellius. But the new Quellors were men of more power and greater authority. For together with M. Valerius, the son of Valerius, and nephew of Vellius, was T. Quincius Capitolinus created Quellour, a man that had been thrice Conul. For such therefore, as Cæs, the worthieth gentleman of all other, and the very ornament of the youth of Rome, could not be relitried again, neither to the house of the Quinius, nor the commonwealth, be pursued of more pitie, with just & lawfull war, and false witnesse, who would not suffer on any hand the innocent perlone to have the liberty to plead in his own defence. And when Verrines, most of all the other Tribunes was earnest to publish the law, the Conuls had two months repetit given them to consider thereof, and look into it throughly: to the end, that when they had advertised the people what secret fraud and inconvenience was hidden and lurked therein, they might afterwards suffer them to proceed to a crountie, and gather voices accordingly. This space between granted, brought the cite into a good and quiet state.

But the Equians would not abide, that long it should continue; Who having broken the league, which the year before was made with the Romans, chose Gracchus Cælius for their governor and general, who was in those daites the greatest man among the Equians. Under the conduct of this Gracchus, they enterd in warlike manner the country of Lanuvium, and from thence into the territory of Tusculum, looting and timbering as they went: and being laden with preyes and wares, they yett their tents in Algicinu. Thither repaired from Rome into their camp, Q. Fabius P. Valerius, and A. Posthumius as embassadours, to provide of wounds received, and to demand amends and satisfaction according to covenant. The Generall of the Equians seemed to grant them audience, and will'd them to declare what meafage and commision they had from the Senat of Rome, unto the oakes; for that himelfe had some other matters to dispatch the while. Now there grew a mighty great Oakke hard by the General his pavilion, spreading the branches even over it, and the fhowd thereof covered for a cold sitting place. Then one of the Embassadours, as he went his way, * Let both the faced Oakke (quoth he) and what divine power forever is reared in this place, hear and know that by you first the league is broken, who now regard our present complaints, and shortly sliff our valiant armies, when we shall proficere and revenge at once the diuouall breach, both of Gods laws and mans. So soon as the Embassadours were returned to Rome, the Senat gave direction, that one of the Conuls should lead forth an army against Gracchus, into Algicinu, and the other have in commision, to wait the borders of the Equianis. The Tribunes, as their manner was, hindered the matter and peradventure had flared it altogether, but for a new fearful occurrent that suddenly came in the neck of the other. For a mighty power of Sabines were approch'd well near to the walls of the citie, robbing, spoiling and destroying all before them with sword and fire. The territorie was pitiously round about laid desolate, and the citie there withore terrified. Then the Commons from Rome came down, and gently they took weapons in hand: and (say what the Tribuns would against it) two great armies were enrolled. Naunius had the leading of the one against the Sabines: and being encamped at Ercusum, with rides and incursions, and thole for the mott part by night, made such foule work and walt in The Sabines country, that in comparision thereof, the lands about Rome, seemed as if they had not been once touched. Minutius in his exploits, had neither like good succece, nor yet equal courage and volute of heart. For having pitched his tents not far from the enemy, and received no great foile and loike at his hands to speak of, yet he kept himselfe for tear within the camp. When when the enemies perceived, they grew more bold (as can mony the courage of one incense with the courage of another) and sallied the camp in the night lesson: but seeing that plain force little prevailed, the morrow after they raifed mounts, and cast trenches round about. But before they bad with their countermures and rampiers stoped up all passages, five horison, being even among the guards of the enemies, brought newes to Rome, that the Conul with his armes was besieged. Nothing coude there have hapned to little throught of, and unlooked for: whereupon there was such fear, trembling, and quaking, as if the enemies had besieged not the camp, but the very citie, Naunius the Conul they send for, and because they thought him like to doe but small good, they agreed therfore to creat a Dictator, who might
might refer to again the disdrelled state of the C. W. And L. Viques, as Censeourus by content of all H  
men was nominated. Now a world and wonder it is to hear them speak that in regard of riches  
depriest all things else, and suppose there can be no great honour and vertue, but where wealth and  
riches do flow in excede. This L. Viquesius, the only hope of the Romans, a man who was  
to let upright their Empire now disdrelled, occupied then a piece of ground, to the quantity of  
four acres, and called this day Quinta praca, i. Quinctius his meddows, on the other side of Tyber,  
over against that very place, where now the Aranual and Shipdocks are, and there was he found  
digging a ditch, and bearing hard on his ipade, or else a plowing the ground, I wait not whether,  
but bufe and earnest about some fruitful work, no doubt he was and after labours passed  
on both sides between him and the Embaladores that were sent, he was requested by them, that  
I would put on his belt gown, and that which might turn to the good of himself and the com-  
mmonwealth, bear a message from the Senat First, he marvelled what the matter should be & very,of-  
ten asking of them if all were well, the vife his wife Rustic a bring him forth his Senates robes  
firstway, out of his ofice cottage; which he put on his back (but first he brush'd off the dust,  
and wiped away his sweat, and made himself somewhat mannerly), and then came forthunto them,  
who in joyous manner, by way of congratulation filled him by the name of Dictator calling hard  
upon him to repair into the city, and declaring in how doubfull times the amrre flood. Then  
was there large ready provided for Quintus, at the cities colt, and being ferried over the river,  
his three sons met him and received him first, then others of his kinsfolk and friends, and after  
the more part of the Senators. Thus attended with this frequent company, and with the  
K. Sergeants going before, was he brought to his house. Great concourse there was of the Com-  
s: but no thing to joyous were they, to see Quinctius, supposing that government of his over-  
great and autoluc, and himself a man in time of his rules, so imperserious. And for that might verly,  
nothing was done, but a good standing watch kept in the city. The morrow after, the Dictator  
being come into the common place of assembly before day-light, appointed General of the  
horde, L. Tarquinius, of Noble bloud decended, a man who for mere poverty had ever served on  
foot, but of all the flower of Rome was reputed and taken to be a bravest in a guise, and an excellent  
foildier. Then Quinctus with the General of horde men, mounteth into the pulpit solt, pro-  
claimeth a publieke vacation or Lawtefed: commandeth all shop windows through the city  
to be shut, and chargeth that no man should follow any privet business of his own. Then as ma-  
y as were of age to fight, were willing to shew them selves in their armours, before the tentet in  
Mars held, every one with victuals drest for five dasizes, and with twelve forked staffs a piece  
for to toppish in the rampart. And that whosoever were above that age, and were unwieldy, and  
not meet for service should dresse and provide victuals for the next soildier unto him, whiles he  
himself made ready his armours, and fought for staves aforesaid. Thus ran the young able men to  
and fro, to furnish themselves with staves, and took whatsoever they could find, and whatsoever  
was next hand: no man was forbidden, and so they were all ready with heart and good will, ac-  
cording to the Dictator his proclamation. Then went the Dictator forth with the legions of foot-  
cmen, the Master of the horde likewise with his men of arms, in such good order and array, as might  
ot only serve for a speedie march to rid ground, but allo for a set barrell if occasion served. "In M  
e both regiments they spared not to encourage and exhort their soildiers, according as the present  
time required: 4 pulling them to set foot forward, to mend their pace and make speed, that by  
night time they might reach to their enemies: & no (say they) before there was great work for  
that the Roman Consil and army were besieged, and had now three dasizes already been pent  
up falt instealid: and what might happen in one day or one night, no man knew: for oftentimes  
ie in the twinkling of an eye, and in the very turning of an hand, there fall out accidents of right  
great moment and importance. On more space Enigne crieth one: follow soildier faith-  
nother. Thus went they also hastily forward, and all to please and gratifie their captains. So  
that by midnight they were come into Aldegam: and so soon as they perceived their enemies  
to be nearest hand they pitched down their enignes. Then the Dictator rode about at a great  
as he could see in the dark, and having viewed well the situation, coaling and station of the  
camp, commanded the Marhsals and Colonels to give direction, That all the carriage and  
bagages, should be laid up together in one place, and the soildiers with their armours and staves  
only, should come again into their ranks. What he commanded was soon done. Then in the  
same order that he marched, he dreweth out his host in length, and compasseth the camp of  
his enemies, and commandeth them all (upon a signal or word word given) to set up a shour,  
and presently upon the shour to call a trecch & every man stuck down his pala in the ramiper. Ha-  
vving given them the charge, straight ways the shour was all follwed. The soildiers do that which  
they were bidden: the shour was heard over all the camp of the enemies, yea, and into the Comfl  
his camp causing in one great ear, in the other exceeding joy. The Romans rejoicing one  
with another to near the shour of their fellow-citizens and countriremen, with a concert of their  
coming to recontents, begin of themselves from their sentinels and Corps de grand, to threaten  
and remeire their enemies. The Comsil let them forward and fail, there was now no stayng  
for the matter, nor delays to be made: for that was apperently by that alarm, that not only their  
friends were come with succours but also had begun to skirmish: and that it was all to nothing,  
that their enemies camp, was already on the outward side assaIoted. Whereupon, he command-  
ed his soildiers to arm, and to follow hard after him. Thus in the night began the skirmish, and
A and the legions of a Dictator by their outcry and shouting made signification that the enemies on that side also were driven to their shifts and in great hazard. By this time the Equians had afforded themselves to impress them in their trenching and making of their rampes, to the end that they might not be compassed about; but the alarme was given and the skirmish already begun by their enemies within; fearing therefore, left they would break through the midst of their camp, they turned from the pioners and workmen without, to them that fought within, and thereby gave them other leave to plie their work and labour all the night long at their pleasure and to maintain their skirmish with the Con. until day light. Now by the break of day they were entrenched on every side by the Dictator, and were scarce able to hold out battel with one of the armies. Then the bolt of Quinismus, which presently upon the finishing of the trench returned to their weapons, entering of the mores and rampes of the enemies. Here began a fresh conflict again and yet the former nothing abated. The enemies then leaving themselves thus dispersed and to hardly driven on every side, left fighting and fell to-intruding; they befouged the Con. on one side and the Dictator on the other, that they would not get the victorie by effusion of blood and cruel massacre, but would permit them to go their ways naked without their weapons. The Conful polished them off to the Dictator: who being in great wrath and displeasure, would not be contented without their shame and ignominy besides. But commanded that Claudius their general with other Colonels and Captains should be brought bound unto him. Item, he enjoined them to abandon & quit the town of Corbo: as for the Equians blood, he sought nor for it, he had no need thereof; they might depart with their lives. Howbeit, because he would have it now at length, maugre their heads, confessed, that the nation was vanquished and subdued; this will and pleasure was they should passe all under the yoke or gallows: the manner whereof is this. They took three priests or javelins, and set two of them pitched in the ground endlong, and their overthrow fainted unto the other. Under this kind of gallows the Dictator compelled the Equians to go. Thus having gotten the tents of the enemies full of all kind of store (for naked he fent them under the yoke) the whole pilage he bestowed upon his own loudiers only: and rebuking sharply the Conful by any and the Col. himselle, Ye shall (quoth he) loudiers go without your part of booty as won of the enemy, whose booty ye had like your selves to have been. And as for thee, O M. Libanius, until thou begin to have the heart and courage becomning a Conful, then shalt be a Lieutenant nor only over their legions. So Minutius being discharged of the Confulship, remained still as he was commanded, with the army. But to well were more content in those days, willingly to yield obedience to them that better could command, that this army in remembrance hereof as of a favour received, rather than of a disgrace offered, both ordained for the Dictator a coronation of gold of one pound weight: and also when he went homeward, saluted him by the name of his Patron. At Rome the Senate being assembled together by Q. Fabius Prosvol of the city, decreed that Quinismus should enter the city in triumph with his army marching in battel array as he came. Before his chariot was led the commanders of his enemies: the enigines are carried as before, then followed the army laden with spoil and pilage. Great cheer and banquets were set out, men lay upon tables at every mans door. Thus making merry, they followed the chariot with songs of triumph, with sports and merry conourse, as they are wont to do at their great and solemn feasts. The same day L. Mamilius the Tuscian, with the approbation and good liking of all men, was enfranchis citizen of Rome. And forthwith would the Dictat. have regigned up his office, but that the Court held for the trial of M. Valerius, ended of bearing false witness, flayed him: and in truth, the Tribunes would have hindered the judicial proceeding against him, if they had not been in awe of the Dictator. But Valerius was convassed and had sentence, and departed to Latium in exile. And Quinismus having taken the Dictatorship for six months, gazet over the nineteenth day after he entered into it. About the same time the Conful Naussins fought valiantly with the Sabines at Eresium: who besides the wating of the fields, had an overthrow in fight. Fabius was sent into Algidum, to succeed in the roome of Minutius. In the end of the year, the Tribunes began to live about their law; but because the two armies were absent, the Senator prevailed so much at that time, that no bills were pronounced unto the people: The Commons likewise obtained, that they might create the self-same Tribunes, now the fifth time. The report goeth, that there were seen in the Capitol, wolves chased away by hounds: for which strange light the Capitol was purged. And there were the instants of that year. Then followed Confuls Q. Minutius & M. Horatius Pulvinius.

In the beginning of which year, whiles all was quiet abroad, the same Tribunes and the same law caused dissension and sedition at home: which would have grown to a farther mischief if such heats men were, had not word been brought, as it were of let purpose, that the garison at Corbo was surprized in the night by the Equians and put to the sword: whereupon the Confuls called the Senat together: and order was given, that they should lead a Subitory army and with a running camp invade Algidum. Then was the little about the law laid aside clean, and a new contention arose about the matters. But the Confuls with all their authority, were overawed of the Commons, by the hand and assistance of the Tribunes. At what time a new trouble put them in fear: intelligence came, that a power of sabines were come down already into the territories of Rome for to fetch booties and make spoils: and from thence advanced against the city, upon which fear, the Tribunes were content that loudiers should be put, yet not without this covenant indentific That for as much as they had now themselves these five years been troubled off
and deluded, & that this protectorship of theirs flood the Commons in little stead, in regard of their
small number, therefore, there should from thenceforth be ten creted Tribunes of the Commona.
the Nobles were so near driven and to such straights, that they will, nill they, yield them mult
there too: with this proviso, that they should never after Elect the same men Tribunes twice. And for
fear that this act should after the war was once past, turn to nothing, like as others had done before,
vary they went in hand immediately to call a court for the Election of the Tribunes. So in the 26 year
from the first Tribunes of the Commons chosen, there were ten creted out of very Claflins, two.
And by an act it was provided, that in such sort they should be created ever after. The mutters
then being taken and foldiers enrolled, Miniutus went with a power against the Sabines, but found
not the enemy. And Horatius, because the Equians after they had dunt the garison at Corbina to the
sword, and won Hortana besides, fought with them in Algidum. Many a man there he flew, and
drove his enemies not only out of Algidum, but also out of Corbina and Hortana. As for Corbina
he utterly razed it, for betraying the garison there. After this, were M. Valerius and S. Virginius
made Consuls. At quiet they were both at home and abroad. But great scarcity there was of corn,
by reason of the untemper and unfeasable rain that fell. A bill there was preferred, that the
mount Aurea should be turned to Commons. And the same Tribunes were made again who,
all the year following, when T. Romulus and C. Veturius were Consuls, in all their Halls and af
embled, still published the law: saying, it was a shame, that their number was thus increas
of no purpose, in case their affairs should lie dead in their two years, as they had done in the
whole 5 years past. While they were earnestly debating these things, fearfull messengers came
in all hnt from Tuscum, with news, that the Equians were in the territory of Tuscum. The
fresh defect of that nation would not suffer the Romans to have their holding hand. Whereupon both Consuls were sent with an army, and met with the enemies in Algidum in their
wonted haunt and accustomed place, where they encountered and struck a battle in which were
slain about 7000 enemies. The rest were put to flight. A huge booty there was gotten, which
the Consuls told out-right; by reason of the want of mony in their common treasury. But this
cased the suitors to repine and grudge, and in the end ministrated matter to the Tribunes, to accu
the Commons into the Consuls. As soon therefore as they were out of their office, when Sp.
Tarrusius and A. Eternus were Consuls, Romulus was arrested and put in jail by C. Claudius Cicca
for the Tribunes. And Veturius was likewise troubled by C. Halimus an Edile of L
Warden of the Commons, Condemned they both the one and the other, to the great indigna
of the Nobles. Romulus was fined in * 10000 Arefes. Veturius in * 15000. But for all this hard
hap and calamity that befell to tho' former Consuls, the new were never a jot more remife and
cool in the quarel: saying, We may also be called and condemned, and both Commons and
Tribunes never the neeter to comphie and enact their law. Then the Tribunes giving over the law,
which now by propounding only to oft, was waxen stale and old, began more genly to deal with
the Senators, praying them to make an end once of all strife and contention. And in case that
the laws of the Commons so dislik'd and displeased them, they requist them to suffer certain Law
makers to be created indifferently out of the Commonalty, as well as of the Nobility, who might
with devils acts commodious & profitable to both parts and to the equal liberty and freedom of all. As M
for the lubblance it fell at this motion, the Senators refused not: but they flatly said, that none but
of the Nobility should have the making of those laws. Seeing then they agreed thus about the laws,
differed not and quarr'd about the lawgiver, there were Embassadors sent to Athens, Sp. Potho
mum Alam, A. Mavus, and P. Sulpicius Camerinus: who were commanded to exemplificate and
copy out the famous and worthye laws of Solon: to search out and learn the ordinances, enclomses,
and rites of other cities in Greece. For in any outward wars, this year was quiet, and the year fol
ing more quiet, when P. Curtius, and Sex. Quintus were Consuls, by reason of the continual
silence of the Tribunes; which, as the expectation of the Embassadors that were gone to Athens,
and of strange and forsing laws, frant and principally procured: to, two mighty great calamities
that rife both at once, to wit, famine and pestilence, noifome and loathsome both to man and N
beast, afterwards continued. By means whereof, the fields lay fall and desolate, the city dipeopled
with continual burials: many right worshipful and honourable houses thereby torned. Ser
gin Cornelius, the Vlamin of Quirinus dyed thereof. C. Horatius Pulvinum the Augur went of
like wise: in whole room the Augurs (his Acolites) choose C. Veturius: and the rather, because he
had been condemned by the people. Quintus the Consul departed alio this life, and four Tri
bunes of the Commons. So that this was a year, with manifold looses and calamities foully dista
ed. But for enemies all was quiet. After this were C. Menenius, and P. Sfil in Capitolium made
Consuls, in which year likewise there was no war abroad, may it at home some troubles stroke. By
this time were the Embassadors returned with the Athenian laws. And therefore the Tribunes were
so much the more earnest and urgent that once at length they would set on, to describe and put O
laws, and agreed it was, that there should be creted Decemvirs above all appeal: & for the yeare t
thing, that should to other Offices and Naudits be in place. Now, whether a
ny of these might or the Commons or not, that was a question: and hereupon some debate and
conceit continued for a good while. At the last, the Nobles were away with it, Schas the pre
beminence, upon this condition, that neither the law Petita, concerning the Aventine mount, nor
other ascended laws should be repealed. Thus in the 300 year after that Rome was built, was the
form of the emper government changed the second time, and to the Consils from the Decemvirs,
the law give back translated, like as before, from the kings to the Consils. This
This change was likewise notable, in that it long continued not. The beginning of this Magnificence was fair and good, and goodly to see, but grew too rank, and exceeded in overmuch licentiousness. The sooner therefore it fared and tell away, and the former government was taken up again, and both the name and jurisdiction of Consuls returned, and was conferred upon two. The Decemvirs created were these: Ap. Claudius, T. Sempronius, P. Scaevola, T. Quintus, C. Fabius, M. Maximus, P. Sulpicius, P. Curcius, T. Remus, and Publius Claudius and Sempronius, because they had been Consuls elect for that year, had this dignity bestowed upon them, in lieu of the other. And Scaevola one of the Consuls the year before, because he had preferred this matter unto the Senators, against his fellow Consulswill. Next to these were counted the three Embassadors that went to Aethiop, both for that they should be rewarded with this honourable dignity, for their embassage into so far and remote a country, &c., &c. because men were persuaded, that by reason of their ingenuity and skill in foreign ordinances of strange nations, they might be well employed in letting down, and making of new; The rest made up the number. They say, that in the last secessions and lobbies at this Election, choice was made of those that were more aged, and farther in years, to the end they might not so fiercely and floutly gainfast and croffe the opinions and constitutions of the other. In this last state of government, Appius was the man that bare the greatest stroke, he ruled the rest, and raised all the rest, so highly himself in grace and favour with the people. He had to alter his name, and became such a new man, that all on a sudden of a cruel and terrible precedent of the Commons, he proved a very Publicola, and counter of the Commonalty, and one that lay to forest every gale of popular love and favour that might be had. Every one fat his tenth man in place of judgement, and ministr'd justice in their severall turns unto the people. On which day, the twelve branches of rods were born by the Lictors before the sovereign judge; as for his judge, they had each of them one so jeant to give a tendance. In this agreement among themselves, (which accord otherwheres when they were privat persons, had been hurtful unto them) refted only and wholly the greatest equity towards others. A proof and argument of this their moderation, it shall be sufficient to observe now in the example and influence of one only matter: for whereas they were exalted at absolute, and paid all appeal, it turned, that in the house of P. Scaevola, a private become, there was a dead body found buried, and brought forth openly into the publick assembly of the people. The thing being no less apparent in view, than haughty and horrid in fact. C. Intius Decemvirs, brought Scaevola in question therefore, put him in suit to answer at a certain day, and became plaintiff unto the people, and accused that defendant, whose competent judge he was by order of the law. And so he yielded of his own right, sading to much to the freedom of the people, as was taken from the power of his own jurisdiction and government. When as now both high and low gave out, that this authority was found and uncorrupt, &c. As is also from the Lictors and Gods own mouth, &c. men willing to accept of Justice at their hands, that they might in turn, and went about the making and giving of laws. And with great expectation of men, they sat upon ten Tables, and called the people to a general assembly, commanding them in a good hour, and in the name of God to go. &c. of which that should turn to the good, to the benefit, and happiness of the Commonwealth, themselves their children and posterity: to read the law there published, proferiting, that so far as ten men could with all their wisedome foresee & provide for, had devised indifferent lawes, and equal for all sorts of callings, as well the best as the meanest. But as for the wise and heads of men, of deeper reach to see farther into things, they gave them good leave, to sit in their minds, and ponder with themselves each particular, yes, and to reason together from point to point, and thereof to deliver their opinion openly, what was short and wanting, or what was superfluous, in every article; and look what laws the content of all men seemed to bring in, that should the people accept, and none other; that it might appear they were not too much to approve of them, and give their silent approbation, as they were put to silence and preference, and thus in the high court of Parliament, assembled of all the Centuries & degrees of men, the laws of ten Tables were enacted and established. Which even at this day, amoasting that infinit number of statues, heaped and huddled one upon another, are the very well-spring and fountain of all justice, both publick and privat. After this, there ran a rumour abroad, that two tables were yet wanting, which if they were put unto the rest, then might the complete body as it were of the whole Roman law be finifhed and made perfect. The expectation thereof, now that the great Leet-day grew near for the Election, made men very desirous to create Decemvirs again the second time. Now the Commons abroad, besides that they hated the very name of Consuls, as well as of Kings, sought not greatly for the protection of the Tribunes: seeing that the Decemvirs one after another, yielded in their perservative, and admitted in some fort the appeals. But since that the solemn assembly for the choosing of Decemvirs, was published against the * Triennium of the third month, now ensuing, to such an height was the ambition and desire of this dignity grown, that the very chiefest men, and principal heads of the City (for whereas I believe, left the politions of to great a government, in case they were not invited themselves in the place, should be open unto some unmeet and unworthy persons,) went about and made court to every manly in humble manner to those very Commons, with whom they had been at strife & variance, for this honour and dignity, which they themselves had with all their power and might impugned. The worthiness and reputation of men of those years, and having born and gone through
The third Book of T. Livius.

through such offices, being now come in question, and submitted to the choice and judgment of others, pricket on Ap. Claudius, and set him forwards. So as a man could hardly know whether to reckon him among the Decemvirs, or those that stood to be Decemvirs again. For other whiles he was more one that used for an office, than him that pretently bare office: blaming preconages of best quality in the City, and laying hard to their charge: but extolling the valiant & base of the Competitors. Himself in person setting among the Daily and Tois, and such like as favoured the Tribunes, went swinging and squaring in the common place, using them as instruments to vendicate himself forth to the common people. So long, as at length his very brethren in office, who until that time had been singularly addicted and affectionated unto him, cast their eyes upon him, and began to mark, & marvel much what his meaning was: reasoning thus among themselves:  

"Surely there is no soundness nor goodness herein, but all mere dissimulation and hypocrisy.

"Certainly, it is not for nought, that in such pride of his, there should appear so much courtesy.

"What? to force his own nature too much within compass: to debate himself, and suffer private men to be his fellows, was aigne of one, that made not so much bault to forgoe a dignity and promotion, as ought means to keep it still. Openly they durst not presume to check and withstand his ambitious desire, but abated by pleasing and soothing him up, to repress, and bridle his foolish affection. And seeing he was the younger of his company, they all with one accord laid upon him the charge, to hold the high court for the Election of Decemvirs. Their drift and policy was, that he should not Elect his own self a thing, which unless it were the Tribunes again (and that was a most dangerous precedent and example) no man ever had done before. And he with all his heart accepting thereof, made protestation that he would be president of that honourable Court and Session, and prayed to the gods that he might perform it for the benefit of the weal-publik. And so took the vantage of that opportunity, to set forward his own design, which they meant should have dropped and crost the same. And after he had by secret packing and conversing with the other competitors, and given the repulse unto the two Quinti Capitoius, and Cestianus, and put before the Cuthion his own Uncle by the fathers side (C. Claudius, a most stout & tolerable champion of the Nobility) with other citizens of like mark and quality: he createth Decemvirs, such as were not for worth, port, and behaviour, to them comparable and his own sweet self with the first. Which as there was no man thought the ever would have done, for all good men misliked when it was done. With him were elected M. Cornutius Maluginensis, M. Sergius, L. Munius, Q. Fabius Vibulanus, Q. Petitius, T. Antonius Merenda, Caio Dinius, Sp. Oppius Corninus, M. Rabirius. And there's an end of Apius playing another mans part. Off went his mask and visor now, and from thence-forth, he began to show himself in his own likenesse, and to live in his kind: yes, and to frame his companions to the bent of his bow, even before they were entered into office. Day by day had they their secret meetings by themselves apart from all other: and being once hereby furnished with ungracious and proud dispositions, which they had closely complotted together, they could no longer hold & dissemble their pride. Few might have accesse unto them: tidedom would they be spoken with, shewing themselves strange, full, & churlish to those that came unto them. Thus drew they the time on, unto the *ides of May, which was the usuall and solemn day then of entering into offices of government. In the very beginning whereof they made the first day of their magistrate noted by an intimidation, and evident show of exceeding terror. For whereas the Decemvirs their predecessors had observed this order. That one alone should have the rods of State born before him, and that this regall ornaments should pace round through them all in course one after another: Behold, these came all of them abroad, and each of them had his xij. bundles of rods carried before him, so that the Lictors, 120 in number, with their rods and axes too, fastned within the rods, took up and filled the whole Forum or common place as they went. And for as much as they were created absolutely, and their commission ran without all appeal, men made this expostion, that to go with their axes or without was all one, & made no matter at all. Thus there a shew & representation of ten KK. And this terrour grew more and more, not with the meanest and baseft sort, but also with the chief and belt of the Patritians: supposing that they fought to pick a quarrell and minifier occasion and overturn to some mislak: that if any man should offer either in the Senat or among the people, to speak one word concerning liberty, forthwith there should be exemplary whipping and heading, to the terrour of all other. For, besides that, from the people there was no remedy and, and recourse to be had, by reason that the appeal unto them was quite disannulled and taken away: the Decemvirs themselves drew for all in one line together and were so combined and linked, that there was no hope at all, that one would thrust and croste that which another did: whereas the former Decemvirs could well abide, that their judgements and sentences should be centuried and corrected, by the appellations or appeal to one of their brethren in commission: yes, and in some cases put off some matters from themselves to be decided by the people, which seemed properly to belong unto their own jurisdiction. For a while, the fear was to all indifferent: but by little and little the Commons only began to feel the smart. The Nobles were born and espoused and insearect the meaner persons went to the walls, and with them they dealt according to their lust and pleasure right cruelly. The person wholly they regarded, and never repected the cause, as with whom favour and friendship prevailed as much as equity and right should have done. At home in their houses, they determined of matters how they should passe: and in open place they pronounced sentence accordingly. If a man had appealed to one of their bench, from him unto
A unto whom he fled for relief, he went his ways again by weeping crople, repenting that he flood not to the order and infliction awarded by the former. It was thought and spoken alo abroad, but the first author would not be known. That they had conspired together, not for the present time only to do wrong and injury, but also were confessedly between themselves privily, therefore, and had bound it with an oath, to call no assembly at all for the election of new magistrates, but being now once invaded in the severest rule, to hold the pollution of the Decemvirsship for ever. The Commons than began to look about them, to behold and advise well the censure of them the Nobles, to see if they could from them each one some good wine of land, some hope again of liberty, at whose hands they bearing bondage, had brought the comon-weal to this hard place.

B The LL. of the Senate hated the Decemvirs, they hated also the Commons. They liked not of things as they went, and yet were perfidiously that the Commons were well enough served, and deliver no better: who gaping greedily after liberty were now fallen and plunged into levity and thraldom. Help they would not with the least of their fingers, but rather heap more wrongs upon them, that having a wearisome and tedious looking of the present state, they might fall to a longing desire to two Commons, and with the old world were come again. By this time was the better part of the year gone and past and the two tables of laws were annexed to the other ten of the former years: which if they might be once confirmed and ratified by a Parliament of the Centuries, there remained nothing behind, for which the common-weal should need new magistrates; but expected it was certainly, that the assembly for election of Commons should out of hand be published and proclaimed. Marry, there was one thing hammer'd in the Commons heads, by what means they might revive again the Tribunes authority; the very grand bulk of their freedom, and the thing that now had discontinued and lien dead. But all this while there was no word of the new election. And the Decemvirs, who at the first preternated actually into the Commons fight, a crew of those that favoured the Tribunes, for to attend upon their persons (a thing right plausible and pleasing unto the people;) were guarded now, with certaine all peninsurers of their Nobility: whole troops of them flied about their Tribunal seats and places of judgment. Their made havoc and spoil of the Commons and their goods: and look what the mind of a mighty man flied unto and lusted after, it was his hap to have it whatsoever. Nay, there was no spare now made of their backs and sides: some were scourged with rods, some loft their heads by the axe. And because this cruelty should not go unrewarded, lightly there was none executed, if he were worth any thing, but his goods went after and were begged or given away. The youth of the Nobility, by this kind of hire well fleshe'd: not only opprest not themselves to withstand their wrongful dealings & hard court's, but carred it afore them, openly profilling and avowing what they wished then rather own licentiousness, than the liberty of all. The new order of May were now come about, and no new magistrates elected in the others room. Forth come the Decemvirs, (who to say a truth and to give them their right, were no other than private persons) neither with minds abstained for the exercising of their imperious rule, nor with few regal enigmas, to secrete and their honour & dignity. When the people saw that, they made no other reckoning but this was plain usurping of the kings government, and no better. And now farewell freedom for ever and a day. For neither had they presently, nor hereafter were they like to have any man to recover it again. So that now, not they only lost all their hearts and were disconsolate in themselves, but also grew to be contemptible in the eyes of their neighbour nations: who disdained highly, that they should have levity of rule, who were not free themselves nor enjoyed their own liberty. For the Sabines with a strong power invaded the Territories of Rome: and when they had flogged far and near, and driven away booties both of people and of cattle, without imprisonment, they gather their army together again, that they had hanged here and there up and down, and entered unto Ferentum, where they encamped themselves lying this for a ground, and building their house upon their discord at Rome, that it would stay their murmuring. Not only the news that came hereof, but the flying of the country peasants, put the whole city in great fear.

F The Decemvirs fall to consulting what were best to do. And whiles they were to seek what course to take, and between the hatred of the Nobles and the Commons utterly forlorn and dilatinor, there hapned also another fearful trouble in the tail of the former. The Equins from another side encamped in Algidum. And from Tusculum Embassadors brought tidings that their country was wafted with excursions from thence, whereupon they craved their help and aid. These fearful occurrances troubled and perplexed the Decemvirs, that considering the city was now betat at once with wars from two places, their stomacks were come down to consult with the Senate. They commanded therefor the Senators to be summoned to the Curia. And well they will, what a great many and form of anger, displeasure and blame was towards them: namely, that they would burden them & lay to their charge, how they were the only cause both of the country wasted already, and of the perils like to presently enume: looking for no other, but that there would be given an attempt and thred path, to abolish utterly their government, unless they stuck closely together to it, and by extending their authority flappily upon some few of the floutell, quall and cruelty the attempts of others. After the voice of the Bedell was heard in the Forum or common place, citing the Senators to retire into the Councell house to the Decemvirs: the novelty and transcen- nesse of the matter, (because they had laid down for a long time the manner of calling them to Councell) caused the Commons to marvail and mule what was behalfe, that they should make such discontinuance, take up a thing so obloolete and out of rule. And thus they conceived of it, that
that they were much beholdingly to their enemies, and might thank war for this. that any ancient virtue and custom of a free city was come up and in use again. They looked about on every side of the Forum, to see if they might buy a Senator; but few or none could they hear of, any where. Then looked they into the Curia, and behold, none at all spared about the Decemvirs. Whereof their own selves, even the Decemvirs could gather no otherwise, but that in the conceit, & content of all men, their government was become odious: & the Commons also thus collected, and interpreted, that the Senators met not together, because privat men (such as the Decemvirs were indeed) had no authority to assemble a Senat. And now laid they, is the way and entrance made to recover their liberty again, if to be the Commons would join with the Senate and as the Nobles being called, met not together in council, to the Commons likewise would refuse to be murtled. In this wise mattered and whispered the Commons. And in truth fearfully was there any one of the Senators about the common place, and but few within the city: for very griefe and indignity to see that things went as they did, they had withdrawn themselves into the country to their lands: and forgetting the state of the common-wealth, they became careful of their own privat affairs: thinking themselves so far forth freed from oppression and wrongs, as they were remote and sequestred from the society, meeting and conference, with Lordly & imperious rulers. When they would not assemble at their summons, the officers were sent unto their houses, both for to frencie and take away tri FRIS for their contumacie and disobedience, and also to enquire and learn, whether they refused to come at their commandment, or of let purpose or no. And word they bring back, that the Senators were in the country. The Decemvirs were better paid to hear that, than if anwer had come that they were at home and refused to obey. They gave commandment that they should be sent for: and they warned a Senat house against the next day following: where they assembled more in number than they looked for. Whereupon the Commons supposed that their liberty was bought and sold; and utterly betrayed by the Nobles, for that the Senat had yeilded obedience to them (that now by right were out of their office) as if they had given lawfull summons, who being privat men had no power at all to do. But they heeded more obedience and submission, as we have heard in, coming to the Council house, than any disposition to deliver their minds and opinions there, to the liking and pleasures of the Decemvirs. First, L. Valerius Flaccus, as it recorded, after that Appius Claudius had propounded unto them the I cause of their meeting, before they were required their advice in order and course, claimed the liberty of the house, to speak in the behalfs of the common-wealth. But when as the Decemvirs denied it flatly, yes, and forbid him with threats, upon pain of their high displeasure, he inferred again and menaced, that he would goe forth unto the commons, and lo began a broil and tumult. M. Horatius Barbatus likewise took part with him, and was nothing behind in solemnitie to maintain the quarrel, terming them ten Tarquins: and are ye aware (quoth he) how the Kings were in times past expelled by the the Valerius and Horatius? And yet the name it was not of Kings, that men were so weary of and loathed in those dates. For why? It was right lawful to call Jupiter by that name: whereby Romulus also the founder of this City, and other Princes his successors have been called: yes, and the name hath been used and is retained still as a solemn title, in the sacred rites of holy Kirk. Nay, it was the pride and oppression of the King, that then M. Horatius had been so odious, and nothing els, which enormities, if they were in those dates in the King himself, a lawfull prince, or in the King his son intolerable, who can abide and endure the same in many privat persons? I advise you therefore to take heed how you debar men of their liberty of speech in the Council House, left ye drive them thereby to speak their mind and complain without the Council House. Neither see I any reason at all, why they were not as lawfull for me a privat man, to assemble the people to an audience, as you for to call the Senat together to a Council. Make it triall whensoever ye will, ye shall find how much more forcible our just griefe will be, in recovering our libertie again, than this greedy defire of yours, holding and withholding till your usurped, unlawful, and tyrannicall rule. You have pronounced here unto us, forthwith concerning the Sabines war: as who would lay, the people of Rome can be at greater war with any than with those, who having been created Magistrates only for the publishing and enacting of certain laws, have left now neither law nor justice all within the city. Who have taken away their Comices, Courts and Leet of Election, their yearly Magistrates, the successeive change and course of bearing rule, the only thing that made Sohony, and equality of freedom. Who being but privat men, are posseffed both of regall ornament, and also of toall government. After the expulsion of the Kings, the Magistrates that succeeded were of the Nobility: in procerce of time, upon the rising of the Commons and their departure, there were officers chosen out of the Commonality. I demand of you, and I would gladly know, whether state or body are ye? Are ye, I pray you, popular, and of the Common people? What have ye ever done with advice and approbation of the people? Are ye Nobles and Peers? who now for a whole yeares space almost, have held no Council of Senators. And now that ye have assembled them, you refrain them from speaking for the Wale-publick. Well preume not even much neither bear your selves upon the timorousnes of others. For, truth me truly, the indignities that men already suffer, feem more irkome and unapprovable, than whatsoever els they can doubt and fear hereafter. As Horatius lopp'd these words aloud, and the Decemvirs could not bethink themselves of some in different & mean course, either in anger to be revenged, or in likeness to pardon and put up, nor witt whereeto this matter might tend and proceed in the end: then C. Claudius, uncle to Appius, the Decem-
ADecemvir began to speak, rather by way of prayer and intercession, as in checking and reproving a wife, and besought Appius for his brothers' sake, who was his own father, to remember and regard more that civil licentiousness wherein he was born, then this ungracious and wicked conduct of his fellow Decemvirs. And this requell I made (quoth he) tendering your private estate more than the Commonweal. As for me, if the mighty not by fair means and with their good wills, obtain her own due and right, she would by foul wiles, and in flight of their hearts recover it in the end. And as for much as of much debate and strife there ensued commonly heats of anger and cantred rancor, I am in dread & horror what the sequel if of their wil be of these jars. Now when as the Decemvirs would not permit the ret to speak, but only to the point proposed and occasion of their meaning, yet they were abashed to interrupt the speech of Cneanus and to cut him off; but suffered him to go on until he made an end. And in conclusion his opinion and sentence was, that he would not (to abide by it) agree that any act of the Senate should for that time pass in that behalf. And all that were present took his words to, as if Cneanus deemed no other wife of the Decemvirs, then of private men. Many of them all, such especially as had been Conuls, were of his mind, and said as much. Another opinion there was, more rough and sharp in outward show, but far leff forcible and effectual indeed: advising and willing the Nobles, to make no more ado, but to go togethers and chuse an interregent. For this man seemed yet, to account and judge them Magistrates, (bad though they were) that had called a Senat, and held them in Council; whereas the former, that would not abide any act to pass, reckoned them but for privet persons. Thus when the Decemvirs caue began to shrink and go downward, L. Cornelius Malagonenus, brother to Cornelius the Decemvir, being referred of purpose to give his opinion in the last place of all the Conular Senators, such as had been Conuls, pretening a charge that they had of the war, took part with his brother and his Colleagues, saying, that he marvelled much at what misfortune or destitution it hapned, that the Decemvirs should be challenged and opposed, especially by those that had flood for the Decemvirship, or by their friends and associates: and how it came about, that in so many months' space, while the city was at rest and without fear of war, no man made question or doubt, whether they that were in place, and governed the state, were lawfull Magistrates or no; and now at last, when the enemies are in a manner at the gates, they should now civil diligence, unlefe this were the meaning of it, that in a troubled state it would not be clearly seen and perceived, what they went about. But no man is able (quoth he) to fet down a true doome, & alledge a ruled case in great a matter as this is; go men, whole minds are bullied and wholly possesed of a greater care. And therefore my opinion is, that concerning that point which Valerius and Horatius charged the Decemvirs with, namely, That before the idea of May their government was determined, and they out of office; the Senate should dilate and debate, when as the wars now at hand were distretched, and the Commonweal brought once again to quietness. And that Appius Claudius should make this recon- knownum even now abstain, and know that he is to render a reason of that high court of Parlamnt, which for the election of Decemvirs he called and held, being a Decemvir himself: namely, Whether they were created for one year only, or to continue till all the other laws which yet are wanting, were ratified and confirmed. As for the present time, he though good that all other matters should forward, and be passed over, save the war only which hereof, if they thought to be tall, and that they were but tales that not only the messengers, but also the Embassadors of the Tusculans reported, then his advice was to send out eliphs, who upon their discovery might bring more certain tidings. But in case they gave credence to messengers and Embassadors both, then with all speed possible to multer, and the Decemvirs to have the command of the armies, and told them whither they thought next, that nothing els should be thought upon before this. Which opinion of his, that it might prevail and take effect, the rite Senecans by importunate conveyling, obtained. Then Valerius and Horatius both rode up the second time more fierce and eager than before, calling on them aloud, that they might be permitted to speak concerning the Commonweal, and in case they might not be suffered by reason of the faction to have the liberty of speech in the Council House, they would speak their minds without, before the people. For neither could privet men (as they were) debar th. man in Senate House, nor in open affently & to give place unto their imagination, and pretend imperial enchant, they would never bebrok. Then Appius supposing the matier well-ner come to this paff, that unlefe the violence were reflced with like boldness, their rule was at an end, and their authority conjectured: Ye were not bel (quoth he) to speak but to the matter, whereupon we set in Contumacia. And when Valerius repied again and said plainly, that he would not hold his tongue for a privet mans commandment: Appius sent a Servant unto him. When uppon Valerius cried for help to the Quirites, fom. the porch of the Council House. Then L. Cornelius clapping

Appius about the middle, without regard to content him whole good he pretended, flayed the little S. by the mediation of Corvitius, leave was granted to Valerius for to fey his mind at his own pucture. But, for as much as his liberate proceeded no farther, than to some ie of words, the Decemvirs held on their purpose still, and had their desire. The Nobles also, such as had been Conuls, and the ancients, upon an old ranked hatred that they bare still against the Tusculan authorities, whereupon they apprehended the Commons were much more devoted and affected, to the more than the government of the Conuls, were rather inclined and willing that the Decemvirs of their own accord should themselves afterwards forgo their office, than that upon tarred and mutate received
against them, the Commons should take heart of grace, and hold up head again. For it with gentle handling of the matter, without flit and clamour of the people, the regiment returned again unto the Consuls, it would haply come to passe, that either by means of wars coming between, or through the moderation of the Consuls in their government, the Commons might in time forget the Tribuns quite.

Thus whiles the Nobles were silent and made no more words, a matter was proclaimed, and the younger sort of people, seeing the government of the Decemvirs absolute and without appeal, made answer to their names. And when the legions were enrolled, the Decemvirs took order and agreed between themselves who should go forth to the wars, and who should have the command of the forces. The chiefest & principal of the Decemvirs were Q. Fabius, and Appius Claudius. For that there seemed greater war at home then abroad, the Decemvirs supposing the violent nature of Appius, better to repreffe all troubles and mutinies in the city; and considering with all the disposition of Fabius, to be of a conffant and resolute in good, then active and quiet in martial service, (for this man having been in times past of great worth, both at home, and also in war: the Decemvirs, and the conditions of his colleagues together, had greatly changed, that he chose rather to be like Appius then himself) to him therefore was imposed the charge of the war against the Sabines, together with M. Rabuleius and Q. Postius joined in commiiftion with him. M. Cornelius was sent into Algidum, with L. Minucius, T. Antenius, Cæs. Donibus, and M. Sergius; and they ordained and appointed Sp. Oppius as hisflant to Appius Claudius, for the defense and government of the city, and to have the full authority of all the ten Decemvirs. But the Common-wealth did no better abroad in warfare, than it fared at home. The only fault in the Generals was this, That they had made themselves odious to their fouldiers and citizens: all the blame else lay in the fouldiers themselves; Who to the end that nothing might go well forward and prosper under the leading and conduct of the Decemvirs, suffered themselves to their own shame; and dishonour of their captains, to be defeated: for the armies were both by the Sabines at Ervium, and also by the Equians in Algidum discouraged. That they fled from Ervium in the dead of the night, bivouacked and fortfied upon an high ground nearer unto the city of Rome, between Fidentes and Cunamienus. And when the enemy pursued them still and provoked them to fight, they would never come forth into the plain and even ground, to encounter with them L. in a sight battell, but fled upon their guard and defended themselves, trusting in the situation of the place and their rampart, and nothing upon their own manhood and force of arms. But in Algidum they committed a more foul and beastly fault, and received withall a greater losse and overthrow: informiuch as having left their camp with all their tents, the fouldiers being turned out of bag and baggage, their harnes and implementes of necessity were, retired for refuge to Tufculum, hoping there to be entertained as guests, and to live upon the protection, mercy and devotion of their hosts and friends: who failed and deceived not their expectation. But to Rome there came such full and fearful news, that the Senators and Nobles laying apart now all hatred against the Decemvirs, thought good to keep watch and ward in the city: and commanded as many as were able to bear arms, to keep the walls and guard the gates: they gave order also to lend harness and armure to supply their want at Tufculum: moreover, That the Decemvirs should abandon the castle at Tufculum; and with their fouldiers take the field and keep the camp: That they like wise should diflodge and run out of Fidentes, that lay forftied there and remove into the country of the Sabines: so that by making wars upon the enemies first, they might scare and divert them from pursuing their intent of giving assault unto the city of Rome. Besides these, damages and fols taken at the enemies hands, the Decemvirs committed both in war abroad, and also in the city at home, two most wicked and horrible facts. For whereas one L. Siccius, during their abode in the Sabines country, upon an odious conceit and malice against the Decemvirs, had gone up and down, and in secret tale whispered in the ears of the Common fouldiers, some mention of creating Tribuns, and of another insurrection and departures: he the Decemvirs dispatch before, to spic out a convenient plot of ground to encamp in. Now N. they had given these fouldiers in charge, whom they lent to accompany him in that expedition to let him upon him in some place of advantage and to kill him. And kill him they did, but to their own cost: for whereas he fought in his own defence, some of those that laid for his mischief, died for it, and lay along about him for company: for being a right stout and strong man of his hands, he stood to it comagonally: and notwithstanding he was better round about, he defended himself very manfully. The reft that escaped being word into the camp, that Siccius was fallen unawares into an ambushment, and whereas he fought lustily, was with certain other of the fouldiers slain. At the first, credit was given to him that brought the news. But afterwards, when as there was a band of fouldiers therewith lent by the permission of the Decemvirs, to bury them that there lay dead: they observing none of their bodies there, to be dismembered and despoiled, and Siccius lying in the midst of his armour, and all the rest of the dead with their faces towards him: no corps of enemy, nor fruiting of them departing from thence, brought away with them his dead carcase, and made report that undoubtedly and passe all peradventure, he was murdered by his own company. Hereupon was the whole camp filled with hatred and detestation of this fact, and generally it was agreed, that Siccius forthwith should be conveyed to Rome: and not the Decemvirs made haste to solemnize his funerals soonerlikelie; as the publick charges of the common treasury. So interred was he, with exceeding sorrow and mourning.
of the fouldiers, but to the moft fhameful obloquy and inffamy of the Decemvirs, amongst the common fort.

Now followed the other heinous deed committed within the City: which began of warrant last, and had as it were a fhameful end, as that which upon the carnal abnig and bloody death of Lucretia, called the Tarquin out of the City, and deprived them of their regal dignity that both 

KK, and Decemvirs, might have not only the like fucch and fine, but alfo one and the felf fame caufe, of ftoing their rule and dominion, Appius Claudius emauonoured upon a virgin, a commoners daughter, cut to the abufe and iipoil of her body. The father of the maiden L. Virginius, was of good calling, and in place of credit in the camp that lay in Algidium, and had the leading there 

of a company: a man of honett example and conversion of life, both at home and alfo abroad in warfare. His wife likewiie of vertuous disposition: so were their Children nurtured and taught accordingly. He had upon and advanced his daughter in marriage to one L. Licinius, a man of stout courage (as having been Tribune) and whole vertue and valor had been well tried and approved in the quaret and defence of the commons: This damfel in the prime of her years, paffing fair and beautiful withall, Appius (as I lay) call'd a fancy and liking unto, and so burn'd in love of her, that he affayed with gifts and fair promises to win her good will. But seeing all guarded and 

tendered with maidenly shamefaftnefs and honestly, he bent his mind wholly to cruel and 

pride violence. He unbombr and fetteth on a favorite and follower of his, one M. Claudius, to make challenge and lay claim unto her as his bond-maid: and not to give place nor yeeld her 

unto them, that required to have her at liberty out of his hands, during the tyme, and until fhee brought proof of her freedom: supposing, because the father of the virgin was abfent, he had good opportunity to work this treft, and compass his intended injury. As the maiden therefore was coming into the market place, (for there were the schools for petets kept, of reading and writing) the Decemvirs man (a broker to serve his masters luft) laid hold upon her, avowing that she was his bond-maid's daughter, and therefore his bond-maid; commanding her to follow him, and threatening her, that if she made any trave, he would have her away perforce. The fearing girl hereof was amaz'd and her nurse withal cried to the Quiritisfor help: whereupon the people came running and flock'd together all about them. Now was the name of Virginius her father, and likewife of Licinius her pofter, very gracious and popular; fo that the love and 

 favour wherein they stood, raised friends and acquaintance: and the indiginty of the thing besides, mov'd the whole multitude to render the caufe of the damfel. When as there fore she was now past danger of violence, the party that made claim unto her, faid there was no need that the people thus should gather together, for his meaning was to proceed only by order of law, and not with any violent courfe. And fo he cried her to the court, minding to commence his action a 

gainft her, and put her in fait. Then they that were prefent to affift her, persuaded her to fubmit. Now when they were come before Appius, sitting judicallly upon his tribunal feat, the Plainit, or challenger, afke'd declarte against her, and telleth a tale ful well known to the Judge himfcll, being the author and deifier of the whole matter and argument: Namely, that the maiden was born in his house, and by faith was from thence conveyed home to Virginius, and so was his 

supposed and reputed daughter: this he averred to have certain knowledge of, by pregnant evidences and witneffes: and would make proof thereof to be most true, and let Virginius himfcll be the judge, whom the greater part of this wrong deeply touched: in the mean while, it was but meet and reafon that the bond-maid fould go with her Master. The friends and advocates of the damfel, having alledged and pleaded in her behalf, that Virginius was abfent and employed in the affairs of Common-weal: and if he had word thereof, would not fail but be at home within two days: that it was no reafon, that while he was father, he fould be in conffention and controversy about his children: they required of Appius therefore to defer and put off the hearing of the whole matter, until her fathers coming, and that according to a law by himfelf in that cafe made and provided, he would grant her to be at large and hand at liberty, for to bring in proofs 

that the was not bond: and that he would not suffer a maid of thole years, ripe and ready for a 

husband, to be more in hazard and danger of her good name, then prejudicie the trial of her 

freedom. Appius made a long preface and discurfe before his decree, namely, how much he fan- 

voured and tendered the caufe of liberty, and to that effeA, alledged the felf fame law which the 

friends of Virginius pretended for their purpose and demand. But to fay forth, and no otherwife, 

there should be in that law affur'd safeguard of freedom, as the cafe alter'd not in circumftance of 

causes and per dns. For this, privilidge and benefit held only in thole that were claimed to 

be free, where any man whomfever might go to law and plead. As for her, who was in her fathers 

hand & at his dipofition there was no other man elle, unto whom the Master that inkeft chal- 

lenge, is yeeld the right of his pofition. His pleafure therefore was, and thus he decreed, That 

the father fhould be fent for & that in the mean time, he that made title to her, fould not 

be prejudicie thereby, but that he might lead away the wench, promising and affuming to have 

her forth-coming, and to prefent her in Court; at the return of whom he is pretended and nomi- 

nated to be her father. Against this injurious decrea, when as many men either muttered and 

muturured, then any one durst renefe and contradite it, P. Numtorius, the maids uncle by the 

mother fide, and Licinius her eponind husband, hapnd to come in place: and having way made 

them through the throng and press, the multitude thought verily, that by the coming, especialy 

of licinius, Appius might have been refilfed and crofled. But then the Lictor pronounced that
Appius had past an order and decree already, and put Iulius back: who cried out aloud (for so H
manifest and horrib ea wrong had been enough to have moved a very Saint, and set on fire a
right mild natured person.) Nay, Appius (quoth he) thou hadst more need to let me back with
force of arms, if thou wouldst go clear away, and not be spoken to, for that which thou wouldest
do in hucker mucker. This maid, I tell thee, I mean shall go with me: I purpose to have her
to my telic, an honest and pure virgin, and enjoy her in lawful marriage, as my wedded wife:
call thereunto thee all the Lictors besides (thou wert bet) that belong unto thy compani
on: cause both rods and axes to be made ready: I tell thee, Iulius his espoused wife, shall not
abide in any place without her fathers house. What? although ye have taken from the Com
mons of Rome the Tribuns assittance and protection, and the priviledge of Appius, two principal
but it works for defence of their liberty: ye are not therefore allowed to rule and tyrannise, and
to fill your lust upon our children and wives too. Exerte your rigour and cruelty and spare
not, upon our backs and in courting us, upon our necks and heads also, in taking
them from our shoulders: to ye forbear to affill our chastity and honesty. Whereunto, if any
violence shall befall, I will for my part, call for the help of the Quirites here present, in
the behalf of my ipoufe: and Virginius for himselfe will call to the fouldiers, in regard of his on
ly daughter we will cry for help of God and mankind it shall our lives before thou go away
with this decree, and put it in execution, I require and charge thee, O Appius therefore, to be
wel advized, and look how far thou doth proceed. Let Virginius when he is come, bee to his
daughter, how he dealteth about her: and let him know this much for certain, that if he give
place to this plaintifs action, and force the present poifon of her, he shall goe seek his hate
and propriety that hath in his daughter. As for me, in this quarrel of maintaining the free
dom of my ipoufe, I will lose my life, before I fail in my faithful promife to her made. Hereet
the whole multitude was moved, and it was, that some mutiny and fray would presently have
enlisted. For the Lictors had hemmed in Iulius on every side. Howbeit they proceeded no lar
ther than to big words and high threats: whereas Appius laid hard to Iulius. That he did not
this so much in the behalf and defence of Virginius, as (being himself an unright profen, and even
already breathing forth a Tribuns spirit) sought means, and picked occasion of an uproar and fa
dition. Howbeit for his part, he would not that day minifier unto him any matter thereof, And
that he might now well know, that he did not this to feed his malapert fancie, but in re
gard of the absence of Virginius, and for the name of a father, and the tender respect of freedom,
he would not that day refuse to hear and determine the matter, nor award a affirmative judgment in
that cafe: but would requite Mar. Claudius, to suffer his action, and to forbear and yeild lo
much of his own right, as to suffer the maid to be bailed and go under oneties, and to be at her
liberty unto the next day. But in cafe her father appeared not in Court the morrow after, he
gave Iulius, and such as he was, to wit and understand, that neither the law should want the
patronage of the maker, nor the Decemvir fall in courage and resolution: neither would he cal
gether his fellow officers and fergeants, for to keep under such liberties and turbulent spirits
as he was: but would content himself with his own Lictors, and do well enough. The time now
effecting this injury, being thus deferred, and the maids Advocates gone aside, they agreed first M
of all upon this point, that a brother of Iulius, and a son of Numitorius, two lusty and nimble
young men, should be dispatched straight from thence to the gate: and that with all speed possible
Virginius should be sent for home from the camp: for that it stood the maid as much as her
whole estate and life was worth: that he would be present and ready in due time the day follow
ing, to preserve her from this hard course, and wrongful proceeding. According as they were biden,
they fet forward, and spared no horsefleth, until they brought tidings hereof to her father.
All this while the plaintiff that made challenge to the maid, was very instant with Iulius to bail
her, and put in oneties. And he again made anwer. That he went about it as fall as he could, and
nothing else: but indeed tripling out the time on purpose, until the messengers that were sent
to the camp, were got afore welloward on their way. Then the whole multitude on all sides N
held up their hands, in token that they offered themselves every one unto Iulius, ready to be
come bound. Whereupon, he built out into tears for render heart, Gramercy (quoth he) my ma
ters all, to morrow I will use your helping hand: for this time I am sped of oneties enough. So
was Virginius set at liberty, and bailed by the sheriff of her kinsfolk. Then Appius, after he had
stayd a while, because he would not seem to have fat for that matter alone, when he saw all other
 suits and causes omitted, in regard they had to it, and no man coming to him for justice, he a
rofe, got him home to his house, and wrote unto his brethren Decemvirs into the camp, that
they should not give Virginius his passport but keep him fast in danger, and in ward. This wick
ed practice (as God would have it) came short. For Virginius already had got his discharge, and
was departed forward on his journey, in the evening by the letting of the first watch. And very O
early in the morning came the letters for to stay him, but all in vain. For Virginius by break of
day was arrived: by which time the whole City referred into the common place, standing and
waiting earnestly for his coming. And thither he himselfe being in foile and simple array brought
his daughter in her old worn cloaths, accompanied with certain Wives, and a great number of
Advocates and friends. Then and there began he to go from one man to another, and to labour
them hard: and not only befloughed their affair by way of intrisy and prayer, but also required
it as due and deliered: saying, that he stood daily in field ready to fight in defence of their
wives
A wives and children: neither could there be reported of any man more hardly exploits and valiant pieces of service in war, then of him fell. But what shortly or assistly all this (quoth he) to save the City from enemies, in case our children be forced to abide the utmost extremities that befall unto Cities taken by the enemies? thus went he about preaching, as it were, from one man to another. Likewise Iulius sat forth and redoubled like speeches freely and lipted not. But the train of women, with their still and silent weeping, moved men more then any words uttered. All this notwithstanding, Appius in his obstinate mind (so disquieted was he and wholly pestiled with a forcible spirit of humorous madness rather then of amorous passion) ended up into the tribunal. Where, as the plaintive spirit of himself was framing some short complaint, that by reason of partial humour and making of great friends, he could not have law and justice the day past: before that either he had made an end of his demand, or given cause to Virginius to put in his answer accordingly: Appius interrupted the speech, and began himself. What preface it was that he made before his decree, peradventure some ancient writers have not truth recorded. But for as much as it cannot any where find, in so shameful a decree, that which is carriage but a fiew and roundeth like a truth: therefore, that only which is of all agreed upon, I thought best to let down, even the sentence barely without any pretext at all. I say: That he judged her in the half of the Planter to be his bastard. First, all men there, wondered at this unworthy and foul act: and being drunk therewith to tame their mind, for a good while after, stood still and held their peace. But after a while, when as Appius, went to lay hand on the maid, amongst the dames that stood about her, and was received with a piteous lamentation, and cry of the women: Then, in a great deal be-kissing with his hands and shaking them at Appius: "To Iulius (quoth he) have I betrothed my daughter and not to thee: O Appius!" brought her up I have for honest and chaste wedlock, and not for unclean and filthy whoredom: to be a wife another day, and not an harlot. Is this the manner of fife; like bruit and wild beasts without all regard to leap and run upon you are not whom, and to lull your fleshly lust? How these that be here will suffer such pranks, I know not: but they that are in camp with word in hand. I hope, I may ever put them up. Now when he that challenged the maid was by a knot of Women and Advocates that stood about her repelled back, then proclaimed the Bellie and commanded silence. And the Decemvir having his head into state, and altogether carried away with unbridled lust, brake forth and said That he had certain intelligence and was informed of a truth, by manifest and assered evidences: and not induced and led thereto by the reviling taunts of Iulius yesterday, and the violent proceedings of Virginius, whereof he had the people of Rome to bear witness, and which might give some light and presumptions That the night past, there were meetings and conventions in the City, and all to have a mutiny and insurrection: and therefore, he not ignorant of such a broil and riot toward, was come down into the common place with a guard of armed men: not minding to hurt one any that would keep the peace, but only by virtue of the majesty of government and authority, to repel such as troubled the peaceable Carie of the City: therefore it were best for them to be still and quiet. Go Sergeant (quoth he) cause the people to avoid the place, and make room for the matter to lay hand upon his bond; and after I had thundred out these words full of ire and wrath, the multitude of themselves gave back and made way: so the poor fifty went forth all solemn and leiat as a prey to their injurious clutches. Then Virginius seeing all past help and no other remedy: Well Appius (quoth he) pardon me if I believe thee or upon a further affecation and grief of heart I have let fall some words and cursed words against thee more then was then becominge Then give me leave here before the virgin, to enquire of her more the truth of this matter, that if I have fathered her untruly, I may go hence better appried and satished in my mind. Leave being granted, he led his daughter and the mire apart from the rest near to the Church of Venus Clavina, at the hot shops, called at this day Novo Tribun., i.e. the new shops or foundings: and there had taken a knife from a butcher hence spake: My twentie daughter, no other means have I but this only to let thee free: and so he struck the dam'd to the heart: and looking presently to the judgement seat, Here with this blood I sacrifice thee Appius, and thy head to the Devil. Appius with the rage that arose upon so horrible a fact, being much troubled, commanded Virginius to be apprehended: but he with bloody blade in hand, made his way where he went, until with a number that followed him space to bear him company, he recovered the gate. Iulius and Newtornius took up the bloodie's corps and held it aloft to the people blaming and cursing the wickednes of Appius: pitying the unhappy and unfortunate beauty of the dam'd: and bewailing the extreme and extremity of the father. The Mtrumes followed after and cried: Is this the condition and fortune allotted unto parents for getting and bearing children? Is this the hire and reward of chastity and virginity with other like speeches which in such a cause, women in their grief of mind use to utter: whole sorrow as it is more heavy, proceeding from weak and tender hearts: so yeelde and afford more pitiful and lamentable words, as they make their aunts and dolorous moans. But the men and Iulius above the rest had no other talk but of the Tribunes authority, and the appeal into the cause of the people how they were taken away from them, and of other publick indignities and common differences. The whole multitude partly upon the mainoines of this wicked act and parts for hope by this occasion to recover again their liberties, we call at one in an uproar. Appius one while commanded Iulius to be called, another while for his disobedience and contumacy to be attached and convented before him. At the length, seeing no way made unto the Apparitors, for
to come by him, passed himself with a crew of tall gentlemen of the Nobility that were of his guard through the throng & commanded to have him away to prison. By which time there were gotten about 100 men not only the multitude, but the chief Captains and ringleaders of the multitude, L. Valerius and M. Horatius: who having thrust the sargent back, laid withal, that if Appius had any thing to charge him with by order of law, they would ball 100 men, and maintain his cause against him, who was but a private person; but if he went about to offer violence, he should soon meet with his matches. Whereupon grew a fierce brawl and broil. The Decemvirs ordered them, and they called the Licitors to give attendance no longer upon a private person. Whereupon, Appius his heart was done and his courage quailed; and to flanding in fear of his life, he was fain to cover his face, and to withdraw himself in dignified manner, and took an house over his head, near unto the common place (unknown to his adversaries) there to save himself. Sp. Oppius, for to refuse and to acquit his Colleague, rushed from an other side into the place: and there he might see force and might to have got the upper hand of authority. After many devices and consultations, whereas he was distracted, and framing himself to yield content on every side, at length by the advice and persuasions of many there about him, in great fear he commanded the Senate to be called together. This appealed the multitude, for that they were in hope that (by means of the Senators, K who many of them, seemed to mislike the acts and proceedings of the Decemvirs) that government of theirs should come to an end. The Senat devolved and took order, not to provoke the Commons too far: and withal to have a more provident and special eye, that the coming of Virgininius into the camp, bred no mutiny in the army. Whereupon were sent certain of the senate into the bush, that lay encamped upon the hill Vechius; who advertised the Decemvirs from the Senate, to endeavor all they could to keep the soldiers in good order, from commotion and sedition. But there Virgininius raised a greater uproar and tumult than he had left behind him in the City. For besides that, he was seen coming with a crew and train almost of four hundred men, who incensed with the indignity of the late accident, accompanied him voluntarily from the City, his naked drawn knife, and himself beprinkled and embroiled with blood, caused the whole L campo to turn their eyes upon him. Moreover, their gowns seen in fundry places within the camp, made a greater show of citizens in number then was indeed. Being demanded of them what news, and what the matter was, he kept, and for a good while held his peace. At the last, when as now the multitude; that for fear ran confoundedly together, began to stand still and keep silence; he declared orderly from the beginning to the end, every thing in particular, as it was done. Then lifting up his hands to heaven, and calling to all his companions and fellow soldiers, he besought them not to impute that foul act unto him, whereof in truth Appius Claudius was the author and cause: nor to detest and abhor him as a parricide and murderer of his own children: saying, that his children's life was more dear unto him then his own, if the might have lived free and honestly. But when he saw her one hailed by force, as a bond-maid to be ravished and made a strumpet, he thought it better to be benefic of his children by death, than by consumely and reproach; and so upon mere pitifulness incurred the show and appearance of cruelty. And but that he repented some our hope in the aid of his fellow soldiers, trusting that they would be revenged for his daughter's death, he would not have remained a live man after her. I know well (faith he) that you also have daughters, sisters and wives of your own: And it is not the death of my child that hath killed and mortified the lust of Appius, but rather the longer it else had been unpunished, the more outrageous and unbridled would it be. So that by the calamity of another man, ye are well taught and warned to beware of the like injury. As for me, I have buried my wife before, who died on God's hand: and now my daughter, for that the might not finish the course of her days, with the safety of her maiden head and chastity, hath died, I confess, a pitiful and lamentable, but yet an honest kind of death. As to Appius. (quoth he) now can he not fulfill his lust in this my house: and for any other violence of his whatsoever, I carry the same mind and heart still to defend mine own body, wherewith I have already saved my daughters. Now let other men look to themselves and their children, as well as they can. As Virgininius uttered these speeches aloud, the whole multitude with one accord cried and protested, they would not fail, but both revenge his grief, and maintain their own freedom. The Citizens also, in their side gowns, intermingled among the soldiers, made the same complaints: shewing how much more horrible those things were in the eye to be seen in fact; then they could found onto the ear by bare relation: and withal reported, how at Rome the matter was well speedily dispatched already, for that there were certain come after them, even hard at their heels from thence, who brought word that Appius had likewise to have been murdered, and was departed into exile: and for preserving them with them, that they gave the alarme, plucked up their standards, and took their way to Rome. The Decemvirs being sore troubled, both at these present occurrences which they evidently saw, and also to hear those news, in what had teems all things stood at Rome, ran up and down, here one, and there another, into fundry parts of the camp, to appease the tumult. When they went to work mildly and gently, they had not a word of them again: but if any one laid his commandment upon them, and extended his authority, they would beat them and answer, That they were men, and

I he third Book of T. Livius.
A more then that men in arms and fouldiers. Thus march they in order of battle toward the City, and take the mount Aventine, and there letter themselves. And as they encountered any, all their song was this, to exhord and encourage the Commons to recover their franchises, and to create Tribuns of the Commonalty. Not a word was heard eell, tending to any violence. Oppius assembled the Senat together: where it was agreed, not to proceed by way of rigour in any cafe: nor as much as they themselves had given the occasion of sedition. But three ancient personages, such as had been Consuls, were fent Commissioners in Embassage, as it were, Sp. Taurpinius, C. Licinius, and Publilius Sulpius with commision, to demand of them in the name of the Senat, by whole comman- 

Dard, for their minds were not less troubled and disquieted with the remembrance remelted, of the late murder of Secerns, that kindled and set on fire by the vrenous news of the death of Virginia, so villanously, so shamefully laid unto and challenged, and all to satisfie the luft of another. Sicilia, so soon as he heard lay, that there were ten military Tribuns created in Aventine, fearing left the election in the City should follow the prerogative of the military Election in the camp, as a precedent to create the self-same men Tribuns of the Commons, being a man well seen and experienced in thee popular affairs, and reaching himself at the fame dignity and promotion, wrouht so with his adherents and friends, that before they went to the City, they should likewise elect the self-same number with equal authority. Who entered the City with banners displayed, at the gate Collins, and marched through the midst thereof in warlike order, up to the Aventine. And there joining and uniting themselves unto the other army, they gave in charge to the twenty military Tribuns, to create out of their number twain for soveraign governors to rule all, So they elected Marcus Oppius, and Sextus Mummius.

The Senators being in great care for the Common-wealth, sat in Council every day: where they spent time ofter in wrangling and jutering, then in advice and politick counsel. The murdering of Secerns, the wanton luft and loose life of Appius, the shameful digresses received in the wars, were laid in the Decemvirs dili. At length they concluded, that Valerius and Horatius should go to the Aventine. But they refused and would not go, but upon condition that the Decemvirs would give up the Ensigns and Ornaments of that Magistracy and government, which by right they should have forgone and departed from a full year before, The Decemvirs were grieved and complained, thus to be set down & made no better then private men: and laid flatly they would not be deposed from their place of rule, before those laws were fully enacted and confirmed, for which at first time they were created. The Commons having intelligence by Dullius (who had been a Tribun of the Commons) that by reason of continual debate and contention in the Senate house, there was nothing done and agreed upon, removed from the Aventine unto mount Saeer. For Dullius created not to ingtell, and plainly affirm unto them, that the Senators and Ancients of the City would never falsely think upon any care and provisio to be made, until they saw the City abandoned and deioilate: moreover, That the mount Saeer would put them in mind of the constant resolution of the Commons: and that they should well know, that matters would never be ended and brought to concord, without they retorted unto them their pow-

Geral and authority again. So they take their way by Nomeurana Mus, which at that time was named Fuerenia, and encamped themselves in the mountain Saeer; doing no harm to any creature as they passed along: following therein the modesty of their forefathers. The whole Commonalty followed after the hot: there was not one who for age was able to travel on foot, that drew back and tarried behind. Their children and wives bare them company in piteous case monoing the soes and asking them: whereeto they would leave them behind in that City, where neither their honest chastity might be guarded, nor yet their liberty secured and kept alive. When as now, by reason of his uncouth and strange deioiation, all seemed at Rome warne and void,
and none to be scene in the publick place, besides a few of aged men and when the Senators were called into the Senate house, the common place appeared empty, naked and forlorn: then there were more besides Horatius and Valerius that cried out and said, What look you for till my LL, of the Counsel What and if the Decemvirs will make no end of their peevish forwardness, will ye let things run at his and seven, until all come tumbling down, or be of a light fire? And what goodly dominion is this, that you embrace so in your arms, that you clip and hold to? Will ye minister justice and give laws to empty houses and bare walls? Are ye not abashed and ashamed, that there should be seen in the Place, a greater number well neer of your LICtors and officers, then of crowned Citizens, and of all other men whatsoever? How and if the enemies should come against the City, what would ye do? Nay, what if shortly the Commons should march in arms, seeing we weigh their insurrection and departure to lightly? Will ye, together with the ruin and downfall of the City, end your rule, and not afe? Well, to be plain, ye must either have no Commons at all, or else allow them to have their Tribunes again; there is no mean, there is no other remedy, Sooner shall we want our Magistrates the Nobility, then they will be without their Patrons and Officers of the Commanoty, They wrung and wretcl from our forefathers that power and authority fire new, and whereof they had as then, no proof and experience: how think ye then, that having called now the sweetneds of it, they will endure the want thereof? especially seeing, that we our selves are not of so temperate carriage in our government and command over them, but that they have need of some such cour and relief. And when thee and such like reasons were on all hands often alledged and laid K abroad, the Decemvirs overweighed with the general consent and unity of the house, promised: That seeing it was so thought good, they would be wholly ordered and ruled by the Senators, This only they behoght at their hands, and admonished them of by a way of a proviso, that they would take order for the safety and security of their persons; and not by shedding their blood, to fleth the Commons, and to train them up, and acquaint them with execringly cruelty upon the nobles and Senators. Then were Valerius and Horatius sent with commission to reclaim and call home the Commons, upon such conditions and capitulations, as they should think convenient: yea, and to let all things in good order and make a final composition, with a special charge to provide for the safeguard of the Decemvirs, against the raging ire and violence of the multitude. These mediators took their journey, and were received into the camp with exceeding joy of the Commons, as being doubtfull their very favour and redeemers, approved both in the beginning of their troubles, and now also at the very end and upholt of all. In regard whereof, they were welcomed with thanksgiving, Ictius was the mouth of the multitude, and their proctor, Who when they came to debate and reason about the articles of covenant, and that the Delegates and Committees, required of the Commons, What the demands and points were that they should upon? Being already provided aforesaid of purpose what to say, demanded such conditions, as it was well seen, that they required more hope, and relied themselves rather in equity, and indifferency, than in force of arms. For they require, Imprimis, to have the Tribuns power on foot again, and the appealing unto the people revived: which before the creation of the Decemvirs had been the only help and succour of the Commons; Item, that no man should be called in question, nor M any way touched in his limb, or goods for gathering the fouldiers or Commons together by way of commotion, for recovering again their liberties and franchises. Only, their demand concerning the punishment to be inflicted upon the Decemvirs, favoured of cruelty. For they deemed it meet and reason, that they should be yeilded into their hands, and then they threatened to burn them quick with fire. To these Articles the Committees spake in this wise, As for those capitulations, which upon counsel and deliberate advice ye have articled, they are so reasonable and indifferent, that without your suit, they ought to have been offered unto you frankly and freely: ye may request to enjoy such things as concern the defence of your liberty and freedom, and maintain not your licence and free, to the offence and hurt of others. But as to your ire and wrath, it is to be pardoned, rather then to be followed and yeelded unto: as who, under colour of hatred and detraetion of cruelty, run headlong into cruelty: and before, in a manner, that ye be sent tree your selves, ye will be Rulers and Lords over your Adversaries, Alas the while, and be our City never be at rest, and cease from punishing; but that either the Nobles will scourge the Commons, or the Commons whip the Nobles: As for you ye had more need of a shield I was then a sword, I humbled is enough, and too much humbled, who liveth in a City on even hand, and equal with others, under the same laws, neither doing nor taking wrong. And ye may see at any time you mean to shew your selves dread and to be feared, when you have once recovered your Magistrates and Ordinances again, while you have the law in your own hands, to cenure and judge according to your own discretion, than may ye give your doom of our lives and goods, as each caule requireth. Now for this time it sufficeth, that ye claim and have your freedom again, Hereupon they all submitted themselves to the deputed Delegates, permitting them to do what they would, Who seeing they had brought all matters to so good a conclusion, promised to return with all speed. So they took their leave. And when they had declared to the Senators the demands of the Commons, all the rest of the Decemvirs, perceiving no mention at all made of their punishment (a thing more then they looked or hoped for) denied no one point thereof. But Appius, a man of a fell and cruel nature, and who above all the other was most odious, and lay open to the malice of the people, and measuring the hatred of others toward himself,
A bill, by his own pleaeth that bare against other men: "I was not well (quoth he) what ill fortune will betide me shortly: and I see plainly, that our adversaries hold off to wrangle and contend with us no longer then unless they have weapons given in their hands. To satisfy this their malice and hatred, we will part with our blood: nothing else will content them. For mine own part to renown my Decemvirship I weigh not: neither pass I how soon I do it. Then was an Act made by the Senate, that the Decemvirs out of hand should surrender their place: and that Quinctilius the Arch Bishop or High Priest, should create Tribunes of the Commons: provided always expressly, that the mutiny of the soldiery, and insurrection of the Commons should turn no man to destruction and harm. These Acts being passed, and the Council, the Decemvirs came aboard into the open place of assemblies, and the Commons received their government, Tribuns of the Commons were created again. *A general assembly for election of Magistrates. Then, by an Inter-regent were Consuls created, L. Valerius and M. Horatius, who presently began their government. Whole popular Consulship, as it was without wrong doing to the Senators and Nobles, so it was not without some offence committed of their part: For whatsoever was provided for the liberties of the Commons, they flipp'd it abridged somewhat of their power and authority. And first and foremost, whereas it was a question and controversy not well cleared in law, Whether the Nobles were bound to hand to the Acts of the Commons they made a law now in a general Session, by the justificates of the Centuries. That what ordinance for ever the Commons (being part'd by Tribes) had by their voices granted, it should comprise and bind the whole body of the people. By which law, the Tribuns' Acts were armed with a most sharp and keen weapon to strike withal. Moreover, The other Consular law concerning Appeal, the only fort and strength of liberty, which by the Decemvirs absolute power had been overthrown, they not only revive again, but also fortify the same for the time to come, by making a new law, for bidding expressly that no man should create any magistrate abnormally without the liberty of appealing: and who soever should create any such, he might rightfully and lawfully be killed, and that murder should not be counted a capital crime. And when they had sufficiently strengthened the Commons, on the one side with the benefit of appealing, and on the other side with the Tribunes power in favour of the Tribuns themselves, that they also might seem far roanfast and inviolable (a thing now almost born out of remembrance) they renewed that high privilege, with certain solemn ceremonies which having been of long time laid aside & neglected, were now brought up again and put in use. And they ordained them to be inviolate as well in a reverent regard of freedom & triple of confidence: as also by a special law in that behalf provided: namely, that who soever hurt either Tribuns of the Commons, Ediles, Judges or Decemvirs, his head should be accursed and devoted to Jupiter and his family, and in post-false at the Church of Ces. Liber & * Liber, By virtue of this Act, the great Exceptors of the law deny that any man is far roanfast or inviolable; but (say they) it is enstablished, That who soever hurt any of them, shall be accursed. And
And therefore an Ædile may be attached and led away to prison by superior Magistrates, Which H although it be not warranted by law (for he is hurt, who by this law ought not to be hurt) yet it is a good argument to prove, that an Ædile is not inviolable. Marry, as for the Tribuns, they were indeed by virtue of an ancient oath of the Commons, at what time as they first created that power and authority, inviolable; as they would seem to expound and make construction of the law. Others have been, that thus open and interpret the law. That in this fell Æd Act of Horatius, the Consuls also, yea, and Pretors too (because they are created by the same Æfatus or bird-signs that the Consuls be;) were comprised, and had the benefit thereof. For a Conul is called by the name of a Judge. But that exposition is confuted, for that in those days it was not the manner to tear the Conul a Judge, but the Pretor only. And thus much concerning the Consular Laws. I

The same Conul also brought up this order and custom, that all the Acts of the Senat should be brought into the Church of Ceres, and presented unto the Ædiles of the Commons: which a beforetime were suppressed and imothered, yea, and corrupted or perverted at the will and pleasure of the Conuls. After all this, M. Duilius a Tribune of the Commons, propounded unto the Commons a Law, and they let it pass and granted it. That whoever should leave the Commonalty delitute of their Tribuns, or create any Magistrate absolute without Appeal, should be scourged, and lose his head for it, All these Acts, as they pleased against the wills and minds of the Nobles: so they went clean without their contradiction; for that, all this while hitherto, there was no rigour and severity that seemed to extend and reach to any one particular person among them. But afterwards, when as both the Tribuns power, and also the Commons freedom, were once well and duly grounded: Then the Tribuns, supposing now it was full time, that they might safely and without peril give the oneret upon them, severally one by one, made choice of Virginius to be the first accuser or plaintiff; and Appius Claudius the first defendant. And Virginius had not so soon arrested Appius to answer at a day, and Appius come down into the Common place, guarded with a company of tall young gentlemen of the Nobility: but presently upon the sight of him and his guard about him, the remembrance of that most cruel and detestable tyranny was refreshed and renewed. Then Virginius: "Speeches (quoth he) and Orations were devised for doubtful causes: and therefore will I neither spend time in accusing him before you, from whole cruelty ye have by force of arms delivered your selves; nor suffer this wretch, over and besides his other wicked pranks, to shew in the defence of himself his audacious impudence. Therefore, as thou ching all other lewd parts of thine and wicked defignations, O Appius, which thou hast for these two years ungratiably and impiously enterprise, and practised one on the neck of another, I will do thee some favour, and pardon thee: but for one crime only, unless thou canst acquit thyself the better, namely, that thou being the judge, against all order of Law, didst not grant unto the party defendant, the benefit of liberty to go at large, during the time of the suit depending, until the might bring proofs of other freedom: for this, I say, I command thee to prison. Now had Appius no hope at all, either in the Tribuns helping hand, or in the dooms and judgement of the people, Howbeit he both called upon the Tribuns for succours: and also seeing himself tugged and haled away by the officer, and no man to lay his hand: I appeal (quoth he) unto the people, This one word in maintenance of freedom being heard to come out of that mouth, that lately had given sentence on his fide that impeached the freedom of one, and challenged the party for bond, caused silence. And when every man to himself secretly muttered in this wise: "I see well (when all is done) there are Gods in Heaven, and such Gods as negleget not the affairs of mortal men, Pride and cruelty (although it be long firt) at length will lure have a fall, and throughly be punished. Lo, how he is now fain to appeal, who aforetime abolished and took away all appeal; he humbly craveth relief of the people, who heretofore trod under foot all rights and franchises of the people; and fee how he is carried to prison, detriment and deprived of the benefit of liberty, who awarded, and adjudged a free body to bandage and fertilise. Amidst these words, I say, that might be overheard in that confused hummimg of the assembly, Appius also was perceived to call unto the people of Rome for relief and mercy. He reckoned up withal the defects of his ancestors in the behalf of the C, W, both at home in the City, and abroad in the wars: he alledged his own unhappy affection (when time was) to the Commonalty of Rome, and partaking with them: and namely how with the exceeding displeasure of the Nobility he reignified up his Consulship, and all that to bring in and establish equal and indifferent laws to both parties. He rehearsed moreover his own laws, which notwithstanding they remained till in force and strength, he, the law-giver himself, was going to prison. But concerning his own proper parts and defects good or bad, he would then make trial thereof (he said) when he should be permitted judicially to make his defence for the present time, he pleaded the common benefit of the City, to wit, that being a Citizen, he might at the appointed day, speake for himself, & stand to the doom of the people, neither feared he the hatred & malice of men to much as to repel no hope at all in the equity and mercy of his neighbors and fellow Citizens. But and if he were call unto prison and not suffered to come unto his answer, then he would once again call upon the Tribuns of the Commons for their help, and admonish them, not to follow and imitate them, whom they would seem to hate. And in case the Tribuns will be known and aow that they are linked in the same bond and covenant to abolish and take away the benefit of calling unto any one of them by way of mediation against which they have charged & blamed the Decemvirs for conspiring & agreeing together; then he said, that he appealed to the people, and
A
dand had recourse for succour unto the laws concerning appeal, made as well by Consuls as Tri-
bunes, that present year and no longer ago. For who may ever hereafter (quoth he) have bene-
fit of appeal, if it be not lawful for me, who stand yet not condemned, nor attainted, and have
not pleased for my self? what Commoner, what mean person may find relief by those laws, if
Appius Claudius may not? It will be seen in me, and my example shall be a precedent and proof
to others, Whether by these new statutes, lording rule or equal liberty be established: whether
the calling for help by way of mediation & inter-cession or by plain appealing against the wrong-
ful proceedings of Magistrates, be granted in very deed, or but only pretended in bare frow,
under vaine colourings of pretences and foolish Letters Patent. Against all this, Virginius made his
rejoinder and said, That Appius was the man alone exempt out of all benefit of laws, and exclu-
ded from all civil and humane society. "Let men but look back toward the tribunal fear, the ye-
ny well-head, as it were, and receptacle, the fortefis and hold of all wickedness: whereon that
perpetual Decemvir practising his cruelty upon the goods, the bodies and lives of free citizens,
menacing whipping and executing hangmans work unto all persons; a contemner both of God
and man, guarded with a crew of executioners and butherry tormentors: rather then sentence,
proceeding on from spoil and bloodyed to lse his hart on leachery & carnful hillspuked a maid
by birth free, from out of the very arms of her father, as if she had been taken captive in war;
and that, in the sight of the people of Rome, and gave her away to one of his followers; even to a
groom of his bed-chamber. Where, by a cruel decree of his, and deftable sentence adjudging
her bond, he carried the father to lay violent hands upon his own daughter; where he command-
ded, the eipoused Husband and Uncle of the Virgini that took up her body half dead to he had
away to the Gaol, as being more displeased with them, for disappoint'ng and putting him be-
side his purpose of abusing and spoiling her, then for the murder upon her by them commited,
Adding moreover and besides, That he had built a prison, which he used to terms, The habitati-
on and dwelling house of the Commons of Rome. And therefore, plead he ever and anon, and
as oft as he will, his appeal. I will not give over (quoth Virginia) but as oft tender a judge be-
tween, and be able to prove, that he gave not sentence, and pronounced her free, but bond:
but in case he will not abide to be confin'd by a competent judge, then I command him to be car-
ried to prison, as attaint and convicted. Thus was he committed to ward: and as there
was none millified of this proceeding, so every man was greatly troubled in spirit, to see so great
a personage confined, and the very Commons themselves thought their liberty too large & ex-
tensive, The Tribun set him down a day (before hand) to plead for himself and make his answer.
Amid these affairs, there cameto Rome Embassadors from the Latins and Hermicks, to con-
gratulate, and to shew their joy and great contentment, for the unity and concord between the
Nobles and the Commons: in token whereof, they brought as a present unto Jup. Opt. Max, a
crown of gold, not very maffive in weight, but according to their ability, which was not much, yet
answerable to their devotion: which men performed rather with religion and zeal in those
day, than in portly shew and magnificence. By relation and intelligence from them they were
certified also that the Aquini and Volsciens prepared war with all the power they could make,
Wherepon, the Consuls were command to part their provinces between themselves. To Hosatius
befell the Sabins, and to Valerius the Aquini and Volsciens. And when they had proclaimed
musters against these wars, such was the forward affection and favour of the Commons, that not on-
yly the younger folk, but also a great sort of these that by law were dispenset with, and discharged
from warlike, and lived of their pensions, offered their voluntary service, and were ready to enter
their names into the murther-Masters book: whereby the army was not only in number greater,
but also for the goodnes of men, more puiftant, as having the old, beaten, and experienced soldi-
ers among them. But before they went out of the City, the Decemvirs laws (which now are
known by the name of the twelve Tables.) they set up openly to be seen, engraven in bra	-
Some writers have delivered, that the Ediles performed this office, as they had it in charge
From the Tribunes, C. Claudius, who upon a deftrepation and deep hatred of the Decemvirs lev-
ied and wicked enormities, but especially above all others, of the intolerable pride of his brothers
for, which he could no longer abide, had removed and departed to Retillius, his old native country.
He being now a very aged man, return't to fute and intent for his deliverance out of danger,
whose vices he abhorr'd: and in fuffled weed and poor array, accompanied with those of his
lineage, and other his followers and vasals, went through the common place, and laboured
every man one by one, "Bellicating them not to let that brand of ignominy, and bring such a
chain upon the honie and name of the Claudius, as that they should be thought worthy of impi-
yment and iron: nor infler a man of moit hoftile quality, a singular pattern of Nobili-
ity to his polterety in time to come, the Law-maker and founder of the Roman laws, to lie in
G" chains among felloses, night-theves and robbers by the high way side: but to turn away their
minds a while from anger and wrath, and encline to a due regard and consideration of matters:
and rather at the iniit and earnell petitions of so many of the Cludius, to forgive them one man,
than for the hatred of one man to reject the prayers of so many impliants." As for himself,
he protested that he didthus much for kindred and namesake, Neither was he reconciled un-
to him, and they made friends again: yet could he wish, that his advcrse fortune and poor con-
dition were relieved. Concluding with this in the end, that as their liberty was recovered again,
by virtue & proving, so the concord of all degrees & citizes might be establiished sure by clementy.

Some
Some there were whom he moved, more in regard of his own kindneph and love, than in any re-
spect of him for whom he spake. But Virginis prayed them, "To take pity and compassion ra-
ther, of him and his daughter, and to give ear to the prayers and supplications, not of the Clan-
dia, who have had the day, and tyrannized over the Commons but to the necest friends of Er-
ginis; the three Tribunes, who being created for the aid and succour of the Commons, do now
themselvcs implore and beseech the help and assistance of the Commons, And verify their tears
were thought more reasonable, and like to speed. Thus when Appius law all means of hope cut off,
before the foretold day appointed was come, killed his own left. Soon after this, Sp. Oppius, who
of all the rest next unto Appius, was molt hated: for that he was in the City at the very time
when this unjust doom and lenience of his Colleague hapned to be pronounced, was attached by
P. Numitorius. But Oppius was the wore thought of and more prejudiced, by occasion of an in-
jury by himself done, then for not stopping the wrong intended by Appius to Virginis. For a wit-
nicke was produced to depole against him, one, who having lervcd in the wars leven and twenty
years, had been rewarded and honoured extraordinarily eight times. This valiant fervitor, thus
adorned with those gifts and marks of valour, in the view and sight of the people of Rome not his
garments, and threw his back and sides, and the skin all broken with scarring: belenccing no other
vavour, but if Oppius the party accused, could guilty charge him with any treipise and off-
fence by him committed; he should not spare him, but now a private peron as he was, exercite
and redonde his cruelty upon him once again. Well, Oppius likewise was had to prision: and there
before the law day, ended his life. The goods of Appius and Oppius both, the Tribuns did confi-
care. Their com-partners and fellow Decemvirs fled their country and were banished, and all
their goods also were lost and confiscate. And not so much as M. Claudius the party that laid claim
unto Virginis escaped, but he was arrested to answer at a certain day, and was condemned, How-
beit Virginis of himself released him his life, and would not take the extremity, so he was sent away
and confined to Tiberi, as it were into banishment. Thus the poor spirit and ghost of Virginis more
happy after her death. then unfortunate during her life, having wandered abroad, and haunted so
many houses for due revenge of her adversary at last, when there was not one guilty person of
them left unpunished, gave over her walking, and retired quiet.

Now were the nobles in exceeding fear, beholding the tame countenance already in the Tribuns,
which they had observed in the Decemvirs. But then M. Duidius, a Tribune of the Commons, L
wifely and politickly refraining and keeping within a mean this excessive power of theirs: we
have enough (quoth he) both of our own liberty, and also of revenge of our enemies; and th-
fore I will not suffer for this year, any man more to be arrested or imprisoned, For I do not like
that old faults done and past, and now as it were cancelled and raied out, should be revived a
again, and brought in question, since that by the punishment of the Decemvirs, satisfaction hath
been made for the new and the continual care and diligence of the Consuls both twain, for the
maintenance of your freedom assured me, that nothing will be committed hereafter, that may
require and need the power of the Tribuns. This moderation at the first hand of the Tribun,
put the Nobles out of their fear but made the Consuls to be thought the worse of, (for that they
had been so addicted, wholly to the commonalty) in that a Magistrate of the Commons had more M
regard of the safety and liberty of the Nobles, than the proper Magistrate of the Nobility: and
because the adversary part had their ill of revenge and punishment of the Nobles, before it did ap-
pear that the Consuls would come seem to stop the course and stream of their licentious. And
many there were who gave it out, that the Consuls bare themselves too remiss and slack in the
matter, and little respected the good and credit of the Nobles, in that they had approved & con-
firmed the Acts that were proposed by the Tribuns. And no question, troubled as the state was
then of the C. W. they were forced to give place, and do according to the necessity of the time.
When the Consuls had set all things in good order within the City, and surely grounded the
state of the Commonalty, they went either of them into their own Province, Valerius against the
armies of the Equians and Volscians; which now had joined together in Algipsum: where full po-
nitically he had off, and stood upon his defence only: for it out of hand he had put it to the hazard
of a battle, I cannot tell, but I greatly doubt (considering how the hearts of Romans and enemies
both, were affected presently upon the uniform conduct of the Decemvirs) it would have turned
to their great loss and coln them an overthrow. He therefore having encamped a mile off from
the enemies, kept his soldiery within the camp. The enemies ranged in battle array took up the
whole ground between both camps, & when they made bravado's, and challenged them to come
forth and fight, not one Roman would answer them again, Atlength the Volscians and Equians,
weary with long standing still, and in vain expecting battle, thinking verily, that the honor was in
manner yielded unto them: departed: some into the country of the Hermicks, other to the ter-
ritories of the Latins, for to safe booties and make spoil: leaving behind them rather a com-
merent guard for defence of the camp, then a sufficient power to maintain a field fight. Which
when the Consul perceived, he paid them again with the like measure of fear, as they before had
from them received: and with his army rejoyced embattled, bids them battle: who being privy
to themselves what forces were wanting, forbare to fight whereupon the Romans presently took
a better heart unto them, and made account that their enemies were overcome, being in such a
fear within their rampart. When they had stood thus a whole day ready to fight, they retired
back in the evening and gave place to the night. And the Romans full of good hope, refreshed
A their bodies and made much of themselves, but the enemies nothing to heartly and courageous, fend out meffengers every way in heartful harts, to call again the forriages. Such as were near at hand came running back into the camp; those that were farther off, could not be found nor met withal: Now when it was one day light, the Romans flue forth of the camp, intending to give an assault upon the Rampier, unless they would come forth and fight. But when it was far forth the day and the enemies stirred not at all the Conful commanded to advance with their engins. The Equians and Voltsians seeing their battell coming forward, began to chafe and take foul disdain, for very shame that their rampier and trench should protect victorious armies within the camp, rather than their weapons and valor defend them in plain and open field: and were earnest likewise themselves with their Generals for the signal of battell, and at length after much impror-

ity obtained it. Now were some of them filled out at the gates already: and others followed hard after at their heels, keeping their array, and every man coming orderly into his file and rank. By which time, the Roman Coft, before the battle of the enemies flood freely furnished with their full strength, came on still and gave the oner: charged them before they were all come forth, yea, and erst they were well marshalled that came abroad, being a multitude, waving (as it were) to and fro every way for feare, and looking about themselves, and to their fellows: and to amaze their troubled heads the more, he affails them with a great shout and main violence. At first the enemies gave back: but after they had gathered their spirits together, and were come again to themselves, and that their Captains on every side rated them, and asked them whether

B they would yield unto them, whom before they had overcome, the fight began again to be renewed, the Conful on the other part, willed the Romans to remember, that this was the first day, wherein they being newly set free, were to fight like wise for the freed City of Rome: and therefore they were to win a victory for themselves, and not after victory gotten, to be a prize for any more Decemvirs to prey upon. For they sought not now under the conduct and standard of Appius, but of the Conful Valerius: who as he was descended from the deliverers of the people of Rome, so he was one of them himself: exhorting them to shew now, that in former battles of late days, it was long of the leaders and not of the foudlers that they attained no victories: saying, it was a foul shame for them, to have had more fromack against their own neighbours and citizens, than hearts against their enemies: and to have found more in fear of servitude at home, than of bondage abroad, As for Virginia, she was but one, whole honestly and chastity was in time of peace hazarded: and Appius it was only, and none but he, that in regard of his undidle and dilolute life, was the dangerous citizen. But if the fortune of war should fall on our side, and go against us, then shall our children all be in joyfully, to be abused and spoild at the hands of many thousands of enemies. Unwilling I am (quoth he) to preface such miseries and to prognosticate to the City those calamities, which both Jupiter and our stock-father Mars forbid and hinder to light upon us, founded upon to lucks and signs and happy foretokens, at the first beginning: I put you in mind rather of the Augustus Hill, and Mount Saccro: that there within these few months you recovered your freedom, rather y'e may carry back again your Empire, safe and sound, unfeind and unfoiled: that all the World may see that Roman foudlers are as forward and nobly minded after the banning of the Decemvirs, as they were before their creation: and that by the bringing in of equal and indifferent Laws, the manhood and prowess of the people of Rome, is no whit decayed nor diminished. Having utterd these words among the engins of the footmen, he made speed to the corners of the Horemen, Go to, brave gallants (quoth he) exalt the footmen in valour and chivalry, like as ye exceed them in honor and degree. At the very first shot and encounter, the footmen forced the enemy to retreat: and being now retired to your hands, set your fo, gallop after them space, and chase them out of the plain field: they will never abide your violent charge: for even already they are at a bay, and stand rather as a lay, than make any resistance. Hereupon they gird out lightly, and run their horses among the enemies, disordered already, and in disarray the service of the footmen. And having broken through their ranks, and passed forth even to the rearward: certain of them call about in the road and open ground, and when the enemies were about on all sides to fly, they turned most of them away from their camp, and overriding them, they got between them and home, and feared them wholly from thence. The footmen and the Conful himsell, with the whole strength of the main battell, made forward to the camp, assailed the tents, won them, and besides a great slaughter, obtained a booty far greater.

When news of this battell was brought, not only into the City, but also to the other army into the Sabine country, it was received in the City with joy only and solemnity: but in the camp it set the foudlers hearts on edge, and enkindled them to fire for the like honor and renown.

G Now had Hercules already partly by sending his foudlers forth, to make inusions and outrides: and partly by training and proving them in light skirmishes, enured and acquainted them to trust to themselves, and have confidence in their own good service, rather than to remember the flamefull diligence and toil, received under the leading of the Decemvirs, and even those small bickerings, they had done them much good already against they should venture upon a set field, and heard them in affured hopes to win the victory. The Sabins again for their part, will duly upon their good success the year before, ceased not to provoke and urge their enemies very oft asking them what they meant after the guile of robbers, to run in and out in small companies, to to rifie out the
the time, and thus by peaceable means to make of one entire battle many petty and small skirmishes? H Why rather fought they not one field for all, and without more ado, hazzard all upon a cast, and commit the whole to the trial of fortune, to see unto what side fate will incline. Then the Romans besides that of themselves they had gathered heart and courage enough, were with their indignity of this challenge also set on fire: considering that when the other army was at the point now, with victory to return into the City, their enemies began to mutter and grumble within the camp, he assembled them all together, and thus he fpeaketh: "Sirs (quoth he) what facres hath been, and the service hath sped in Algidun, I suppose you have all ready heard, namely, such as befecm'd the army of three estates and people. By the policy of my fellow Conful, and the manhood of his fooldiers, achieved is the victory. As for my self, that cou'd not take, and that refulcure mind will I carry, which you my fooldiers shall afford unto me. The war may be drawn out in length profitably: it may be also dispatched and ended speedily: If prostrated it shall be, look how I have begun already to train you, with the same discipline till I will exercise you, and bring to pass, that your hope and promises may encrease every day more and other. If your hearts now serve you well, and that you like to fight it out, Go on in the name of God, and in token of your willing heart and valorous proffes, now set up such a cry and shout, as you will make when you first join battle, and give the charge. After that they had with exceeding cheerfulnes shouted aloud: God bless us all (quoth he) I will fulfill your desire, and bring you forth to morrow into the field for to fight, So the rest of that day was bestowed in making their harness and weapons ready. When the morrow was come, the Sabins so soon as they perceived the Romans ranged in battle array, came forth also themselves, as ready and desirous of fight, as they. Here was a battle struck, such as might befall two armies, that trusted on both sides in their own value, and made full account of that day's honour. The one eager and greedy to recover their ancient glory, wanted evermore to have the upper hand, the other proudly treating themselves upon a new victory lately achieved. The Sabins besides, mended their strength well with a stratagem, for when they had equally divided their battalions every way, they received two thousand drawn out of the rest, extraordinary without the ranks apart. Who in the very time of the conflict, should hotly charge the left point of the Romans: they advancing overwaft with their enmies, & flanging them on the one side, prided themselves up that one point, and overcharged it, well near environed all about. Then the horsemens of two legions 600, almost in number, alight on foot, from their horsebacks, and as their fellows were even now ready to retreat, rush forward with all speed to the forefront: and withal, made head against the enemy. And first they put life unto them again, for that they entered equally with the footmen into danger and bare even part thereof: afterwards, for very shame, they gave more boldnes, and animated them to fight. For abashed they were, that horsemen should be put to double service in both kinds of fight, on horse and on foot: and professed footmen Not to counteract the horsemen, who had taken them to their feet. So they advance forward to the battle, which on their part was abandoned, and make haste to recover the ground which they had lost. And in a trice, at one instant, not only the fight was rennt, but also a battalion of the Sabins began to shrink. The horsemen closely among the ranks and files of the footmen, gat again to their horses, and from thence rode speedily unto the other side reporting of their fellows the victory: and withal, sharply charged the enemies, who now were affrighted, because the stronger wing of their side was discomfited: neither were there any in this battle also, that were leen to perform better service then they. The Conful as an overseer, beheld all the manner of it, praising those that stood to it manfully, and rebuking where they fought but faintly. They were not so soon chastified and reproved but presently they bare themselves like hardy men, and did right good service: and look how much that praise excited some, so much flame flirred upon others. Then with a fresh shout and outcry, they bent their whole force on all sides, and compelled the enemies to turn their backs: who were not able after this, to abide the violence of the Romans. The Sabins scattered here and there all over the fields, left their tents for a spoil to their enemies: where the Romans recovered again not the goods of their Allies as before in Algidun, but their very own, which they had lost by the forraging and spoiling of their lands.

For this two-fold victory achieved in two bloody battles, the Senat right sparingly (such was their mility) decreed in the name and behalf of the Confuls, one days thanksgiving and procession, and no more. But the people, the second day likewise, without order and warrant from authority solemnized the same in great numbers. And this popular procession, disorderedly as it was, and without formalty, was with more good will and better affection of men celebrated, then the other. The Confuls of let purpose (as it was agreed afore) came within the compass of those two days into the City: and summoned the Senat to assemble in Mars field: where, as they were about to make some speech of their exploits and worthy acts, the chief and principal Lords of the Senat, complainted and flew themselves grieved, that the Senat was assembled on purpose, among the fooldiers, to strike a terror into them. Whereupon the Confuls, because they would give no occasion of quarrel and fault-finding, called away the Senat from thence into Prata Flaminia, where now the Temple of Apollo is, a place which even then they called Circus Apollo, maris, where they being denied triumph with one voice and general consent of the nobles, L. fliius a Tribun
A Tribun of the Commons, propounded unto the people, to know what they thought of the Consuls' triumph, and amongst many that stepped forth to crost and diswade the bill, C. Claudia above all others cried out aloud, that the Coll, intended to triumph over the Nobles, and not over their enemies: and that they sought a thank by way of recompence for a private favour done to the Tribun, and not for an honorable reward, for any virtue and worthy act. For never (quoth he) aforetime, was there held any treaty of triumph before the people: but now more it was referred to the Senate, to consider and determine of that honor. Neither had the Kings at any time, improved the Majesty of that highest Court and degree: what should the Tribuns then meddle so much, and have their hand in all matters by virtue of their authority, as to suffer no publicc counsel at all to remain in force? For a City can never be counted free, nor Laws equal and indifferent, but when each degree and estate retaineth still their own privilege, and hold their proper pre-eminence. When the rest of the principal Senators had spoken much to the same effect, all the Tribes notwithstanding in general, allowed by their suffrages that which the Tribun had propounded. This was the first time that ever any triumph was granted by the voices of the people, without the authority and assent of the Senators. But this victory of the Tribuns and the commonalty, had like to have turned to a dangerous forfeiture of licentious liberty: by reason that the Tribuns conspir'd together and were fully agreed, to be chosen Tribuns again: and to the end that their own ambition should be let seen above others, they alledged to the Coll, for a sufficient reason (that they likewise should continue still in place of government) the agreement and concert of the Senators: through whose holding together and drawing in one line, the liberties of the Commons, to the great disgrace and reproach of the Consuls, were infringed and indamaged. For what would come of it, say they, if before the late Laws were fully established the new Consuls with their factions boding, should uppon the new Tribuns: for we must not look to have always such as the Horatii and Valerij; to be Consuls, men that would not regard their own weal before the freedom of the commonalty. As it hapned very well for that time, it fell to M. Duillius his lot especially, to be chief President of the Comices and Election: who like a prudent and wise man, forseeing the heart-burning and hatred, like presently to ensue, upon the continuance of the same Fayette's still in place, said flatly, that of the old Tribuns he would not propound any one: and when his brethren in office laboured earnestly with him, to permit the Tribes to go to a free election, or else yield up the charge to him allotted, of holding the assembly, unto his brethren, who would keep the same and manage the matter, according to Law rather than to the will and pleasure of the Nobles: Duillius then, seeing their earnest contention, caus'd the Consuls to be called into their own pates and feasts, and demanded their minds concerning the Election of the Consuls: and when they answered that they would create new, he having once got them to be the authors of a popular sentence, and not popular themselves, went forth together with them into the assembly of the people. Now when the Consuls were brought out into their presence, and were asked the question, what they would do, in case the people of Rome should elect them Consuls the second time, and that, in remembrance of their liberty received and recovered by their means, and for their good service in war, and worthy acts by them performed: he finding them constant in the same mind still, and nothing altered from their resolution; after he had commended the Consuls, for their steadfast perseverance unto the last (as altogether unlike to the Decemvirs) went presently to the new Election, and when he had created five Tribuns only, seeing there were not other competitors enough to reach unto sufficient voices of the Tribes, in comparison of the other nine Tribuns his colleagues, who openly stood to be chosen again: he brake up the assembly, and from that time forward called no more about any Election. For he said, That he had fulfilled the Law in that behalf which without fetring down any precise and definite number of Tribuns, so that there were some left behind, and rooms void, gave authority to those that were created, to chuse and take unto them more colleagues, to make up the number. And therewith he recited the words of the Law, which run in this form. If I shall have presented two Tribuns of the Commons to be created, and they shall not elect those which I desired to give them, I shall have no authority to create Tribuns of the Commons. Thus when Duillius perfified still relinquisht unto the end, saying, That in any case the State might bear five and twenty Tribuns and having thus conquered the greedy ambition of his colleagues: with great favor and the good liking as well of the Nobility as the Commonalty, he gave up his room. The new Tribuns now in the election and making choice of their companions, curst their favour with the Senators, and framed themselves to their will and pleasure, in chusing to them some of the Nobility, and those that had been Consuls, to wit, T. Tarpeius and Ab. Eternus. And Consuls there were created, T. Hermellius and M. Tiburius Caliguerus. Who bearing themselves in a mean between Commons and Nobles, and not greatly inclining to one side or other had peace as well at home as abroad. Lu. Treadcous a Tribun of the Commons, being highly offended with the Senators and spitefully bent against them, and saying withal, that in the coaptation of the rest of the Tribuns he had been cunningly over-taken by them, and betrayed by his colleagues, proposed a Law. That whatsoever hereafter propounded unto the Commons any Tribuns to be elected, should not give over, but till propound, until he made up the full number of ten. Thus continued he all his Tribunship in perplexing and molesting the Nobles, never letting them to be quite: whereupon he was surmised *After.*
After this, M. Goganiai Maximus, and C. Julius, being created Consuls, appeased the conten-
tious Orations of the Tribuns, which were begun and raised against the young Gentlemen of the
Nobility, so as without any bitter imputations against that authority of the Tribuns, they pre-
vented still the sober Majesty of the Nobles: and by means of decreasing matters against the wars
of the Volcians and Equians, stayed the Commons, and kept the City from all sedition and di-
cord: saying, That by civil unity, all would be at quiet abroad: whereas through discord of citi-
zens, foreigners took heart. The care likewise of outward peace was the cause of inward and in-
terim concord. But evermore the one late disquieted the moderation of the other: for whiles
the Commons were still and in good tempot, the piny Senators began to offer them wrong and
hard measure. And when the Tribuns would have affuited the weaker side, at first it booted little, I
and small good they did: but afterwards they themselves escaped not without abuse and hurt:
and especially in their latter moneths, when as they received injuries, both by reason of the
meetings and packing together of the mighty fort, and also for that toward the end of the year,
the edge and vigor commonly of all authority waxeth dull and growth weak and weak. So that
now the Commons had little or no confidence at all in the Tribunhil, unless they might have
such as Julius to be Tribuns: and as for these two years last past, they had them but in bare name,
and not to any effect and purpoze, The elders and ancient fathers of the Senate on the other side,
as they believed verily that their youth were too forward and lusty: so they were of this mind,
That if there needs must be trepuls and excess, they had rather those of their own degree and
cost should exceed measure, and have greater stomack, than their adversaries. So that
nothing more dangerous a thing it is to keep a mean in maintenance of liberty: whiles under a colour of with-
ning and dislinguishing equality, every man advanceth and lifeth up himself to, as that he thieth and
beareth down another, and in pretending a care and regard that men should not stand in awe and
fear of them, they make themselves dread and fearful to others, and so the wrong that we put off
and turn from our selves, we impose upon others, As if there were no remedy, but that we must
either do, or suffer injury.

Then were made Consuls, T. Quintius Capitolinus the fourth time, and Agrippa Furinus who found
neither edification within, nor war without. But yet both the one and the other was near at hand.
For now could no longer the dissention of the citizens be held in, but needs it must break out,
And both Tribuns and Commons role against the Nobles. For in all the assemblies and meetings
of the people, one or other of the Commons and Senators were served with proceses: where-
upon grew fresh troubles and new contentions. At the first noise whereof, as if the signal of battle
had been given, and the alarm fricken upon the Equians and Volcians took arms: and withal, their
Leaders and Captains (such as gaped greedily after spoil and pillage) had born them in hand and
perswaded them to believe, That for these two years past, they could not go through with their
musters proclaimed: for that the Commons refused to obey, and brake their allegiance: which
was the only cause that there were no forces sent out against them. Besides say they, The use and
manner of their warfare, is now with their licentious loocieens, discontinued and clean decayed:
Rome was now no more a common-wealth and country to her citizens: For all their anger, quar-
rrels and malice, that they bare aforetime against forein nations, was now turned upon their own
M selves: so that at this time they did fit occasion and good opportunity to surprize them, blinded as
wolves with mutual rage and fury one against another. Hereupon they joyned their whole power,
and first wasted the country of Latium: and afterwards seeing none to encounter them and make
defence (to the exceeding joy of those that were the authors of this war) they came foraging and
spoiling all the way to the very walls of Rome, even before the gate Ebalinum, there braving and
vanishing in reproachful and scornful terms before the whole City, telling them how they had laid
their fields and territories waste. From whence they retired themselves without revenge and losl,
driving their booties store them, and marched along to Corbin. Quintius the Consul seeing this,
assumed the people, and there (as I have heard) he made to them a speech in this wise: 

"I am not privy to my self, and my confidence accuseth me not of any fault, O Quirites, yet am 
I exceedingly abashed and ashamed to come forth into this assembly of yours: that ever you
should know, or the povertie hereafter understand, how the Equians & Volcians (who of late
days were hardly comparable to the Hernicks) came when T. Quintius was the fourth time Col,
in warlike manner with banner displayed to the walls of the City of Rome: & went their ways
again clear and without any hurt by them received. This shameful dishonor, if I had known it
would have light, so just in this year (and yet for this good while the world hath so gone, and
such hath been the course of our life and conversation, that my mind ever gave me there was no
goodness toward) I would have avoided this place of dignity, either by banishment or death, if
there had been no other way to escape it. And might indeed have Rome been taken in the time
of my Consulship, if these weapons which were under our gates had been in the hands of valo-
rous men? Then had I indeed enjoyed sufficient honor already: she had I lived long enough,
and a little too long, and might have dyed well when I was but the third time Consul. But who
were they? I pray you, whom these meall bale and cowardly enemies of ours despised and let for
light by? Were we they that are your Consuls, or you (Quirites) the people of Rome? If we were
in the falk, take from us as unmerciful & uncharity persons, our rule and government: and if thes
be not enough, let us over and besides be wellpunished and abide the smart. But if the blame be
in you Quirites, let neither God nor man chastifie your trepuls and offence, only do you repent
your
your selves, and be for therefore. It was not your cowardice that they scorned and defiled, neither was it their own valour wherein they trusted. For why they having been too often defeated and driven out of the camp and the field, fined with forfeiture of Lands, forced to go under the gallow, and brought into servitude knew very well both themselves and you also. No, no, the variance and discord between our own states and degrees, is the only bane, and nothing else, of this City the jates and debates, I lay, between the Nobles and the Commons. Whiles neither we have any gage or stay of rule and command, nor you know mean of freedom and liberty: while you are weary of Noble men rulers, and we likewise of the Commoners Magistrates, they gave gotten heart, and was bold. Now, (Gods will) what mean you to do, and what would you have? Tribunes of the Commons yeloned and fought after: for quietness and concord fake, we let you have your longing. Decemvirs you had a great mifs of, and them you desired: we granted and permitted them to be created. Weary you were anone, and all too weary of Decemvirs, we forced them to forgo their office. And when your anger continued till against them, being become private persons again, we suffered them to be put to death, and to be exiled from noble and right honorable men. When you would not elect anew your Tribunes of the Commons, you chose them at your pleasure. To create Consuls from out of your own factions, although we knew it hurtful and prejudicial to the Nobles, yet have we seen that dignity proper to Nobility, given away as it were, and made common with the Commonalty. The attendance of Tribunes, the appealing to the people, the Laws and Acts devised by the Commons, to be rendered and impoused upon the Nobles, to bind them thereto: and that, under the pretence and co-

lour of isnorn, or equal and indifferent Laws, our own rights and privileges should be overthrown, we have abidden, and do still endure. When will there be an end once of discord and di
dition? Shall we never have one City of it? Shall we never have this to be the common Country of us all? We can be content much better to be at quiet, when we are vanquished than whiles we are victors. And is it not enough for you, that you are dead and learned at us? but till you seek for more? Against us it was, that you took the Mount Aventine, against us it was that you held and kept the Mountain Sacri. For when the gate Estus, was well-near inspired by the enemy and when the Volscians our enemies were ready to climb our trench and banks, and to scale our walls, none of you there was to be seen for to remove and kept them further off. A-

gainst us ye play the men against us ye can be armed. We then go to. When ye have here before the Senate-house taken up the market place and common Hall with fouldiers, filled the goal with Noblemen, and those of the, briefest and best quality, then with like courage and boundless

of heart fully thereof the gate Estus. Or, if you dare not venture to much bold and view al

to you from the walls discover your Lands and territories with fire and sword waited & con-

fimed, your goods and cattel had and driven away as booties and prizes, your farms and houses burning and smocking every quarter. But all this time the Commonweal only (you think) by this means is in worse plight and poorer case, the villages fired the City besieged, and the enemy goeth with his way with the honor of the war. And in what taking, I pray you, is your own private elate the while? Tidings will come anon to every man particularly, out of his own livings and possessions of his proper losses: and what have you at home (it is man may ask) to make sup-
ply again? Will the Tribunes make you restitution, and amends for all your damages? You shall have words of them your fill. They will not shirk to speak to rail, and let fly landers fiercely before you against the heads of the City. Laws upon Laws you shall have heaped thick and threefold, Assemblies, convocations, and tedious invective good store. But from their other assemblies, never came there any of you home to his house, richer of one grey goat or little diller nor in better face to live than before. Was there ever any one carried ought from thence to his wife & children but hatred and malice displeasure and incour grudges and heart-burnings both publick and private? From which at all times ye have been shielded and defended if not with your own virtue and innocency, yet by the help and aid of others. But certainly, when ye served in wars

under the conduct of your Conims, and followed not the leading of your Tribunes; when you served I lay in camp, and not in the Hall and common place; when in battle your enemies quaked to hear you shout and not in your assemblies the Romans were in dread of your war and out-
cries: then you won prizes, and conquered Lands from your enemies, then you returned home

with triumph to your houes, full of riches and wealth int of honor and renown as well publick

as private. Whereas now, you suffer your enemies to depart, fraught and laden with your goods. Stick to your Ward-Lects, as if you were nailed and tatt pinned to them: dwell still in your Hall, and lead your lives continually there; yet until you never war when all is done, fly from it as fast as you can. Grieved it you indeed, and thought you it a trouble and painful thing, to

take an expedition so far as into the Volscians and Aequian country? Lo, the war is come even

into your gates: if it be not put from thence, it will anon be within the walls, it will scale the

Cattle and Capitol it will follow you even into your houes. Two years ago, the Senate gave order

and commanded that there should be fouldiers muttered and an army conducted into Aget-

um. But we sit still at home & do nothing, but chide & scold (as it were) one another like curts

and threat women contenting our selves, and joying in a present peace and little feeling, that of

that rest there will come triky was again, and that right shortly. I know full well, there are

speeches more pleasing and plausible than these. But to speak the plain truth for your good rather,
than to flatter and soothe for your pleasure, if mine own nature and disposition did not teach and
admonish me, even very necessity doth force and constrain me. Willing would I be, and most
willing O Quirites, to please you; but much more would I have you to be in safety, think what-
soever ye will of me. It faileth out commonly, as a thing that cometh by kind, that who so peac-
keth to a multitude in his own cause, and for himself, is better liked, and heard with more ap-
plause, than he whole mind aimeth at nothing else but a publick weal, timeis peradventure you
think these common flatterers, these clawbacks, and men-pleasers, which give you no rest, nei-
ther in war nor peace, do stir you up and provoke you for your good. But will you have the
trueth? ye being once solicited and pricked on by them, serve their turns in good heed; either
for their honor or gain. And because they fee themselves to be of no worth and regard, while
the fates do agree, they defer to play small game, rather than to sit out: to be Captains of mi-
rue and lieutidness, rather than of nothing: and in one word, to be the heads, the ringleaders
and guides of troubles and diffentions. Whereof, if you be so blest and happy, as to be weary now
at length, and will betake you to the ancient manners and fashions, both of your own,
and of your ancestors, in lieu of these new fanglours, I will refute no punishment: nay, let me be
put to the most shameful death that is, if I do not before many days pafs over my head, defeat,
discornt and put to flight these robbers and destroyers of our fields, and lend them packing out
of their own camp, and finally translate and remove this terror of war, wherewith ye now are
so affrighted and allowed, from our gates and walls, even unto their own Towns and Cities.
Seldom at any time else, had there been a speech delivered by a popular Tribune, more acceptable
unto the Commons, than was the sharp Oration at this present of a more severe Conful, Yeas, and
the very youth, which amid such terrors of war, had been wont to refuse soldiery, the only keen
and sharp weapon they had to fight withal against the Nobles, now defired war and to be in
arms. Over and besides, the country kerns that fled (to Rome.) such as were spoiled
and wounded in the villages about, reported more foul and cruel outrages in their ears, than were
pretended unto their eyes, and set all the City in an hot and angry broil. Now when the Senators
were assembled together in the Counsel Hous, then verily they all cast their eyes upon Quintius,
behaving and regarding him well, as the only patron and maintainer of the Majesty of Rome: but
the chief peers and Lords of the Senate spake out and said: That he had made an Oration, be-
seeking the sovereign Government of a Conful, beseeking so many Confulships by him already
born, beseeking the whole course of his life, that he had past off through many honorable digni-
ties, and yet always deferred more. As for other Confrs, they either in flattering and soothing
up the Commons, had betrayed the dignity of the Nobles: or else in seeking by hard courtes
to maintain the rights, preheminencies and royalties of their state, and to tame the multitude, have
thereby made them more fell and untractable. But T ,Quintius, he hath made a speech, respectful
and tending, as well to the royal dignity of the Nobles, as to the concord and unity of the States,
and principally regarding the condition of the times. They would request him therefore, toge-
ther with his brother Conful, to take in hand the care of the Common-wealth. They would request
the Tribuns likewise, to join in one accord with the Confuls, and fliould themselves willing and
forward to have the war kept off and put back from their City walls: and in so fearful and dan-
gerous a cafe, to reclaim their Commons to their due obedience to their Nobles: saying more-
over, That the native Country, the common mother of them all, calleth unto the Tribuns and
craveth their aid, now that the territories are wafted, and the City at hand to be aflaulted. Where-
upon, they all agreed generally to decree a mutter, and presently to make a levy of soldiers. And
when the Confuls had pronounced before the whole people then and there assembled, that it was
no time as then to hear excuses, but that all the younger fort, should become the next morning
by day-light, be ready to attend in Mars field: and that after the war was ended, they would find
out and appoint a time, to enquire into their allegations and reasons, that entered not their names:
and that he should be taken for a traitor and rebel, whose excuse they allowed not: the whole
manhood and youth of the City flewed themselves the morrow after in readines. Each cohort or
regiment chose their Centinens or Captains, and every Regiment had two Senators for their N
Provost Marshals. All this was performed (by report) with much speed and expedition, that on
the very same day, the standards and ensigns were by the Quef tors had forth of the Armony
and Chamber of the City and brought into Mars field: and by the fourth hour (or ten a clock) the same
day, set forward and advanced out of the field. And this new army, with a few bands of old con-
dicts, who willingly of their own accord followed them, marched on and refeted, at ten miles
end. The day following they discovered their enemies, and at Corbio encamped close unto them.
And by the third day, there was no flay on both hands, but they mutt needs encounter and fight.
For why? The Romans for anger were sharper: the enemies again, upon a guilty confidence that
they had so often rebelled, were grown desperate. Now, whereas in the Roman army the two
Confuls were in equal commission, yet gave Agrippa place unto his brother Quintius, and yielded
unto him the entire and absolute command. A course most profitable in the managing and exec-
ution of great affairs. And being thus preferred, he again in courteously answered and required
the others Gerdeneis and inclination to submission, in this wise, by imparting unto him all
his Comnds: by parting with him all his honor and praise; and by making him his equal,
who was indeed his inferior and underling. In the battle, Quintius commanded the right
point, Agrippa led the left: Sp. Pothinius Albinus, the Lieutenant General, had the conduct
of the main battle, And P. Sulpicius the other Lieutenant, they let over the hirtemen. The foot-
The third Book of T. Livius.

A men of the right point fought most valiantly, and the Volsciens received them with equal valour, Sp. Sulpicius with his men of arms, brake through the main battle of the enemies: albeit he might have retired himself the same way again unto his company, before that the enemies could bring their ranks again into order, that were disarrayed: yet he thought it better to charge them upon their backs. And in one moment he had discomfited and quite defeated his enemies, by affailing them behind, and thus affrighting them on both sides, but that the Volsciens and Equeian Horsemen relaxed him, held him play in his own fight, and so kept him occupied a good while. "Whereas, Sulpicius said, it was no time now to linger and to drive off, but to beat themselves, crying out aloud that they were environed round, enclosed within their enemies, and excluded from their own fellows, unless they let to, and bent their whole force, quickly to dispatch the Horse-fight: and that it would not serve, to put the Horsemen to flight and save their lives: but kill both horse and man, that none might ride back again from thence into the battle to renew the fight. And to make head and resistance against him and his horsemen, they were never able, since that the main thick battal of footmen had given him ground already. Good ear they gave to his words, and soon harkened to his direction: and with one entire assault they gave a head charge, and defeated the whole power of the Cavallry, unhorted and dismounted a number of them, and with their javelins goared both them and their horses. And there's an end of the horse-service. Then they set upon the battle of the footmen and dispatched messengers unto the Conuls with news, what they had done: where also by that time, the battle of the enemies began to shrink. And when tidings came into the Romans that were already upon the point of victory, they verily were more encouraged, but the Equeians that were about to retreat, were stricken with greater fear. In the main battal first began the overthrow; namely, whereas the men of arms before had broken the array. After them, the left point also began to be disstressed and driven back, by Quintus the Conul. But in the right there was hardest hold, and most ado. Where Agrippa being a tall man of his hands and young withal, seeing in every part of the battal things go better than where he was, caught the enemies from the enign bearers, advanced them forward his own self, yea, and fell to striving some of them against the thickets of his enemies. For fear therefore of so flaming a disgrace, the louder, belittling itself, and sharply affailing the enemy. And when all hands alike, they achieved the victory and won the field. Then came a meleenge:

D from Q. intire & brought word that he had the better hand and was now ready to give an assault upon the camp, but would not break in, and enter the intro before he knew for certain, that they in the e't point also had gotten the upper hand, and made an end of the battal. In case therefore he had discomfited the enemy, he should join his forces to him, that the whole army altogether might gain the spoil and pillage of the tents. So Agrippa, who also for his part was victor, came to his brother Conul and the camp of the enemies, and met with mutual congratulation one to another. There, finding but a few to defend, whom it discomfited in the turning of an hand, they brake into the rumpants and musquets, without conflict or skirmish: and so besides the recovery of their own goods again which they had lost by the overturning of the country, they gained also a rich booty, and retired back with their wholearmy. I cannot learn, that either they themselves required triumph, or the Senate offered them any: and no cause appeared upon record, why they should either refute or not hope for that honor. For mine own part, so far as I can guess, in so long distance of times singing that Valerius and Horatius, who over and besides the conquest of the Volsciens and the Equeians, had the honor also of dispatching and finishing the Sabines' war, were denied triumph at the Senats hand: these Conuls might not with modelly, but for the fame: having performed but half the good service of the others: left if they had gotten it granted, there might have seemed more regard had of the perions, than of the desert.

But this noble and honourable victory over the enemies abroad, thus achieved, was obliered and foully disarrayed with a flameul doom of the people, in a controversy of their allies, about the bounds and meers of certain Lands. The inhabitants of Arietia and Ardej, having warred oftentimes one with the other, about some lands in question between them, and by giving and taking bloody forays and overthrowes outweared, chose the people of Rome their Umpire to decide and determine this quarrel. And when they were come with their council to plead the case, the Magistrates granted a Court of Allies of the people. Where was much arguing and dispute on both sides before them: and after the witnesses were depoied and that at length the Tribuns should be called to the curtiun, and the people give their voices, there steps forth an old father, one P. Scarpinus, a Commoner. And I (quoth he) my part, O Conuls if it be lawful, to speak for the good of the State, will not suffer the people to erre, and be deceived in this question. When as the Conuls denied him audience, as being an old fool, and of no credit: and commanded him (as he cried fill that the publick caufe of the City was betrayed) to be had away, he calleth for the assistance of the Tribuns. The Tribuns then, who lightly were overruled by the multitude rather than able to rule them, yeeded unto the Commons: That for as much as they were deirous to hear what the old man could say, Scarpinus should speak his mind at large. Then fenth he the tale on end, and beginneth thus: I am (quoth he) fourscore winters old, and three on the head of it: and even upon that very ground for which all this strife and variance is. I served as a fodder, when I was no young man neither but one that had been preft to wars, and received pay twenty years afore. And it was, I remember well, during the siege before Corioli. Hither am I now come, to give evidence of a thing by long continuance of time, the evidence given by old Scarpinus.

L 3 worn
Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Fourth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the fourth Book.

The Law concerning marriage between the Nobles and the Commoners, was proposed, and with much ado enacted by the Tribunes of the Commonwealth: notwithstanding, the Nobles withstood it; Tribunes military with full authority of Consuls were created. Under this kind of Magistracy was the State ruled for certain years, both in City and in war. The Lands of the Ardeates, which had been awarded from them by an arbitrement of the people of Rome, were restored again unto them, and Colonists sent to inhabit the same. In the time of a great dearth and famine at Rome, one Sp. Melius, a Roman knight, dealt corn amongst the people freely, at his own proper charges: by which deed he won the favor of the Commons; and thereby offering to be King, was at the commandment of Quintius Cincinnatus, the Dictator, slain by the hands of C. Servilius Hala, General of the Horsemen. L. Minucius, who defaced the treason, had a bullock with guilt horns given him for a reward, The Embassadors of the Romans, which were murdered by the Fidians, had their Statues or Images erected at the Rosetta, or the common Cross of the City, because they died in the service of the Commonwealth. Cornelius Cillus a Colonel, having slain with his own hand Tolumnius, the King of the Veneti, was made by the second
Here succeeded Consuls after these, M. Ceninius and P. Curciatus. A year full of broils, both at home and abroad. For in the beginning of the year, both Censure, a Tribune of the Commons, proposed a law, concerning alliance of the Patriarchs with Commons, by way of marriage. Whereby the Nobles supposed their blood to be stained, and the Rights and Privileges of Families and Houses confounded. Also, whereas at first the Tribuns by little and little had moved, That one of the Consuls might be created out of the Commons: now the matter proceeded so far, that of ten Tribuns that then were, the other nine proposed this in plain terms for a law. That it might be in the peoples power to chuse both the Cofl. (if they would) either out of Commons or Nobility, May, if it should come to pass the Nobles thought indeed that the sovereign rule and authority, was not only made common with the basal fort, but also translated altogether from the great men and bell of the City, to the commonalty. Glad were the Senators therefore to hear, that the people of Ardea, for the wrongful awarding away of their Lands from them, were revolte: and that the Venetians had waited the frontiers of the Romans: and that the Volcians and Equins garded and murthered for the fortifying of Verrugo; So much preferred they any war, miserable though it were and dangerous, before a shamefull and dishonourable peace. Having heard therefore these news, and taken them in the worst manner, to the end that the rumour and brut of so many wars, the Tribunitian troublesome suits might stay and be dead for the time: they command masters to be taken, and soldiers to be levies, all fortune of war, and all manner of force to be prepared, and (if it might be) with more deavours, than it had been when Q. Quinctius was Consul. Then C. Censure, after some words which he spake aloud in the Senate; namely, that the Commons by frightening the Commons, went about but in vain, to avert them from the regard of their new Laws: and thistol long as he had any breath in his body, they should never go through with matter, unless the Commons had first ratified those things, which by him and his brethren had been proposed: forthwith assembled the people together. Thus at one instant the Consulsanimated the Senate against the Tribuns, and the Tribun incited the people against the Consuls. The Consuls gave it out plainly and said, that no longer now might these furious couples of the Tribuns be endured. Now were they come to the very height and extremity, and raised more war in effect, at home, than the enemies abroad. Which thing (no doubte) happened not to much through the fault of the Commons, as of the Nobles, nor of the Tribuns more, than of the Commons. For look what thing was best rewarded in a City, the fame always most increased: thus men in peace (we fe) prove excellent, thus in war they come to be singular. In Rome (say they) leditious ped ever bell, and have been reputed both to each one in particular, and to all ingeneral most honourable. But let the Senate call to mind the dignity which they themselves had received from their fathers, and compare it with that which they were like to leave to their children: and see, whether they may boast as the commonalty doth, how that their condition is much betered and more glorious than before, Well, neither is there any end of the allegataions of the Consuls against the Tribuns of the Commons.
We shall have then the Camileius and Italians to be our Coffers, But Jupiter (that great good God) forbid, that ever the Royal and Imperial Majesty, should come to that low ebb or declination: they were a thousand deaths rather, than suffer to great a shame and indignity, knowing this adversity, that their ancestors allow, if they had once suspected or foreseen, that by granting the commonalty every thing as they desired, they would not have more lovely and cheerful towards them, but rather more curious and untractable: and when they had obtained their first fits, to proceed still to demand worse and worse, one thing after another: they would sooner have indured at the first, any contending and debate whatsoever, than suffer those hard conditions to be imposed, and put upon them: and because they had once relented, that Tribunes should be created, therefore to grant them again the second time. I say then, there is no quietness with them, nor end of quarrels will be none, so long as in one and the self fame City, Tribunes and Senators remain together. Nay verily, either this state must be put down, or that office utterly abolished. And better later than never, to withstand and meet with their rage and desperate boldness. What shall they without control, first low discord at home, and then siphon forrein wars abroad? and afterwards, against those wars which themselves have raised, debar and hinder the City, for to take arms and defend itself? and when as they have as good a sent for the enemies to come to their doors, then, not suffer an army to be levied against them. But let Camileius (if he dare) speak these words out in the Senate, That unless the Nobles suffer his laws, as if he were a Conqueror, to be admitted and received, he will lay the murthering? For what else is that, but to threaten that he will fell and betray his country, and suffer it to be affaile and lost? What encouragement will lurch a word, give as that, I say not, to the commonalty of Rome, but to the Volscians, Equeans and Venetians? Will not they hope, under the conduct of Camileius, to be able to scale the Capitol and the Caffle, if to be the Tribunes shall take from the Nobility their courageous hearts, as they have bereaved them already of their right, their honor and dignity? Let him know therefore, that the Conuls are ready, first to shew themselves to be Captains and Leaders, against the mischievous practices of their own citizens, before they will make head again against the armed forces of their enemies? While these matters were debated of with great contention and heat in the Senate house, Camileius for the maintenance of his laws, and to cross the Conuls, made this Oration unto the people. How greatly the Nobles have defpised you, O Quirites, how unworthy, they have ever thought you, to live among them within the walls of one City, me thinks I have, as often hereuntofo, so now especially and most of all perceived: in that they have risen up altogether to fiercely to check and withstand our proposed laws. Wherein, what pretend we else, but to tell them and put them in mind, That we are, as well as they, citizens: and although we are not of the same wealth, yet we inhabit the same country with them? In the one, we request marriage: a thing to borderers, yes, and to foreign nations usually granted: and to speak of our selves, we also have afforded even to our conquered enemies, the benefit of our City, which is far more than marriage. In the other, we move no new matter, but only claim again and challenge that, which is the people's right, to wit, that the people of Rome may below their offices and dignities, upon whom they pleafe. What reason have they then, I pray you, to fer all on an upproar, as if Heaven and Earth should go together? and what is the caufe, that cerebrally I hadSlice to have had violence offered unto me in the Senate? What moved them to break out and say, they could not forbear or keep their hand from me, and threaten to abuse and violate the sacred authority of the Tribunes? Set cale that the people of Rome may have their free voice, and suffrages, to elect the Conuls whom they will, and that no Commoner be denied, so he be worthy of the highest place, for to obtain the sovereign dignity. How then? cannot this City possibly fland any longer? and is our Empire come to an end for ever? And all one it is (be like) an importune as much to disable a Commoner, for being made Conul, as if a man inferred, that a bondman or a freed libertine should become Conul. Perceive you not yet (my Malters) in what content you live? They would, if they might, bereave you in some measure of this day's right: that ye breath and speake, that ye have the shapes of men, they think much, they reprove, and it goes to their heart. And what else? They give it out flatterly and say (if God will) it is un- lawful, that a Commoner should be a Conul. I believe you hear me a little. If we may not be allowed to read the Chronicles, nor to peruse the High-priests records and registris, know we not those things then, that even all strangers now? namely, That Conuls entered in place of Kings, and succeeded them, and have no other right, preheminence or dignity at all, than Kings had before? Think ye that men have never heard, that Norma Pamphilius, a man not so much as a citizen of Rome, much less then, a Patrician and Nobly descended among them, was sent for out of the Sabines country, and by the people's voices, and the silent of the Nobles, created King of Rome? Alfo, afterwards, how L. Tarquinius, who was no Roman born, no, nor yet so much as an Italian, but the son of Demaratus the Corinthian, a stranger inhabitant at Tarquinius, and from thence removing, albeit King Ancus his sons were living, attained likewise to the crown? Moreover, how Servius Tullius after him, the son of a captive woman of Cornelium, whose father was unknown, whole mother a bondwoman, through wit and vertue, obtained and held the Kingdom? For what should I speak of T. Tatius the Sabine, whom Romulus himself, the father and founder of this City, admitted to reign together with him? Well, so long as no flock was disdained, no race rejected, wherein appeared parks of vertue, the Romans Em-
"pire became mighty, and flourished. Scorn ye then at this day, a Conul out of the Common-
alty, when our forefathers deplored not Kings that were aliens and strangers? No, nor when
the Kings were expelled, was this City denied and flurnt against forreiners, that were valorous,
men of action. The kinned and whole name (I am here) of the Claudii, after the Kings were
exiled, we not only admitted into our City, from out of the Sabinus, but alfo received into the
number of the Patrarians and Noble men. And may a meer forrainer indeed become a Noble-
man, and to a Conul? And hall a Citizen of Rome, if he be of the Commonalty, be wholly dis-
bled and out of all hope, or ever of being Conul? Tell me I pray you, Think ye it not poiffible,
that a valiant and hardy man, approved both in war and peace, being one of the Commons,
may proove like to Numa, E. Tarquinius, or Servius Tullius: and must, whether we forfe it
him to govern the Common-veal, or no? And whether will ye have our Conulis, such rather
as the Decemvirs (the most wretched and wicked persons under the fea, who, by your leave,
were at that time of the Nobility) than strangers and new-comers, which of all the Kings
were simply the very best? But forfooth, preiently after the KK, were defpofed and expelled,
there was not one of the Com, a Conul, What of that? ought no new thing to be ordained,
and which hath not been already taken up afore? For many things have not yet been praofed,
as in late newly incorporated ought not ftch then to be put in life, if they be thought expedi-
ent? While Romulus reigned, there were no Bishops nor Angers: by Numa Pompilius they
were created. There was no Selling of the people at all in the City, no description of Hundreds
and Clanes. By S. Tullius they were instituted, Cofl, were never heard of before: when the KK,
were driven out, they were elected. The time was, when neither the abolute rule nor yet the
name of a Dictator was known. In our fathers days it first began, Tribuns, Ediles, Qeetiors
there have been none: it was ordained they should be made. Within this ten years, we have
both created and alfo abfolved out of the common-veal, Decemvirs for the making and pen-
ning of our laws, And who doth not, but in a City founded for ever to endure, and incrca-
ning still infinitely, there will be brought in new Governments, new Priet-hoods and facer
donal dignities, new priviledges both of kindreds and private persons? And even this one thing in
question, to wit, that the Com, and Nobles might not joyn in marriage, were not the Decem-
vers that ftift within these few years made that Edict? A most shameful example and pre-
cedent in a free state, and tending to the maineft wrong of the Commons. Can there be any
greater or more notorious injury, than that there should be in a City one part and member, as
defiled and polluted, thought unworthy of the bond of marriage? What elle is this, but to suffer
exile and confining within the fame walls, when they debar us that we fhould not be either al-
laved in affinity or knit in kindred? They provide (forfooth) and take order that blood fhould
not be mixed, nor families confumed. How then? If this do pollute this great gentry of yours,
which moft of you deceed, from the Sabinus and Albans, have not by right line from the Pa-
trianens, but by copitation and election into the number of the Nobles, as being chosen either by
the favour and grace of the Kings, or else by the peoples voyces after the KK, were expelled:
could not your wisdome, and kept your blood uncorrupt by some private means and provi-
on, namely, by taking heed neither to epofolute wives from among the Commons, nor to suffer
your daughters and fifters to be married to any other than Nobles? No commoner (ye might
before) would have forced a daughter of any noble house: no, these infelenoees of laicitions
liet are appropriate to Gentlemen only of the Nobility: none of us would have compelled any of
you against his will, to make covenant and contrac of marriage. But I wot, that by an ex-
pref law it fhould be forbidden, and that marriage between Nobles and Commons fhould be
condemned, that is, which to the commonality is a plain contumely and open injury. And
why couet ye not, and lay your heads together, that the rich may not marry with poor? That,
which at all times and in all places, hath been a matter left unto particular policy and confe-
ration: namely, That into what houfe ever a woman caft a liking and fancy, there the might
be married: and into what family a man oblied himself by word, promife and covenant, from
thence he might take a wife: even that, reftaine ye within the bonds of a most proud and tyrann-
ical law, whereby ye might break in under all civil soeietie, and of one City make twain. Why
forbid ye not by a positive Law, that a commoner should not dwell by a Noble-man, or go the
same way that he doth, or frequent the same feaft, or converse in the fame market or common
place of aflemblie? For in effect what difference is there if a Gentleman marry a commoners
daughter, or a commoner epofolute a Gentlewoman? What right I pray you or condition of state
is thereby changed? fully the children till take after the father. Neither feel we for any thing
ele by matching with you, but only this, that we may be reckoned in the number of men and of
the citizens. Neither is there any canie, why you should fo contend and stand upon it (unless it do
you good to cros and take a pleafeure to exercife your felves in working us disgrace and shame,)
Finally I would gladly know whether the favereign government of the state relileth in you or in
the people of Rome? When the Kings were driven out, go you thereby to your felves Loyally
fovereignty, or purchased all men equal liberty? It muft needs be granted, that the people of
Rome may at their pleasure publifh and ordain a law. And will ye then as soon as any law what-
ever, is by them proposed, appoint a mater preliftly for their punishment? and as soon as E
for ever, by them proposed, appoint a mater prelently for their punishment? and as soon as I
thay am Tribun, shall begin to call the wards to give their voyces, shall you that are Conulis by
and by fwear all the younger fort, pref them to warriere, lead them forth unto the field, and
menace.
menace the Commons; menace I say, the Tribun also? What? If ye had not twice already good experience, how little these goodly threats of yours prevailed against the Commons, when they agreed and stuck together, it were somewhat, Will ye say, that ye forbear to strive, ye rendered our good, and for pity spared us? Nay rather, to say a truth, was not this the case that no sly was made. For that the longer tide was also the more cool and melodiet of the twain; Neither (O Quirites) will there now, I warrant you, be any combate, nor blows dealt: they will always fly at and found, what stomacks and hearts ye have, but never will they feel your fists, and try how keen your swords be. Therefore to these wars (be they falsely pretended, or truly indeed reported) O ye Consuls, the Commons are ready to follow you provided always, that by granting them liberty of mutual marriage, ye will make at length this City one: that they may be linked, joined and united unto you by private alliance and affinity: that hardy and valiant men may have hope and possibility, to honors and dignities: that they may be allowed fellowship and society in the Common-wealth. Finally, that (which is due unto equal liberty) they may one with another in alternative course, obey annual Magistrates, and be obeyed against their will and talk at your pleasure of wars: multiply and make them as many and as great as ye will: There is not one shall give his name, nor one shall take arms, nor one shall fight for those proud Lords, with whom they can have neither fellowship of dignity in the Common-wealth, nor alliance of marriage in private affaire. Now when as the Consuls also were come forth into the open assembly of the people, and that they fell on all hands from continued and long Orations, to short dispute and altercation: the Tribun demanded why a commoner might not attain to a Consulship? Unto whom the Consul returned an answer, as to the substance perhaps truly, so for the present contention not very wisely and to the purpose: Namely, because that no commoner had the Apices: which was the cause why the Decemvirs ordained distinct marriages, left upon a doubtful and mingled issue, there should follow a troubled condition of the Apices. But hereat, the Commons flamed and stamp'mot of all: that as odious men unto the immortal Gods, they were flatly denied and deemed unworthy to observe the flight and singing of birds. And never gave they over their threats of clamorous debate (whiles the Commons had gotten unto them a moment to thramp the Tribun to let them a work, and were themselves in obtinacy no whit behind him) until at length the Nobles were over one and driven to grant, that the Law as touching marriage should pass: supposing by that means especially, that the other Tribuns would either clean give over their suit for making commoners Consuls or at least wife put it off, until the war were ended: and that the Commons in the mean while being well pleased and contented with marriage among the Nobles, would be willing and ready to levy a mother, Consulemus for this his victory over the Nobles, and for the favours he got among the Commons, became a great and mighty man. Whereupon, the other Tribuns were kindled to the like combate: and for the proceeding of their Law also, indebted with all their might and main, and albeit the rumout of the war encreased daily more and more: yet they hinder the levy of consules. The Consuls seeing now that no decree and order could pass the Senate-house, by reason that the Tribuns interpreted their negative vote: took counsel together with the chief of the Nobility at home in their private houses. And well they saw that they must yield either the victory to their enemies or the buckler to their own citizens. Of all the Senators that had been CoH, only Valerius and Horatius were not present at these counsels, C. Claudius his opinion was, That the Consuls should put themselves in arms against the Tribuns: But the two Quirites, C. Memmius and Capito, disapproved all bloodshed and violent proceedings against those, whom by a solemn covenant made with the Commons, they had received and accepted for to be as far from stain and inviolable. But in these counsels they grew to this point in the end, that they designed military Tribuns of equal power with the Consuls, to be created indifferently from out of the Commons and Nobles: provided always, that as touching creation of the Consuls, there should be no alteration from the old manner aforesaid. And herewith were both Tribuns and Commons well satisfied and contented. A general assembly therefore was proclaimed for the deiining of three Tribuns in Consul authority, which being once published: forthwith as many as had spok'en or done ought tending to sedition, and above all others those that had been Tribuns of the people, began in their whitst robes to take hold of men and run to and fro about the common place labouring for this dignity. At the first, the Nobles partly in despair of obtaining the place (seeing the Commons set a flote) partly for disdain and indignation to bear any honourable office joyntly with them of so base condition, were scared and affrighted from standing therefore: at the last (but they were forced thereto first by the heads and the chief Lords of the Senate) they were content to be competitors and suiters for the dignity: left they might seem to be fully excluded forth of the possession of the Common-wealth, and leave it entirely. The event and effect of this Court, showed O plainly, that mens minds are otherwise affected in contending about liberty and dignity, than presently after such contentions laid away, they are in weighing and judging aught without passion and affression. For the people satisfied herewith that there was some account made of the Commons, and that they were not shut out, elected military Tribuns all of the Nobles. This modelly, this equity, this noble mind where shall a man now days finde in one person, which then was to be seen in the whole people? In the three hundredth and tenth year after the City of Rome was founded, were the first military Tribuns created, that bare office in the room of the Con-
A Confuls, to wit, A., Sempronius Aratianus, L. Arrudus, and C. Cecilius: in whole government concord at home caused also peace abroad. There be writers who affirm, That upon occasion of the Vetianet war, and the rebellion of the Ardeats, because two Confuls were not able to manage so many wars at once, therefore were three military Tribuns chosen: without making any mention of the Law published, concerning election of Confuls of the Commons: and that they were invested both in the jurisdiction, and also in the ornaments of the Confuls, Howbeit, the exercise of that government, how not fuel and sure, nor continued long. For within three months after that they entered, they forewent their offices by a decree of the Augurs, as if there had been some error in their creation. It was alleged that C. Cæcilius, who was President of that Court of Election, had taken his quarters a mile for the observation of the lucky signs by flight of birds, and not according to the Augurs skill.

There came from the Ardeats to Rome Embassadors, complaining of wrong received, in these terms: That if it might be redressed, and amends made, and their grounds restored, they seemed willing to abide still in league and amity. Answer was made them by the Senate, that the judgment of the people already passed, could not be reversed by the Senate, if it were for nothing else but for concord fake and agreement of the States: besides, they had neither any precedent to lead them thereto, nor Law and authority to warrant them. Marry, if the Ardeats would wait their times and put to the Senate arbitration and discretion, the redress and satisfaction of their injury pretended, it would come to pass, that in progress of time they should not repent of governing their passions and bridling their holier: and should well know, that the Nobles had a good regard, that if there should no wrong be offered unto their friends, as they were careful, that if any were offered it should not long continue. Thus the Embassadors promising to make a true report unto their citizens of the matter, wholly as it was: were friendly dismissed, and had their duty rende.

The Senators seeing now the Commonweal, without any foreign Magistrates of the chair and of State, went together, and made an Intergent: and whiles they thereto, whether Confuls or Tribuns should be created, the Intergent continued many days. The Intergent and the Senate laboured, that there should be an Election of Confuls: the Tribuns on the other side, and their Commonality were for the Tribuns Conunar. But the Senators prevailed, because both the people seeing they were to confer the one office or the other, upon the Nobles, conceived to arise any more: and also the chief of the Commons chose rather to have that Election, wherein they should not be on occasion prejudiced, than wherein they were sure to take the repulse, as unworthy. The Tribuns also gave over to construe any longer to no purpose, and without effect, seeming thereby somewhat to gratify and please the LL. of the Senate. So T. Quinctus Barbatus the Intergent, chose for Confuls L. Papius Magnianus, and L. Sempronius Aratianus. Whiles these were Confuls, the league with the Ardeats was renewed, and this is the only evidence and proof, that they were Confuls that year, for that neither in the ancient yearly records, nor in the Calendars of the Magistrates, they are found at all, I take it, because the military Tribuns were created in the beginning of that year: and therefore, although these Confuls were in their head chosen, yet their names were left out, as if the other had remained in office the whole year.

Lecinius Massey affirmed, that they are mentioned both in the composition with the Ardeats, and also in the linen books or regillers in the Church of Jano Moneta. Albeit there had been so many rebellions and bravados threatened from the borderers, yet both abroad and at home, all was quiet. And whether Tribuns only, or Confuls also chosen in the room of Tribuns governed in this year; certain it is, that the next following, had Confuls M. Geminus Maccalinus the second time, and T. Quinctus Capitolinus the first time. This was the very year when the Censors office came up first. A thing that role at a small beginning: which notwithstanding afterwards increased to that height, that it had government of the manners and discipline of the Romans: and under the jurisdiction thereof, the Senate and Centuries of the order of knights, the division of worship and shameful disgrace, were reduced. Likewise the survey of publick and private Edifices, and the temples, revenues and subsidies of the people of Rome were at the disposition, ordering, and dismission of that office. The beginning of which thing arose upon this occasion: For that the people in many years space had not been affessed and numbered, and seeing the Cenel could be defeter no longer, nor the Confuls (by reason of wars, from lo many nations imminent) had leisure to go about and accomplish that business: the Senate therefore made a motion that the charge being painful, and not for the Majesty of Confuls to buy themselves in, required a special Magistrate, and a peculiar officer by it self. Under whom should attend the Secretaries and Clerks: who likewise should have the keeping and charge of the rolls and publick records: and at whose discretion should pass the edicts and instruments of all Affemsions. The Senators therefore accepted gladly of this overture, although it were but a trifling matter: yet because there should be the more Magistrates of the Nobility. Supposing (I ween) it would come to pass (as it proved indeed) that shortly the power and wealth of those, who bare the office, should win more authority and credit into the thing. Yea, and the Tribuns also made no great ado, but indulged it to pass, being an office (as it was in truth, no other at that time) rather of necessity and attendance than of power, or honor: because they would not seem to be rows and peetith in every small matter. When as therefore this dignity was of the principal of the City confered the people by their voyces chose to that Office, Papius and Sempronius, of whole Confulship there was some doubt: to the end, that by that office they might supply and make up the
Censor Car created

the defect and mis of a Consulship. And of the excercise and function it self, Censors were they called,

While these things were a doing at Rome, there came Embassadors from Ardeea, craving as well in regard of their most ancient amity, as also of the late league renned, their helping hand for their City, weleigh undone and overthrown. For, peace (which witty and by right good advice they had kept and maintained with the people of Rome) they might not enjoy at home, by reason of inward debate and dometical quarrels. The caufe and beginning whereof, as it is reported, arose from sedition and faction, which have been and will be to most States more pernicious, than forain wars, than famine or plague, or other adversities, which men attribute to the anger and wrath of God, as the extremity of all publick calamities whatsoever. There was a maid, a Commons daughter and no better, by birth, but for her rare beauty of singular note and passing renown: whom two young men were fuiters unto. The one of the same condition or estate that the maid was of; and who relied upon her guardians and tutors, who also were of that degree and calling: the other a Gentleman, enamoured on her, only for her beauty. As for him, he had the good wills of the bel of the City, by whose means the strife of partaking, entered even into the house of the Damned. For the Gentleman in the Mothers judgment, was the more welcome and better liked of, whose desire was, that the maid should be preferred by marriage, and be most worshipfully beloved. The Guardians also banded themselves, and laboured for their party. But when as the matter might not be ended within dores, it came to suit in Law. And when thereasons and allegations were heard, both of the Mother, and also of the Guardians, the Judges pronoun-

ced sentence of marriage to be at the disposition of the Mother. But might prevailed more than right. For the Tutors aforefaid, openly in the market place of the City, having amongst those of their party and faction, complained of that injurious award, with a troup of men by force, set the maid out of the Mothers house. Against whom arose a stronger power of the gentry, and following the young Gentleman, who was incenced and set on fire upon this injustice offered, Whereupon initia a cruel fray. The Commons being delected, were forth (far unlike to the Commons of Rome) armed as they were out of the City, and took for their hold a Hill, and in-
vaded the Lands of the Nobles with fire and sword: and having gathered to them a multitude of Artizans and handicrafts men, whom in hope of spoil they had called forth, they purpose and prepare to besiege the City alfo, which aforerime had been altogether unacquainted with the like forms. In such force, as no kind of calamity that followeth war, was wanting: as if the poor City had been tainted, infected, and poisoned with the furious madness of two brain-fick young men, seeking a wou'd and deadly marriage, with the utter ruin and destruction of their native Country. And neither part thought it enough to war and fight at home among themselves. For the Nobles solicited the Romans for to rescue their besieged City: the Commons stirred up the Volscians, to help to force and sack the City. The Volscians under the conduct of Compaus Clinera came first to Ardeea, and against the walls of their enemies, raised a countermarch, and call a tranch, and block-
ced the Town round about. Which tidings being brought to Rome forthwith M. Cognatius Conful, went forth with an army, and incamped himself three miles from the enemies: and the day being now far spent and drawing toward night, he commanded his foudiers to refresh and make much of themselves, and take their rest: and afterwards at the relief of the fourth watch, he brought forth his enigns, let his men to work, and sped his business once begun, so that by the sun-rising, the Volscians might see them selves inveted more freightly by the Romans, then the City beleaguered by them. And on another side the Conful had joyned a fconco to the wall of Ardeea, by which way his foudiers might go and come in safety. The Captain of the Volscians, who had to that day prepared no victuals, but sustained his army only with the corn which he had for the present from day to day robbed by forraging the Country, seeing himself intrenched, and of a sudden to be destitute of all things, called the Conful forth to parle,

saying, That if the Romans coming was to raise the fiege, he would remove and diflodge from thence. To which again the Conful made this reply, That vanquished men were to take, and not to make Articles of Condi-

tions: neither should they, as they were come at their pleasure to affulate the allies of the Romans, so depart again when they lift to Poffei. He commandeth therefore to yeeld their General, to lay down their weapons, confeying themselves overcome, and to be at his devotion. Otherwise he would be a bitter and mortall enemy unto them, whether they departed or tarried till, and carry home to Rome the victory of the Volscians, rather than their fafetie's peace. The Volscians, when they had affayed that small hope they had in their weapons (for all hope else was cut off) besides all other things that were crofs unto them, encountered in a place of great disadvantage for fight, but worfe for flight: and being themselves on ev'ry side beaten down and flain, turned from fighting to intreating, delivered up their Captain, yeelded their weapons, were driven under the Gallows, and in their single doubler and hofe with great flame and calamity, were let go and fent away. And fitting them down to ret themselves, not far from the Town Trifcium the Trifcians upon an oldrudge and hatred against them, set upon them thus disarmed and naked as they were at unawares, and were fo meet with them, that scarcely there remained any one to carry news of their ill day and unfortunate overthrow. Then the Roman Con, appeased the troubles at Ardeea: beheaded the chief Captains of that commotion, and confiscated their goods to the common chief and Chamber of the Ardeans. And so by this great favour and benefit of the people of Rome, they supposing the injury of the former arbitration was done away and recompened. But yet the
A the Senat of Rome thought somewhat behind still for the cancelling of the memorial of publick avoice. The Consuls returned triumphing into the City, leading Cluentius the Captain of the Vol- fians: before his chariot, with the spoil born afore him of the enemies, whom he had disarmed, and brought under the yoke. Quintus the Consul again for his part, in his long robe and gown of peace, countervailed (a thing not usually seen) the glory of his Colleague in his bright armor: who had so great regard at home to entertain concord and peace among the Citizens, by min- istering justice indifferently, as well to the highest as to the lowest, that the Senators reputed him averse Conul, and the Commons accounted him as meek and gentle a person. And more he won at the Tribunes hands by contentence and reputation, than by contention and debate. His five Consulships wherein he carried himself after one and the last same manner and order: the course of his whole life, ever Consul-like, caught his pention to be in a manner more reverenced then his honourable place. By this means, whiles there were Consuls, no words were made of military Tribunes, Then created they for Consuls M. Fabius Vibulanus, and Polibinius Eurius Censor. These Consuls, by how much greater and more glorious the acts both at home and abroad, were achieved by those, whom they law they were to succed (and truly that year was right memorable among the borderers, as well allies as enemies, and namely, because the Ardeats in fo hard difficulties were by them succoured) no much the more earnestly endeavoured for their part, to raise out of mens minds the infamy of that judgement aforesaid, and made an Act and Decree of the Senate in this form. That as much as the City of the Ardeats, by reason of Consul Creules, was dispersed and brought to a small number of Citizens, there should be enrolled certain inhabitants to be sent thither for a Governor, and defence against the Volscians. This was openly ingruffled in publick Tables, and Instruments, for a policy, that their secret intent and purpole of revering and dianilating the arbitration, might not be perceived by the Tribunes and the Commons. But they closely complotted, that when they had enrolled a far greater number of Rutuli ans than of Romans, for to inhabit Ardea, neither should any other lands be divided, but those which by that inamous and unholenot award were intercepted: nor that one foot or clof of ground should be assigned to any other Roman, before the whole lands were parted among all the Rutuli ans. Thus the domain that had been in question, returned again to the Ardeats. The Triumvirs for the conveying of a Colony to Ardea, were created thee, Agrippa Menenius, C. Clutius Secular, and M. Eurius Helms. Who, besides that, they offende the Commons by their ready service and nothing popular, in regard, that they affigned and set out to their allies, that land which the people of Rome judged their own, were not well thought of neither, by the chief of the Nobility: because in the execution of their charge, they did nothing of affection, and for favour. Howbeit they avoided all troubles and dangers that were toward them (albeit they were accused by the Tribunes before the people.) For when they had registred and placed the Coloners, they remained still themselves in the fame Colony, which they had as witnesses of their innocency, and just dealing.

In this year, and the year following, Caius Furius Petilus and Marcus Popilius Cabbage were Consuls, there was peace at home and abroad. The plays which had been vowed by the De- cemvirs, according to the Senate decree, during the time of the Commons insurrection and de- parture from the Nobles, were this year set forth. Petilus fought for some occasion of sedition but in vain, Who being made Tribun the second time, albeit he harped still upon one string, and threat- ned the selfsame things that he had before, yet he could not bring about, that the Consuls should propose unto the Senate concerning the division of lands among the Commons: and when as with great ado he had obtained thus much, that the Senators should be moved and their opinions asked, whether they would have an election of Consuls or Tribunes (Consular:) determined it was at length, that Consuls should be chosen. So, that the menaces of the Tribun, that he would hinder the matter, was a ridiculous matter of game: seeing that when the borderers were at quiet, there was no need either of war or preparation for war. After this great quietness of the State, followed a year (wherein Proculus Gergamus Macerius, and L. Menenius Latennius were Consuls) for sundry calamities and perils memorable: namely Seditions, Fanimie, and hazard of receiving upon their necks the yoke of Kings rule again and that by the sweetness of a Largeis. There wanted only foreign war: wherewith the Common-weal had been afflicted too, hardly could the help of all the gods above, have recovered the State. Thee calamities began with hunger. But whether it were, for that the year was unseasonable for corn, or that they were too in love with the plantible and sedicious Orations, and of the City it fell, that theyighed and neglected the Tillage of their ground. it is uncertain. For both the one and the other is reported. The Lords of the Senat blamed the idleness of the Commons: and the Tribuns of the Commons laid the weight, one upon the fraud and mauntisnies, another while upon the negligence and remis- nes of the Consuls, At the left the commoners enforced and drave the people (but not against the will of the Senat) to chuse L. Minanius Muller of the provision or principal purveyor of corn and victual: a man who in that office proved more lucky to preserve the liberty of the City then happy in the exercise or ministration of his charge: albeit at the latter end, he delverted and had, both prate and thanks, for bringing down the price of Corn. Who, notwithstanding many Embaflages sent both by sea and land to the neighbor nations round about, and all to little purpose (but that out of Heortius there was brought some little sprinkling of Corn) nothing eated and mended the Market: and therefore he turned again to the dispensing or dealing the present death inindifferently
indifferently among all, by forcing every man to confesse what corn he bred, to open his garner, to bring it forth, to vent and sell it, which he had more then would serve a month, But when by this practice, and by deading servants a portion of their daily bread, and by acquainting the corn-mongers and exposings them to the furious ire of the people, he had with all his hard courtesies and sharp inquisitions rather laid open then cased the present need and necessity: many of the common people depairing of all hope, rather then they would live thus miserably tormented, pinning and wearing away in hunger, covered their heads, and threw themselves headlong into Tyber. Then Sp. Melius by calling a Knight or Gentleman of Rome, a man (as in those days) exceeding rich, enterprized a thing, commodious I must needs say, but a difficult precedent of dangerous consequence, and proceeding of a worrie mind and intent of his. For having with his own money bought the corn out of Betruria by the means of his friends and vassals, whole ministry he used: which thing (I believe verily) was an hindrance that all the publick care and provision, took small effect, and nothing helped the general want and scarcity, he devied to bring up a free dole and distribution of corn: and to the end that when he had once by this benefit and liberality won the hearts of the Commons, then he might, what way ever he went carrying a port and majesty with him above the degree of a private person, draw after him a train of the people, promising him by their favour of support, undoubt and assure hope of a Compact. But himselfe (as mans nature is unstable) not content herewith, aspired to higher matters then fortune promised him, and those unlawful, and beyond his reach. And for as much as even the very Confulship was to be wrested from the Nobles against their wills, he posteth to make himselfe a King, and thought that, the only gundred due for so deep reaches and designs, and worthy that great contention and strife which he was to abide with much toil and sweat of brows. Now drew the Election on space for Conuls, which thing prevented him thera he had brought his devices to full ripeness and perfection. Conul was created L. Quantius Capitolinus the fifth time, a man most unfit for his turn, that should go about innovations and to change the state, and with him was joined Agrippa Memmius, sumnamed Lanius. And L. Minius, was either made again the master victualler, or else created he was at first without limitation of time, to continue so long as the cale should require. For there is no certainty thereof, but only the name of Conul-master, recorded both years in the Ilmen Books or Register among other Magistrates. This Minius was vigilant and as careful for the common-wealth, as Melius for his private wealth: and upon occasion that men of the same quality, to wit, the Commons, were conversant in both houses, namely, in his own and in the house of Melius; he came to the knowledge of his means, of Melius his treasure: and declared unto the Senate the whole compilion, Namely, That there was armor and weapons good store carried into the house of Melius: that he kept conventions there, and made feuditious Orationes, and that it was past all peradventure that he practised to be King. As for the time of working the fact and to put it into action, as yet it was not determined and certainly known: all other things were already agreed upon, Item, that the Tribuns were bribed and hired to tell and betray the liberty of the City: That to certain Captains of the multitude divers charges were appointed. And herewithal, he excused himselfe (and said) That because he would not be reputed the author of any uncertain or vain intelligence, he uttered these matters somewhat with the last, and later well neer, then might hand with the common faculty of the Wealth-publick. Which news after they were heard, and that on every side the chief Senators had given both the Conf, of the former year a check, for that they had sufferd those Largeles of corn, and tolerated meetings of the Commons in a private house: and rebuked the new Conuls also, for that they had stayd so long and waited till a matter of so great importance was by the corn-master detected and declared unto the Senate, which required a Conf, to be not only the informer, but also the reformer: Then T. Quantius answered, That the Commons were blamed without just cause, who being bridled with the laws of appealing, rending to the great prejudice and disgracing of their sovereign government, had not comminon sufficient by virement of their place, to punish the thing according to the common sense and quality thereof, as they had courage and heart thereto; and that there was need now, not only of a valiant and stout man, but also of one that was freed from all bonds of laws and tied to none. And therefore he would name L. Quantius for Dictator: in whom there was courage answerable to that absolute authority. When all men liked well therof, Quantus himself at the first reputed demanding what they meant, to object and expose him, an unwelde man for 10 kept in years, to a great trouble, and manifest danger. Afterwards, when they replied on all hands, and likend how in that heart of his for all his age there was more valour, and in his head more policy then in all men besides; keeping on him right due and deserved praisie and commendations: and whereas the Conul also importuned him still and gave not over then Gregorius, after he had prayed to the gods immortal, that his decrepit old age in so fearful a cafe, might not turn either to the loife or dishonor of the Common-wealth, was by O the Conul pronounced Dictator. And he forthwith nominated C. Servillius Holi General of the horsemen. The morrow after, when he had set and disposed certain guards in divers places of the City, and was come down into the common place of the common people wandering at the strangeness of the matter, had their eyes upon him; and the adherents and complices of Melius, and he himselfe their Captain, saw well that the force and power of this great magistrate was bent against them. But they that were not acquainted with those plots and designs that tended to the setting up of a King, asked one another, what tumult or sudden war, should require either a
A Dictators majesty, or that Quintus after fourscore years of age, should be the only Ruler of the City. With that, Servulus the General of the horsemens was by the Dictator sent to Melius: Who said unto him, The Dictator calleth thee. Whereas he being afraid, asked again, What he would and Servulus said, That he was to make his answer and purgation, of a crime that Minutius had informed against him, before the Senat. Then Melius began to retire him selfe back into the rout of his followers, and looking about at the first, thrunk only away from him, and refused to obey. At the last the Apparitor at the general of the horsemens commandment, began to force him to go with him: but he being resisted by the handers by, found his feet and began to fly, and befouled the air of the Commons of Rome: saying, That the action of the Nobles conspired his overthrow, and persecuted him for the good he had done unto the Commons, and for his liberality bestowed upon them: beleeching them to help him in that extremity, and not to suffer him to be murdered afore their face and in their very fight. As he ipake these words, Horatius Servulus overtook him, and killed him out-right: and being sprinkled with his blood thus slain, and guarded with a company of tall Gentlemen of the Nobility, he bringeth word to the Dictator, how Melius being cited to come unto him, put back the Apparitor, and raised the multitude, and now had suffered due punishments for his defectors. Then (quoth the Dictator) On forthis in valor and vertue of thine, O C. Servulus, thou deliverest great praise, and hast delivered the Common-wealth this day from tyranny. Then the multitude murmured and made a fit upon some doubts, what they should think of the last, and what might be the occasion thereof: he commanded them to assemble together, and openly avowed the deed, and pronounced that Melius was justly slain: yea, albeit he had been clear from seeking to be King: for that being summoned and convened before the Dictator, and by that the General of the horsemens, he refused and came not: "for my selfe (quoth he) was set judicially to examine and inquire of the cause: and upon the trial thereof, Melius should have been free and defended: but because he went about by violence to withdraw himself from judgment, by violence therefore was he restrained. Neither was he to be proceeded against as a Citizen, who being born in a free State, where justice and law were in force: and in that City, whereas he was not ignorant that the KK. were sometimes expelled: and where in one and the same year Callatius lifters sons, and the sons of that Cof, that was deliverer of his Country, detected of a complott and conspiracy of receiving again into the City the KK. blood, were by their own father beheaded: out of which City, Tarquinius Colatius Cof for the detestation only of the name, being commanded to give up his office, suffered exile: in which City, many years after Sp. Cassius for practising and plotting only to be King, suffered condigne punishment: wherein also of late time, the Decemvirs, for a tyrannical pride, where deprived of their goods, banished their country, and thereby of their lives, That in the same City (I say) Sp. Melius should conceive any hope of reaching to a Kingdom? And a man (I pray you) of what quality and condition? And yet, no gentrity of birth, no dignities nor deferts were sufficient to make way to any for lordly rule and tyranny. Howbeit, the Cato ed and Cassius, by reason of the Conspiracies and Decemviri's of their own, by reason of the honorable estate and reputation of their ancestors, and the worship and glory of their lineage, took upon them, because hungry and proud, and aspired to that, whereunto Sp. Melius had no inch means to induce him: who might have him down, well enough, and rather wished and prayed to God, then hoped once to so much, as a Tribunship of the Commons. And supposing he, being but a rich corn-mafter, that with a quart (or measure of corn of two pounds) he had bought the freedom of his fellow Citizens? or thought he could conveying mories of bread and viaticals afore the common fort, that the victorious people, conquerers of all nations about them, might be allured into thraldom? and whom the City could hardly brooke to be a Senator, him they should endure their King, to have the regal enigns and the government of Romulus, the first founder of the City, descend on from the gods, and to them attend unto again: why, it was a thing not to be wicked as monstrous. Neither was this act sufficiently ratified for, with the shedding of his blood, unless the house and walls, within which so horrible madness was conceived and forged, were call down and razed: and unless their goods, which were imitated and infected with the prices and hire that should have purchased the Kingdom, were forfeit and confiscate. He commanded therefore the Quiritis, to fell those goods: and to bring the money into the common Treasury. And then he caufed forthwith his dwelling house to be overthrown and made even with the ground, that the plot or floor thereof, might be a monument of a wicked attempt, imothered and lifted in the very hope and hatching thereof. This is the place which was called afterwards Aquaeium. As for L. Minutius he had an Ox with guided horns given him for an honour and reward without the gate Triumviri. The Commons therewith were not misconcented, for that to them he divided Melius his corn, at the price of one. As a Medius, Among some authors

* Three ft-things Eng. * Modius; a Komun measure, containing a peck within a pint, or the fourth part of land a bushel. or was called five Drakes.
I find, that this Minnius forsook the Nobles and went to the Commons, and was taken in to be the eleventh Tribun of the Commons; and appeased the mutiny that arose upon Melius his death. But it was not like that the Senators suffered the number of the Tribuns to be encreased: and especially, that such an example should be given and taken up by a man of their coat: or that the commonality would not keep it still, if it had been once allowed, or at leastwise attempt it again. But above all, this conmitten and represent the false title of Tribune set upon his image, for that a few years before, it was by a statute expressly provided, That Tribuns might not chuse and take unto them a Colleague in office, Q. Cecilius, and Q. Junius, and Sextus Titinius were the only men of all the Collidge of Tribuns that propounded not the Law for the honour of Minnius, but rather accused it unto the Commons, both Minnius and Servilius, and ceased not to make complaint of the cruel and unworthy death of Melius: and in fine prevailed so much, that there should be an elecution for military Tribuns rather then for Consuls: nothing doubting, but if he were chosen (for so many at that time might be created) some of the Commons also, by promising to revenge the death of Melius, might step in and be elected, The Commons for all they were tolled that year with many and sundry troubles; chose no more then three Tribuns with Consuls authority; and among them, L. Quintinius the fon of Cinclunatus: Upon the hard conceit and hatred of whose Dictatorship pait, they thought to pick some occasion of quarrel and tumult: and Mammcrus Emnius, a man of great credit and reputation, was by voices preferred afore Quintinius; and obtained the first place, And L. Fulius they created for the third.

Whiles these bare sovereign rule, Fidenis the Colony of the Romans, revolted to Laars Tolumnius, the King of the Veientian's, and to the State of the Veientians, and besides their revolting, a more horrible fact they committed, For at the commandment of Tolumnius, they slew C. Fultinius, and C. Fulius, Sp. Naunius, and L. Roscius the Roman Embassadors, who came to demand the cause of this their change and sudden alteration. Some here do excuse and elevate the act of the King, saying that upon a lucky cast of dice he uttered a doubtful speech, which was by the Fidentianis so taken, as though he seemed to bid the Embassadors to be killed, and that (forsooth) was the occasion of murdering the Embassadors (a thing incredible, that at the comning in of the Fidentianis, his new allies, L. who were to confult with him and ask his advice, about a murder that should break the law of Nations, his mind should not be turned away from earnest studying about his game) and so this hainous fact proved to be but an error. More credible it is, that he had a further meaning and deeper reach: namely, that the people of the Fidentianis should be bound unto him, and only rely upon him, being attain with the guiltinesse of so foul murder, and not to look and hope for any mercy or favour at the Romans hands, The fates of these Embassadors which were at Fidenis murdered, were set up openly at the charges of the City in the Rostra. [A publick cross (as it were) or pulpit in Rome, out of which the Magistrates made Orations to the people, beautified with the beakheads of ships and their bosom pikes called Rostra.] Thus was there like to be a cruel conflict with the Veientians, and Fidentes, M. Who besides that they were people confusing on their frontiers, had also in the beginning of their war given so wicked and horrible a cause of quarrel. Therefore when as the common people and their Tribuns, in regard of the care for the publick State, were at quiet: there was no question, but that M, Gerginius Maximus the third time, and L. Sergius Fidenus (named [I suppose] to, upon the war which afterwards under his conduct was fought) should be created Consuls. For this man first encountered with the King of the Veientian's on this side * Anio, and got the victorie: but not without much bloodshed of the Romans. So that the grief was greater for the los of his own soldiery, then the joy for the discomfiture of his enemies, And the Senate, as in all fearefull times and dangerous occurrences, ordained Mammcrus Emnius to be created Dictator, Who, out of the brotherhood of N Tribuns military in Consuls authority, the year before, named for the General of his horsemen, L. Quintinius Cinclunatus, who had been a Tribun with him, a toward young Gentleman, and a worthy fon of so worthy a father. To those soldiery that were by the Consul muttered and levied, were the old Centurions, experienced and skillful warriers, adjoined: and the number of thole, which in that last battle were slain, was supplied. The Dictator commanded to follow him as Lieutenants, Quntrinius Cinclunatus, and M. Fulius Velstnus. This greater power and authority, and the man likewise nothing thereto inferior, drave the enemies out of the Roman ground, and set them farther off, even beyond Anio. Who removing their camp hill backward, set up the hills between Fidenis and Anio: neither durst they come down from thence into the open plains, before that the Legions of the Fidentes came to succour. Then at length, the Timlins encompased themselves under the walls of Fidenis. And the Roman Dictator likewise refted and abode upon the banks of the Confluent (where both rivers run into one) and flanked himself thereby. And when he had eft a trench and rampart afoft, reaching across from the one river to the other, the morrow after he brought his power forth, and set them in order of battell. The enemies
A. mimes were of undry minds. The Falichians, who hardly could away long with military service farre from home, and trufling withal in their owne selves, that they were good enoough, required battle. The Veicentians and Fidenates had more hope in drawing out the war on length. Tulumius, albe the advice of his own men liked him better, yet because the Falichians should not endure lingering warfare, sendeth a trumpet, and proclameth battle against the morrow. The Dictator and the Romans, for that the enemies for the present shifted off sight, took more heart unto them: and on the next morning, when as now the fouldiers gave out brave words, and menaced, That unless they might have battle, they would assault both the Camp and the Town: the armies of both parties came forth

B. into the midst of the plain, between the two Camps. The Veicentians, as being more in number and having to spare, sent covertly out certaine companies to fetch a compass behind the Hills, who in the time of the conflict should light upon the Roman Camp. And in this order stood the main Army of three Nations together embattelled. The Veicentians kept the right point, the Falichians the left, and the Fidenates the middle of the battel. The Dictator in the right point advanced his standard against the Falichians, and on the left Capitellum Quintus charged the Veicentians: and against the main battle between both, marched the Colonel of the Cavalry, with his Continues of horse. Thus as they stood arranged in battel array, for a pretty while was there silence on either side, and all quiet. For neither would the Fulinians begin first, unl etif they were urged: And the Dictator looked ever and anon backward toward the Capitol of Rome, that the Augurs should set up a signal altot (as it was agreed between them) to soon as the flight of fowles gave approbation accordingly: which he no sooner espied, but he put out presently the men of arms, with a great shout against the enemies. The army of the footmen followed hard after in the tail; and seconded them with a fully charge. But on no hand were the Tuilcan legions able to abide the force of the Romans. The Cavalry stood hardest to it, and made head still, For the King himselfe, the beft horfeman and most valiant of them all, when as on every side his enemies charged and pressed fone upon him, rode afront them, held out and maintained figh. There chanced then to be among the Roman horfemen, a Tribune or Marshall, one A. Cuscinus Cofius, a goodly tall man of body, and as valiant and strong without, as he before his eyes the noble house from whence he was defended, and carried this mind, as it was right honorable already by his ancestors left him, so to recommend the same to his posterity more glorious and renowned. This man seeing the troops of Romans wasving to and fro, for feare of the violence of Tulumius, which way longer he bent and turned: and knowing him by his rich and royal furniture, wherein he bare himself like a brave Knight, riding all over the battel. "Is this (quoth he) the foremost breaker of humane league, is this he that hath violated the laws of arms, and of nations? Now will I presently, if it be Gods will that any thing in the world should remain wholly and entire, be his Prieft, I will sacrifice and beake him to the ghosts of our Embassadors deceased. Herewith, letting spurs to his horse, with bent spear in rest, he rode full a

C. gainst that one enemy, fangled from the rest: inoite him, and dismounted him from his horse. Then beaing upon his staff, alight presently on foot, and as the King was getting up again, he overthrew him backward with the boles of his target, and had him stretching long & after many wonds given him, at length falled him with his spear to the very ground. And when as he was once dead, he disarmed and dipolado him, and struck off his head: and carrying it aloft on his lance, presented a fearful spectacle to the enemies of their King slain, and so discomparted them, Thus was the strength of the horfemen deleted also, which only had made the battel doubtful. The Dictator having put likewise the legions of footmen to flight, pursued them still, and drove them to their join, killing them all the way in the chase. Many of the Fidenates which knew the coasts of the Country, fled into the

D. mountains; and escaped. Cofius with his horfemen passe over Tyber, and brought home into the City a great booty out of the country of the Veicentians. As this battel was in fighting, there was a skirmish also in the Roman Camp, with that part of the forces, which (as it is aforesaid) was smuk by Tulumius to surprise it. Fabius Vatulanus first defended the rampart; ordering his men all within, in compait like a garland: and while the enemies were wholly about the start, he with the Triarii or fouldiers of the rereward, suddenly iffued forth at the gate, called Principaliis, on the right hand, and gave an hot charge upon them: Upon which they were affrighted, but there enied the left slaughter, because the number was smaller. Howbeit, they fled no lcte in dilarray, than hole in the very battel. Thus the Dictator having prosperous success everywhere, returned with triumph into the City, by G. the degree of the Senea, and grant of the people, In which triumphs the greatest flew and goodliest sight of all, was Cofius, bearing the rich & royal spoils of the King, slain by his own hand. For of him the fouldiers charged divers rude ballads without rime and metre, comparing him in their songs with Romulus, Which spoils with a solemn manner of dedication he bestowed and hung up in the Temple of Jupiter Furtantus, near unto thole of Romulus, which,  

M 3 were:
were the first and only spoils, until that time, called *Opima Speilia.* And as he went he withdrew from the Dictator's chariot, the eyes of all the people unto him, and he in manner alone, carried away the magnificence and glory of that tetratical day. The Dictator by order from the people, presented in the Capitol for the honour of *Jupiter,* a golden Crown, weighing one pound weight, rafed out of the common money of the City.

Thus have I set down (as following all other writers before me) that *Aulus Cornelius Cæsar,* a Colonel or Marshal, brought into the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius,* the second royal spoils. However, over and besides, that those spoils only are by right accounted *Opima,* or royal, which a General hath taken from a General, and we acknowledge none for General, but him under whose conduct a high Commission a war is managed, the very title also written upon the spoils, doth check and reprove both them and me. The words whereof are these, [That Cæsar being Consul, won those spoils.] When I once heard say, that *Aulus Cæsar* himself, the founder or repairer of all Temples, entered into the house of *Jupiter Feretrius,* which he re-edified, being by injury of long time fallen to decay, and read it to written in a linen Jack or Curass: I thought it little better then sacrilegious, to difcredit and cancel the testimony of Cæsar himself concerning his own spoils, and of *Aulus Cæsar,* the benefactor of that very Temple. Which error, if it grow hereon, That *So ancient Records and Chronicles,* and that the Books of the Magistrates, which being of linen, and laid up in the Temple of *Mounta, Maec Licius* doth very offen quote and cite as his Authors, do represent unto us *Aulus Cornelius Cæsar,* the seventh year after *Conful,* with *Titus Quinctius Pennus:* let every man abound in his own fideas, and have his opinion by himself freely. For more than this may be alledged to prove, that so famous a battel could not be transferred to that year: because that for three years space about the Confulship of *Cæsar,* there was no war at all, in a manner, by reason of petition and death of corn; so as some records, as it were, mourning, and bewraying the calamity of the time, deliver unto us nothing but the bare names of the *Conful.* In the third year, after that *Cæsar* was *Conful,* he was military Tribun in *Confuls* authority, and in the same year General of the horsemen also: in which government he obtained another notable battel with hercules. But hereof a man may conjecture and guess what he will, and (as I think) we may tos the three things of small importance to and fro, according to every mans opinion; and when all is done, the author of this battel his own selfe, having set up theie fath and new spoils in a holy place, in the sight of *Jupiter* himselle standing thereb, to whom they were vowed, and *Romales alio,* two witnesses, not to be decipied nor abused with a fale title, hath written himself, [*A. Cornelius Cæsari Con- ful,*]

When Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis and *Quintus Cæsarius* were *Confuls,* the Armies were led forth: the one into the Veientes Country, and the other into the Ficilians, and booties both of people and cattel were from thence driven and carried away. As for the enemies themselves, no wherein the Country were they to be seen, nor any battel was fought: and yet for all that, the towns were not affaile, because the people at home died of the pestilence. And within the City, *Sp. Metius* Tribune of the Commons fought occasions and prentices to made seditions, but without effect. Who supposing by the popular favour of his name to preserve and raise some mutiny, both arrested *Minutius* to make his answer, and also put up a bill for the confiscation of the goods of *Serulus Hadru:* laying hard to *Minutius* his charge, that *Metius* was falsely accused and circumvented by him: and burdening *Serulus* with the murdering of a Citizen uncondemned. All these outrimes were with the people of his credit and importance, than the author himselfe. But the violence of the ficknesse still increasine more and more, troubled them: besides the fearfull and strange prodigious tokens: but especially, the fresh news that divers houses in the *Country* were by many earthquakes cast down. Whereupon the people went in solemn procession and made their supplications, whiles the *Dunin* going afore pronounced the prayers, and the people laid after him word for word. But the year following, when *C. Iulius* the second time, and *L. Virginius* were *Confuls,* was more contagious by reason of the plague, and caused both in Town and Country, to great a fear of utter defolation, that not only there were none set forth in any roads without the territory of *Rome* to raise booties, whiles the Nobility and Commons had no mind of making war: but the *Fidenates* also of their own accord, who before time had kept themselves either within their Towns, or Mountains, or Fortresses, entered now into the lands about *Rome,* and forged all the Country. After this, having gotten all unto them a power of the Veientes (for the Ficilians could not be induced either by the calamity of the Romans, or prayers of their confederates, to take arms again) these two Nations passed over *Anio,* and not far from the gate *Collina* displayed their ensigns. So the fear was no lesse within the City than in the Country. Then *Iulius* the *Conful* bringeth the forces abroad, and placeth them upon the rampart and the
A the walls: whiles Virginia assembled the Senate in the Temple of Quirinus, for to ask their opinion. Where agreed it was, to create for Dictator, A. Servilius, surnamed (as some say) Probus, or as other, Strato. Virginia making no longer stay than until he had consulted with his Colleague, by his permission declared the Dictator in the night season. And he nominated for his General of the Cavalry, Pothemon Ebatius Helus. The Dictator commanded every man to be ready without the gate Collina, by the break of day: and so many as were able to bear arms were in a readinesse. The Standards and Ensigns were taken forth of the treasury or chamber of the City, which was thence guarded, most neglected, and for the natural situation the securest, to undermined unto the Caiffe. And he himself in places farthest off from thence, approached close under the walls, with his army divided into four parts, to advance one another by turns in order: and, by continual skirmishing day and night, he kept the enemies at bay and withdrew them from all perceiving and intelligence of the work under ground: until at length, as by digging through the hill from the Camp, there was a way and passage made straight up into the Caiffe. And when as the Tyans were wholly amend upon the vain threats and bravadoes of their enemies before them nothing minding the present danger wherein they stood: behold, the alarm of their enemies even over their heads, made an outcry, that the town was taken. An this year Cn. Purius Paelinus and M. Geminus Mactrinus, Centones, appointed and dedicated the Large Hall, named Villa Publica in Mary field: and there first by them was held the sitting and numbering of the people. I find in Mace Livius, that in the year following, the same Consuls were made again, namely, Julius in the third time, and Virginia the second time. But Valerius Annius and Q. Tiberio, do name M. Martius and Q. Sulpitius for the Consuls that year. Howbeit in so different report, both Tiberio and Mace professe that they followed the former Records: and neither of them both conceal that which the ancient writers have set down, namely, That the same year were Tribunes military, in Consuls authority. Livius without doubt is addicted to those former Registrers, and Tiberio is uncertain of the truth. But among other antiquities, not known by reason of long time, this also is left in doubt and not cleared.

After the winning of Fidene, great was the feast in Helvetica: whilst not only the Venetians were feared, fearing the like defection: but the Fides also, remembering the war began first with them, albeit they were not affilting in their rebellion. When as therefore these two States had sent their Embassadors abroad to the twelve Cities about them, and obtained a Diet or General Parliament of all Helvetica should be assembled at the Temple of Virtumus, the Senate, as if some great troubles were like thereto, pretendingly to enuie, thought it good that Mannonis Ammianus should be created Dictator the second time. By whom, A. Pothemon Tiberio was named General of the horsemen. And so much great endeavors made they preparation of arms then in the last war afore, by how much more danger there was from all Helvetica banded together, than had been between two nations combined and no more. But this business was much more quiet than all men looked for. When therefore news came by Merchants, that the Venetians were flatly denied help, and bid end to that war by their own means and forces, which they had begun upon their own heads: nor seek to embarr them in the association of their misery and adversity, into whom they had not impressed their mind & hope in their upright estate, and when they were in their height: then the Dictator, to the end he should not seem to be created in vain, seeing all matter of acquiring renown by war was cut off, deviseth yet in time of peace, to doe some notable piece of work for a monument, setteeth in hand to abate and diminish the Censorship: either supposing it to be too high an office, or else offend not so much with the greatnesse of the honour, as with the continuance and length thereof. Having therefore assembled all the people together: "For as much as the immortal Gods (quoth he) have under

G staken to govern the Common Weale abroad, and performed all sorts and sorte: I for my part concerning that which is to be done at home within the walls, will take order and provision for the freedom of the people of Rome. The greatest preservation, and defence whereof resteth in this, when offices of great command are not long enduring: but when they be limited by term of time which may not be restrained or gaged in jurisdiction. As for
for other magistracies they are from year to year: but this of the Centoils continuing five years, is very heavy and grievous. And hard it is for men to live so many years, even a great part of their life, in danger of the same Rulers still. Minded therefore I am, to provide a law, That the Centoilsheeifie continue no longer than one year and six months. With great applause and content of the people, the next day after, he both published the law and enacted it. And now that ye may (quoth he) O Quirites, know in very deed, how I millike of their long lasting offices, here preently I render up my Dictatorship. Thus having given over his own place, let a limitation to the rule of others, and abolutely ended one, with exceeding congratulation and favour of the people he was brought home to his houe. The Centoils taking it grievously Mamercus had abridg'd an office of the people of Rome, displaced him from his own Tribe, laying on him an eightfold tax in the subsidy Book, disranchied and disabled him from giving his voice, and made him no better then a Tributary. Which disgrace (they say) he toke with a noble stomack, looking rather to the caule of this shameful noce, than to the ignominy it self. Moreover, the Lords of the Senate, albeit they were willing enough that the Centoils ship shal be spared and their power taken down, were offended yet, with this example of the rigour and severity of thiose in place: for as much as they all law plainly, that they should be both longer time and other under Centoils, then Centoils themselfes. But to great an indignation of the people (by report) grew heereof, that by the authority of no man but of Mamercus himselfe, could they be refrained from offering violence to the very perfons of the Centoils. And the Tribuns of the Commons, with their continual Orations and Remonstrances, prohibited the Election of Centoils. When as the matter was well neere brought to the point of an inter reign, they obtained at length with much firce and contention, that there should be military Tribuns chosen, with Concular authority. But reward of this their victory, whereas they shot, could they get none: namely, that a Commoner might be chosen for one. They were all of the Nobility that were created, to wit, M. Fabius Vibullanus, M. Polius, and L. Sergius Fidenus.

The plague that year was the occasion of quietnes from all other troubles. A Temple then was vowed to Apollo for the health of the people. Howbeit, great los was there both in town and country, by the the mortality of men and manner of cattel, one with another indifferently. And fearing left the husbandman of the country should be famished, they sent for corn into Hetruria and the country of Pontimium, to Corinthus, and at last even into Sicily. And not a word all this while about the election of Centoils. So there were military Tribuns elected, with Centoils authority, all again of the Patritii, namely, L. Pinarius Mamercus, L. Furius Medullinus, and Sp. Posthumius Albus. That year the violence of the sickpelle abated: neither was there any danger or fear of scarcity of Corn, because they had made provision of them. Great fitting and conjunction there was in the general Diets of the Volkians and Equins, and in Hetruria at the aforesaid Temple of Votumnia about making war. There, the matter was put off for one whole year: and by an Act or Decree it was provided, that no Assembly or Parliament during that time should be held: notwithstanding the M people of the Veientians complained but all in vaine, that the same fortune was like to happen unto Veii, which had fallen already upon Fidenae, even the utter subversion of the State. In this mean feast, at Rome the chiefe heads of the Commons having aspired and gaped now a long time, but still in vaine, after higher place of dignity and honour, took their vantage whiles all was quiet abroad, and began to have their conventicles and meetings in the houes of the Tribunes, and there entertained secret Counsels. Some complained that they were much deiphit of the common people: for whereas in so many yeares, There were Tribunes Military created with Centoils authority, yet never was there any one of the Commonality adanced to that Dignity. Our forefathers (say they) ingrate wifedom and deep foresight, have done well to take order, that none of the Nobility at any time should have access to any office of the Commonalty: for if that were not, the Commons should have had ere this some of the Patritii for their Tribuns: so odios we are become to those of our owne cost, and are as little set by of the Commons as of the Noble. Others excused the people, and laid the fault upon the Senators: by whose ambition, by whose crafty fetches and subtil policies it came to passe, that the Commons were stopped from the highway to advancement and promotion. But if the Commons might have any reftit or breathing time, and not be soliciting and tempted by their prayers interlaced with threats: they would remember themselves and thiose of their own calling, in giving of their voices: and having once gotten afittance unto them, would also win the highest pitch and sovereign type of authority. For by the abolishing therefore of this ambitious seeking and standing for offices, they agree and resolve, that the Tribuns should prefer and publish a Law, that no man might wear white more than ordinary or refresh the bright lue of his upper garment, while he used for any dignity. A small matter now adyes, and may seem scarcely worth the debating in serious counsel, and not
A not be solicited and tempt[ed] by their prayers interlaced with threats: they would remember themselves and those of their own calling, in giving of their voices: and having once gotten assent about them, would also win the highest pitch and sovereign type of authority. For the abolishing therefore of this ambitious seeking and standing for offices they agree and resolve, that the Tribuns should cease and publish a law, that no man might wear white more than ordinary, or refresh the bright hue of his uppergarment, while he fiud for any dignity. A small matter now adays and may seem scarcely worth the debating in serious councils, which notwithstanding at that time, set both nobles and commons in a great heat of contention. Yet obtained the Tribuns so much, that this law passed: and it appeared, that the Commons when their blood was once up, would affect their own, and whollly incline to them in their sufferings. But to the end that they might not have their full scope and put it in practice, an Act of the Senate was, that there should be held an Election of Confuls. The occasion thereof, was a tumult or commotion: which, as the Latins and Hernicks admir'd them, arose from the Equians and Volscians. T. Quintus Cincinnatus, the son of Lucius (furnamed also Pennus) and C. Julius Mento were elected Confuls. Neither was this fearful news of war entertained any longer, for the enemies having by a falsed law (which amongst them was of greatest force to levy an army) muldred their power, set forth two mighty armies from both parts, into Algidum, and there met. Where the Equians and Volscians, severally by themselves encamp'd strongly, and more earnestly the Captains to fortifie their camps, and to train and exercise their foilders, than at any time afore. Whereupon, the news was more fearful that the messenger brought to Rome: So the Senate agreed to create a Dictator. For, although those nations of times had been vanquished by them, yet now they rebelled in more forcible manner, and with preparation, than at any time before. Also, by reason of the late sickness, the youth and flower of the Romans was more diminished. But above all, the private discord of the Confuls one with another, and the debate and difference in all their counsel terrified them more. Therebe that write, how these Confuls had but unlucky fortune, and lost a field in Algidum: and that it should be the cause of making a Dictator. But this one thing is certain, that howsoever else the Confuls disagreed, yet they jumped in one to crose the wills of the Senators, in that they would not nominate a Dictator until such time as after news brought, still worse and worse, and yet the Confuls would not be ruled by the Senators: one Quintus Servilius Priscus, a man, who right worthy and honourably had born the highest offices, made this speech: "My Matters, ye that are Tribuns of the Commons (quoth he) in this exigent and desperate case, the Senate calleth for your assistance, that in so great hazard of the Common-wealth, ye by virtue of your authority, would force the Confuls peremptorily to make a Dictator. Which speech being once heard; the Tribuns supposing now they had good occasion offered, to fenced and extend their power to the full, departed aside: and in the name of their College or society, pronounced, That it was their pleasure and will, that the Confuls should be obedient unto the Senat: and in case they proceeded to do farther, then the content of that most honourable House would bear them out, they would command them to ward. The Confuls chose rather to be over-ruled of them than of the Senat: saying yet withall, that the prerogative of the highest government was by the Senators betrayed, and the Confulship made thrall and subject to the Tribuns power, if to be the Confuls might be compelled to do oght by vigour of the Tribuns authority, and (than which, a private person could fear no more) be sent aloft on ward, or committed to prison. The lot fell to T. Quintus (for in this also they could not agree between themselves) to nominate the Dictator: who named A. Porphiuibus Tiburtius, his wives father, a grim Sir, and a man of most levies and stern government. By whom was L. Julius nominated for General of the Cavalry; Herewithal was proclaimed a vacation or law-fled; and that throughout the whole City they should go in hand with nothing but war. The taking knowledge of such as pretended to be freed and exempt from fouldery, was put off until the war was ended. So that they that were before doubtful, suffered themselves to be enrolled: and foulders were levied out from the Hernucks and Latins, who from both places obeyed the Dictator to their uttermost. All these things were dispatched with exceeding expedition. Then the Dictator having left C. Julius the Conful, for the defence of the City; and L. Julius the General of the horse, for all sudden occasions incident unto wars, that they might not be to seek for anything whereof they had need in the camp, took with him Aulus Cornelius the High Priest, & saying after him certain prayers, word for word, he vowed great and latesly plays, in regard of this tumultuous and troublesome war: and thus departing from the City, and dividing his whole army between himself and Quintus the Cof, at length he approached the enemies. And like as they had discovered the two camps of their enemies, a little space distant one from another, so they also, about a mile from the enemy, intertrenched themselves; the Dictator neared to Tufculum, and the Conful to Lamium. So those four Armies, and as many fortified camps, had a spacious and large plain in the middle, sufficient not only for small excursions to skirmish in, but also to display their armies of both sides. And all the while that they lay encamped.
encamped one against another, they ceased not to make light skirmishes: for the Dictator was well content, that his men by making proof, and comparing their strength and presence with their enemies, and affaying by little and little to try the event of these skirmishes, should conceive a forehand some hope of the entire and general victory.

The enemies therefore having no hope left, to speed well in a set field and pight battle, failed by night the Consul's camp, and put all to the hazard of a doubtful issue. The sudden cry and alarm, awak'ned not only the Consul, Sentinels, his *corps de garde*, and to his whole army, but the Dictator also out of their sleep. And where need was of present help, there failed not the Consul, either in courage or counsel. Some fouldiers waid and defend the gates, others compress the trench, ranged in a round array. In the other camp of the Dictator, look how much leisir there was, so much more leasure had they, and studied what was most needful to be done. Forthwith aid was sent unto the Consul his camp, under the leading of Sp. *P. Vellius MESSUS*, a Lieutenant. The Dictator himself in person, with part of his power, fetching a small compass about, gained a place most apart from all noise and tumult, and from whence at unawares he might charge upon the back of the enemies. And leaveth Vicegerent in the leager Q. SulP ITUS: and to M. Fabius a Lieutenant, he committed the conduct of the horsemens, commanding him not before day to flit with his horse, as being unruly and hard to be managed in tumults and troubles of the night. And all things else, that a provident and industrious Captain in such a cause might command and do, that commanded he, and did orderly. But for one thing above the rest, he shewed singular proof of policy and courage, and worthy no mean praise: in that he sent out first *M. Gna- ninus* with certain chosen Squadrons to aflail that camp of the enemies, from whence he knew by his espials there was departed a greater part of the forces. Who after that he surprized the enemies there, amased wholly upon the event of other mens danger, carelesse and secure for their own selves, and therefore neglecting their lances and guards; wan their hold, in manner before the enemies knew well it was aflailed. From whence the Dictator having descried a smak (which was the signal agreed between them) cried aloud, that the enemies camp was won, and commandeth news thereof to be carried every way. Now it was broad day light, and all was clearly to be seen: by which time both Fabius with the horsemens, had given the charge, and the Consul also had made a sally out of the camp, upon the enemies that now already were fear'd. But the Dictator on the other side, charging upon the rewer and the middle battel, came on every side with his footmen, and horsemens in train of victory against the enemies: who were forced to turn round and fight every way, according to the discomfiture, and sudden alarms. Thus being environed round about, they had in the midst died for it every one, and suffered punishment due for their rebellion, had not *Vellius MESSUS*, one of the Volsciens, a man more renowned for his valiant acts, then noble by his parentage, rebuked with a loud voice his fellows, being ready now to call themselves into rings, and said: "What will ye here without making your defence, without revenge, offer your selves to be devoured of the enemies sword? What do you with your armour and weapons? Why began ye war first? Are you trouble Mercenary men and unruly in peace, and cowards in war: What hope have ye in standing still? Do you look for some god from Heaven to protect and deliver you? You must make way by dint of sword. Go to then, and fick to it like men, and that way whereas ye shall leave me asfo, follow ye after, as many of you as mind to see again your home, your parents, your wives and children. It is neither wall, nor rampart and trench, but armed men that must with him and armed men. In valour ye are their matches, but in respect of necessity (which is the last and strongest enfin of all other) ye are the better. When he had these words spoken, and done accordingly, with a freth foun they followed after, and made head to that quarter whereas *P. FABIVS ALBIVS* had placed against them his cohorts: and compelled the victors to lofe ground, until such time as the Dictator came to succour his N men thus drieffed, and now ready to retreat: and so he bent thither all the force of the whole battel. In one only man, *MELLVIS*, rated all the hope and fortune of the enemies. Many a man was there hurt on both parts, and many a one slain outright, and left dead in the place, so as now the very Roman Commanders. fought not without bloodshed. Only *P. FABIVS ALBIVS* being fitten with a stone, which had broken and bruises his head. went out of the throng: for either the Dictator, wounded as he was in the shoulder, nor yet Fabius, albeit his thigh was almost mended to his horse, nor the Consul, for all his arm was quite cut off, once retir'd or departed out of that dangerous combate. But *MELLVIS* amidst the enemies that there lay dead on the earth with a guard about him, most hardy and tall men passed through in for mine manner, and escap'd clear to the Volsciens legation, which as yet was not loof: and so the whole battel in lined thereto. The Consul, after he had chafed them, scattered in parts here and there even as it was to the trench, aflailed the very camp and the rampart, Thither also brought the Dictator his power to another side. Neither was the assault lesiht there then the fight was sharp averse. It is laid moreover, that the Consul threw an ensign within the rampart, to animate the fouldiers, that they might more eagerly get up after it: and
A and by recovering the banner again, was the first breach and entrance made, thus the Dictator having broken through the mure, came to close fight and hand-to-hand even within the camp. Then began the enemies every where to fling from them their weapons, and to yield themselves prisoners. So being themselves and their pavilions taken, they were all bold, but those of Senators calling. Part of the pavement was restored to the Latins and Hernicks, namely, to so many as knew their own goods; part thereof the Dictator fold in part-fale, and leaving the Colus the charge of the camp; rode himself triumphing into the City, and gate over his office. Of which his noble and famous Dictatorship, they bleth the memorial, who write, that A. F. Flaminus (the Dictator hision, that for that advantage offered a fortunate service, he departed without leave from his quarter and guard) was after his victory achieved, by his fathers Commandment beheaded. But I will not to believe the other. And lawful it is for me to do, among so divers opinions: and a good proof it is on my side, that such imperious and rigorous proceedings were called Impria Manli- auas, and not Pifhamnus. For like it is, that he who had given the first example of such cruelty, should have gotten afore all others, that noted title of cruelty. Besides, Manlius was, that was named Impuria. But Phibunmus is not marked with any odious note at all.

C. Iulius Conuls, in the absence of his College, without any calling of lots, dedicated the Temple of Ap $e Quintus having discharged his army, when he was returned into the City, took not that well. But it was no boast to complain in the Senate house. Moreover, in this notable year, so full of brave and worthy acts, there is recorded one thing, that was thought in those days nothing pertinent to the State of Rome, namely, that the Carthaginians (so great and mortal enemies in time to come) passed the seas then first: and (upon the occasion of civil dissension and discord among the Sicilians) with a power landed in Sicily, to take part with a side and faction. In the City of Rome the Tribunes of the Commons laboured, that Military Tribunes might be with Conuls authority chosen: but it could not be obtained, Conuls were made, Lu. Papius Caurius, and L. Iulius, The Equians Embassadors suing to the Senate for a league, and for that league pretending very often to yield themselves, and be in subjection, obtained a truce only for 8, years. The Volscians after their overthrow in Alfedum, fell to continual debate and contention, whiles some persuaded peace, and others war so long, until at length they grew to brawls and mutinies. So on every side the Romans were at rest. The Conuls understanding that the Tribunes of the Commons were compacted (for one false brother among them bewrayed and detected all) to put up a bill, and make a law, concerning the citing of fines and penalties (a thing right pleasing and acceptable to the people) they themselves prevented them, and preferred it. Then were Conuls, L. Servius Fidenas, the second time, and Hofius Licinieus Tricipitanus. In whole year nothing was there done worthy of rehearsal. After them succeeded Conuls, A. Cornelius Cossius, and Titus Qunius Pannus the second time, The Veientians made rodes into the lands of the Romans. And a rumor went, that some of the Fidenat youths were accrescent unto them, and had their hands therein. For which were appointed as Commissioners to make inquisition, L. Servius, Quintus Servilis, and M. Mumerus Aemilius. Some of them were confined to Hoffman, for that they could make no sound excuse, and justify their absences for certain days out of the Senate. So the number of the inhabitants there, was encreased, and their lands, who were slain in the wars, allotted unto them.

In that year happened an exceeding great drought, For not only the wanted rain water from above, but also the earth, lacking her natural moisture, severely sufficed to maintain the running stream in main rivers. The scarcity of water besides about springs that were dried up, and the small rivulet and brooks caused a great death and mortality of cattle for default of drink: whereof some died of the fists: by contagion whereof the people also were diseased generally. The malady first began among the rustic folk, the bond-flaves and hinds: and afterwards spread into every corner of the City. Neither were men only tainted and diseased with this infection: but their minds also were troubled and posciled with sanctified sorts of superstitious religions, and those for the most part strange and forren: whiles upon vain and foolish prophesies, they brought new rites and ceremonies of sacrificing into mens houses; and made good gain of such as were given to superstition devotion, and made conscience of every little thing: until such time as now it grew to a publick offence, and the chief of the City were ashamed to see in every street and chappel, flange and unacquainted purgatory sacrifices and expiations, for to procure the favours and mercy of the gods. Whereupon the Ediles had in charge and commission, to look sightly to this disorder: and that no other gods were worshipped, then those of the Romans: nor after any other manner than had been usual in their native country. So their anger against the Veientians and desire of revenge, was put off unto the next year following. when C. Servilius Hids, and L. Papirius Magilus were Conuls. And even then, they made some ftable to proclaim war immediately, or to make out any power against them: but they thought good to lend their Heralds more, to make claim for their own and challenge restitution. For whereas of late years there had been a field fought with the Veientians before Numen and Fideus: whereupon there followed no peace but only a truce concluded: both the time was now expired, and also before the day they had rebelled. Yet were there Heralds sent unto them. And when they had demanded amends by a solemn oath and other ceremonies according to the ancient manner, they might have no audience. Neither were their words regarded. After this there arose some question, whether the war should be proclaimed with the peoples allowance & suffrages,
or the Senates decree were alone sufficient. The Tribuns by giving out and threatening that they would stop the mutters obtained in the end, that Quintus the Consul should propound this matter concerning the war unto the people. And it passed clear through all the Centuries. Herein also had the Commonalty the better of it for that they prevailed that there should be no Consuls chosen the year following. So there were four Tribuns military created with Consuls authority, T. Quintius Pomponius immediately from his Consulship, C. Furiius, M. Pobulumus, and Cornelius Cossius of which Cossius had the charge and government of the City. The other three after they had in emptied, took a journey to Veii, and made good proof how hurtful in war is the rule of many Commanders. For whereas every man was inclined to his own counsel and advice, and took divers courses one from another, they made way for the enemies and gave them advantage. For if the Veientians taking their opportunity and time, entred upon the army thus disstrated, whilst some commanded to found a retreat, others the alarm and to strike up the battle. Whereupon they were disorderd and put to flight. But for as much as the camp was near at hand, thither they retired themselves in safety: so as the shame they gat was more then the harm in this defeat. The City was passe and herenpon forrowed, as not used to take foiles and overthrowes. The Tribuns they hated, and required a Dictator; in whom rested ever the whole hope and stay of the City. And when as even in that behalf, they made a matter of conscience, because there might not be any Dictator nominated, but by a Consul, the Augurs were consulted withal: who resolved them of that doubt and rid them of their scruple, So A. Cornelius (a consular Tribun) nominated M. Lucius Aemilius Dictator: by whom he was him selfe also pronounced Grand Master of the horsemens. At such default was the City then, of right valour and true vertu, that notwithstanding the prejudice was the Senors, yet there was no remedy, but the whole government of the state shou'd rest upon that family, which had been wrongfull disgraced and unworthily noted by the Senors.

The Veientians proud of their late good success, albeit they sent their Embassadors about all the nations of Latium, boasting and vaunting that in one battle they had discomfited three Roman Generals, yet could not they with all their solicitation, persuade any to be in to take part with them in publick action: but they procured divers from all parts for hope of spoil, voluntarily to aid and assist them. The people of Fidenes only agreed to rebel. And as though it had been in no wise lawful, to begin any war but with some wicked, heinous and execrable sort as afore they had embrued their hands, and bathed their swords in blood of Embassadors, so then, they began with murdering their new received Colonors: and so banded themselves with the Veientians. Then conñused the Princes and States of those two nations, whether they should make Veii or Fidenes the front town of the war. Fidenes was supposed the fitter and more commodious. So the Veientians passed over the Tiber, and translated the war to Fidenes. Great fear was there at Rome to see the army of their enemies removed from Veii, and implanted at Fidenes. And being shrewdly danted by their late overthrowes besides, they encamped even before the gate Colline. On the walls were armed fowlers placed, vacating in all courts of law was ordained, shaws windows shut up, and all more like a Leaguer then a City. Then sent the Dictator the Criers about into all streets and lanes, to summon the Citizens thus terrified, to a general assembly. Where he rebuked them for carrying such warring and doubtful hearts upon so small accidents and events of fortune, having received but a flight lofs and final spoil: and that, not through the manhood of the enemy, or cowardice of the Roman army, but only through the disaffection and difference of the Leaders. Also for that they were afraid of the Veientian enemy, whom five or six times afore they had put to the worst and vanquished, and especially of Fidenes, which had been oftner in a manner won, then affluated. As for the Romans and their enemies (faith he) they are even the same still that always for so many hundred years, they had been: bearing the same minds, the same bodily strength, and the same armes: and even my self am the same M. Lucius Aemilius, and no other, who heretofore discomfited at Nomentana, the Veientians and Fidenatians, with the Felicians power also adjoined unto them. And as for A. Cornelius, he will no doubt be the same General of horsemens in this battle, as in the former war he was: at what time he being a Knight Marshal, flew Lass Tolmanius the King of the Veientians, in the sight of two armies: and brought into the Temple of Jupiter Ferarvus, the rich armor of him delpoied. Wherefore ye ought to remember this, that we have on our side triumphs, spoils and victory: whereas with the enemies remaineth the worst and detestable fact of killing the Embassadors, against the law of all nations: the mischief of the Fidenatians inhabitants, in time of peace: the breaking of truce, and their revolving now seven times to their ruin and overthrow. Take weapon therefore in hand like mentor: I trust assuredly that so soon as we shall join our camps together, and encounter their most wicked enemies, they shall have no joy of the shameful discrepancy of the Roman army. And the people of Rome shall understand, how much better they have deferred of the Common-weal, who made me Dictator now the third time, than those, who for clipping the Senors wings and abridging them of their kingly rule, had misdoubted and disgraced my second Dictatorship with the shameful blot of ignominy and reproach. After this speech, when he had made his words accordingly: he encamped a mile and an half on this side nd, flankd on the right hand with the hills, and on the left with the river Tiber. And commanded T. Quintius Pompoius his Lieutenant, to gain the hills aore, and he possesseth secretly of that cape or hill, which was on the back part of the enemies. Himself the next morrow when
when as the Tuscan, (full of pride and romanck for the prosperous succces of former days; which was much better than their service in fight) came forth into the field: after he had stayed a while, until the ioune and epial brought word, that Quinctius was gotten safely unto the Hill top, adjoyning to the Castle or fort of the Fidenates, he advanced forth his standards and with his footmen ranged in battle array, marchd against his enemies with full pace: comman- ding his General of the Horfemen not to charge without his warrant: for that he himself, as need should require, would give the signal for the aid of his cavalry to come in, willing him then, to quit himself like a brave Knight in remembrance of his glorious combate with a King: of his rich proue and obligation: and of Romulus and J. Peter spectus. Thus the legions still

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The words of the Dictator Monsieur Aemilius to his fouldiers.
The Tribuns Orations to the Commons.

The fourth Book of T. Livius.

valiantly than other, two speeoe: the reit he fold in portiake, And so with triumph brought home to Rome his victorious army, enriched with a great booty: and having commanded the General of the Horsemen to resign up his office, himself also surrendresth his own, upon the sixteenth day after his creation, yielded up his government in peace, which in time of war, and in a fearful state he had received.

There be some that have recorded in their Chronicles, that there was a barlet fought with the Veientans at Fidene by ships upon the water. A thing vely, no is impossible than incredible, Considering that even at this day, the river is not broad enough for such a purpose; and that at that time, (as by ancient men we have learned) it was far narrower than now it is. Unles, haply in crowling over the river some vessels or bottoms, that were put out to meet and to receive them, I were *and. And so, men making the matter greater, (as usually it cometh to pass) have deified a vain title of a naval victory at Sea. The year following, there were military Tribuns, with Consuls authority, A. Sempronius Astratus, L. Quintius Cincinnatus, L. Furius Mucundinus, and L. Horstius Barbatus. Then was there a truce granted unto the Veientans for twenty years, and to the Aquilians for three years, whereas they had made suit for more. Reit there was also from all seditions and broils in the City. The year following, having neither war abroad, nor yet sedition at home, was famous yet for the plays which in time of war had been vowed: both in regard of the great preparations that the Military Tribuns made, as also for the frequent restoring and concurrence of the Nations adjoining. The Tribuns with Consuls authority, were CL. Graffius, SP. Nuntius, T. Sergius Fidanes, and Sexatus Julius Titius. The fight of these games and palmites, K whereunto those strangers were come by publick consent of their States, was unto them more acceptable in regard of the courtesy of those friends that gave them entertainment. After these plays, there enmied seditions Orations of the Tribuns of the Commons, who rebuked the common multitude, for that they were beforesated with admiration of those whom they had to have erected, kept themselves in perpetual thraldome. And not only didst nor attempt to put forth them selves to bring in again the possibility to have Consuls of their part, as in times past: no, nor so much as in the creation of Military Tribuns (the Election of whom was indifferent as well for Commons as Nobles) were mindful or thought either upon themselves or their friends, and those of their own body: And therefore they should raise to marvel, why no man pleaded for the benefit of the commonalty. For, travel is well bestowed, and danger well advantured, where profit and honor might be hoped and looked for. And nothing is so difficult but men would employ themselves to enterprize the same, if for the adventuring of great exploits, there might be proposed as great rewards. But, that any Tribun of the Commons should run directly and blindly into a world of brawls and troubles, with great hazard of his person, and hope at all of fruit and profit in the end: for which contention, he might be sure that the Nobles would be against whom he rivetted, would persecute him with deadly and irreconcilable malice: and at the Commons hands, for whom he thus contended, he should be honored and advanced never the more, it was a thing neither to be expected, nor required. The only means to get courage and magnanimity, is advancement to high place of honor and dignity. And as for them, they would not disdain the meanest commoner that was, if they themselves might be no more despised. To conclude, the matter were worth the tryal in one or two, whether any commoner were sufficient to bear a great office of state: or whether it were a wonderful thing and strange miracle, that a valiant and hardy man should arise out of the commonalty. With much a do (say they) we got and obtained, that Tribuns military with Consuls authority might likewise be chosen out of the commonalty: and men approved both in war abroad and in affairs of State at home, had sued therefore. In the first years they being nipped by you, and to having the repute, were had indiscern of the Nobility, for that at length they torberate to give themselves thus contumeliously to be mistrels and made fools. We see no cause therefore, why that law also should not be repeated, wherein a dignity was granted, and never like to be obtained. For lets shame would there arise, if the law were not indifferent nor respected unto them as N unmeet persons and unworthy, thus shamefully to be past by and take the repute. Thafle and suchlike, as by the word of the general applause, that some of them were invited forward to sit for the Military Tribunall: whilsts every one promised in the time of his offer to do great matters, and to propose, some one thing, some another for concerning the benefit of the Commons. Pretending great hopes of dividing the common Lands, and planting of colonies abroad, and laying tributes and impositions upon landd and persons, for to pay fouldiers wages. But the Tribuns military then in place, devised to lose out a time, when upon some occasion of the absence of much people departed out of the City, the Senators by a privy and secret warning, shoulde at a certain day be called home; and then whiles the Tribuns of the Commons were away, an act of Senate should passe in this form: That for almost as it was noticed that the Vellians were entred into the lands of the Hernicis, to raise and rob, the military Tribuns should go to see whether they were so or no, and that in the mean time there should be held a general assembly for the Election of Consuls. The Tribuns military took their journey accordingly, and left Appius Claudius the Decemvir for Governor of the City, a new young gentleman and a forward, who from his very cradle bare an inward grudge and hatred against the Tribuns and the Commons. And boards it is whether for the Tribuns of the Commons to find themselves grieved with those, who made the decree, now that they were ablet.
A foreign matter, but yet worthy to be remembered and here inferred, is reported to have happened that year: to wit, that * Vulcumnos * a City of the Tuscanes, which now is * Cupra * , was by the Sammites taken; and that it came to be named * Cupra * of one * Capis * their Captain; or (which sounds more like a truth) of the champian field. But they want it by this means, for upon occasion that the Tuscanes were wearied with former wars, they were admitted into the society of their City and territory. And on a solemn festival day, when as the citizens had filled their belles and were round asleep, the new Coloners the Sammites, let upon the old inhabitants, and in the night season flew them all.

But now to return. Things passing thus (as I said before) the Comuls abovemented upon the * 13 of Decem * , entred their government. By which time not only they which were of purpose lent to learn the news of the Volcians brought word that war was at hand; but Embassadors also from the Latins and Herricks, gave intelligence of the same. And namely, that never at any time afore, the Volcians were more busy and occupied, either in chusing of good Captains, or in levying an army, giving out their speeches abroad and in every place; That this time was now come, either to forget warfare, and lay away boulterly; and for ever make account to bear the yoke of thraldom; or else not to give one foot, nor come behind those with whom they trove for soveraignety, either in mankind or in painful travel, or in Discipline of warfare. And slyly, they were no vain tidings that those messengers reported. But the Senators would take no such knowledge, nor be greatly moved at the matter. And withal * C. Sempronius * unto whom the charge of that war was allotted, presumed upon fortune, as if the were always right confiant and at command, and leading an army of a people used to victory, against those that were wont to be over one, did all things rashly and negligently. So as to speak a truth, there was more Roman Discipline in the Volcian breath in the Roman. And fortune (as oftentimes else) went with virtue. At the first encounter, which by * Sempronius * was unheedfully and undulyedly begun before that either the battalions were reinforced and strengthened with fresh supplies of succour, or the Horlemen ranged in convenient place, they ran together, and came to handlocks. And the first token which way the victory would encline, was the manner of shout at the first charge: which by the enemy was more loud, more thrill and continual: but by the Romans dissonant, unequal, dead and cold, often begun, and often reuned: and by their uncertain and variable noise they bewrayed the inward fear of their hearts. Whereupon the enemies so much the more eagerly charged them, pressing upon them with their shields, and laying at them thick with their bright swords: on the other side, the Romans helmets wag, and their crests nod every way as they look about them: and as they were to seek what to do, so they tremble and run together on heaps one while the ensigns stand still, and were abandoned of the formost fighting in the vanguard another while they retired in again amongst their own squadrons. Yet was not the flight certain, nor yet the victory. The Romans fought more to cover and threw themselves than to fight; so ward

B. The valor of * Sex. Sempronius * .

The Roman Empire. Follow therefore in stead of banner displayed, the point of my lance: let both Romans and Volcians fee, that no nation is comparable to you, either for foot or horse. Whole encouragement being approved and received with a shout, he advanced forward, bearing his staff aloft: and what way forever they go, they enter and make room with forcible sway: and where they see their fellows in greatest distress, thither they make speed, opposing their targets afore them. And thus in every place whereas they thrust themselves forcibly, was the fight tented: and doubtless the enemies had turned their backs; it possible it had been for so few to have performed every thing at once. Now whereas the Generall of the Volcians, saw his men not able to withstand them, gave a signal and charge to give way to this new band of enemies, so wit, these Targettiers until such time as they had put themselves forward; which might be excluded from their fellows. Which being done, their Horlemen were enclosed on every side: neither could they break through that way which they went: because the enemies were there thickest, where they had made their lane before. The Cothen, with the legions of the Romans, having lost the right of those that had been a shield of defence and bulwark everly to the whole army, left to many hardy men thus intrusted, should be overpressed by the enemies: resolved to adventure any peril or hazard whatsoever. The Volcians were likewise diversly occupied & troubled. For on the one side they bare off the Coth, and legions: on the other side they aromented * Sempronius * fore, & the Horlemen: who seeing that after many ayles and
The fourth Book of T. Livius.

offers they could not break forth to their fellows, but up unto a certain little Hill, and cast them selves into a ring and flood to their defence, not without doing some mischief to their enemies: neither gave they over fighting until night. The Consul also maintained the battle so long as he could, and kept the enemy play. So the night parted them al together, and uncertain it was who had the upper hand, and for that the event was unknown, who sped the better. So great a terror came upon both parts in their camps, that leaving the wounded and a great part of their carriages behind, both armies as taking themselves losers, recovered the mountains that were next unto them, Howbeit the Hill or bank aforesaid, continued still full bright round about, until midnight. But when word was brought thither to the Affairians, how that their camp was abandoned: they thinking their fellows vanquished, were also for their part affrighted, and made shift and fled in the dark as well as they could. Tempamius, laying an ambushment, kept his men there together until day light. Then went he down with a few to discover the coasts: and finding by enquiry made of the wounded enemies, that the tents of the Volcians were left and forlorn: he was full glad thereof, and called down his fouldiers from the mount, and entered into the Roman camp. Where seeing all void and forlorn, and finding the same defection which was amongst the enemies: before that the Volcians upon knowledge of their errors should return again, he took with him those hurt fouldiers that he could: and not knowing to what quarters the Consul was gone, marched forward the next way to the City of Rome. And thither already the brut of this unlucky fight, and of abandoning the tents, was arrived. But above all the rest, those Horsemens were bewailed, and great moan and lamentation was made for them as well in private as in public like. The Col. Fabius, seeing the City also terrified with this news, kept ward before the gates: by which time, they might discover the Horsemens aforesaid afar off: but not without some fear of their parts, doubting who they were. But being soon known, they caufed to great contentment after former fear, that in most joyful manner the noise went through the City, how the Horsemens were returned safe with victory. And out of thofe mourning and sorrowful houses, which a while before had bid adieu to their friends and kinsfolk, and bewailed their death, they ran into the streets and high ways by heaps. The feart full damos and wives, forgetting, for joy all decent and womanly modesty, were out to meet the army, fell every one with open arms upon their own husbands and sons, took them about the neck, clipp’d and kiss’d them, and with all their hand and heart received them; yea, and for exceeding joy were almost past themselves.

The Tribunes of the Commons, which had challenged and accused M. Porcius Cinna and T. Quinctius, for that by their default, there was an unlucky fight before Vei’s: seemed to have good occasion and opportunity offered now, by bringing the Consul Sempronius into fresh and new hatred and disgrace, for to renew the conceived displeasure and malice of the people against them. Having assembled therefore the people together, with open mouth they declared, that the Commonwealth was betrayed first, at Vei’s by the leaders, and afterwards, because they went clear away withal, and unpunifhed, therefore the army in Vei’s was likewise lost by the Consul: and that a troop of most valiant knights were thus cast away and given to be murdered, and the camp shamefully left and forlorn. Then C. Julius, one of the Tribunes, commanded Tempamius the Horlemen to be called and before them all said, "I would know of thee O Sextus Tempamius, whether thou M. think that C. Sempronius the Consul, either began battalion in good time, or strengthened his battalions with good succors and supplies? or whether thou thyself, when as the Roman legions and footmen were discomfited, of thine own head and policy, canst concessio the Horlemens to alight on foot, and thereby reencreased the force? Afterwards, when thou and thy men of arms were shut out from our battel, whether either the Consul himself came to rescue, or lent any succor unto thee? Last of all, whether the morrow after, thou hadst any aid or rescue at all? Whether thou and thy troop of Horlemens brake through into the camp by your own hardiness and valor? And whether ye found in the camp any Consul or army, or rather the pavilions abased, and the fouldiers left behind, hurt and wounded? To these pretense and points, I trust thou to speak this day upon this verrie, and the fate of a fouldier: by which only, in this N war-service the Common-weal hath stood preferred. Finally, where C. Sempronius, and where our legions be? Whether thou were forlorn thyself, or whether thou forookedst the Consul and the army? And to conclude, whether we have lost or won the field? To these demands, Tempamius made (as they say) no fine Oration, but a grave pithy speech like a fouldier: not full of fill-pries, nor shewing any gladness for the fault of another, and answered in this wise: How great skill (quoth he) of martial feats, and what insufficiency is in C. Sempronius, it is not for me a fouldier to judge, not yet to make any esteeme of my General: but it was for the people of Rome to determine thereof, at what time as by their suffrages and voice, in a solemn Election, they chose him Consul. And therefore ye are not to enquire of me, and to be informed, either of the policies of a General Captain, or virtues and duties of a Consul: deep points to be examined, weighed, and discourse by great wits, reaching heads, and high minds. But for that which I with mine eye saw, I am able to make report and testify; namely, That before himself was excluded out of the battel, I beheld the Consul fighting manfully in the vanguard, encouraging his men earnestly, and even amongst the Roman Standards, and Pikes of the enemies; busily employed, After which I was caried from the sight of my fellows, howbeit by the fire, noise and shouting, I well perceived, that the conflict continued until night. Neither was it possible (as I thought) for them to break through unto the Hill which I kept, by reason of the multitude
A "of enemies between. As for the army, what is become of it, I know not: But I suppose, that "as I myself in an extremity and fearful case, defended myself and my men, by advantage of the "ground: so the Consul for to save the army, took some more safe place to encamp in. Neither "think I verily, that the Volscians stood in better terms than the Romans fortune was. And the "darkness of the night (no doubt) caused error and confusion on every side, and in all places. After which speech when as he bethought them, not to hold him any longer, wearied with travel, and taint of his wounds: he was with exceeding praise both of his valiant service and also of his modest speech, licent to depart. "Whiles these things thus passed, the Consul by that time, had manished by the way of Latiumus "as far as to the Temple of 'Quintus' thereto were wains, draught-beasts and hopper horses lent from the City, to receive and cafe the army, toile out with fight, and tried by jorning all night. Within a while after, the Consul entered into the City, who endeavoured not more, to put the fault from himself, than to extol Temperanius, and give him this due deferred praise. Now whilsts the City was sad and heavy for this hard hap, and angry also with the Captains: behold, M. Pofhumitus, who before had been accused, was now presented unto the people, for to wreak their choler and malice upon. He had been a Tribun Military in place of a Cof., at Cere, and now was condemned, & a fines on his head of thousand Aces of brass. But as for Titus Qtinuus, his fellow in government, because that among the Volsci he had served fortunately as Consul, under the conduct of Pofhumitus Tiburtius the Dictator: and likewise at Fidenes, as Lieutenant of C the other Dictator Mancoenius Aemilus, and laid the whole fault of that other time from him himself: upon his colleague before condemned: he was found guilty and acquit by all the Tribunes, It is said that the freth remembrance of his father Cincimatis, late a right worshipful citizen, helped him much: Yea, and Capituleus Quintus a very aged man, did him no hurt, who humbly besought them that they would not suffer him, having but a while in this world to live, for to be the easier of to heavy news unto Cincimatis. The Commons made Tribunes of the commonalty, Sex. Temperanius, A. Sellius, Sex. Anti Huns, and Sex. Pompeius in their absence: whom also the Horsemanship had chosen for their Captains or Centurions; in the former exploit, by the advise and counsel of Temperanius. But the Senators, because now for hated of Sempronius the name of Clemens misliked and offended them, determined that military Tribunes with Consuls authority, should be created, So D there were chosen L. Maucius Calapinious, Q. Antonius Morends, L. Pappius Magillanus. "In the very beginning of the year L. Hortensius the fifth Tribun of the commonalty, accused C. Sempronius the Consul of the former year. And when as his other four fellows in office, in the sight of the people of Rome befofe him not to trouble their guides Captains, in whom nothing could be blamed or found fault withal, but adverfe fortune: Hortensius could hardly abide, but thought it was but to prove and try his relocale constancy: and that the party accused, trusted not upon the prayer and intercession of the Tribunes, which only for a shew was pretended, but upon their support and asfiance. And therefore turning one whilst to Sempronius himself, demanded what was become of that hasty courage and flamack, so ordinary in those of Senators calling: and where was that magnanimity which refled and relied upon innocence? since that he ha- E ving been a Consul, was fain to shelter and throw himself under the shadow and protection of the Tribunes? Another while directing his speech to his fellow Tribunes: but you my Masters (quoth he) what will ye do? If I prosecute mine action against him still, and convict him in the end: Will ye take from the people their right and overthrow the authority of the Tribunes among the Commons? When they again laid and inquered, that the people of Rome had absolute power to do what they would, both with Sempronius, and all others: and that they neither would not could abridge the people of their judgment. But if (lay they) our prayers in the behalf of our General, who was to us in stead of a father, may not avail, then will we together with him change our weed for company. Nay, God forbid (quoth Hortensius) The Commons of Rome shall never see their Tribunes arrayed in foiled and mornfule apparel. And as for C. Sempronius, I have now no F more to say to him, since that he hath carried himself so, whilsts he was General, as he hath gained thou much, as to be to dearly beloved of his followers. Neither was the kindnees of those four Tribunes more acceptable to the Commons and Nobles, than the good nature of Hortensius, who at their reasonable request, was so easy to be pacified and intreated. "It was no long time that fortune Favowed upon the Aequians: who embraced the doubtful victory of the Volscians, and took it as their own. The next year after, when Ca. Fabius Vabal- mans, and T. Quintus Capituleus, the son of Capituleus, were Consuls: by the leading of Fabius, unto whom was allotted that Province, nothing was done there worthy of remembrance. For when as the Aequians had made feblemance of a barrel, and brought their army only in fight, they were in fearful wate then discomfited, and shamefully fled, mimiing no matter of great hon- Gor to the Cof, And therefore was he denied triumph. But yet because the ignominy of the loss which happened by Sempronius was partly allayed, it was granted that he might enter Oviant into the City. | A General was fad to enter Oviant into the City, when ordinarily without his army following him, he went on foot, or rode on Horseback only, and the people in their Aclamations for joy redoubled Ove or Ova. So that Oviant is a much as Ovian: Howevcr, some think that Ovian took the name of sacrificing a sheep. But he rode in triumph, when his foulers attended him in his chariot crying for Triumph, in this he carried a branch or were a garland of laurel, in the other of Myrtle. So that the Ovation was a less honor than the Triumph, And it was granted
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granted to inferior persons, and for meaner desert. Whereas, none usually might triumph, unless he were Dictator; Cof, or Pretor, and had slain in field 5000 enemies at the least, won much spoil and pillage, and augmented the State of the Roman Empire. Like as the war was dispatched with less ado than they feared: so in the City, after a calm and peaceable state, there arose between the Commons and Nobles, a world of discords and troubles more than they expected. Which began upon occasion of doubting the number of Quellos. For when the Consuls had pronounced, that besides two Quellos or Treasurers of the City, there should be other twain ready to attend upon the Consuls, for all services and charges belonging to war: and when the Nobles also with all their power had approved it, the Tribuns of the Commons entered into a contention with the Consuls, and required that some of the Quellos (for until that time they had been created from out of the degree of the Patrizij only) might be likewise of the Commons. Against which demand, at the first, both Consuls, and also the Nobles, laboured with might and main, but afterwards having granted thus much. That as the use and practice was in creating of Tribuns with Consuls authority, so in like manner, in the Election of Quellos, the people should have their free liberty to chuse. And seeing they gained little thereby, and could effect no good, they wholly let fall their former matter, about increasing the number of the Quellos. But although it were thus by them given over, the Tribuns took it in hand again, and let it on foot: yea, and other feditious actions besides very often sprang forth, and among the rest, those also concerning the Law Agravia. Upon which troubles, when as the Senate was of mind, that there should be Consuls rather than Curular Tribuns created; and by reason of the Tribuns stepping between with their negative voyce, no decree of the Senate could passe, the government of the Commonwealth was devolved from Consuls to an * Interreign, but not without exceeding great debate: for that the Tribuns kept the Patrizij from meeting and packing together. Now when as the greater part of the year following was spent, with much strife and contention between the new Tribuns and certain Interregens, whiles one while the Tribuns stayed the Nobles from attending together about the chusing of an Interregent, and another while crossed the Interregent for granting out any Act of Senats or warrant, for the election of Consuls: at the last, L. Pappius Maglidianus, being declared Interregent, sometimes rebuked the Nobles, and sometimes blamed the Consuls, and said: * That the Common-wealth neglected and forsook all men was taken into protection of the Gods, and guided by their care and providence: nothing upright and false only, upon the true observed by the Victuarians, and the flow speed or small that the Equanis made to war. From whence, if any trouble should happen to arise, it is your will (quothe be) and pleasure belike, that the state should be surprized and affailed, while it is within out any Magistrate of the Nobility. For neither is there an army ready, nor yet a Captain to raise an army. What think ye to put back forain war abroad by civil discord at home? Which if they both should come together, there were no other remedy through all the Gods in Heaven should set to their helping hand, but that the Common-wealth of Rome should utterly be inhabited. Yet rather remit every one you somewhat of the rigor of your full jurisdiction, and (for the love of God) take some indifferent course to join in unity: the Nobles for their part, by luring Military Tribuns to be created in lieu of Cofli; the Tribuns again by no more than tending and inticing their negative, but that four Quellos may be chosen by the free voyces of the people, from out of the Commons and Nobles; one with another, First therefore was the High Court held for choosing Sovereign Tribuns: and Tribuns there were created in Curular authority, all of the Nobility; namely, L. Quintus Cincinnatus the third time, Sex. Furius Medullius the second time, M. Maudius, and A. Scipionus Atratinus. When this Tribun latin named, was president of the Election for Quellos, and the son of Antistius A Tribun of the Commons, and a brother besides to another Tribun, one Sex. Pomphilus for the dignity; among certain other of the Commons: neither all their own means that they could make, nor all the voyces they could procure, were able to prevail, but that the people preferred persons to the place according to their gentry and high birth: namely, whole fathers and grand-fathers they had been Consuls. All the Tribuns of the Commons formed and chafe at this, but especially Pomphilus and Antistius, being set on fire at the repulse of thei their friends, * What should this mean (say they) that none of the Commons, neither in regard of their own merits, nor considering the injuries at the Nobles hands nor yet for desire they might preend to the first hand of that authority, which now was lawful, and never heretofore: that none of the Commons (I say) was created, if not a Military Tribun yet not iomuch as a Quello? What, that neither the fathers prayer in the behalf of his son, nor a brothers suit in favour of a brother, being Tribuns both of them, invested in that sacred authority, and which first was erected for the maintenance of common freedom, could ought at all prevail? Sure there is some fraud and jugling in the matter: and A. Scipionus, hath in the Elecution nced more art and cunning than truth and fidelity. Complaining that by his injuries and indirect dealing, their friends had taken the field. When as therefore they might nor by any violence touch his own person and attack him, being fenced with innocence in this Action, and secured by vertue of the office which then he bare: they wreaked their svels and discharged their choler upon C. Sempronius, the consen gentanim of Atratinus by the brother: and with the help of M. Canuleius, one of their colleagues, arrested him for the ignominions service in the Volscian war. Ever and anon, also the same Tribuns made some words and motion in the Senate-house, concerning the division of Lands, and revived the law Agravia.
The singular
condemnation
of
A. Agrarius (which C. Sempurnius at all times most sharply and eagerly had withstood, supposing as it fell out indeed, that the accused person should either by giving over the cause, be left 
recovered of the Nobles: or if he stood to it till until the time of judgment drew nigh, he should dispute and offend the Commons. But he chose rather to be the object of the displeasure and malice of the people, that were opposite and bent against him, and so to wound his own private estate: than to betake the common and public cause: and persisted resolute in the same mind till; that these should no longer obstructive be general, that might win and procure favour unto those three corrupt Tribunes: For it is not land and living (quoth he) that they shooat for, for the benefit of the Commons: that is not their looking; but their drift is to work and procure displeasure unto me: and therefore I will turn my part, abide that itmemp and repose with a resolute Mind. And the Commons that is not their looking; but their drift is to work and procure displeasure unto me: and therefore I will turn my part, abide that itmemp and repose with a resolute Mind. And the

B. Senate ought not to elect either of me, or of any citizen else to highly, as to buy the sparing of one man to dear, even with the harm and damage of the whole state. The day of judicial tryal came. When he had prepared for himself, and seemed nothing daunted at the matter: yet, for all that the Nobles could do, who tried all means, but in vain, to mitigate and delay the heat of the Commons, condemned he was in thirteen thousand feet. The same year Poblianus a Veial Num, was called in question for2 Nicholas and sent to prison, for the benefit of the Commons: that is not their looking; but their drift is to work and procure displeasure unto me: and therefore I will turn my part, abide that itmemp and repose with a resolute Mind. And the Commons that is not their looking; but their drift is to work and procure displeasure unto me: and therefore I will turn my part, abide that itmemp and repose with a resolute Mind. And the

C. A Virgin girtless for any deed done: but scarcely of good name and fame: by reason that she was suspected for her apparel and going more light and garish in her attire: yea, and for her wit, more itnected and pleasant, than became a maid, and nothing repugnant of the speech of the world. Her tryal was put over to a farther day, and she (after she had twice pleaded) in the end was acquitted: only the high Priest by the advice, and in the name of the whole colleged, bounded her, and gave her warning to leave her sports, taunts, and merry conceits: and in her rayent to be seen not so gay as devout, and wear her garments rather faintly than lightly. The same year was

Cames, inhabited at that time by the Greeks, taken by the Campanians. The year following had military Tribuns with Consuls authority, *Agrigita Menenius Lanatus, P. Laucknus Tricipitis, S. Naunius Servilus.* A year, by the happiness and good fortune of the people of Rome, more notable for a danger escaped, than for any harm received. Certain bond-servants had conspired to fire the City in divers places afar, for their intent, when the people should be busy occupied, here and there, to have their houses, then by force and arms to

D. invade the City and Capitol. But Jupiter turned away and disappointed their wicked design. For by the preaching and information of twain, the rest of the malefactors were taken and executed. But those that disdained and resolved the conspiracy, had ten thousand pound in brass money (which was in those days thought to be great riches) weighed them out of the City chamber, and freedom besides, for their reward,

After this, began the Athenians to renew war: and word was brought to Rome by credible persons, that certain new enemies also, to wit the Campanians, joined together in counsel with the old. These Athenians were good neighbours: for once a year ordinarily, they used to put the City of Rome to the pains of waiting with them, and not mits. Embassadors then were sent to Lacones, who brought double answers from thence: whereby it appeared that neither at that instant they were ready to war, nor yet were like to continue long in peace. The Tusculans were charged, to take good heed, and have an eye that way, that no new slips and troubles should arise: at Lacones, there came Embassadors from Tusculum, to L. Sergius Eideus, M. Papius Magellanus, and C. Servilus: the son of Q. Servilus Prenius: (by whom being Dictator, Eideus was won) who were Military Tribuns in Consuls authority the year following. These Embassadors brought news that the Laccians were out, and in arms, and joying with the Athenians army, had forraged the country of Tusculum, and encamped themselves in Agudum. Then was war proclaimed against the Laccians. And when by a decree made by the Senate, that two of the Consular Tribunes should go to war, and one manage the affairs of Rome; there arose a contention on a Sunday, among thesaid Tribuns. Every one thought himself the most just and most sufficient man, to be General of

F. the war, reducing the charge of the City, as a bale, dishonourable, and thankless office. As the Senators mused and wondered, to see amongst thofe that were fellows in government to undertake a strife and contention: then Q. Servilus: *Seeing that (quoth he) there is no reverent regard, either of this honorable home, or of the Common-wealth: the father his countenance and dared Majestly, and ended this debate, Myton with any lot calling shall govern the City as President, God grant, that they which love war do well, may manage it with more discretion and confond than they with it. At for a general master to be levied out of all the people indiscriminately, that was not liked of. So ten Tribunes were drawn by lot, out of which, the yonger fore were preft forth to war under the conduct of the two Tribuns. The strife which began to be kinded among them in the City, through the fame detestful of sovereignty, brake forth and

G. grew much hotter in the camp. In nothing agreed they, striving whole opinion should stand: each one would have his own way: his own commands obeyed and none else: one despised another, and were divided one of the other: until at length, upon the Lieutenants reproop, they grew to this point, and this order was taken: That they should each other day, rule one a-lone by himself alone. Which news being brought to Rome, it is reported that Q. Servilus, a man for his years and long experience right skillull, prayed of the immortal Gods, that by the variance and discord of the Tribuns, the Common-wealth inflaine not more harm than they had received at Veiose. As as if there were no doubt, but that some great loss and overthrow was ready
ready to happen, he was instant upon his son, to levy soldiers and to provide munition for war, He neither proved he a false and vain Prophet. For by the leading of Lucullus, whole day it was to rule, when as the enemy under a colour of fear, withdrew unto the tents, and to terrify them thither upon a foolish hope to win the camp, even under the very camp of the enemies in an uneven ground of disadvantage, they were suddenly charged by the Equians, discomfited and chased down the valley; and many in their fall, which was greater than the flight, were trod under foot and slain, and with much ado that day kept they their own tents. The morrow after, when as now the enemies had beaten a great part of the camp, they shamefully fled away, at the back gate, and forsook the camp. The Captains Lieutenants, and the strength remaining of the army, which kept to their ensigns and colours, went to Tuscullum; Other that were scattered here and there about the fields by sundry ways, made haste to Rome; and reported there the overthrow to be greater than indeed it was, Lcis was the trouble and sorrow, because men looked for no better issue and success: and also for that, there was help and succour (which they were to have an eye unto in so fearful a case) provided by the Tribun aforesaid. At whose commandment, when as the tumult was by the incontinent Magistrates appeased in the City, epitales were sent out in haste: who brought word that the Captains and the army was at Tuscullum: and that the enemy had not removed his camp. And then (which encouraged them most of all) by the Senate decree, Q. Servilius Priscus was chosen Dictator, a man whose Providence over the Common-wealth, the City as other times afoe, no in the event of that war had experience of: for that he only suspected the contention of the Tribuns afore this unhappy foil. Who having nominated Gene- ral of the Horsemen, his son (as some say) by whom being military Tribun, himself was declared Dictator (for others there be that write how Servilius Hals was that year General of the Horse) went forth with a fresh army to war, and having joyned unto him those which were at Tuscullum, he pitched his tents, two miles from the enemy. But see the fruit of good successes. The pride and negligence which had been amongst the Roman Captains, went from them to the Equians. Therefore in the first beginning of the conflict, when the Dictator with his Horsemen whom he sent against them, had disordered and put out of array the foremost ranks of the enemies, then commanded him the ensigns of the legionary footmen with all speed to follow hard upon: and one ensign-bearer of his own, who made some stay, he flew with his own hand. Then were they so earnestly set to give an hot charge, that the Equians could not abide their force: and being in flight overthrown, when as they fled all amain to the camp, the assault thereof was both shorter and with less ado, than was the battle. When the camp was taken and spoiled, and that the Dictator had given the pillage unto the footmen: and that the Horsemen which chased the enemies from the camp, had brought word back, that all the Lavicans were overthrown, and a great part of the Equians were fled to Laviscus: the day following was the army also led thither, and the Town compassed and beleaguered about, scaled, and sacked. The Dictator having brought home to Rome his victorious army, upon the eights day after he was chosen, gave over his office. And in very good time, before there was any edition stirred up about the Law Agraria, by the motion of the Tribuns of the Commons, for the division of the Lavicans Lands: the whole body of the Senate appointed that a Colony should be sent to Laviscus. So there were sent from the City M a thousand and five hundred to inhabit there, and two acres apace given them of land. After the winning of Laviscus, there were created Military Tribuns with Confals authority, to wit, Agrippa Memmius Luccatius, and L. Servilius Strato, with P. Lucretius Tricipitum (all three the second time) and Sp. Postumius Graffius: and the year following A. Sempronius Afratus, the third time, and the twain. M. Poppius Mutilus, and Sp. Nautilus Rustullus the second time: for these two years there was peace abroad, and discord at home about the Laws Agrarias. They that troubled the people, were Sp. Mecilis, who now the fourth time, and Metilius, who the third time were made Tribuns of the Commons, both absent. And when they had published their Act, That all Lands conquered from the enemies, should be divided by the poll: by which Ordinance, the possessions of a great part of the Nobility became confiscate, (for since their City was not fortified and built in a strange ground, there was in a manner no Land lay to it, which had not been purchased by the sword; neither enjoyed the Commons any, but that which either had been sold or alligned to the Commons) this seemed to be a bone cast between the Nobles and the Commons, to let them together at strife and contention. Neither knew the Military Tribuns any way to take count of this case, albeit one while they assembled the Senate, and another while in private conference with the Nobility. Then Appius Claudius (the nephew or grandson of notorious Appius the Decemvir, created for the making of Laws) the son of all the Council of the Nobility, made (as it is reported) this speech, and said, 'That he would impart unto them at which he had received by tradition from his ancestors, to wit, an old devise, and appropriate to his house, for that his great grandsire Appius Claudius, had showed unto the Nobles of the only way, to abate and take down the Tribuns power; namely, by the coming between 'and negative voice of their fellows. For men new come up, and new to promotion, might soon by the authority of the chief rulers be brought from their purpose, and made to change their mind, if otherwheres those great men in place would use some speech unto them fitted and framed rather to the time and present occasion than respective to their own high place and dignity: for evermore the heart and courage of men, is according to their degree and wealth. And when they see once their fellows postrifed first afore them of the caufe, and thereby crepe whom
in all the favour with the Commons, and that no room is left for themselves to have any part thereof, they will be willing enough to encline and defend unto the Senate, and take their part: by means whereof they might wind into the love and good grace of that universal and late state, and particularly with the principal Lords of the Nobility. Which speeches, when they all had approved, and especially Q. Servilius Priscus, who praised the young Gentleman, for that he was not grown out of kind, nor degenerate from the rotation and race of the Cloudy, then every man was set about this business, to see whom of the Colleague or company of Tribunes they could win and draw to cross and stop the Act for going forward. The Senate now being broken up, the chief of the Nobles caught hold of the Tribunes, and were in hand with them perceiving-exhorting, and affuring them, that they should every one of private gratify not only, but also the whole body of the Senate in general: and never gave over, until they had procured six of them to interpose their negative, and thus crossed the Law. The morrow after, when as of purpose a matter was propounded before the Senate, about the sedition which Metellus and Metellus had raised, by a Largess of dangerous consequence: such speeches were by the principal of the Nobles delivered, that each one for himself confessed, that now they were to seek for counsel, and law no other help nor remedy but in the authority of the Tribunes: to the protection and safeguard of which Magnificity, the Common-wealth betook her self, and fled for succour; as being belet with danger, like some poor private person, and had no other means to save her self: saying, That it would be both for themselves, and also for their authority an honorable thing, if it might appear, that the policies of their Tribunship were not more employed in molesting the Senate, and making discord among the States than in retitling the peevish wilfulness of their colleagues. Whereupon arose a great noise through the whole company of the senators, whiles out of all parts of the County there assembled, they called upon the Tribunes for their helping hand. Then after silence made, they (who for the favour of the Lords of the Senate, were made beforehand to their cause) declared and confessed, that they were ready to cross that act, by their fellows published, seeing the Senate judged it to be prejudicial to the Common-wealth. These Tribunes for the order of their good service, were by the Senate highly thanked. But the Authors and Patrons of the Act abjured, calling together an assembly of the Commons, when they had inveighed against their fellows more virulently, terming them betraiers of the Common-wealth, and slaves to the Nobles: and uttering bitter speeches gave over their section and flite.

Two grievous wars had continued all the year next following (wherein P. Cornelius Cossus, C. Valerius Parnus, Q. Servilius Caepio, and M. Furius Vibulanus, were military Tribunes in Coll. authority) but that the Venetian war was defeated by the superfluous fear of their own Princess; whose grands. Tribes (overflowing the banks) had spoiled and overthrown all the villages and houses that stood thereupon. The Aequians likewise by reason of their loss received three years before made no great hurt to aid and assist the Volans a people of their own nation, For they had made certain rodes into the Latin Country, confining upon them, and wasted upon the inhabitants, lately there placed. Which trepails by them done they hoped to have been able, by the banding and affiliation of all the Aequians; but being forsaken of their allies they lost both their Town and territory, only by siege; and one light skirmish, and never fought for it any memorable war, L. Scipio also Tribun of the Commons, assayed to make an Act, that there might be sent to Vols as well as to Latin, Colones to people it: but by the negative of his Assidiences, who shreded, that they would not suffer any Statute of the Commons to pass without the assent of the Senate, it came to nothing.

In the year following, the Aequians having recovered and won again Vols, and brought a Colony thither, fortified the Town with a fresh power, at what time were Tribunes Military in Consul's authority at Rome, Cn. Cornelius Cossus, L. Valerius Patus, Q. Fabius Vibulanus the second time, and M. Posthumius Regillensis. The war against the Aequians, was committed to this Posthumus, a man of a crooked disposition, as his victory shewed more than the whole course of the war. For having levied an army in half, and brought it before Vols, after some small skirmishes, he tamely the Aequians and at length entred the Town. And when he had done with the enemies, he began to quarter with his own soldiers: for whereas during the time of the affall, he had given out by Proclamation, That they should have the discharge after the Town was once won: he brake promise with them. For I am induced to believe that this was the cause rather why the army mutined and was discontented, than for that this in a Town lately laked before and in a new Colony there was found less spoil than the Tribun made boast of. But this displeasure and anger once conceived was made the worse after that he returned into the City: for being sent for by his fellows, upon occasion of the Tribunitioneditions, there eloped him an indiret speech. I must needs say, and without all fence, wit, and honesty. Which he let fall in an assembly of the Commons wherein it hapned, that as Scipio, a Tribun of the Commons, was preferring the law and saying withal, That he would propose an Act that Colones should likewise be sent to Vols for that they were worthy to have both the Town and Lands of Vols, who had by sword and their conquest the time. Posthumus caught the word out of his mouth: And that shall my soldiers, dearly abide (quoth he) because they be more quiet. Which word being overheard offended not to the Comy present there in place assembled as the Lords of the Senate awhile after. Moreover the Tribun aforesaid an active man, and eloquent withal, having among his adversities met with a proud humorous spirit, and an insolent and intemperate tongue, which walked...
The fourth Book of T. Livius.

The Oration of Sestius against P. Fufumus.

Pufumus roaned to death by his own folediers.

An inquisition about the murder of Pufumus.

In the beginning of the Comitiis year, the Senate made a decree, that the Tribunes with all speed poftc should propose unto the Commons, concerning the inquisition of Pufumus his death: and that they should make his Commissioner and Judge; whom they would. The Commons by the consent of the whole people, gave the Comitiis commission to thee done, and performed accordingly. Who notwithstanding, that with exceeding moderation and lenity, they did pass and ended the matter, by punifhing a few, who (as it was credibly thought) made themfelves away; yet could they not for all that bring about, but the Commons took it very handsomely, and in the highest degree, laying, That the Acts and Ordinances, which had been pro pounded concerning their weal and commodities, thoje lay a long time asleep in the deck, and nothing done: but an order granted for their bloody death, that was prefently put in execution, Of so great force and importance it was. Now this had been the fittet time, that after their mutinous fentencies were chaffed, the division of the Volane territory, fhojuid have been offered unto them for to comfort their poor hearts again. By which deed (no doubt) their hot defire and longing after the law Agrarics had been abated, which tended to difpoefis at length the Nobles of the common grounds, which they injuriously were difeaf'd. But this indignity fluck in their fomacks, and was taken neerer to the heart. when they faw the Nobility to thinly O bent, not only to keep the common grounds in their hands, which they h'd by force: but also unwilling to divide among the people to much as the waft and void grounds, lately gotten by conquif from the enemies: but that it was like, within a while (as all the reft) to be a booty, and divident; to be shared among a few.

The fame year were the legions led by Furius the Comitiis, againft the Volickons: who forraied the borders of the Hernicks. But finding not the enemy there, they wan Ferentium, whither a great number of the Volickons had retired themselves. The booty there was lefs than they hoped for.
A. A petition

B. A famine

C. for: by reason that the Volsciars, seeing small hope of keeping the Town, trundled up and carried away both bag and baggage in the night, and quit the Town: which was won the morrow alter, being left well near deinitute and empty. All the Lands were given freely to the Hernicks. When this year was pulld in good quiet by the modesty and peaceable carriage of the Tribuns, then in place: there succeeded another Tribun of the Commons, L. Cicerius, when Q. Fabius Ambustus and C. Furius Paculus were Consuls. Whiles this man in the very beginning of his year, was busy in furring new edifices (as if he had been a task impoed upon his name and Usage) by proposing of the Agrarian laws: behold, there arose a petition, more fearful than hurtful, which turned away mens minds, from their publick affinities and accustomed contenotions, to tend their houles, and to care for the cherishing of their bodies. And (as men verily think) the fickness was leis dangerous than the seditions were like to have been. When as the City was now excited, as it were, and well escaped, with the sicknes only of many, and death of few: presently after this petition year, followed (as it is commonly seen) a great dearth of corn, by reason of the neft- of tillage. M. Popilius, Aretinus, and C. Numius Rutilus being Consuls. This famine would have been more grievous than the plague, had they not provided well for corn, by sending forth their Embassadors to the neighbourations all about, inhabiting along the Tuscan Sea and the Tyber, for to buy grain. Proudly were the Embassadors prohibited all commerce and traffique with the Samnits, who held at that time Capua and Camcis: but contrary-wife bountifully were they relieved by the Tyrrans or Potentates of Sicile. And such was the willing endeavour of

D. Hetatus, that great store of victuals came down the Tyber. In what deolution the City was during this affliction, the Cof, tryed by this: that when they could not furnish an Embassage, but with one Senator they were compelled to adjourn two Knights unto them, And setting aside the sicknes and death, there was no trouble either at home or abroad for those two years. But when these storms were once overcome, and that care past: then began again the old troubles witherwise with the City had usually been disquieted: diffension at home, and war abroad.

E. When M. Aemilius and C. Valerius Paetus were Consuls, the Aquanitians made preparation for war, and banded with the Volsciars. Who albeit they took arms by no publick commision: yet such as would of themselves serve for hire or wages, followed the Wars. At the bruit of which enemies (for they were already come over into the Country of the Latins and Hernicks) whilsts Valerius the Conul murthered his men and levied fouldiers: M. Mettius a Tribun of the Commons, and a publisher of the Agrarian laws, opposed himself against him, And when as by reason of the protection and assistance of the Tribun, no man would be compelled to take a fouldiers oath against his will: suddenly news came, that the Cattle of Corvinus was by the enemies forced. This ditiono thus receiv'd, as it was a canse that Memenius was hated among the Noblemen, so it gave to the rest of the Tribuns, who were already framed and prepared to withstnd and the law Appurting more just cause to reitit their college. The matter being thus for a long time prostrated by much debating, the Consuls called both God and man to wittness, that whatsoever flame or lobs, either had been already received, or were like to be fustinied by the enemies: the blame should be imputed to Memenius, who hindered the murthering. And Memenius profetted again aloud, that if the unlawful Landlords, would surrender the tenure of the common fields which they unjustly detained, he would not stay the matter. Then the nine Tribuns, by letting down a decree between them, made an end of the iticte: and pronounced by authority of their college, that they would affit C. Valerius the Conul (all contradiction of their college notwithstanding) to award any penalty redtire or chastisement, upon them that refused to be enrolled for warfare. The Conul, being armed with this decree and warrant after he had called some few to be had away by the neck and laid taft, that called upon the Tribun for help: the rest for fear were sworn to serve. Thus the army was led forth to the Cattle of Corvinus. And although the fouldiers were as odious to the Conul, as wickedly bent against him, yet at the very first coming, having manfully and judiciously disposed the garrison, they recovered the fort. The fouldiers who were flipt away from the hold, and

F. were plundered, by their negligence gave the Romans an opportunity to enter and to surprize it. A good boost there was: by reason that they had continually gotten prizes, and laid up all there at in a place of forste, Which being told in portale the Conul commanded the treaures for to bring the money into the common Chamber of the City: giving out their words withall, that the army should then have part of spoil, when they denied not their service in war. Hereupon both Commons and fouldiers were more angry with the Conul, And therefore when as by a decree of the Senate he entered the City Octavius in a petty triumph, the fouldiers according to their licencions manner (in that case permitted) followed after with songs and sonnets, answering one another in rude time and go as meter by alternatve dates. Wherein the Conul was greatly bali'd, but Memenius the Tribun, his name was set out to the height his praises were bestowed and extoll'd: and at every time that he was named the affectionate favour of the people that blow in the streets appeared, by clapping of hands and great appluim driving much to exceed the songs chant by the fouldiers. Which caused the Nobles to look to it, and troubled them more than the miscapt fouldiers of the fouldiers with their Conuls, which is an ordinary and usual faction among them. And Memenius (who doubted has been one of the Military Tribuns, if he had done so) was excluded from that dignity by an Election of Conuls. So there were created

G. Conuls, C. Cornelius Coëtius, and C. Furius Medullus the second time.

H. Never took he Com, the matter more to the heart, that the Election of Tribuns escaped their hands:
hands: which grief of theirs in the Election of Quelteors, they both shewed and revenged. For this was the hilt time that the Quelteors were made of the commonalty: so that in chusing of them, there was but one place left for C. Fabius Ambivius, a Nobleman: and 3 of the commonalty, Q. Silvius, P. Aulus, and P. Pipius, were preferred before young Gentlemen, of most noble houses. I find that the periwaders of the people to use their full liberty in behoving their voyces, were the three Iedij, (deceded of that house, which ever was most militantly bent against the Nobles) who were for that year chosen Tribuns of the commonalty, and possell the peoples heads with a world of great matters; after which they gaped greedily: but so, as they flily gave out and said, They would not sit at all, if the people had not courage enough, so much as in the election of Quelteors, which only the Senat had left indifferent to the commonalty and Nobility, to effect that which so long they had desired, and now by law was warrant. Thus the Commons assur'd themselves hereby of a mighty great victory: and esteemed not the dignity of Quelteorship to be the end and type of honor, but that thereby they seemed to have made a way and overturer for new riten upraters, to be advanced to Conulfips and triumphs. The Nobles contrary-wise, formed not for that their dignities were made common and imparted to other: but for the utter losse thereof: protesting that if things went so on end, they would neither get, nor bring up children any more; who being put from their Anceftors place, and seeing others in possession of their dignity should be disabled for bearing rule and authority in the State, and be good for nothing but only to be made Priests for Mars, and Flamines for Jupiter, employed about nothing else but to sacrifice (foresoth) for the people. Thus on both parts were their minds netsed and provoked, K whilsts the Commons took heart, and had three champions of great reputation to back them, and maintain their caufe: and the Nobles, seeing all would prove like to the Quelteors Election (if it lay in the peoples choice) addressed themselves to the Election of Conuls, which as yet was not so free, and indifferent both for Commons and Nobles. Contrary-wise, the Iedij persifled still, and urged the point, that in any hand Tribuns Military shou'd and must be created. For now it was more thanhtime that the Commons had their part in offices of State. But no Action hither to belonging to the offices and charge of the Conuls had been presentned unto them, by the hinder-whereof they might wring from them, that which they defired and fought for. But foon, how even then, in wonderful good opportunity, word was brought that the Volscians and Equians were depart'd out of their own Conulfips, and made an expedition into the Latin pale for to rob L and spoil. To the which war, when as by vertue of an order from the Senat, the Conuls began to mutter: the Tribuns laboured tooth and nail to hinder it: giving out that this occurrence contum't happily on their sides and the Commons. Three there were of them, and all most quick, active and courageous men: yea (and for commoners) of good birth, and worshipfully defend'd. Whereof twain took in hand, by their continual travel to attend and watch the Conuls, to work them awork, and either of them to hold one occupied: the third, was appoinst to entertain the commonalty: and in all assemblies, with their Orations, one whilsts to rein them in, another whilst to give them the head, as occasion required. But all this whilst, neither Conuls went through with the mutters, nor the Tribuns with the election which they defired. But afterwards when fortune began to incline to the Commons side, Messengers came with news, that whilsts the fouldiers that M lay in gaftion at the Castle Cornuenta, were flept aside to get a bootie, the Equians having flain a few warders that kept the hold, entred it: and that all the fouldiers were flain: some as they ran into the fort again, others as they were scattered in the fields. This thing falling out so crofs agaft the whole State, gave strength yet unto the engagements of the Tribuns. For being dealt withal, that now at length they would scarce from hindering the war, nothing would prevail: for that they neither gave place to the publick calamity and necessity, nor yet regarded their own private peril of displeasure: and they obtained in the end that an Act of Senat was granted for to chuse Tribuns Military. Howbeit with this extreme proviso, it was capitulat'd: That none of them who had been Tribuns that year of the Commons, should be eligible and propelled: no, nor chosen again Tribuns of the Commons for the year following. Whereby no doubt, the Senat N noted and pointed out the Iedij, whom they charged to seek to be Conuls, for a reward of their feditious Tribunsip. Then went the muttering forward, and preparation of war, by content of all the States.

Sunday Authors write diversly and make doubt, whether both the Conuls went to the Castle Cornuenta or whether one of them stayed behind in the City for to hold the foresaid Election. In this they disagree not, but set down for certain: that when they had assailed the Castle a long time without effect, they were compelled from thence to remove: and that Verruca in the Country of the Volscians by the same army was recovered, and that great forraging there was, and driving of booties both in the Country of the Equians and also of the Volscians. Now at Rome, as the victors of the commonalty refid'd in this, that they had the Election which they desired: so in the issue and success of the Election, the Nobles had the better. For besides all mens hope and expectation there were three Tribuns Military chosen with Conuls authority, all of the Nobility, C. Fulvus, Tullius, Cn. Cornelius Cn. Servilius, and C. Servilius, Holo. Men lay that the Nobles used a subtile practic and cunning device, which even then the Iedij charged them with: to wit, that by inter-mingling a many of unworthy and accost competitors with others of mark and quality, they had alienated the peoples hearts from the commoners, seeing them to be men of no worth, and loathing the notable balance that appeared in their persons.
After this, tidings came, that the Volscians and Equians were it that the Cattle of Carnuntus which they held and guarded till, put them into some hope: or their garrison and fort lost at Veramo drove them into anger were up in arms, with alliance ready to make war: that the Antias were the principal and chief in this intended action: that their Embassadors had solicited the people of both nations, rebulking their cowardize, for keeping within their walls, and fulfilling the Romans the year before, to forrage and drive booties in their territories, and the garrison of Veramo to be surprised and lost. Moreover, that not only hosts of armed men were sent against them, but Colonies also were planted in their frontiers and marches: and that the Romans not content to divide their lands and goods among themselves, had bellowed upon the Hernks.

The town Fercinum, which they had won from them. At these.-- speeches they were kindled and set on fire: and in all places whither they went to solicit, the younger and able men in great number were levied. So the youth and manhood of all those nations, gathered together to Antium, where they encamped themselves, and expected the enemy. Which tidings being brought to Rome, caused more fear then need was. And the Senate presently (which in all fearful occurrences was ever their last remedy and refuge) gave order that a Dictator should be created. Which thing Julius and Cornelius, two military Tribuns (they say) took in great displeasure. And hereof enlivened much heart-burning and distention, whiles the L. of the Senat of one side complained in vain of their grievances. That the Tribuns Military would not be ordered by the authority of the Senat: and at the last had recourse to the Tribunes of the Commons for helping withal that the very

C. Consuls power upon the like occasion had been by their authority overruled and fet down. And the Tribunes of the Commons on the other side, rejoicing at the discord of the Senators, made answer again, and said, "That for their parts, they were not able to yield any account at all, who were of no reckoning themselves, being reputed neither in the roll of Citizens, nor yet so much as in the number of men. But if so be (say they) dignities and honors were communicated to us, then would we provide and take order, that by no pride of any magistrate whatsoever, the Senators decrees should be made fruitless and disabled. And in the mean whiles, seeing the Nobles were exempt from all reverence of laws, and regard of magistrates, let them of themselves also execute the Tribunes authority if they would. This discord falling out so unhappily, when so great war was in hand, occupied and poffed men heads a long time: whiles Julius and Cornelius had one after another, thus reasoned and discoursed: That seeing they themselves were Captains good enough for the conduct of such a war, it was not meet that the honour once bestowed upon them by the people, should be made void and taken from them. Then Servilius Hula, who also was a Tribuni Military spoke and said: "I have been silent thus long, not for that I was doubting full in mine opinion, or to seek what to say. (For what good Citizen (quoth he) would have his advice by himself, and go from the publick Council?) but because I had rather, that my brethren of their own accord should give place to the Senators authority, than to suffer the Tribunes power to be called for, against them. And even now also, if the case would permit, I would willingly give them time and space to retract their too obstinate, pervertive and peremptory opinion, But seeing that the necessities of war, wait not upon human counsel, I will have more respect and consideration of the Weal-publick, than of the favor of my brethren. Whrfore, if the Senate permit ill of that mind and resoloution of theirs, I will the next night following nominate a Dictator. And if any one withstand me in this, I will ask no more, than the power and vertue of the Senators. At which speech of his, having won desired praise and thanks of all men, he declared Publius Cornelius Dictator, and was himself by him nominated General of the horsem en. A singular example to teach as many as beheld him and his Colleagues, That otherwheres favour and honor soonest fall to them that least desire the fame. The war was small and nothing memorable, but in one cafe and flight battel were the enemies overthrown and slain at Antium. The army upon this victory went to the Volscian Country, won by force the Castle upon the lake Fucinum, and within it took three thousand prisoners: having chased all the rest of the Volscians within their walls, not able to keep their frontiers. The Dictator, after he had performed this war in such fort, as only he might not seem to neglect his wanted fortune but keep it still in ure, returned into the City with greater felicity than glory, and resigned up his place.

The Tribunes Military, making no words at all of the chusing of Consuls (for anger, I suppose, that a Dictator had been created published the election of Tribunes Military. But then the Senators were in greater care and perplexity, seeing their cause betrayed even by rofe of their own company, Wherefore, as in the former war, by foiling in the battle of the Commons for competitors: they had caused even men of good worth to be deposed: so, now by procuring the principal of the Nobility, both for honour and for favour, roft and for the dignity, they obtained all the places to themselves: so as no one Commoner could be chosen. So there were created four, who all having been born that Magistracy, L. Furius Medullinus, C. Flaminius Patinus, Cn. Publius Volumnius, and C. Servilius Hula. This man was chosen again to the place, as well in regard of other vertues and worthy parts; as for the late favour which he won by his rare moderation, and singular carriage of himself.

In that year, for as much as the time of truce with the Veientian Nation was expired, they began by Embassadors and Heralds of Arms to challenge of them amends and restitutio, Whom as they entered into their territory, the Embassage of the Veientians encountered in the way requiring them not to go forward to Veii, before they had presented themselves to the Senat of Rome, Who
Who being thither come, obtained of the Senate, that for as much as the Veientians were civil discord among themselves, they would not claim any amends at their hands. Lo, how far they were from seeking their own vantage by other men's diftreets and calamity. Also at the Volscians hands they intimated damage by los of their garrison at Verrucia. But (see what a thing it is to lack the time) for whereas the fooldiers betraied there, by the Volscians and fending for aid in due time, might have been reltued if speed had been made, the army which was sent for succour, came too short, and after the fray was ended. Only this expiit they trie: The enemies, who after their fierce massacre committed upon the garrison, were gone abroad dragging for to rafe booties, were by them overtaken and put to the sword. The caufe of this flackness was imputed to the Senate, rather than the fooverain Tribuns: who because intelligence was given, that they in the garrison refuffled and defended themselves most manfully, little considered, That there is no prowess of man whatsoever, but by valour again it may be overmatched. Most brave and valiant fooldiers they, that neither whiles they lived, nor after death were unrencarded.

The year following, when P. and Cornelius both innamed Cofius, C. Fabius, Ambrosius and L. Valerius Potterus were Tribuns Military in Consuls authority, began the Veientian war by occasion of a proud and arrogant answer returned by the Senate of the Veientians: Who commanded that the Embassadors which came to claim amends, should take this for their dispatch: That unless they departed preently out of the City and Country, they would serve them as Latys Tolosannus had done others before. The Senators of Rome hardly could digest that: and therefore decreed, K that the Military Tribuns should propose unto the people as speedily as might be, even the day before to morrow, concerning proclamation of open war, and fending defiance to the Veientians. Which as soon as ever it was noised and publifhed, the younger fort and men of service, murthered and muttered in this manner: "That as yet they had not fully ended the war with the Volsci ans: that even of late two whole garrisons were lost, and their throats cut, and the fores kept still with danger and great hazard. There is not (say they) a year pasteth over our heads, but one field or other is fought: and as if we had not work and trouble enough already, there was now intended new war with a most mighty nation confining upon us, and which was like enough to raife against us all Hainstorm. And as they were forward enough of themselves to conceive thus, and utter these speeches, so the Tribuns of the Commons were not behind to buzze more matters into their heads, and set all on a light fire: Who gave out till, That when all was done, the greatest warring was between the Nobles and Commons: and that the Commons on purpose were to be oilted out with travel or warfare, and expos'd to the enemies for to be murdered: and that they were to be kept far off from the City, and as it were confined and sent out of the way: left by being quiet at home, and minding their freedom and Colonies, they should confult and devile, both how to dispose of the common grounds, and to give their voices freely. And ever as they could meet with any old beaten fooldiers, they would hold them with talk, take them by their hands, reckon up how many years they had done service in war, fall to telling of their gashes and scars, asking them what whole place they had left in their bodies to receive new wounds, and what blood was behind to spend and flied, in the quarter of the M Common-wealt? When as by iterating these and fuchlike speeches, both in their private talk and conference, and other whiles in their publick assemblies, they had turned clean away the hearts of the Commonalty from taking war in hand: the forefaid A\ had propos'd, was put off until a farther day, and lay till for the time. Which no doubt, had been nipt in the head, and never would have paff'd farther, in cafe it had been referred and Subject to the hard opinion and conceit of men, as then they fliould have affefled. In the mean whiles agreed it was, that the military Tribuns should conduct an army into the Volscian country. Cn. Cornelius alone was left at Rome. The three Tribuns, after that they perceived the Volscians in no place encamped, and nothing minded to try a battell, parted themselves three ways to waft and foare the frontiers. Valerius he marched to Antium, Cornelius to Ecerce. And every way as they went, they spoiled all before them, both houle and field, and all to amuie & keep the Volscians occupied that way, But Fabius without any forgattering at all, came directly to affault Anxur, which was the service most defir'd. Now Anxur was that, which at this day is called Taracina, a City leated upon mountains. And on that fide Fabius made them of affault. But there were four cohorts under the leading of C. Servilius Hala sent out to fetch a compass: who having gained the hill that over-looketh and commandeth the town, from that higher ground, with a mighty flame and outcry assaile the wall, where it was dismiffed of guard to defend it. At which fudden alarm, they were amaz'd who manned the wall of the baie towne against Fabius: and forfear'd them to fet ladders to, and to scale. By which means every place was full of enemies. And upon the walls for a good while there was nothing but killing as well thole that flied, as thole that refi'd armed and unarmed, one with another. So that, albeit they were too weake, yet forced were they to flioe: because in yeilding they saw no way but one. But upon proclamation once made that none but armed men fliould be killed, all the multitude besides willingly were diffarm'd. Of which number there were upon 25000, taken alive. From the faccage Fabius kept the fooldiers, until his Colleague were come: faying, that Anxur was taken as well by thole armies, which had driven away the reft of the Volscians from the deience of that place, as by themfelves. Who being come, the three armies jointly raf-facked it, & had the pillage for their labor of that rich towne, that had gathered wealth a long time.

Which
A Which courtesies and bountifulness of the commanders, was the first thing that reconciled Commons and Nobles together. Over and besides this munificence of the Rulers, the Nobles also began in a moit happy hour to be liberal unto the multitude. For before that either the Commons or Tribunes made the motion, the Senate decreed, that soldiers might have their pay out of the City chamber; whereas before that time, every man in that service had borne his own charges. Next was there any thing, by report, so joyfully accepted of the Commons: who ran by heaps together to the Council house: took the Senators by the hands as they came forth, and laid their hands upon them. They were now truly called Patres. Fathers, confessing that now the day was come, that in the quarter of to bounteons a City, there was no man would so long, as his breath lasted, spaire either their limb or life. Seeing that this commodity they should have to help them, namely, that during the time that their bodies were employed, and busy occupied in the defense of Commons, well, their private estate should stand at one yet, and not decay. And forasmuch as it came of themselves, and never moved by any of the Tribunes of the Commons, nor called for and carried, it had, intrusted, by their important speeches, that was in, that multiplied their joy and made the boon itself much more acceptable. But the Tribunes of the Commons (who only had for their part in this common joy and concord of all States) came in with their opinion, and said, that it would not prove so joyous and happy to the Nobles in general, as they supposed: that this concord and order taken, was at the first sight better then it would be found in the public order and execution. For how could that money possibly be made and raised but by levying a trible or payment of the people? they were therefore liberal; but of other men's purses. But admit, or say, that the rent would bear it; yet thence neither could not would endure it, who were past war-service, and lived upon their pensions and annual salary: who would grudge and repine, that others hereafter should serve in war for more gain, then they had in their time done; who having been charged with the pay of their own service, should now again be put to contribute to the wages of others. With these words they moved part of the Commons. Lai of all, when there was a levy exacted, the Tribunes also proclaimed, that they would bear as many out, as would not contribute to the soldiers pay. The Nobles continued still to maintain that which they had well begun, and were the first that opened their purse, and for that as yet they had no silver coin: some of them carried gross pieces of brass in Wains to the treasure house, and made a goodly show of Contribution. When as the Nobles had most faithfully paid according to the rate of their wealth, the chief of the Commons also, friends of the Nobility, as it was afore agreed, began to lay their penny to theirs: whom when the common form was both to be committed of the Nobles, and to be admired and reverence of the soldiers as good Citizens: they all upon a sudden, relating the Tribunes assistance, began to strive who should pay first, And the decree or act being once passed, of proclaiming war against the Veientians, the new Tribunes Military led an army to Rome, conferring much upon voluntary soldiers. Now the Tribunes were T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, P. Quintius Cincinnatus, C. Julius Tullus the second time, A. M. Decius, L. Furinis Medallanus the third time, and M. Renthia Mancus. And there were the first that besieged Fies.

B About the beginning of which siege, when the Tusciens held a Counsel in a column affinely at the Temple of Vesta, they could hardly agree upon this point. Whether the Veientians should be defended by general war of the whole Nation, or no. The year following was the siege not so hot, by reason that some of the Tribunes, and part of the Commons were called away to the Volscian war. The Tribunes Military in Coll. authority, that year were: C. Varrus Post in the third time, M. Sertinius Fidenus, P. Cornelius Malogimus, C. Cornelius Costus, C. Fabius Ambulfus, Sp. Nautilus Rutilius the second time. With the Volscians there was a right field fought between Fercusnianus and Ecariscus wherein the Romans had the day. Then the Tribunes began to lay siege to Artena a Town of the Volscians where, by reason of a falling forth by them attempted the enemies were driven back into the town, and the Romans took occasion and vantage thereby. To break in with them well mellow, and so they won all, live only the Castile. Into this fort naturally fenced, a good company of armed men betook themselves: but beneath the Castile, many a man was either slain or taken prisoner. Afterwards was the fortress besieged also. Neither could it by assent be forced, for that there was a guard sufficient to man it, considering the bigness of the place; nor gave the assailants any hope of yielding, for before the town was lost, they had conveyed all their publick booth of corn into the Castile. So that the Romans had for very weariness men departed from thence; but that a boldmam betrayed it unto them: who let in certaine soldiers at a steep high place, and thence they won the fortresses: for when the warders were by the Castile itself, the rest of the multitude with hidden sight were soon overcome, and yielded. Thus, when both the Castile and town of Artena was sacked and spoiled, the legions we C brought back from the Volscians, and all the Romans power employed against Fies. To the traitor aforesaid, there was given besides liberty, the pilage of two households for a reward. And he was named ever after Servilius Romanus. There be that think Artena was a town of the Veientians, and not of the Volscians; the occasion of which error is, for that there was a town of that name between Core and Fies. But that town the Roman Kings destroyed: and it belonged to the Corees. And not to the Veientians: but this other, whereof we have reported the destruction, was in the country of the Volscians.
The Fifth Book of T. Livius.

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Flavius upon the fifth Book.

The siege of Veii, the soldiers had made them for to winter in. Which being a new kind of service, struck a blow in the Tribunes of the Commons, who complained that they had no rest from wasp's fire, so much as in the winter season. The security of Rome began first to serve upon their own houses, when the Alban lake overflowed, a certain Prophet or Wizard was taken captive from the enemies, who could interpret that strange wonder. Furius Camillus, after ten years' siege, now Veii: he translated the image of Juno from the temple to Rome. The tenth part of the spoil and usury he gave to Apollo, the same Camillus being Tribunus militaris, whilst he laid siege unto the Faliscus, sent back again to their parents, their enemies that were betrayed unto him: Whereupon the Faliscus yielded themselves, and so by his righteous and just dealing, obtained victory over them. When one of the Consuls C. Julius was deceased, M. Cornelius was substituted in his place. Which was never done again afterwards, because in that five years' space, Rome was taken by the Gauls. Furius Camillus, being induced by L. Apuleius a Tribunus of the Commons, departed into exile. When as the Senate a people of the Gauls, besieged Cæcinius, and the Embassadors sent from the Senate to conclude a peace between them, and the Clusii, fought themselves in person against the Gauls in the Clusii the camp. The Senators hereupon made quarter, and with a cruel army came against the City of Rome: and after they had defeated the Romans at the river Allia, they were Masters of the City, all but the Capitol, into which the able and serviceable young men of the City took themselves. The elders with their ornaments of state belonging to the office that each one had born, they now sitting in the porches and turaries of their houses. And when they were now gotten up to the top of the Capitol, by the back side of the hill, they were dispowered by the gogling of Geese, and were turned downwards, principally by the valor of M. Manlius. Afterwards when through famine the Romans were forced to covenant and grant for to give them the sum of 1000. pound weight of gold, and for that to buy their redemption from the siege: Furius Camillus, who was created Dictator in his absence, came with an army, while the gold was in weighing: and drove L. the Gauls out of the City, after they had been perplexed of it six months, and killed them. A chapel was built to Locutius: in that place where before the taking of the City, there was a wise heard, that the Gauls were coming. Wherein it was purposed and propounded to remove to Veii, because the City of Rome was burnt and razed: that cause by the advice and authority of Camillus was crossed and dispatched. The people was moved there to the rather, by occasion of the Custom by a Centurion, who being come with his band of soldiers into the Forum, was heard to say thus, Stand Souldiers, here will be our best abiding place.

The fifth Book of T. Livius.

When peace elsewhere was obtained, the Romans and Veientes were at war, with such mutual malice and hatred: that it seemed, whether part were vanquished, should come to final destruction. The assembles the election of the Rulers of both Nations, far differed one from the other. The Romans augmented the number of Tribunes Military in Consulis authority, for eight of them (so as not as fore) were created: M. Annius Mancinus the second time, L. Valerius Pisonis the third time, Ap. Claudius Crassus, M. Quinctius Varus, M. Julius Titius, M. Poppilium, M. Furius Camillus, and M. Poppilium Allius. The Veientes contrariwise, being weary of suing for dignities every year (a cause sometime of civil discord) made themselves a King. Which offended the people of Horatia: who as they abhorred all regal government, so they hated the person of the King N him. He had aforetime oppressed that nation, in regard of his grandees and pride withall: in that he had violently put down their solemn plays, the intermission whereof was held unlawful and deceptable. For upon a time, in an anger that he received a reprooch, and by the sufferages of the twelve Nations, another was preferred before him to be the high Priest, in the very midst of their solemn Games and sports, he took from them the very Players and Actors, wherof a great part were his own servants. That people therefore given to superstition above all others, and so much the rather for that they excelled in the skill of religious observing the same, decreed to deny the Veientes their aid, so long as they were governed under a King. This decree was suppressed and not spoken of at Veii, for fear of the King, who would have perished himself in that cursed rumor, for a lower of sedition, rather then an author of news. The Romans, albeit they heard that all was quiet from Horatia, yet because they were advertised that in all the Dictors and Councills of that Nation, the question was on foot and much debated, made their fortifications at Veii, so as they should not two ways: some looked towards the City against allaliess and eruptions of the townsmen, others towards Horatia, to stop all insurgenctes that haply might come from thence. But the Roman Captains having greater hope in long siege, then in quick assault, began to build wintering harbours (a strange thing to Roman Souldiers.) Their intent was all winter time to keep continual war. Which after it was told at Rome, to the Tribunes of the Commons.
The fifth Book of T. Livius

A Commons (whonow a long time could find no matter and occasion of troubles and alteration) they leapt forth into the assembly of the people,ounding and inciting the minds of the Commons, and ostenoting, "That this was the only matter, why a let pay was appointed for the foundlers: and that they were not ignorant, that the gifts of enemies would prove to be belineared with poison: That the freedom of the Commons was bought and sold: That their young men were left away far off, and as it were banished from the City and Common wealth, so that now they had not so much spare time as winter nor any leaon elie of the year, for to visit home and see into their estate. What think ye (say they) is the case of continuing this warre? No other verily should they find it but this, left by reason of the frequent number of those young men, in whom the whole strength of the Commoity consisted, there might be something dealt in, and effected, concerning their commodities. Over and above they complained how they were much more hardly used, then the Venetians. For as for them they spent the winter within their own houses, defending their City, fortified both with good walls, and also by natural situation of the place, but the Roman foundlers abode by it full in labour and travel, thronged under booths of poor hides, overwhelmed with snows and Moles, not laying away their harness and weapons so much as in winter: the ordinary time of retreat from all wars both by land and sea. This manner of hard bondage neither the Kings, nor those proud and imperious Conuls (before the Tribuns authority was ordained to take them down) nor yet the Lordly ruling Dictators nor the insolent and unpitiable Decemvirs, ever empipt them to dwell in continual foundleries, as these Tribuns Military do: who execute upon the Commons of Rome, an abitute and kingly authority. What would they do another day, when they were Conuls or Dictators indeed, who now but representing only the Conuls government (as Vice-Conuls) are so cruel and unreasona: But we are well enough served, and justly have decreed no leas. For that was not so much as one place for a Commoner amongst eight Tribuns. Afore time, the Nobles were wont with much labour and toil, to fill but three rooms: and now they go eight or nine a rank together, to obtain all charges and dignities of State and Government; and in that thong, a Commoner cannot have a place amongst them, to put his Colleagues in mind (if he did nothing else) that they that go to warre were free men yet, and Citizens with them, and not bondilaves. Who in winter at the leat, ought to be brought again to their houses and homes, and once a year visit their loving parents, their sweet children, and bel beloved wives: to make some use of their liberty, and chafe their Magistrates: These and such like speeches, while they boldly uttered and multiplied, they met at length with an adversary that was able to match them, Appius Claudius, left for the purpose at home by his brethren in office, to restraine the Tribuns seditions: a man ever from his tender youth trained up in the broils and contentions of the Commons, Who certain years before (as we have said) gave shrewd and unhappy counsel to dissolve and put down the Tribuns authority, by the contradiction and inhibition of their own Colleagues. This man being not only in wit prompt and ready, but also exercised by long practice, made at that time this or such like speech: If ever double were made, O Quirits, whether the Tribuns of the Commonalty have for love of your good or their own particular vantage, been always the authors and beginnings of discord and dissension, this year I know assuredly, ye need no more stand in doubt. And as I rejoice ye are at length come to an end of this your long wandering, so I congratulate both you, and the Common-wealth for your sake, that this error is cleared, and especially in the midst of your prosperity. Is there any man makes question now, that the Tribunes of the Commons were not offended, nor took much at the injuries at your hands received (if it have there been sometimes been any) as at the bounty of the Nobles, towards the Commons, in allowing pay to those that serve in war: What think ye elie either they feared then, or would at this day disturb and disquiet but only the concord and agreement of the States? Which they suppose tending moh, and is insufficient, to abolish and overthrow the Tribuns authority. And verily, as noughtly Artifians or lewd leeches, seek for work full, and would be ever doing: so they likewise desire to have something or other out of frame and amiss, in the Commonweal, that to the repair and cure thereof, they might be ever sent for and employed: Fo whether do ye (and speak truth) maintain or impugne the Commonalty? Are you the adversaries or the advocates of that serve in the wars? Unless peradventure this be your laying, Whatsoever the Nobles do, it milliketh us be it for the good of the common people, or to the prejudice and damage. And even as matters forbid their own servants and slaves, to have any dealing at all with strangers, and think it meet and reason, that they medle neither hot nor cold with them: even so forewarn ye the Nobles from all commerce and entertainment with the Commons: to the end, that neither we by our courtsey and liberalitie, should allure and win them: nor they again become dutiful and obedient to us. How much more ought you (I pray you) if there were any spark (I say not of civility, but of common humanitie and good nature in you, rather to favour, and as much as lieth in you, foster and cherish, as well the gracious kindness of the Nobles, as the willing service and obedience of the Commons? Which accord, if it were perpetual, who would not undertake to warrant, that this Sciterny and Empire within a while, might prove the mightiest and most renowned of all those States that border hard upon our confines? As for this purpose intended and plot devised by my Colleagues, whereby they would not have the army withdrawn away from the siege of Veii, before the service were brought to an end.

The Oration of App. Claudius.
The fifth Book of T. Livius.

For this time, I lift rather to and speak of the present condition and state of theire, that are employed there in warfare, which Oration of mine, if it were pronounced, not before you only, but also in the camp, and there canaided and framed of, by the very army it self; I suppose, would seem equal, and be received for good and reasonable, Wherein, if nothing else should come into my head to speak, I would content my self, and rest satisfied with the only speeches given out by the very adversaries. They said of late, That pay was not to be allowed to the fouldiers, for that never before it had been allowed. How then can they now be offended, and to make content, if they who have some new commodity coming to them, be enjoined also new labour proportionably? For never lightly is there travel any where without gain, norgain commonly. I fay without travel and employment, pains and pleasure, things of themselves in nature un-likely, yet by a natural kind of society I know not how) are linked together. The fouldier's former time) thought much to betow his labour and service upon the Common-wealth, at his own pro-\ner charges; yet was he glad with all his heart, that one part of the year, he might look to home, husband his land, and get maintenance to find himself and his, both at home in City and abroad in war. Now, taking his contentment, and is well pleased, that the Common-wealth is gainful to him; and with joyful heart receiveth his wages. Let him likewise be content, with patience to forbear his house and family (since he is at no great charge) somewhat longer than ordinary. Might not the Common-wealth, if she would call him to a reckoning, jujly say: Yearly pay thou half, perform therfore thy yearly service? Dost thou think it reason, to receive full \K wages for the whole year? and to be employed but six months for it? Much against my froom, O Quirites, enforce this point, and dwell still in this one part of my Oration: for in this wife ought they to reason that have mer-ecenary and hired fouldiers, but with us we will use them as fellow Citizens, and think it meet likewise that they entertain him kindly, and speak unto us as to their native Country. Either it behoved us, not to have begun the war at all; or else to proceed forward, now it is begun: yea, and for the honour of the people of Rome, to finish it with all speed possible. And finished it will be, if we pres upon our enemies thus befieged: if we depart not afore we have accomplished our hope, by the winning of Veii. And surely, if there were no other cause but this, even the very flame and indignity of the things, might force us to continue siege unto the end. In old time the whole power of Greece laid siege full ten years to one City, and that for one only woman: How far (good god) from their own home, how many lands and seas between? Are we then loth and weary being within 200 miles of our dwell-\ing place, and almost in the sight of our own City, to endure the toil of one year siege? Be-cause (for looth) we have but small caite given us to war: and not griefs enough that might jucly provoke us to abide and see the end. Seven times already they have rebelled: In peace they never were true, Our Country have they spoiled and wasted a thousand times. The Fide-\nats they have caufed to revolt from us. Our inhabitants there by us placed, they have flain; and against all law of nations they were the principal insturments of that unworthy and unhuma:-\n murder of our Embassadors, All Hetruria would they have railed up against us, and at this day about it they go, And when our Embassadors came to demand amends, they had like to have run upon them and killed them. And ought we then with thefe kind of men to fland at a bay and to war coldly and by leisure? But if we will be enmity as this cause us not: do these things (I pray you) not enmity move you neither? Their City is environed and beleaguered with deep trenches: blocked with mighty entrenchments, whereby the enemy is pent up and pinned within his own walls. His fields he cannot till, and what so ever was afore till'd, hath been destroyed by war. If we disloge and withdraw our army back, who doubteth, but that they (not for desife only of revenge but upon necessity also and constraint to prey of other mens goods, having left their own) will invade and overrun our country? So that by this means we deare not the war, but bring it within our own borders and confines. But now as touching that which properly indeed concerneth fouldiers (of whom our good Tribuns of the Commons would now in all N\the halfe seem to have no great regard, from whom erewhile they would have wreted their wa-\ges:) but what is that (Ifay?) A trench they have cut, a rampart and platform they have raised, (matters of exceeding travel and labour) so far about: entrenches at the first a few, but after as their army encreased, they have crested very thick in every place. Forts they have built, not only to command the town, but also looking toward Hetruria, to impeach any relief, if any aid should from thence come, What should I speak of the rolling frames and towers, the man-\tiles and other Fabricks? What should I speak of the Tarraces, Tortoises, Rams, and all other engines of assault and battery? Think ye it meet, that after so great toil and pains taken, now that the works at length are brought to an end, these things should be left and abandoned, that against summer should we be nee to begin again, and sweate after the fame? How O match less travail rather is it to keep these munitions already made? to be instante, and con-
stant to endure, and abide? yea, and to rid our hands of all the care at once? For Surely we may soon dispatch the service, if it be plied throughly and followed on till without fail: and if we ourselves by these interminations and refpetts between, make not a long piece of work of it, and draw our hope at length. Thus much of the labour and loss of time. What else? Considering thefe to many Parliaments, these Diets and Concles continually in Tuscany, about sending aid to Veii, can we forget the danger that we incur by deferring the War? Indeed (as things now
A "now presently stand] I confess the Tusculans with the Veientians are angry, they hate them and
deny to lend: and for any thing they do, we might win Veii out of hand. But who dare
courage, that if the war be delayed, they will hereafter be of the same mind? Seeing that if the
Veientians have any reit and breathing time given them, they are like to lend other their Em-
blages, and those more honourable than heretofore. Also the King who newly is set up and
created at Veii (the only thing that now offendeth the Tusculans) in proëts of time, may be chan-
ged for another governor, either by agreement of the State (thereby to reconcile the hearts of
the Tusculans) or of his own accord who will not peradventure that his princely regiment should
be hurtful to the safety of his subjects. See how many things, how many inconveniences fol-
low and ensue upon that course and manner of proceeding. The loss of the fabric and fortifi-
cations, with so great labour already prepared and achieved: the imminent and present waiting
our own borders: the Tusculans war instead of the Veientians. These your devices, O ye Trib-
uns, are much what like to his, that offering a sick man some kind of meat or drink, for the
very present to gratifie him withal, to please his palat and to content his tale, maketh his dis-
case, long, and peradventure incurable: who might have been recovered out of hand, in case at
once he would have resolutely endured the rightcure of a skillful Phyitian. And truly, it
was not material to the managing of this war in hand, yet would it import much to martial
discipline, that our fouldiers should be acquainted, not only with the sweet smell of a victory
achieved, but also if occasion required longer time, to abide this tediousness: and to wait for
the end of their hope, be lieve not to long: and if war be not finished in summer, to stay for winter:
and not as summer birds by and by in the fall of the leaf, to look about and seek for houting,
harbour, and covert. Consider, I beseech you, and live. The love and pleasure of hunting carri-
eth men into mountains, woods and forrests; through frosts and snow, after ther game: shall
not we then use the like inherence in the needful exploits of war, which patimes sports, and de-
lights, are wont to draw and catch out of us? Think ye the bodies of our fouldiers to effeminate,
their hearts to tender and delicate, that they cannot for one winter abide in a camp, and forbear
their home, but must needs war as men at sea, watching times and feasons, and observing the
quarters of the year? Cannot they endure both parching heat and chilling cold? They would
breathe and be abashed very, if a man should therewith charge them and they would stand stiffly
D in this, and avouch. That they had both in body and mind manlike inherence and patience:
that they were fouldiers as well for winter as summer: and that they let not the Tribuns awork
for any patronage of cowardice and shelter of idleness: but remembered well enough, that their
forefathers were not underlade for fear of fun-burning, nor had their honles over their heads
for taking cold, when they first created and ordained that magistracy of Tribuns. This rather is
beleeming the valour of your fouldiers; this fitteth well the name of Romans, not to have their
eye upon Veii only, and this warren in hand, but to seek for fame and glory both by other
exploits, and also with other nations in time to come. And think ye that there would ensue
hereupon a small crack of credit, and hazard of reputation? Would ye have the neighbor nati-
ons confining upon us, conceive this of the people of Rome: That's a City could receive their
E first breath, and abide their affiance for a very small while, it need not after to fear any more: Or
rather should not this dread and terror of our name spread all abroad, both far and near. That
no wearisomeness of long siege and affiue, no violence of bitter winter, is able to raiie the Ro-
man army from any town once by them invested? as knowing no other end of war but victo-
ry? and whole manner of services not by way of violent force more then of obline contin-
ance, which (in all other military occasions) to in behing of Cities is most needful: the
greatest number whereof, being either by strong bulwarks and other fortifications, or by natural
situation impregnable, yet by famine, by hunger and thirst, proceed and tract of time only doth
force and overthrow. As it will (I doubt not) Veii at length: unless the Tribuns of the com-
monalty fencour our enemies: unless that the Veientians find that relief and aid at Rome, which
F they seek in vain throughout all Latium. For can there ought happen to the Veientians to
wish for, as that first the City of Rome should be full of variance, and then the Camp (as
it were by a contagion from thence) as full of mutinies? But contrariwise I assure you, amongst
the enemies, so good order there is, and government, that neither the wearisomeness of long siege,
nor yet the loathing of Kingly rule, hath caused any fier or commotion among them. No, nor the
denial of help from the Tusculans hath one whit troubled and dis tempered their minds: but
die he shall forthwith, that is the author of sedition. Neither shall any man there be suffered to
speak those words, which are spoken here amongst you without any punishment or controlling.
He deters the bataanido, to be dry beaten and well cudgelled that foraken his Colours, or
departeth from his guard and quarter. But here, in open assemblies, they that perüade and
G counsel not one or two fouldiers: but whole armies to leave their Standards and Ensigns, and
abandon the very camp, have audience with applause. Inomuch, that whatsoever a Tribune of
the Commons speaketh, although it were to betray the City, and undo the whole State, yeare
used to hear and give good ear to him and being ravished and carried away with the sweet-
nesses of that authority, ye suffer under it to lurk any mischief whatsoever. There remaineth
no more but this, that the words they give out here with open mouth, the same they might
iterate in the camp among the fouldiers, to corrupt the army, and not suffer them to obey their
Captains. For to such licentious liberty they are grown at Rome, that they fear and reverence
neither
Now was Appius with his Orations good enough for the Tribuns, and able to meet them at every turn: But see (a thing that no man would have thought) a lois and, or if received before Vei in de App us to have the better hand of the cause, wrought a greater unity among the States, and kindled an ardent desire to aflail Vei more hotly, and to besiege it with more resolution. For when they had raised up a mount near unto the City, and approached in a manner to the walls thereof, with their rolling towers and rooted mantles, whiles (Thay) they were not so vigilant in the night season to tend and watch these Fabricks, as they were house and cannily in the day time to rear and plant them; behold all of a sudden the enemies opened a gate, and amazed in great numbers, especially with burning firebrands, let all on a light fire: and in the space of one hour continued both the mount and the mantles, which had cost so long time in making, and many a man besides that came to help (but in vain) by sword and fire lost his life. Which being reported at Rome, made all men heavy and sad, and caused the Senators to take care and fear, how upon this accident, they might possibly prevent and lay, either commotion in City, or mutiny in camp: doubting left that the Tribuns would have intimated over the Common-wealth, as if they had gotten a great conquest. At what time, that they were by calling Gentlemen and to assembled, and had no horses of service assigned them from the City, after some consultation together among themselves, suddently came into the Senate, and having liberty granted of speech, promised to serve in the wars with horses of their own. After that the Senate had right honourably thanked and given them most gracious words, the news thereof was no sooner bruited through the market place and whole City, but behold, all on a sudden the Commons came running into the Council house, laying, that as they were then to serve as footmen; so they offered their service to the Common-wealth extraordinarily without murmuring; whether they should be led, either to Vei, or to any other place whatsoever. And if they were conducted to Vei; they would not return again (they say) from thence, before they had won that City from their enemies. At which words, the Senators so exceedingly joyed above measure, that hardly they could temper themselves. For they took no order, as they did by the Gentlemen and horsemens afores, that they should be praised by the mouth of the Magistrates thereto appointed, nor called them into the Council house, there to give them an answer, neither could they keep themselves within the Council house; but every one of them in his own behalf, so well as he could signified from aloft, both by word of mouth, and gesture of hand, unto the multitude standing in the Comitium, a general joy conceived laying, That the City of Rome in that concord and unity would be happy, invincible, and perpetual: commending the horsemens, praising the footmen, extolling and magnifying that very day, and confenting that now they had surpassed the courtesies and bounty of the Senate. So that Nobles and Commons both, for joy were kept mott, until the Senators were recalled into the Court: where a decreed was made, That the Tribuns Military should assemble the people, and give thanks both to horsemens and footmen, and promis in the name of the Senate, that they would be mindful of their affectionate kindness to their Country; and to signify that it was their pleasure, that they all, who had offered extraordinary service so willingly, should have their pay notwithstanding: yea, and for the horses also there were assigned a certain rate and proportion of wages. This was the first time that the Gentlemen began to serve on horseback for money. This voluntary army marched to Vei, and not only repaired again the works which had been destroyed, but also went in hand to erect new. And from the City was provision of victual brought, with greater care of conveyance than afores, that nothing might be wanting to an army so well delerving of the Common-wealth.

The year following had for their Military Tribuns in Comitium authority, C. Servilius Hala the third time, L. Servilius, P. Virginatus, Q. Sulpius, A. Mancius the second time, and M. Sergius the second time. In these Tribuns time, whiles every mans care was bent to the Venetian war, the fort of Aquae being neglected, by occasion that the garrison soldiers were disband and ranged much abroad, and commonly received Volcanic Merchants into the town, was suddenly surprized, by reason that the warders of the gates were betrayed. Les company of soldiers there were slain: because that all of them (besides those that were sick) found themselves occupied and traded all the country over, and in the Cities adjoining, like to lawlesse lackies that follow the Camp. Neither was there better success at Vei, wherein rested the chief care now, of all their publick affairs. For not only the Roman Captains were more angred one at another, than courageous against the enemy: but also the forces of the enemies were encreased by the hidden coming of the Captains and the Falsv. Which to nations of Hetruria, because they inhabited next, supposing when Vei should be forced and lost, that their turn would be next to be ward upon by the Romans: and the Gaulians besides, upon a special grudge and old quarrel of their own, for that aforetime in the Fidcan war, they had intermeddel and interested themselves, sent their Embassadors to and fro, and by binding themselves by a solemn oath one to the other, came unlooked for with their power to Vei. And by chance they assailcd that side and quarter where M. Sergius a Military Tribun had the charge of a force. Who gave a great alarm and caused exceeding fright: because the Romans supposd certainly that all Hetruria was raised out of every part, and there present, with all the power they could make. The same imagination animated the Veictians also within the City, to make a sally. So was the Camp of
A the Romans attacked on both sides. And while they ran together up and down, and turned their ene"gins every way, and could hardly keep the Veientians within the strength of their fortresses, nor yet re# purge the violence of their own fortifications and ramparts, and defend themselves from their foreign enemies behind: their only hope was to have help from the greater states: that the legions in sundry places might make head, some against the Ciponas and the Falisci, others against the talf of the townmen. But Virginiaus had the charge of that main camp, one that bare a pr"vate grudge and inward malice against Virginiaus, and was hated again of him. This man, when word was brought that most of the Fabricks and bulwarks were suffocated, that the ramparts and trenches were won, and that the enemies on both sides charged boldly, kept his soldiers well appointed in arms: saying, that if there were any need of help, his Colleagues should lend unto him, if he would. And he for his part was not so arrogant and insolent, but the other was as peevish and willif, Who becaufe he would not seem to seek into his adversary, nor crave aid at his hand, chose rather to be vanquished of his enemy, than to over-come him by help of a fellow-Citizen. Thus between them for a while the poor soldiers went to rack, and were flain. At the last, forfaking their ramparts, a very few of them escaped into the mine camp. But the molt part, with Virginiaus himself, went through to Rome. Where when he had laid a laying hand upon his fellow in government, it was thought good that Virginiaus should be sent for out of the camp: and that in the mean while their Deputy, and Lieutenants should command the forces. Hereupon was the matter debated in the Senat, and the two Tribuns kept a cautioning and resolving: and many hard terms were dealt between them. Few there were that tendered the common good, but took part either with the one or the other, as each of them were fancied and beloved. Howbeit the I.L. of the Senat thought good, howsoever that to shameful chance hapned either through the default, or unlucky fortune of the Captains not to expect the ordinary full time of the election, but that presently there should be new Tribuns military created, to enter into their office on the Calends of October, To which opinion when they were all agreed, the other Tribuns military nothing gain said it: But Virginiaus and Virginiaus (for whole fake it appeared that the Senat was weary of the Magistrates that year) at the first made men & befought them noto digitate and discredit them toward and afterward afield to crofs the decedentiy that they would give over their place, before the Ides of December, which was the fest and final day of entering yearly into new offices. Amid this business, the Tribuns of the Commons, who had kept silence even against their wills, so long as men were at unity and the affairs of the City prospered, upon a sudden brake out and threatened sharply the two Tribuns Military, that unless they would submit themselves, and reit in the authority of the Senat, they would commit them to ward. Then C. Servius Hada, a Military Tribun, ftood up and said, 6c Avior you and your threats, O ye Tribuns of the Commons, in good faith, I would gladly see once that there were no more power and authority in thee here, then will I and content in you. But who feeth not that there is no driving against the authority of the Senat? And therefore hold ye content: and forbear you to seek opportunity and occasion upon our variance to offer wrong. And my brethren for their parts shall either do that which the Senat thinke good: or else if they shall continue indifferent still in their constunity, I will presently nominate a Dictator, to force them to leave their office. This speech was approved with a general accord. And the Senators being glad that without the terros and affrightments of the Tribuns authority, there was found out another greater power to bridie magistrates: the two military Tribuns aforesaid were weighed with the consent of all parties, and had a new election of military Tribuns, to begin their government on the Calends of October: and before that day they resigned up their places. Thus were L. Ful
cius Potius the fourth time, L. Furius Camillus the second time, L. Anuciis M. fumercus the third time, C. Cornelius Cofmus the second time, C. Fabius Anphiffus, and L. Julius Titius, Tribuns military in Commons authority.

In whole time many worthy Acts were performed both at home and abroad. For not only they had war in sundry places at one time, namely, at Veii, at Capena, against Falisci, and with the Volsci, to the end that Ayunt might be won again and recovered from the enemies: but at Rome also, what about matters and paying the tribute for soldiers pay there was much trouble. Besides, there was some variance, about taking in certain Tribuns of the Commons to the left: and the two arrangements of those, who a little before had governed in Confuls authority, caused no small stir. But the principal care of the Tribuns military, was that the mutters should go forward. Neither were the younger and serviceable men only preit forth, but the elder also compelled to give their names, and to keep watch and ward in the City. But look how much greater was the number of soldiers, so much more money they needed for their payment. And the fame was levied by a contribution: but unwillingly of as many as carried at home. For that besides the levy they were enjoined to become soldiers also, in defence of the City and to serve in person for the Commonwealth. These things, grievous as they were of themselves, so by the seditions Orations of the Tribuns in their assemblies, they seemed more grievous and heavy. Who argued and discoursed thus: That wages was appointed for soldiers to this end, only what by warfare, and what with exactions and impositions, they might undo the Commons, and make an end of them at once forever. One war (say they) hath now continued three years: and the time, on set purposes, ill managed: that it might be drawn out the longer. Again, in one mutter there were "armies encolled for no fewer than four wars, whereas to bearded boyes and old crafti
Then offenders, Krave L Rome, and others, were taken up and haled forth. Now there was no difference of winter or summer: so as the poor Commons at no time can have any rest. Who now at last are taxed also and racked to the uttermost, so that after they have brought home with them their bodies overstayed with travel, weakened with wounds, and last of all, wasted and spent with age: and finding all things at home unattended by reason of the long absence of the masters and owners, they must be lain to pay tribute even out of their poor decayed quick flock, and repay again with great unity to the Common-wealth, their wages received in war, as it were upon interest.

Between the masters of one side, and the levy of soldiers pay the other side, and their minds occupied about greater affairs, at the election of Tribuns of Commons, the number could not fully be made up: Whereupon there was great labour made, that into the rooms that were void, there should be some of the Nobility taken in and admitted. When that could not be obtained, yet to impeach and overthrow the Tribuns law, it was effectuated or brought to pass that they should assume unto them for Tribuns of the Commons, C. Lucerius, and Marcus Attillus, by the might and practice no doubt of the Patruiti. It happted, so that the same year C. Trebonius was a Tribun of the Commonwealth, who would seem to undertake the patronage and defence of the Law Trebonia, and discharge it as a duty to that name and house belonging. He spake alone and said, ‘That whereas the Tribuns Military had won that, whereof some of the Nobles had born the reproach in their first suit, and that the Law Trebonia was disannulled, in that certain Tribuns of the Commonalty were taken into their fellow, not by suffrages and free voices of the people but by the rule and commandment of the Nobles: and that the matter was come to that pass, that either

* Vox Tribunis published by L. Tribunis.*

The invective speech of C. Trebonius against Sergius and Virginius.

The Commoners, or their favourite and followers were to become Tribuns of the Commons: that their sacred laws were taken from them perforce, and the Tribuns authority wrested from out of their hands by violence: all these inconveniences he complained to have happted through the fraudulent practice of the Nobles: and the mischief on law and treachery of his own companions in office. Thus whereas there grew great heart-burning among them, and that not the Nobles only, but also the Tribuns of the Commons, as well they, which were elected, as they that were electors, were hardly thought of by the people: Then three of the Company, P. Curiatus, M. Maturius, and M. Tiberius, being some few days turn, like to fall upon Sergius and Virginius, (the Tribuns Military of the former year) and by serving process, giving them a day to answer, turned from themselves the anger and displeasure of the Commons, upon those two persons desiring openly, ‘That whatsoever were grieving for the mutters and the Tribune, whatsoever thought the war long, and the continual sordid and tedious, whatsoever forrowed for the damage and discomfiture received at Vienna, whatsoever for the loss of their Children, Brethren, Kinsfolk or any of their alliance had heavy and mournful hones: to them they offered liberty and power to vent their publick and private grief, upon those two guilty persons and offenders, Sergius and Virginius, the very caustic of all the mischief and calamities that were happtened. For why? the adversary charged them with no more then was confecrated by the very parties: who finding themselves both faintly, laid the blame one upon the other: whereas Virginius reproached Sergius with running away and Sergius laid treason to Virginius his charge, in that he denied his help in time of need. For to say they were both of them so inconsiderate and M fools only, were to speak beyond all compass of belief. But much more likely it was, that there was some packing rather, and that the matter was contrived, and practice of set purpose, and by an ordinary and common fraudulent plot of the Patruiti. By whose means both at the first the Venetians got opportunity to fire their works, thereby to draw out and prolong the war, and also now the army was bought and sold, and the Roman camp betrayed to the False. And all this to no other end, but that the youth and flower of the City might wax old at Vienna, and that the Tribuns might not propose and conflick with the people about the distribution of lands, or any other commodities of the poor Commons, or in frequent and full assembly of Citizens intend and follow their publick actions, and with the conspiracy of the Gentry and Nobles. Moreover there is already (say they) a prejudice pesed against these Nobles, offendors, both by the Senat and people of Rome, and also by their Colleagues. For as they were displaced and depoited from their office, by an Act of the Senat: so when they refused to give over, they were for fear of a Dictator forced by their own companions to resign up their government: and the people of Rome had created other Tribuns Military to enter into their charge not upon the usual day which was in the *Ides of December,* but forthwith in the month of October; as who would say, the Common-wealth had not been able to stand any longer, if the men had remained till in place. And yet for all this, these persons thus convicted and for-condemned by so many prejudices, come now to be judged of the people: thinking they are sufficiently quit, and discharged, yes, and have suffered punishment enough, in that they were two months sooner then ordinary, made private persons: and perceive not, that thereby was taken from them the power only to do any harm, and no punishment inflicted upon them. For as much as, even their very Colleagues, who had not offended, were likewise discharged as well as they: Let the Quirites therefore and people of Rome, take that heart to them again, which they had upon the late overthrow, refresh and bleeding now, when they behold the army running in fearful flight, some wounded and some, arriving at the gates, blaming no fortune, nor any of the gods, but only their two brave leaders. And as for us, we know assuredly that there is not one of all them here presently assembled, who that day cur-
Afed not in his heart and detested the head, the house, and whole estate of L. Virginus, and M. Sergius. Neither is it convenient, that upon whom, every man prayed that the anger and vengeance of God would light against them now when they both may and ought, they should not extend their full power with rigour. Since that even the very gods never lay hand themselves upon sinners and offenders: but it suffiseth that they arm the wronged and oppressed persons with means and opportunity of revenge. The Commons upon these speeches moved with indignation, condemned these two offenders in 10505, brazen After a piece: notwithstanding that Sergius pleaded for himself, blamed the common fortune of war, and laid all upon fortune: and Virginus beheld them (but both in vain) that he might not be more unhappy, and speed workcft, than abroad in war. Thus the peoples wrath being diverted upon these two, obstructed and darkened the remembrance both of the assumption and admitting of the Tribuns aforesaid, and of deciding and dispersing the Law Tribunia. The Tribuns thus having got the upper hand, to the extremity the Commonalty might have a present reward for awording this dooms publish the Law Agraria, and forbid the levying of the Subsidy for lounders pay: seeing there was need of pay for so many armies: and sped so well they had, in the management of wars, as they were likely to come to an end, without any warings at all. For at Vei the pepy camp which was lost, being recovered again, was fortified with strong bulwarks and furnished with good guards. The Tribuns Military, M. Ennius and Q. Fabius had the charge there, and as for M. Ennius in the Fallican, and Cn. Cornelius in the Capenit Country they could meet with none enemies without their town walls. But they drove away booties, and waited their marches, by firing their villages and their corn: but as for their towns, they neither assaulted nor beleaguered them. But in the Volcian country, after their territory was waived, above also was affluent (but in vain) for that it was situate on high. Whereupon Valerius Patius, who had the charge of that province, seeing that force would not prevail, began by trench and rampart to lay siege to it, and invent round, The affairs of war abroad standing in these terms: there arose domestical strife and sedition at home: and the same was followed more earnestly and with greater ado, than the wars were managed without. And when by reason of the Tribuns there could no subsidies and excises be gathered, nor money for lounders pay sent to the Generals, and that the lounders called on them hard, and were haftie for their wages: the camp also had like to have been troubled and infected with the contagion of those civil mutinies. During these heats and angry fits of the Commons against the Nobles, albeit the Tribuns of the people did. That now the time was come of establishing their freedom, and translaying the chiefest dignity from the Sergii and Virginii to the Commons, such as were men of valour and action: Yet they prevailed no more then thus, that one only of the Commonalty, (as it was to make entry and take possession in the right of that dignity to wit, P. Licinius Calenus, should be created Tribun Military with Consul authority: the rest were all of the Nobility, Pub. Maelius, and P. Titius, P. Melius, L. Porius Medullinis, and L. Popilius Fabianus. The very Commons themselves marvelled that they had obtained so great a thing, and not only who was created, a man that aforetime had never been in place, and born nomagicy, yet an ancient Councillor of State, an elderly person and well kept in years. Neither as yet is it for certain known, why he first and above all others was chosen a meet man to have hanged, or make esay of this new dignity and promotion. Some think, that for his brother Cn. Cornelius his sake, who had been the year afore a Tribun Military, and had given to the horsemen triple pay, he was through favour drawn in and called to so great honour. Others, for that himself had picked out a convenient time, and made a plausible Oration, that both Nobles and Commons liked very well, concerning the agreement and unity of the States. The Tribuns of the Commons rejoining highly for this their victory in the Election, remitted and called in the inhibition of the subsidy or imposition aforesaid, the thing that most of all prejudiced the service of the Common-wealth. By means whereof payments were made in all dutiful obedience, and sent it was unto the army. Then within short time was Aureus (in the Volcians Country) recovered: by occasion that on a feftival holy day, the watch and ward of the City was neglected. This was a year notable and famous for the cold and snowy winter, so as the high ways were choked up, and Tyberis was un navigable: Howbeit, by reason of provision brought in aforesaid, the price of corn arose nor. And for because P. Licinius, as he entered his government without any troubles, and with greater joy and concurrence of the Commons than indignation of the Nobles: to also ruled and executed it all the year long: accordingly their teeth watered at the next election also, to make Tribuns military of their own body. Only M. Vettiius, of all the Nobility that stood in first for the dignity, had a place among them. But as for the other Tribuns Military in Consular authority, all the Centuries in a manchase Commons to wit, I. Titius, P. Maelius, Cn. Gemmulus, and L. Attius.

After this hard Winter, either by reason of a deliberate temper and disposition of the weather, suddenly changed to a contrary, or upon some other hidden and unknown cause, there followed presently a contagious and dangerous summer, by occasion of a pestilence, notion to all kind of living creatures. Of which incurable malady, when as neither the reason could be found, nor any end thereof seen, the Books of Sibylla were by a decree of the Senate perused: and Dumnivs appointed for Divine Rites and Ceremonies. By celebrating a Lection (then first instituted in the City of Rome) to appease and pacific Apollo, Latona, and Diana, Hercules, Mercury and Neptune: starved them (as it were) for the space of eight days together: and for that purpose they let out three
three beds or banqueting tables, with as magnificent and stately furniture as could be for that time possibly devised. Which solemnity was privately also performed. All the gates and doors through the City flood wide openal forts of viands were set out abroad to be seen in common: open house kept for all comers, one with another, as well unknown strangers as their acquaintance, with all friendly welcome, and entertainment. Kindly, and courteously would they talk and devise, even with their adversaries: all chiding and railing was laid aside and put under foot. The prisoners also for that time were enlarged, yea, and confidence made afterwards, that any should be laid or kept in irons, unto whom the gods had vouchsafed that gracious meed.

But all this while much trouble there was, and many alarms before Veiit, by reason that three wars were joyned now in one. For when as at all once the Capenats and the Forciti came in manner as afore, about the fortifications and trenches of the Romans, for to rescue the besieged, they were forced to make head, and hazzard a double battell against three armies. But the beef help they had, was the remembrance of the late condemning of Sergius and Virginia. Therefore having conducted by a neater way, their forces from the greater camp (which before lay fitting and would not come to succour) they set upon the Capenats backs, as they turned against the rampart of the Romans. The battell there begun, made the Forciti also afraid: in which altrift of theirs they suddcnly fall’d out of the lesser hold, in so good time that they forced the enemies to turn their backs, all quaking for fear, And having got the upper hand, they followed the main of the victorie, and in the chase made a very great slaughter and destruction of them, And not long after, the foragers that walked the land of the Capenats, as they ranged abroad here and there, encountered the residue and remnant of this battell, as if fortune of purpose had prevented them to their hands, and swept them up clean. Also many of the Veientians as they fled back into the City, were cut in pieces before their very gates: whilsts they within for fear left the Romans at once should rush in, made the gates fall and shut the hindmost of their own men, There were the achievements of this year.

And now approached the Election of the Tribuns military, whereof the nobles had in a manner a great care then of the war: as who saw now that the soveraigne rule was not only parted with the Commonalty, but weener on their own behalf quite left. Therefore altho’ of that purpose they had prepared most noble and excellent men to stand in suit, whom to pass by and let slip, they thought the people would have been ashamed: yet nevertheless they themselves (as if they had been the parties that stood) tried every way, and not only fought the help of men but also crazed it at the hands of the gods: making it great struggle and a matter of conscience: and alledging that the elections for two years past were not according to the will of Gods: as appeared by this, say they, that in the former year there was an intolerable winter, and such as stunned some heavy judgements from above; how also the year following, there were no prodigious tokens showed anywhere, but even the very events and effects thereof, were seen and felt: namely, the petitition both in Country and City, through the very indignation, no doubt, of the gods, for that in the fatal Books of Sybils it was found out, that they ought to have been pacified, for the diverting away of that pendent influence. As if in those solemn assemblies which ought in the name of the gods & religiously to be held, the gods thought it an indignation and unefti thing, that M. Valerius the first time, M. Valerius Maximus, M. Furius Camillus the third time, L. Furius Medallius the third time, Quintus Servilius Fidemus the second time, Quintus Sulpius Camerensis the second time. Howbeit in this year no great exploit worthy of record, was performed at Veiit under these Tribuns. All the service that was, consisted in forraging and waiting. The two Lord Generals raised huge booties, to wit, Pa天生 from Fidemus, Camillus from Capena: leaving behind them nothing whole and untouched, that might be spoiled by fire or sword, In this mean time, many fearful prodigious tokens were reported, the most part whereof were slenderly credited, for that of each there was but one only author; and because there were no foot-letters, by whom they might make proclamation therefore (since that the Turboons were now professed enemies) they were altogether neglected. But one especialy there was, which all men had an eye and regard unto, namely, for that a certain pool within the Alban forest, without extraordinary rain from above, or any other occasion which might make the thing seem less miraculous and wonderful, was risen unto an unusual height. Certain Orators therefore were sent to the Oracle of Delphi, to know what the gods signified by that prodigious token. But they, as good would, met with an interpreter of the Delphins nearer home, to wit, an ancient Veientian, Who (upon a time, when as the fouldiers, both of the Romans and Turboons, let fly one at the other tumults, and scoffs from their fl batter and guards) thus spake in prophetic tongue: That until the water were drained and let out of the Alban pool, the Romans should never be masters of the town of Veiit, Which saying of his was at the first esteemed as a foolish word rashly let fall from him: but after, it began to be much talked of, so long, until a certain Roman fouldier out of his ward, enquired of a townsman that watch’d next unto him (for now by reason of long war they had entercourse of speech one with another) what he was who had cast out such an ambiguous riddle of the Alban Lake? When
A When he heard that he was a fourth-rate, being himself also a man not without some sense of religion, he trained that wisard forth to communication, pretending that he would gladly be resolved himself, as touching a particular prodigious object that troubled his mind: & therefore requested him at his good leisure, to take so much pain as to confer with him, and give him countell about the ex postition and diverting the danger thereof. Now when they were both gone a good way from their fellows, unarmed, and without all fear and suspicion one of the other, the Roman being a lively tall young man, caught the feeble old fellow in the flight of them all, and notwithstanding a great deal that the Tuscans made (but all in vain) had him away: & was brought before the General, was then afterwards to Rome unto the Senate. And being demanded what the meaning of that should be, which he had prognosticated and prefaged concerning the Albanseke, answered thus: “Certainly the gods were offended with the people of Veii that day on which they put this into his mind to bewray the fatal and inevitable destruction of their State and country: and therefore that, which as then he being flattered by divine inspiration had prophesied, neither might he call back again and unpeak: and besides, happily by concealing those things, which the immortal gods would have to be published, there might be committed as great fin, as by divulging mysteries to be concealed. Thus therefore (quoth he) is it written in the fatal books of fortunes, and thus in the Tuscans learning, too us is delivered, That when the Alban water overflowed, if then the Romans with due and religious ceremonies let it out, they should have the victory of the Veientians: but before that the gods would not for sake the walls of the Veientians. 

Then went he on Dili, and there was what was the solemn and right matter of deriving the water, But the Nobles supposing authoritie to be the light of credit, and not of sufficient account in to weighty a matter a beleved, resolved to expect the Embassadors. and the answer of the Oracle of Apollo. But before these messengers were returned from Delphi, or any expiation tonsed out for this Alban miracle, the new Tribuns Military with Consuls authority, L. Julius Tribulus, L. Ennius Medallinus the fourt time, L. Sergius Fidenas, A. Posthumius Regilensia, P. Cornelius Malogenerus, A. Manlius, began their government.

In that year there arose running enemies, the Tarquiniens, they seeing the Romans buited with many wars at one, with the Voliscians at Anxur, who laid siege to the fort there: with the Enquians at Labeces, who assaulted the colony of the Romans: besides, with the Veientians the Fracattians and Capitanus: and that within the City there was no greater quietsness, by reason of variance between the Nobility and Commons: supposing, I say, that hereby they had good opportunity to do some injury and harm, they fended forth certain bands of foolders lightly appointed, into the territory of Rome, to toagogue and make spoild that the Romans would either put up that wrong at their hands without revenge, because they would not charge themselves with a new war: or encounter them and make head with a small power and the same but slender and disfumed. The Romans was more offended at the indignity of these bravadoes, then they cared much for the spoi les done by the Tarquiniens. And therefore they neither made much ado about the matter, nor drove it out any long while. A. Posthumius and L. Julius levied a power without any ordinary matter (for letted they were by the Tribunes of the Commons) even in a manner of voluntary fordliers, whom they had procured with good words and comfortabe speeches. And passing throughout the country of the Cenifer by crois & crooked ways, surprised the Tarquiniens upon the ladder, as they returned from plundering & laden with great prizes. Many they knew, all they caled of their loading, and thus having recovered the spoils of their lands, they returned to Rome. Two days were allowed for the owners, every one to own his proper goods: & on the third day, such goods that were unknown (whereof the most part belonged to the enemies) were fold in post-sale: and that mony which was made thereof was divided among the foolders. All other wars, and especially the Veientian, had doublefull lify. For now the Romans despiting of all mans help, regarded and expected only the course of destinies and the will of the gods. By which time the Embassadors were returned from Delphi, bringing the answer of the Oracle, agreeable to the former answer made by the wizard, with was taken prifoners and irran in this forme:

wrome O Romans that the Alban water be not kept too long in the pool. Beware therefore not to discharge it selfe into the sea. Let it stirr and wear the fields therewith, by sundry rivuletts or streams flow fast waist is and draw it dry. Then assuredly the enemy wills remember that out of that City which so many years thou hast besieged, victory is promised to thee assuredly, by those destinies which now are revealed. And after the war ended and leisure was, let they bring unto my temple, an ample and honorable present: and perform the sacred ceremonies of thy country according to the old custom, and renew those a fresh which have of late been neglected. Here grew this captaining prover been said to be greatly accounted of: and the Tribunes military, Cornelius and Posthumius, began to take his counsel and G advice, about the procuration of the Alban miracle, and to appeale to the gods indus order. And found it was at last where it was the gods blamed the neglect of ceremonies & for letting the ancient solemnities and sacrifices: and that certainly it was nothing else, but that there was an error committed in creation of the Magistrates: and they so created, had dedicated the Latin holidays wrong and celebrated the sacrifices in the Alban mount amole. The only purging or expiation whereof was, that the Tribunes military should give over their office, and that they should take new Auplices against the flight & singing of birds, and to proceed to an Intereign. All which things were according to a decree of the Senate performed. Whereupon there inte-

The prophet the distrtuction of Veii.

The sufferer of the Oracle.
The Oration of Licinius Calvus was to the people.

The Oration of Licinius Calvus was to the people.

Gentlemen! I am grieved to see the gloomy clouds that gather over Rome; I am grieved to see the dark shade that is cast over the top of the Capitoline. But I will not allow these clouds to obscure the light of truth, nor the shade to hide the beauty of virtue. I will not allow these circumstances to prevent me from speaking out, and from setting before you the truths that I hold dear.

You have heard of the great calamities that have befallen our city. The war with the Gauls has caused us great loss of life and property. The peace with the Carthaginians has not brought the hoped-for benefits. The war with the Persians has not brought the expected victory.

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A fright at the last alarm, were fled from Veii: and taught his foolders not to fear their enemies moit, but likewise to stand in awe of their own Commander. And after he had published to take matters upon a certain day, himself in the mean while rode pott to Veii, there to encourage the hearts of the foolders. From thence he returned to Rome, for to levy a new army: and there was not one that refused to leave under his standard. For even the youth of the forranners both Latins and Herniels, came & offered their service in that war. Unto whom, when as the Dictator had in the Senate house yeelded thanks, and that all things now were in sufficient readiness, by a decree of the Senate he made a vow, that when he had won Veii, he would incomintly celebra the great games, and sacrificing and conicert at anew, the Temple to dame Minerva, which stole time had been

B dedicated by King Servius Tullius. Thus when he was gone forth from the City, and his army on foot, with greater expectation of the people then hope: first he bought a field with the Falicilians and Capitola in the Country of Nepet, [called this day Nepet] where he ordered all the exploit with as great dexterity and policy as might be: and as it commonly falleth out he iped as well and fortune favoured his designs. He not only defeated his enemies in battle, but also drave out of the field, and gained a huge booty, whereof the greatest part came to the Treasurer his coffers; and somewhat (though not much) was given to the foolders. From thence he marched with his armes to Veii, and there he caused more leoncs and battillons to be made, and to hand thicker together. And having made proclamation, that none should fight without special command, he withdrew the foolders to the making of trenches and rampiers, from their skirmishes that they made of them selves, and that rashly between their camp and the wall of the town. The greatest work of all the rest and most laborious, was the undermining that was begun into the Caftle of the enemies. And to the end that this work should not be interrump't, nor yet the continual labour till under the ground might over-toll them, he divided the pioners into fix parts, and each of them wrought 10 hours round by turns, so that both night and day, they never gave over before they had wrought a way to the Caftle. The Dictator seeing now the victory as it were in his hands, and a most rich City ready to be taken, and that there was like to be much usage, as never had been the like in all the wars put together afofte: left that he might incur either any muny or anger of the foolders in pinching and iacent parting of the pillage, or displeasure and discontentment of the Rulers and Nobles of Rome, by to prodigall a largesse in sharing all: dispatched his letters to the Senate, to this effect, "That whereas by the goodness of the immortal God's, his own policy and direction, and the travell of his foolders, the City Veii was now in a manner at his devotion: what they would advise, should be done with the rich spoils thereof; There were two divers opinions that mightily distracted the Senate: the one of the old P. Licinius, whose mind being asked of his sons, 'Spake from (by report) and said: that his opinion was, that there should a proclamation be published abroad among the people, that whatsoever who would be partaker of the booty, should go to the Legaour before Veii. The other of Ap. Claudius, who finding fault with this new prodigall unequall, and undivided largesse, in that they thought it unlawfull and unfruit, that the treasure got of the enemies should come once at least wise to the common purse of the City, which had been emptied to often by resoll of war: was of advice, "That the foolders should have their pay out of it, that the Commons thereby might be called, in the charges of theliberty levied of them: for to should every mans house equally feel the safety and part of that benefit, and the hands of idle percons remaining at home in the towne, gredy now of rifling, and who would be fingering of Pillage, should not pluck from the hardy warriors their due rewards. For as much as it is usuall seen, that as the vaillantest man commonly aimeth at the greatest part of spoil, and perill to the more coward always reacheth at the biggest part of the spoil, and hath his hand deepset therein. Contrariwise, Licinius, alleged that such mony laid up would be always supped and odious, and would miiltle matter unto the Commons of criminations & finding one fault or other, whereof seditions and commotions may arise, and would give occasion of new laws to be pretended: and therefore better it were: that by this gift and boon the hearts of the Commons were won and reconciled: who being spent and eaten out by reason of their charges of so many years, here with might be well relieved. And that they ought to lift the fruit and sweetness of the booty out of that war, in which they had spent their years, and were waxen old men. And that it would be more welcome and acceptable, that every man should be his own carver, and with his own hand catch from the enemy what he could, and bring it home with him, then if they should receive much more by a great deal at the discretion and pleasure of another. And the Dictator him self: (saith he) had avoided no more as he could, the displeasure, hatred, and offence that might arise thereof, and therefore pulled it off to the Senate: the Senate ought likewise see the matter is put to them, to let the Commons alone therewith, and permit every man to have such share as the fortune of war will allot him. This advice which made the Senate gratious with the people, was thought to be the fatter and better of the twain. Whereupon proclamation was made, That whatever would have part of the spoile of Veii, should shew his selfe before the Dictator in the camp. So there went a huge multitude, that they filled the camp againe. Then the Dictator after sacrifice done, and advice taken of the lucky signes of birds, went forth and commencing his foolders to take arms and weapons in hand, spake these words and said: "By thy conduct and the influence of thy divine power O Jupiter Apollo, let foremost to the winning of the town of Veii, & now to thee I vow the tenth part of the spoiles thereof."

P 2 And
And they writall (6 Queen Juno) who at this hour doth inhabit within the compass of the
flie, I beseech, that thou wouldest vouchsafe, to follow us after conquete into this city, ours
now, and thine within awhile: whereas thou maist be shrined in a Temple meete for thee, and
the grandeur of thy majesty. Having made these prayers, with exceeding multitude he invi-
eted the city, and satisfied it round on all parts to the end that they within might have left percei-
\(00\)vance of the peril intended towards them from the undermining. The Veientians little knowing that
they were betrayed, partly by their own prophets, and partly by the Oracles abroad, and that some
of their gods were invited and bidden to part of the spoil and aecage, and other by vows and
prayers trained and called out of their own city, began to look after the temples of their enemies
& their new habitations; little weening that this was their last day, & fearing nothing less than that
their walls should by undermining be overthrown, and that their Castle was full already of enemies;
every man for himself ran armed to the walls, marvelling what the matter should be, that whereas
for so many daies space no manifest oocurred of the Romans Leaguer, then of a sudden (as if it were in
a wood rage) they ran upon head! to rashly to the assault. But hereto beoleth a tale, That
when the Veientian King was at sacrifice, this voice of the Southsier was overheard out of the
mine under ground, That he whose hand was to part the inwards of that sacrifice should obtain
victory, and moved the Roman fouldiers, to break out of the undermining, and to catch up the
entrails and bowels, and carry them to the Dictator. But as in things of so great antiquity, it suffi-
ceth me, that those which carry some likelyhood of truth, be received for true: fo for soable
matters fitter indeed to make a shew in a flagge play (where people take delight in such miracles)
then to be fadly beieved, it will not quit for the pains either to vouch them, or disdain them.
The mine or cave at the same time (no doubt) full of chosen fouldiers, yielded forth all at once
armed men into the Church of Juno, which was in the castle of Venetian, and some of them let up
on the backs of their enemies that were on the walls: others pluck up the portcullis of the
gates: some of them, from the houfes the women and servants flung down ftones and
tiles, call fire abroad. So that every place was full of cryes and voices, partly of them that frighted
others, and partly of those that were affrighted, with a confused terror of women and children.
When as now in a moment, the armed fouldiers were thrown down from the walls ev-
ery where, and the gates let open: whiles some entred marching in array, others camed the naked
wals, the city was filled with enmies and skirmishers there were in every place. After great fila-
face and execution committed, the fight began to quall: and the Dictator commanded the Beddis
to proclame and give commandment, to spare the unarmed. Thus the bloodshed ended. Where-
upon the unarmed people began to yield: and by permission of the Dictator the fouldiers ran to
the spoile. Which being brought in fight of the Dictator, of greater price and value a good deal,
than either was hoped or looked for: it is said that he stretched forth his bands towards heaven
and praised, That if his own fortune and the felicity of the people of Rome were thought by any
God or man to be excessive, the envy belonging thereeto might be mitigated with as small
privy lods of his own in particular, and with as little common calamity of the people of
Rome in general, as might possibly be. And it is recorded, that in this manner praying and wor-
shipping, as he turned himself about, he flippd forward and caught a fall. And as men afterwards
judged by that which fell out, it was apposd that the ominous token prefaged the condemnation
of Camillus himself; and the ruin of the city of Rome, which hapned within a few years after to be
forced and fakcd. Thus was that day spent in the slaughter of enemies, and in rifting of that
moft wealthy city. The morrow after, the Dictator fold in portiale the bodies of as many as
were freeborn. That many only came into the common treasury not without some anger
and repining of the Commons. And as for that bootie and spoile which they brought with them away,
they coursed themselves beholding therefore, neither to the General Bimiel (who to colour and
execute his own negociad had referred the matter to the Senate wherein he might have used his own
liberty and discretion) nor to the Senat: but unto the house of the Livius, whereof, the fion
propounded the matter before the Senat, and the father was the author of so popular an over-
ture.

When as now worldly and earthily riches, were carried forth and tumbled out of Veii by heaps,
then began they to remove and have away the sacred gifts and oblations of the gods with the gods
themselves, but after the manner of devout worshippers, rather than of greedy spoilers. For chosen
there were out of the whole army, certain youths in the flower of their age, who having their bo-
dies clean washed, and being arrayd in robes, had in charge to carry Queen Juno to Rome, and
entred into the Church with great adoration and reverence: and at the firft very charily and religi-
only laid hand upon her, for that (after the Tuscan manner) there used none to handle that image
but the Pretol of one certain tribe. After this, when as one of them, whether it were upon a certain
divine inspiration, or in some youthfull sport, call out these words, Wilt thou march to Rome dame
Juno? Thereitt with one voice cried aloud, That she gave a nod, and seemed thereto to give af-
tent: whereupon this also was added to the tale, that she was heard to say, I will. But for certain
it is reported, that she was littered out of her footfall, with the help of a small lever, and that as
the willingly was displaced, so she was easily removed & translated, and so safe and sound conveyed
into the mountain Avenue, there to abide and remain forever; which was the place assigned un-
to her by the vows of the Roman Dictator. And there Camillus according to his vow, dedicated to
her afterwards a temple. This was the final end and fall of Veii, the richest City of all the Tuscans,
which
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A which even in the last and utmost calamity shewed her mightiness, and having been besieged round about continually the space of ten summers and winters, and in that time done much more annoyance and hurt then it received, was now at last through the necessity of want by force of legge and secret undermining, then won by force of availat and violence.

When riding came to Rome of the winning of Veii, albeit both the prodigious fights that were seen, had been expiat by sacrifices, and that the sacrifices of the Prophets and the men, yet the

Oracles of Apollo were well known: and that to far for as men counsel and policy might help, they had chosen for General M. Furius, the most noble captain and warrior of all others: yet considering they had there waited to many years with variable fortune, and received in any loties and overthrowes, their joy was exceeding great; as if a thing had hapned unlooked for. And before that the Senat could make a decree, all the churches were full of the dames of Rome giving thanks to their gods. And the Senat ordained by an act, that supplications should continue for four daies, the like as never had been before time in any war. The Dictator also was met upon the way as he came home by all degrees and estates in great number, and was more welcomed and honoured then any man afore time, to that day. And the triumph far exceeded the usual manner of the solemnity to that day belonging. But most of all was he himself all goodly to be seen, entering into the city in a charriot drawn with white steeds. And that was thought an honour, not only eminent for the quality of a citizen, but hardly beeming the condition of any man whatsoever. For they made a matter of confidence, that their Dictator should be equal with Jupiter, and the sun, in respect of their horses: for which only cause especially, the triumph was more glorious than gracious, and taken in good part. Then assigned he & let out to Queen Juna a church in Anxur, and dedicated another to dame Matata, and so having achiev'd and performed those divine and human deeds, he resigned up his Dictatorship.

After this began some speeces about the Present to Apollo. Unto whom, when as Camillus said that he had to the tenth part of the spoil: the Priests & Prelates thought good that the people should discharge their confidence in that behalf: there could not ready mean be found how to command them to give back again the spoil, that the due portion thereout might be set apart for the holy olation. At the length they grew to this point, which was thought the easiest course of all; that whoever would accuse himself and his house in confidence, should, after he had made an entisment to himself of his own share in the spoil, bring the value & price of the tenth part into the common Chafe: that thereof might be made a golden oblation, meet for the state of that Temple, becomming the power of that god, and answerable to that dignity of the people of Rome. Yet even this contribution alienated the hearts of the people from Camillus.

A mid these affairs there came Embassadours from the Volscians and Equeians, to treat for peace, and peace obtained they, rather because the city, wearied with continual wars, might now take rest and be at quiet, than for any defects of them that sued for it. After Veii was taken, the year following had fix Tribunes Military in Consils authority, two, Quintus Flamines, namely, Cossus and Cestus, M. Valerius Maximus the second time, C. Fabius Ambustus the second time, L. Emilius Malminius the second time, and Q. Servilius the third time, Unto the Cornelius fell out by lot the Volscian war to Vetus and Servillius the Capenas. Who neither assailed their cities by force, nor wentied them with siege but forrosg the countries, and drave booves away of such things as were in the fields, nor trespassed other fruit, nor any fruitful things besides, escaped their hands. This disquiet and calamity subjeged the Capenas: who thereupon sued for peace, and had it granted. But amongst the Volscians the war continued still. In the meantime, at Rome there were lunny feditions. For the appeasing whereof, it was thought good to lend a Colony to Volsci, and thither three thousand citizens were appointed in checkroll. And Trinimvari were thereto choyn, who divided to every man three acres of ground and a half, and one twelfth part. That began to be defiled, because they thought it but a poor comfort offered to stop their mouths withall, and to put them beside a greater hope. For why should the Commons be sent away into the Volscian land, seeing there was Veii within their eyesight, a most fair city, and the land about more pleasant.

Fifful and large than that of Rome? And as for the city it self, they preferred it, either for the site, or state of private or publick buildings and other places, before the city of Rome. Moreover a motion also was made (which, after that Rome was won by the French, was more hotly followed) concerning a General Transmigration and removing to Veii for ever. Many, they intimated, that Veii should be inhabited, partly by the Commons, and partly by the Nobility: saying, That the people of Rome might well enough inhabit two cities joynly in one state of Commonwealth.

Against all this, the LL. of the Senat laboured what they might, and plainly said, they would sooner dye in the fight of the people of Rome, than any of those matters should passe. For why? if there were now in one city so much distraction, what would there be in two? Would any man be found, as to prefer a conquerred city, before his own country that had conqured the same? and suffer Veii after it was won to be better eate then it was before, even when it was at the bell? Finally, well might they be forstaken at home in their own country by their citizens, but to forsake their country and citizens, they would never be brought by any force whatso.

ever. They would not follow to Veii, T. Servilius as their founder, nor the amongst the Tribunes of the Commons persuaded this and left their god Romulus the son of a god, the first fockfather and the beginning of the city of Rome. While these matters were in hand, with foule flux and much debate and variance (for the nobles had won to their opinion some of the Tri-
That when there was an outcry made to begin the quarrel, and to set them together by the ears, the chief and principal Senators first came forth to the multitude, and offered themselves to be laid at, bitten and slain. In regard of whole age, dignity, and honour, they forbearing to do violence, were likewise for shame flaid in their mood, for any they like attempts besides. Camillus taking vantage hereof, ever and anon in all places, made speeches unto the people, and said: "That it was no marvel truly, that the city was in a rage and madness, which being charged with a vow, made more care of all things else, then to discharge their confidence thereof, and be it performed. As for the collation and gathering of a small donative, rather then a tithe, he said nothing of it; it seeming that every man privately bound himself thereto, and the body of the people bold freed; But one thing there was that his conscience would not suffer him to hold his peace. That out of that booty only which was of moveable things, the tenth was appointed to be levied: as for the city and ground that was won, which also was comprised within the vow there was no words at all made. When as the debating of this matter, which to the Senate seemed doubled and hard, was put over to the Priests and Prelats: their college calling to them Camillus, thought good, that whatsoever the Veientians had before the vow made, and whatsoever after the vow, came into the hands of the people of Rome, the tenth part thereof should be consecrated to Apollo. So both the city and the lands were valued; and mony taken forth of the city chamber. And the Tribunes military Consular enjoyed therewith to buy gold. Whereof there being not store enough, the dames of the city, having their assemblies and meetings by themselves for to consult thereabout, by a common decree made promissi to the Tribunes military, and brought into the exchequer their own gold, and all the ornaments and jewels they had. This was acceptable a thing, and as well taken of the Senat, as ever any had been: and for this liberality (men say) they had this honour granted unto them, as to ride to church and to plaise in hanging or ship-coaches, and as well on working days as holidays, to be at their wagons. When the gold was of every one received by weight and prised to the worth, that they might again be paid mony therefore; it was agreed that a standing cup of gold should be made thereof, and presented as an obligation to Apollo at Delphi. So soon as they had eafe and disburdened their minds of this religious vow, the Tribunes of the Commons began sedition anew. So as the multitude was incited and stirred up against all the peers, but above all other against Camillus; charging him, that what by conflicating and confecrating the booty of the Veientians, he had brought it to nothing. Tho° nobles that were absent they blamed and they cried out against mightily, but of such that were present in place, and offered themselves unto them in their anger, they had some reverence. Now so soon as they saw the matter in question to be deferred and continued past that year, they chose again for the year following, those Tribunes of the Commons, which were the authors of that at and law. The Nobles likewise endeavoured the same for those that should oppose themselves against the law. So the Tribunes of the Commons a good part of them were chosen the very same again. But at the Election of the Tribunes Military, the Patrijif after very much ado got at length, that Furius Camillus was created. They made semblance and pretended, that they would be provided of a Generall for war, but indeed their purpose was to be furnished of an adversary to withstand the acts and proceedings of the Tribunes. Together with Camillus were made Tribunes Military in Consuls authority. L.Furius Mедullius the first time, C. Аemylius, L.Valerius Publicola, Ср. Posthannius, P. Cornelius the second time.

In the beginning of the year, the Tribunes of the Commons flared not untill M. Furius Camillus was gone against the Falisci, as his charge required for that war. And by delays afterwards the matter was well cooled. As for Camillus, whom of all other they most feared to be their adversary, he was gazed great and glorious, by his service against the Falisci. For when as at the first, the enemies kept themselves within the wals, thinking it the safest way; be by wafting their country, and setting fire upon their villages, forced them to come forth of their town, howbeit they feared to betoe bold, and to go far forward: and encamped themselves a mile and leffe from the town; reposing their safety and security in nothing else, but in the dangerous and hard passage, the wajes all about being rough, ragged, and floiny, in some places straight and narrow, in other up hill and down hill, Camillus having taken an prisoner out of the fields, and being guided by his direction, late in the night diloged his camp, and betimes in the morning at break of the day, shewed himself upon the higher rounds a good deal. The Romans on three sides fell to forfitie by trenching and calling rampiers, whiles the tiff of the armie flood ready ranged for the batell. And whereas the enemies affaid to hinder the work, he discomfited them and put them to flight, whereupon the Falisci were so frightened, that as they fled amain in dispos, they passed beyond their own camp, which was nearer; and made as fast as they could to the town. Many were slain and many wounded, before that in this affray they could hit upon the gates. Their camp being taken, the booty thereof came into the Quellors coffers, with the great grudging and anger of the fouldiers. Howbeit yeolding to the severity of discipline and good government: the fame virtue which they had hated before, they now honoured and held in admiration. After this was the city besieged, and towers and platforms raised about it. Otherwheres also, as occasion was offered, the townmen would rally forth and attack the Romans camp, and make light skirmishes. Thus the time passed without any great good hope of either side: for that they within the town besieged, had of their former provision more store of corn & other necessaries than they that
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A they lay at siege without. And it seemeth they would have had as long a peace of work there, as they had at Veii, had not fortune yielded to the Romans General, both a trial of his approved vertue in war and also ipecy, victorie.

It was the manner among the Faliscians, to entertain for the government of their Children, one that should teach and instruct them in school, and withall bear them company whersoever they went: and many children together (as the guide continued till even to this day in Greece) were committed to the charge and tuition of one man. As for the Nobles and principal men (sons of this City (as is usually every where else) a speciall man had the teaching of them; such as one, as wasthought most learned and the greatest clerk of all other. This man, having in time of peace begun to bring the children forth before the town side, to direct and exercise themselves, gave not over his wonted manner now in time of war. And using still to train them abroad one while nearer, an other whilsts further off from the gate: it fell out so, that one day what with paitime, and what with pleasant talk and discourses, he drew them forth then he accustomed: and seeing his time, went forward as far as the enemies corps de gard, and for to forth on ill he had brought them within the compass of the camp, and even to Camillus his pavilion. Where to this wicked intended act, he added also a more gracelrose speech, saying, "That he yielded* Falirij into the Romans hands, in that he gave them those children to do with what they would, whose parents were the rulers and commanders of the city. Which words when Camillus heard, thou comest not (quoth he) lewed writhe as thou art, with thy lewd and cursed present, either to a people or to a captain like thy selfe. We have not indeed with the Faliscians any league at all, by covenant of man concluded and established: yet by nature, there is and will be till a kind of unity or societie between them and there. There are laws due for war as well as for peace: and those have we learned to observe no leffe justly, than valiantly. We best arms not against that filthy age, which usually is sparing in raising and lacking of towns, but against armed men, and those who being, by us neither harmed nor provoked, have assailed the Romans camp at Veii. And yet these enemie (as bad as they be) like as thou hast for thy part exceeded them in a new and strange kind of wickednesse: to will I conquer. I doubt not, by least that the Romans professe: y be vertue, by travell, by hardy fight: like as I have done Veii already. After this he cursed him to be stripped naked, and so with his hands bound behind him, he delivered him to the children, for to bring him back to Falirij; and gave them rods withall, whereby they might whip and drive this trasnest

B to the City. At which sight the people at the first came running together: and then the Magistrats called a Counsell to sit upon this strange occasion. But fee what a change it wrought in their hearts. They who a while before were with hatred and anger so cruelly set, as that they withered in a man to be deftoried with the Veletians, then to accept of peace as the Capenas had done: now throughout the whole city required to be at accord with the Romans. No talk in the Market place, no speeche in the Counsell house, but of the faithfulness and truth of the Romans, and of the justice of their General. And with one general consent of all, Embassadors were sent to Camillus, into the camp. And from thence by permission of Camillus to the Senat of Rome they went, to deliver up Falirij: and being admitted into the Senat house, in this wife (by report) they spake. "In that victory fright honourable) which neither God nor man can chuse but allow: are we by you and your General overcomen and vanquished, and here we render our selves into your hands: supposing this (than which a conquerer there can be no thing more honourable) that we shall live better under your government, than under our owne proper laws and liberties. The event & issue of this war, hath afforded to mankind two worthy examples to follow. Ye for your part have made choice to observe faithfulnesse in war, other then to aschieve a preuent conquest: and we again, by this your faithful dealing induced and provoked, have willingly yielded unto you the victorie: conferring our selves now presentely to be your liege & lawfull subiects. Send whom you will to receive our armor, our holliges, our town with open gates. Neither shall you ever repent of our allegiance nor, we think much of your rule & government. Camillus had thanks both of the enemies and of the citizens. The Falisci were charged with mony for that years pay, that the people of Rome might be freed of their libdssy. Thus when peace was granted, the army was brought back again to Rome.

When as Camillus was returned after this conquest of his enemies into the City, with much better commendation, than whereas in triumph he rode in a chariot drawn with white horses through the city, as being now famous for his just dealing and faithfulnesse secretly the Senat was satisfied for very reverence on the part of his enemies, and could no longer bear, but without further delay to acquite him of the vow he made. So there were sent L. Valerius, L. Sergius, A Manlius as Embassadors in one galley unawasted, to present unto Apollo at Delphi by way of obligation, a standing cup of gold. Who not far off from the narrow seas of Sicily, were encounterd & borded by certain Liparenian Pirates or men of war, and had to Lipara. Now the manner was of that city, as common rovers use to do) for to divide the prize among them, Happily the chief officer or Magistrat for that year, was one Timarchides, a man more like to the Romans than his own countrymen. Who having himself some reverent regard of the name of Embassadors, and the present of the god to whom it was lent, and the occasion thereof: polished the multitude allo (which also rightly remembred their governor) with due religion and pricks of confidence. This head ruler brought the Embassadors into their lodging, & entertained them courteously at the cities charges, waited them with the convoy of a sufficient fleet: accompanied them in perfon to Delphi, and from thence conducted them...
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them home again safe to Rome. Whereupon by an act of the Senat, there was a contract made with him of simony and mutual entertainment, and gifts bestowed upon him at the cities cost. The same year there was doubtful war with the Equeus, so it was uncertain both in the army and at Rome whether they had won or lost at the victory. TheGenerals for the Romans, were of the Tribunes Military, C. Emyius, and Sp. Poblimius. At the first they warred both together, but after, when the enemies were in fight discomfited, it was agreed, that Aemilius should keep Verrugo with a garrison, and Poblimius wait the borders. Where, as he marched somewhat negligently with his army out of order, as presently after field won, the Equeus let upon him, and having put him in fear chased him to the hills next hand. The fright whereof came from thence to the other garrison also at Verrugo. Poblimius, after that he had retir'd his men into safety and assembled them together, and there in an Oration greatly blamed and cried out upon their fear and running away; and that they were discomfited by a most dastardly fugitive enemy; the whole host cried out with one voice, that they deferred to be told of it, and confess'd that they had committ'd a foul fault but they themselves would make amends therefore; and promised that the enemies should carry it neither to heaven nor hell, nor joy long therewith. Requiring that he would conduct them presently to the enemies camp (which inight was right upon a plain) protestimg to refuse no extremity of punishment, if they were not matters of fill before night. He then commanded them, and willed them to refresh their bodies, and to be ready at the relief of the fourth watch. Now lay the enemies likewise in the passage, to intercept the Romans, as they fled by night from the hill, even in the way which leadeth to Verrugo. And before day they encounter'd together (but you must think the moon shone all night) and saw how to fight, as well as day light. But the noise being heard to Verrugo, it strike so great fear amongst them, thinking the camp of the Romans had been assailed, that for all Aemilius could do to hold them, and to beleech them to the contrary, they fled scattered unto Tusculum. Whence the news came to Rome, That Poblimius was slain, and his army left. But he riding about the host (after that in the morning betimes the day light newed them that followed space on every side, that there was no fear of ambushments and follayings) charged them with their promises, and set them in such a heat, that the Equeus could no longer abide their violence. Then flew they the enemies in the chase every one, and made havoc of them as they fled, more like men that do things in fury and rage then by plain valour. And presently from the Tidings from Tusculum (which put the city in a vain and cauful night) there came from Poblimius letters, with lawfull importing news, that the Romans had the victory, and the Equeus the overthrow.

Because as yet the actions and futes forefai'd of the Tribunes of the Commons could come to no end; but the Commons laboured to continue the Tribuneship in them that were the mainstays of the law preferred, and also the Nobles endeavours to make those rulers again that had opposed themselves against the same law. But as the Commons in their own election prevailed and had the better; so the Nobles were revenge'd of them again for this grievcce they took, by an Act of the Senat, that Consuls (hated Magistrates of the Commons) should be created. Thus after fifteen years were Consuls elected, L. Lucrius Plautius Servius Sulpicius Camerinus.

In the beginning of this year, when as the Tribunes of the Commons befifir'd themselves freely to go through with their law, for that none of their brotherhood was about to deny and nip the M. same; and while the Consuls for that very cause refil'd them as carelessly, and the whole city was here, about aluated: the Equeus won Vicia, a Colony of the Romans, seated within their own country. Most part of the Colonors (because the town being by night betrayed and won, yielding unto them free passage to escape away on the back side) fled safe to Rome. So that service befall unto L. Lucrius the Consul; Who went with a power and vanquish'd the enemies in flight, and with victory returned to Rome to a greater conflict a good deal. Anius Virginianus, and Quintus Pomponius, two Tribunes of the Commons the two years past, were accu'd; for whose defence it was for the Credit of the Senat, that the Nobles should agree and flock close together. For no man laid to their charge either dishonest behaviour in life, or corrupt carriage of themselves in their office, but only this, that to please and gratifie the Nobles, they had let themselves N against the Tribunes law. Howbeit the anger of the Commons went beyond the favour of the Senat, and (that which was a most shamefull precedent) they (giltitde the men) had fine set on their heads of ten thousand pounds of brasse coin: Whereat the Nobles took great displeasure. Camillus openly blamed the Commons for this their wicked part; who now letting themselves against their own patrons perceived not that by a pervert proceeding in judgement against their Tribunes, they had lost their liberty of opposing themselves with their negative voice: and take that away once, and farewell all authority of the Tribunes for ever. For where as they hoped that the Nobles would endure the unbridled and licencious liberty of that office, they were much deceived: for if those hard courses of the Tribunes might not be restrained by help of the same Tribunes, the Nobility would find some other weapon to fight withall. He rebuked the Consul also, for that they suffered those Tribunes to fail of their protection and safe conduct, who had done and said nothing but by the authority and warrant of the Senat. Whiles openly he used to make the enemies and such orations to the people, he thrust himself only more and more into men's anger and displeasure. But to stir up the Senat against the foresaid law, he ceased not till: willing them, that when the day came of proposing the law, they should come into the Common Hall, with no other mind but this, to remember they were to fight for god and coun-
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A. ry, for the temples of the gods, and the very foile wherein they were born. And as for his own felt privately, if it were lawful for him amidst these civil troubles of his native country, to think upon and respect his own proper glory, it was right honourable for him, to the city which he had won, people, and retorted unto: and daily to behold and enjoy the memorable monument of his own glory: to see before his eyes the very City, whereof the counterfeit was born in the pomp of triumph: and that all men else should read in the films of his noble acts.

But he thought it a shamefull and abominable thing, that a City left and forsaken of the immortal gods, should be inhabited: and that the people of Rome should dwell in captive soil, and to make this exchange, to leave a natural country which hath conquered, for that hath been conquered.

B. quered With these persuasions & exhortations were the chief rulers excited the Nobles old and young, came in multitude, when as the law should be propounded into the Hall. And as they were dispersed and forced into Tribes, every one taking hold of those of his own tribe, began to beleach them even with tears, not to forsake that Country now, in the quarrell whereof they and their fathers had fought most valiantly and happily: shewing herewith every one and anon the Capitoll, the Temple of Vesta, and other Temples thereabout of the gods: that they should not therefore drive the people of Rome, as exiled and banished out of their native soil from their own home and hoilegods, into their enemies City, not bring the matter thus about, that it had been better that Vemin had not been won, rather then Rome should be abandoned. Because their dealing was nothing but by way of prayer and persuasion, and in their prayers much mention and naming of the gods, the mott part of them were touched in confidence: so as more Tribes nipped that one law forgoing forward, than gave their voices to approve it. Which victory was so joyful to the Nobles, that the morrow after, by the motion of the Cola decree was made, That amongst the Commons should be a division of twenty acres for a man out of the Valentiens lands: and not for householders only, but that consideration and reckoning should be had also in every house of all free born persons: to the end, that they should be willing to breed up children to the like proof; and for the hope of like commodity. When the Commons by this bountyfull gift and liberality, were well pacified and filled, there was no stir at all to hinder the election of the Conulis. So there were created Conulis, Lu. Valerius Postius, and M. Manlius, who afterwards was dismissed Capitolini.

Thefe Conulis set out the great solemn games and plays, which M. Furins, the Dictator had vowed in the Valentiens war. In the same year the Temple of Juno Regina vowed by the fame Dictator and in the fame war, was dedicated. And it is reported, that the dedication thereof was celebrated with exceeding great retort and forward endeavours of the dames of Rome. War there was (but not greatly to be spoken of) Aigidium with the Equians, for that the enemies were in a manner discomfited before that they joyned battle. Valerius because he followed full and killed the enemies in chase, was allowed by decree to triumph at full: and Manlius, that he should enter into the city only Ovant, in petty triumph. The same year arose a new war with the Voliscians against whom by reason of a famine and pestillence that grew about Rome upon exceeding drought and heat, an army could not be led forth. For which cause the Voliscians puffed up with pride,joying unto them the Sibilarites, invaded first the country about Rome. Whereupon war was proclaimed against both nations: Cumlius the Censor departed this life. In whole room M. Cornelius was substitutit. Which after bred some tempe of Religion, for that Rome in that five years space was taken. So that never after that is there any Censor chosen into the place of the deceased: And the Conulis also being lick and thereby disabled to governo, it was thought good to take new counsell & advice of augurs or tokens of birds by an Interregnum. When as therefor by an act of the Senat, the Conulis had resigned their office, M. Furins Camillus was created Interregnum. Who named after him P. Cornelius Scipio: and he afterwards Lu. Valerius Postius to be Interregnum. By whom were made six Tribunes Military with Conulis authority: that in case any of them should be sick and eafe, yet the Common-wealth should have governours enough. The first day of June they entred them into their office: namely, L. Lucretius, Servius Sulphius, M. Aemius, Lu. Furins Medullianos the seventeenth time, Agrippa Furins, C. Aemius; the second time, Of these L. Lucretius and C. Aemius had in commission to go against the Voliscians: but Agrippa Furins, and Servins Sulphius against the Sibilarites. And first were the Voliscians fought withall. A great war in respect of the number of enemies: but for the conflict and battell, nothing fierce and sharp. For their army at the first encounter was put to flight, and eight thousand foildiers were by the Roman horciten environed, whereupon they threw their weapons away and yeelded. The ridiers of this war caused the Sibilarites not to adventure upon flight: but they kept themselves armed within the walls, and stood upon their guard. The Romans then all abroad drave booties both out of the Sibilarites Country, and the Voliscians, and no man withstood their violence: to long until the Voliscians wearied with war, and traced granted unto them for twenty years, upon this condition, to make restitution again to the Romans of their goods, and to pay the fouldiers for that year their wages.

The same year one M. Cadinius, a commoner, gave notice to the Tribunes that in the new Canley, where now there standeth a Cheppel above the Temple of Vefiath there was in the lift time of the night a voice heard, louder than any mans, willing that the governours might have intelligence, that the Gaus were coming: This by reason of the balance of the author (as commonly it is seen) was not credited: besides, they were a nation far remote, and therefore les known and of small account. Thus were not only the advertisement of the gods despised, when as their fatal time of de
This nation (as it is reported) allured with the sweetness of corn and wine especially (dainty chaffer and a new delight in those days) passed over the Alps, and possessed those countries which had been for some time a Cicuniae inhabited. The voice goeth, that there was one Aratus of Cilicia, who had brought wine into Gaul, to entice that people withal, upon an anger and displeasure that his wife had been deflowered by one Lucumo (whole guardian Aratus himself had been) a young gentleman of great might and power, and whom Aratus could not chaste and bring within without the aid of foreign forces: This man was the Gauls guide in passing over the Alps, and the principal instrument to let them work for so to assail Clusium. I would not for my part deny, but that the French were brought to Clusium by Aratus or some other Cilicius: but more certain it is, that they who assaulted Clusium, were not the first that passed the Alps. For the Gauls two hundred years before they assaulted Clusium and won the City of Rome came over into Italy. Neither fought the Gauls first with this nation of the Cilicians, but long since, and oftentimes, with those that dwell between Apennines and the Alps. For, the Cilicians had all sovereign command, both by land and sea, before the Roman Empire was erected. The names of upper and lower sea, wherein Itaries was compassed about, as it were an island, may be a sufficient proof, how great and puissant they were; seeing, that the one is by the general name of the Nation, called Italians, the Cilician seas the other the Adrianick of a town of colony or the Cilicians called Adria. The Greeks do call the self same seas that (A Tyrrhenos and the Adriatick seas. Thence and both seas, inhabited those countries, consisting of no other but, as the Prince at the first beginning, and held in possession all those parts beyond the Po into the Alps, except that Angle only of the Venetians, that are seated about the Gulf of the Adriatick sea. And double, the Nations about the Alps, especially the Rican, had their beginning then whom the very country it self made savage, fo they as retained nothing of old, but the found of their language, and the fame broken and somewhat corrupted. Now for the coming of the Gauls over into Italy, thus much we have learned. In the days of Piusus Tarquiniius King of Rome, the Ciles which are a third part of the Gauls, were under the rule of the (B) Britonis who chose King over the Ciles, named Ambigatus, a great potentate and mighty, both in regard of valour and vesture, and also of his own private wealth and publick way: for that under his reign, Gaul was to fertile of corn, and grew fo populous, that the exceeding number of the people could not well be governed. This man being of great age, and desirous now to disburthen his Realm of that pesterling multitude, declared that he would send Bellofus and Sigevus his fitters sons (two forward young men) to seek adventures, into what lands ever the gods and goddesse should by their token direct them; giving them commission to gather what number of men they would, to the end that no nation might withstand their coming. So it fell to Sigevus lot, for to enter the forest and woodland country of Hercinia. Bellofus his fortune was a good deal better, to take his way (by the gods guidance) unto Italy: and he levied of the Britonis (A) Aventi (f) Samoni (g) Helvi (b) Ambardi (c) Cenotri and (d) Attrexi, those that might be spared out of those Countries, and letting forward with a mighty power of footmen and horsemen, came unto the (f) Treffo, now stood the Alps, against them in their way, which I marvel not were thought & inperable impassable, having not as yet any way made over them, (so far as any constant record makest date) unless we lift to believe the tales of Hercules. Now when as the Gauls there, were hemmed in as it were on every side with those high mountains, and that they looked every way about them, how they might get over those high hills reaching up to the heavens, and so pass - (as one world say) into another world; they were amazed and there went no further, upon purpose of conuenience, for that it was reported, that certain strangers seeking land to inhabit, were by the people of (m) Sabii set upon and asalled. These firs-gens were the (n) Moscellae, who taked from Placia the Gauls supposing to be a fortunate passage of their felicel/helped them forward, and took part with them: so as what place first they get after they were landed, they fortified within the wide or broad forrests. They themselves passed through the Country of (o) Taroni, and over the strights of the Alps, called (p) Julia: and having vanquished the Gauls in light manner from the river (q) Ticinum, hearing that the Country wherein they abode and jetted, was called Infabrum (after the name of a territory and thine of the Hedion) they following and embracing the lucky name of that place, so conformeable to the other of their own, builded
The Clunies terified with this new war, advising well both their number and the uncustomed looks, and visages of the men, which they had not seen afore, and the strange armament withall: & hearing besides that the legions of the Tufcans both on this side the Po and beyond, had been oftentimes by them discomfited: Albeit in the Romans they had no interrest at all in regard of any league or alliance, only this, that they had not maintained their kinsfolk the Veientes against the Romans, sent their Embassadors to Rome, to crave aid of the Senate. Ay they obtained none. Embassadors were there sent three, the names of M. Fabius Ambuscus, who in the name of the Senate and people of Rome should treat with the Gauls and perforce with them, not to set upon the confederates and friends of the people of Rome, namely, such as at whose hands they had received no wrong: staying moreover, that if they would put the Romans to it, the Romans were to defend "Gauls by war, howbeit they thought it better, if it might be, to have no wars at all: but that the them a new-comen nation should grow into knowledge and acquaintance, rather by peace than by war. The embassage was mild and mildewed enough, but the Embassadors themselves were over fierce & hotly, and more like Gauls than Romans. Who having done their message in the assembly of the Tufcans, were there most answered. 'Although the name of the Romans was but of late heard of; yet they, yet they were perfwaded that they were hard men, at whose hands the Clunies in their fear, longing and requested succour. And whereas they choose rather to defend their allies by way of embassage, than by open war, they likewise neither disdained nor refused peace which they offered: If the Clunies would grant the Gauls (which wanted ground to inhabit) a part of their marches, whereof they held in possession more than they did well people and ac- copy: Otherwise, no peace would be had. And hereof would they have an answer while the Romans were in place: and if they were denied ground, they would also fight even before the Romans face, that they might make report at home, how much the Gauls went beyond other men in valour & Chivalry. And when as the Romans demanded again what right they had to require ground of the owners or to threaten war? For what interest or title had the Gauls to Tufcan? They again loudly made answer: that they carried their right in their swords, and that valiant men were Lords of all the world. So they were on both sides to set on fire, that they ran to their weapons & skirmish'd with the Tufcans, then against all law of nations (a thing that defiled the destruction of the Roman City) the Embassadors took arms. Neither could this be so secret but it was known. For even before the enigames of the Tufcans, there were seen three most noble & valiant knights of the Romans for to fight: so far exceeded the valour of those strangers above all the Clunies. Moreover and besides, Quintus Fabius riding out of the barcell on horseback charged his captain of the Gauls, as he fiercely assailed the enigames and ballet of the Tufcans, ran him through and line him: and as he rifed and disarmed him, the Gauls took knowledge of him: and throughout the whole hoft notice was given, that it was an Embassador of the Romans. So leaving their quarrel against the Clunies, they founded the retreat, and threatened the Romans. There were of them, that thought good presently to advance forward to Rome: but the elder fort prevailed, that there should be sent Embassadors first to complain of the injuries, and to require that for the law of arms broken, the Fabii should be yelded unto them. When as the Gaul Embassadors had declared their message according to their commisson, the Senate nothing liked of the Fabii deed, and thought the barbarous Gauls required nothing but just and reason. Howbeit, suit of friends and private respects, would not permit to make an act of that, in personages of so great mark and nobility, which they deemed meet and requisite. Therefore to the end it might not be impo- sed to them & they blamed. If peradventure any toll or overthrow should hap unto them by war- ring with the Gauls: they referred the hearing and dissembling of the Gauls demands unto the people. Where might and favour so much prevailed, that even they who were in euolution to be punish'd, were creased for the year following Tribunes Military in Consuls authority. At which the Gauls being offended (as good caufes they had) with open threats and menaces of war returned again to their company. There were with the three Fabii P. Scipio, Longus, Quintus Servilius, the fourth time, and P. Servilius Malpinensis. When as now to great danger was towards and near at hand (see how to name blinded men eyes, when as the will have her way and not be hid- red) that City which against the Fidenat & Veient enemy & other nations bordering therby, shed the utmost help, and oftentimes made a Dictator: now being threatened with a strange enemy never heard of before, coming to war upon them from the Ocean sea, & the faruent parts of the world, sought neither for governor nor help more then ordinary. Even thole Tribunes by whole rain-
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dealing that war was first caused, had the managing of all and made no more choice, nor muffling of foulchers than usually had been in common wars: making but a light matter of it and of no consequence, & setting little by, and elevating the ruin of the war. The Gauls in the meantime having heard, how on such purpose those breakers of human law were soon advanced to honour, & how their embassage was deluded and dallied with, all on fire, as they are a nation that way impatient and in anger outrageous) pluck up their standards forthwith and march with all expedition on their voyage. But at whole noise and hurlyburly (as they paved by in each call) when as the towns thereby were put in fear, and ran to their weapons, and the country peasants fled away: they with open mouth gave out and signified, that they went to Rome. All the ways as they joyed, what with horse and men, both in length and breadth, they took up a mighty room in their march. But what with the flame that went before, and the messengers of the Clusses and of other prophets that followed one at the heels of another, this speedy coming of the enemies brought right great fear and terror to Rome. For not withstanding, that they went with a power of men in all half suddenly muster'd, hardly met them at eleven miles end, where as the river Allia running down from the hills of Ccraftumnum, with a very deep channel (not much beneath the highway) discharge them it fell into the Tyber. And now by this time the whole country before them, and all the coasts about were overspread with the enemies, and (as they are a nation naturally given to vain tumults and therein born and bred) with an hideous and dissonant kind of singing (like a black Susan) they filled also about with a fearfull and horrible noise. There the Tribunes Military without getting beforehand a convenient place to pitch their tents in, without fortifying the same with any trench or rampiers, whereunto to them might safely betake themselves, even without any regard of God, whom at last wise they should have been mindful of, if they had forgotten man, without Aspices and bird-tokens, without reconciliation to God by sacrifice, full unhappily and in all hour, ranged their battels divided into wings, for fear of being confounded with multitude of enemies. Yet might not the vanguard answer the breadth of the enemies, notwithstanding they made their ranks and files so thin, that the middle ward of the battelle was weak, & feint Joyning close together. On the right hand there was a little higher ground, where they thought to betower men for supply, which as it gave the first occasion of fearing and running away, so was it the only safety of them that fled. For Brennus the Duke or Prince of the Gauls, fearing exceeding in that small number of the Romans, some strategem, and supposing that the higher ground was for this purpose kept. That when the Gauls should have encountered with the forefront of the legions, then the refeces would charge them both upon their backs and their flanks, displeased and advanced his standards against those in refuge: nothing doubting but if he had once driven them from their hold upon higher ground, on the plain he should soon have the victory, considering that in number he overwent them. See how the Barbarians had not only luck, but policy also on their sides; Contrariwise, the Romans in their camp were nothing like themselves, either for captains or foolders. Their minds were so perplexed with fear and thinking of running away, and so forgetful besides, that the greater part of them chose rather to fly to Veii (their enemies' City) although the Tyber were full in their way, then to take the flight toward to Rome, to their wives and children. For a while, the advantage of the ground defend'd those that were in refuge: but in the rest of the host, so soon as they that were next, heard the shout from the sides, and those that were farthest off from behind, before any frolk strucken, and before they were once touched, they fled from their unknown enemy, in a manner before they saw him. And so far off they were from trying fight, that they answered them not so much as with a counter-shout again. So as there were not any slain in fight. But they were killed behind at their backs, even by occasion of their own felves, who with their hurrlying hindred one another in their flight. About the bank of Tyber, whereunto the whole left wing was fled down, and had flung away their weapons, there was a great slaughter: For many of them that could not swim, and were weak by reason of their weighty corsets and other harnesse, were drowned and swallowed up of the surging whirlpools. Howbeit, the most part escaped late to Veii. From whence they came to Rome, not only without guard to court the City, but not to much as a messenger to bring news of this their overthrow. But from the right wing which kept farrther from the river, and the more under the hill, they all went to Rome. And finding not much as the gates of the City shut, they all fled into the Castle. The very Gauls themselves almonted at so wonderfull and sudden victory, stood still at the first in a great amaze, as who knew not what had hapned, and wist not what to make of it. After wards they feared some ambush, and at length fell to gathering the spoils of them that were slain, and to lay all their armor and harness upon heaps, as their mane is. At last, seeing no enemy nor shew of buttofity, they put themselves in their journey onward, a little before funnetting, and marched to the City of Rome. Whereupon word brought by the foreriders, that the gates were not shut, nor any ward kept afore the gates, nor armed men upon the walls, they stood in the like amaze as before, upon to strange and wondrous a thing. But fearing the night and the situation of a City unknown, they set them down, and rested between Rome and Arno, having sent their epils and facetts about the walls and gates, to understand what their enemies meant to do: in to deregulate a State. The Romans, for that a greater part had taken their way to Veii, then to Rome, and weening that there was none left alive, but those that were fled back to Rome; bewailing and bidding adieu, both to those that were dead those alive, set the whole City almost a weeping and lamenting. But after wards the publick fear almonted them, and took all fencie away of their privie loaners, when they heard once
A once that the enemies were come, and within a while, as their barbarous people coaled and ranged about the walls by troops, they might hear their yelling, their howling, and unuttered confus'd hideous cries, so were they held all the time in fulness of mind, until the second day after: one while thinking, that at their first coming they would have imprisond the City, for unless they had to meant, they would have tarried (they thought) at Altartagia, a little before ut-Nletting (because the day was well-nigh done) they supposed they would enter upon them before night. But anon they feared that they dissembled this enterprise until night was come, to the end they might strike a greater fear & terror amongst them, And last of all the day light appor being shown them clean to, as they were in a continual agony, even until the midnight came indeed with them if they so long

B doubted & that now the bloody banners of their enemies were displayed before their gates, Howbeit neither that night nor the day following, was the City in the like fear, as when they fled to Faithfully at Altartagia. For being paist hope that the City could be defended with so small power as remained, they determined that with their wives & children all their serviceable youth, which was meet to bear arms, yes, and the more able men, and strength of the Senate should retire themselves into the Castle & Capitol: and after they had theith brought their armor and corn, from thence as from a defensible place to protect their gods, and the Roman nation, to save from fire and sword (far as they could) the Flamin of Jupiter, the vestal Nuns, and fared images, and holy relics of the City and not to abandon the worship and due solemnity unto them, so long as any were left alive, to do them honour and worship. For thus they conceived, That if the Castle & Capitol, being the seat of their gods, if the Senate, which is the head & chief of their publick counsell, if the hardy and fighting young men remained after that imminent ruin and fall of the City, the les would be the loss of the aged folk, a number. (God wont) left behind of purpose in the City, no otherwiselike but to perish. And to the end that the multitude of the common fort might bear this more patiently, the elders that had triumphed aforetime, and been Consuls, openly gave out and said, That they would live and die together with them. Neither would they with those bodies of theirs which were unmeet to bear armour, and to defend the City, far heavy and pester the company of able and armed men, in this their penury & want of victuals. Thence and such like were the confolations and comfort of the ancients among themselves, now relinquent to end their lives. After which, they turned their exhortations to the companies of the young and infly men whom they followed into the Castle and Capitol, recommending unto their manhood and to their youthfull courage, all the estate remaining of that City, which for the spacee of three hundred and three-score years had in all their wars been victorious, and gotten great conquests. Now when they, in whom all the hope and help were departed, and had taken their leave of them, that resolued fully not to survive the winning and destruction of their City: as the very thing in it self, and the fight thereof was a lamentable and woeful spectacle unto them, to the pious weeping of women, and their uncertain running up and down, following now one another, and now another, and asking their husbands and children, to what end, to what last defal they betook them, was as dolorous a pageant, as could happen to any earthly creature. Nevertheles, a great sort of them accompanied their friends into the Castle, and no man either bad or forbid them. For all though it was good and commodious for the besieged, namely, to diminish the number, and discharge themselves of the feeble multitude, yet it seemd unto them an inhuman and unkind part. The rest of the common people especially, whom so small an hill was not able to receive, and could not possibly be kept in so great a scarcity of corn & victuals, departed by heaps out of the City: and marching as it were in one company together in a row took their way to faneadium. From thence they divided themselves in sundry ways. Some slip into the fields and country, some to the next cities there bordering without any Captains without any common consent, every one following his own hope, his own head and wit now that all public counsell was in despair, and lost remedy. In the while, the Flamin of Quirinus, and the religious Vestal virgins leaving the regard of their own private affairs, confounded with themselves what sacred Images to carry with them, and feeling their strength would not serve to rid away and leave all what to leave behind them and what place was meetest to betrow and lay them up most safely. They agreed at length and thought it best, to put them in small barrels or rundlets & within the ground to bury them in a little chapel, standing next to the Flamin's house: which place for very depredation unto this day, may not for anything be upset upon. All the rest they parted among themselves. And every one carrying her own burden, took the way, which over the wooden bridge ledeth to Juneculum. Upon the ascent or rise of that hill, when L. Albinius (a Commoner of Rome) saw them going as he among other company (which unmeet for war departed out of the City) carried his wife & children in a wagon: he making even then in that hard calamity, a difference yet between divine and humane things, and thinking it an impious part, and void of all religion, that the public Priest with the sacred Images of the people of Rome should go on foot; while he and his were been riding at ease in a wagon,caused his wife and children to alight and come forth, and let the Nuns with their holy Images in their room, and brought them to Secre, to which place they minded to go. All things now being set at Rome (as in such a time could be) in order sufficiently, for the defence of the Castle: the aged persons above said being returned to their houses, waited for the coming of the enemy with hearts prepared and resolved to die. Such of them as had born offices of the chair, to the intent, that they might end their days in the ornaments & robes of their former estate and honour,
honour, and according to their virtue and defects: in their most slender garments and habiliments, which they wear when they carried their sacred chariots upon festival dates; or wherein they rode in triumph, now fast upon their ivory chairs in the very midst and entry of their houses. There be that write, how they willingly devoted and bequeathed themselves to die for their Country and Citizens of Rome: and that M. Fabius the High Priest read and pronounced unto them a certain hymn and precept form of prayer, so that purpose. The Gauls both for that now they had refrained from fight a whole night, and to their choler was somewhat cooled, and also because they had not in any pace fought a bloody and dangerous battell with them, nor even at that time won the City by any assault or fire, curst the morrow after into the City, without anger and heat of furious rage, by the gate Callimoc, standing wide open, and so called forward to the common place of assemblies, calls their eyes about them towards the Temples of the gods, and to the cattle, which only preferred some few of war. And there leaving a sufficient guard, left haply from the Castle and Capitol they should be violently assaulted, after they were once unbarred parted, they fell to ravage and pillage; and meeting none at all in the void streets, some rufh by heaps into the houses next hand, others go to those that were inhaughted, supposing them at lest wise to be untouched, full of riches, and fit for to fill their hands. From thence again as frighted by reason of such desolation, and fearing left haply any fraud of the enemy might entrap them as they waded one from another, they returned round in a ring together, into the market place, and the places near thereto. Where, when they saw the Commoners houses fell flat to and locked, and contrariwise the fair yale palaces of the Noblemen and chief Senators standing wide open, they were at a stand, and doubted more in a manner to enter upon the open places than the flat. And they beheld as it were with capping and crowning after a reverend manner, certain ancient porpagnons sitting in the porches and entries of their houses, who besides their ornaments and apparel, above the ordinary estate of men, for a certain majesty which they carried in their comtenance and gravity of vigne, resembled the gods. And when as they turned to them, & flood looking upon them, as if they had been Idols and sacred Images, M. Papirius, one of them, when a Gaul began to stroke his beard (which then they used all to wear long) with his ivory staff (as they say) gave him a rap on the pate, and moved his patience. Whereupon the first that was wounded and to the rest were all killed as they sat in their chairs of state. After this instance of these honorable porpagnons of the Nobility, they fell upon all the rest, and spared no creature: they ransacked their houses, and when they were empty, set fire on them. But whether it were that they were not all of them desirous to destroy the City utterly, or that it was the mind of the Leaders and chief of the Gauls, that for a terror there should be some faire fires (if haply for the love of their houses, that they were besieged, might be induced to yield themselves;) or that all their houses were not burned at once, to the end that the remainder of the City might be as a pavis and pledge to mollify their enemies, and make their hearts to relent: howsoever, I say it was, the fire for the first day (as usually in Cities forced and won) spread not all abroad every where, to make a general havoc. The Romans from the Castle, seeing the City full of enemies, and in every street running up and down, and in all places fresh calamities and miseries one in the neck of another, were not able to conceive the same in mind and spirit, no, nor so much as to have the right eye of their ears; and eyes. For to such place loiter the houts and noise of the enemies, the howling and wailing of women and children, the noise of fire, and the raucous and coughing downfall of houses turned them aside in exceeding fear, thither they bent their minds, their faces, and eyes, as men by fortune let up aloft, as upon a stage or scaffold, to behold the fall and ruin of their Country; referred to save nothing of all their wealth and substance, but only their own bodies: by thus much, more miserable and pitiful above all others that ever were besieged, in that being shut out from their native Country and City, they were besieged and beheld it, and all that they had in the enemies hands. Neither as ill as the day was spent, followed there a better night. Yea & when after this troublesome night the like morrow was come there was no time but misty still fell some heavy object; and one spectable or other of new and fresh calamities. And albeit they were laden and overwhelmed with so many miseries, yet they nothing at all let fall or abated their courage but resolved still, notwithstanding they saw all fired all miname and laid even with the ground, manfully to defend that poor naked hill which they held, and was their only hope left them to recover their freedom. And now seeing the same deportations daily happen they were so injure to misery, that all sense and feeling of their own state and private fortune, they regarded nothing but their armour on their backs and swords in their hands, as the only remnants and reliques of their hope. The Gauls likewise for certain dates, had made war with the poor houses only of the City, and all to no purpose; and when they perceived in all this burning and ruins of the City, fo conquer, nothing now left but armed enemies, who were not, for all so many calamities, one jot terrified, nor their minds once inclined to yield without further force and violence were used; they determine to try them utmost, and to make an assault upon the fortress. So on the morrow morning very early at sound of trumpets, all the whole multitude of them, arranged themselves in the market place. From whence with an out-cry and shout, under the fire of targets over their heads, they approach the Castle. Against whom the Romans behald them, the one unaverted, nor less airy, strengthening their wards and quarters, with a good corps de garde against all Advenues: and whereas they saw the banners displayed, that
A that way they opposed their strongest guards: and suffered the enemies to climb up the hill, supposing that the higher they were got up, so much the calmer they might be beaten down. And being come up to the midst of the cliff, there they halted: and then, e from the higher grounds, which of it itself in manner bare out against the enemy, with all their force they charged upon the Gauls, overturned them, and sent them down headlong: as never after that, e ther any part of them, or all together would attempt that kind of service. Being therefore pat hope to get up by force and arms, they make preparation for long siege: whereas until that time they had no mind: both for that the corn which was within they had consumed in burning of the City, and in the mean space, that which was in the country about, was carried and brought to Vei: Whereupon they divided B their Army, purposing with one part thereof, to forage and drive booty's all over the nations thereby adjoining, and with the other to invest the Castle: to the end, that the foragers abroad might bring in corn to serve them that lay at the siege. Now as those Gauls departed from the City, it was their hap and fortune to come to Ardea (where Camillus abode in exile) there to make trial of the Romans valour. This Camillus being more penive in the behalf of the publice calamity, than careful of his own: spending his spirits and wasting his body with crying out upon gods and men: thus fretting and chafing with himself, and wondering what was become of those valiant and hardy men, who under his conduct won Veii and Fabrictis; and who had fought other wars more valiantly always than fortunately: of a sudden he heard that the Army of the Gauls approached, and that the Ardeates in great fear fell to confutation therefore about what to do: and C even as if he had been inspired from God above, he put himie forward and entred into the midst of the people assembled, who herefore, had abstained and forborn such publice meetings and confutations. And thus he said: "You my Matters of Ardea, mine old friends sometimes, and now my new neighbours and fellow-Citizens, for to it is fallen out by your kindnes, and desires, and by mine own fortune and condition: let no man think, that I, forgetful of my own entire am come forth hither into this audience. But the present object and publice danger forceth every man to utter and bring forth in to hear tell a time and business as this, what help he can. And when shall I ever be thankful unto you for your favours and demerits, if now I stand still and do nothing? Or where shall I stand here in feild, if not in war? By my skill herein, I flourished in my Country, and being in war invincible, was in peace by unthankful neighbours D hours and unkind Citizens banisht. And now have ye good occasion offered, and opportunity of ye Ardeates) both to make recompence, for those so great pleasures and benefices, as I times past received of the people of Rome, as your selves do well remember, (and therefore be it spoken without blasphemy and reproaching of any mindfull persons) and also to win great honour of war, unto this City, by defeating a common enemy both. This nation, which thus cometh towards us with a disolute and disordered army, are those to whom God and nature hath given bodies more big and corpulent than strong and able, hearts more stout and cour- reous than constant and resolute whereby they bring with them always into the field more shew of terror than true valour and execution. Whereof the late toil and discomfiture of the, Romans may be a sufficient proof and trial. They won the City when the gates were open unto them: a small power from the Castle and Capitol was ablest withstanding and repel them. And E weary already of the tediousness of siege, they are fain to depart, stragling up and down, and wandering along the country. Their manner is when they have filled their bulles with wine and good victuals, (which they devour full greedily and hastily whereoever they can come by it.) so soon as night cometh on, without any place of defence, without watch or ward to them selves along like brute beasts, here and there by the waters sides, and now upon their good successes, are they more securous and reticulous, than they were wont to be. If ye be disposed to defend your walls, & not all return French, gather your selves together & at the first watch of the night, arm, and to your weapons, follow me to a massacre, and not to a skirmish: for if I do not deliver them unto your hands fast asleep to be hewn in pieces like sheep and oxen, I refuse not to see the F flame end of mine estate at Ardea, that I have found already at Rome. There was not one there, howeveroffered he was, friend or foe to Camillus: but was persuaded that the like warrior was not in those daies to be found again. The assembly being broken up, they refreshed their bodies, ready to fight as soon as ever the Signal should be propounded. Which being put forth, in the beginning and first watch of the night, they were ready with Camillus at the gates. And gone they were not far from the town, but they found, (as it was foretold them) the Gauls camp without Coup de guard, neglected on every side: and with a mighty cry they assil. There was in no place fight, but killing every where: and their naked bodies (as they lay fast asleep) were hacked and cut in pieces, Howbeit, some of those who were fortheft off, being scared out of their couthes, not knowing what violence or from whence it was, took to their heels and fled: other some fled at unawares upon the very enemy. A great part of them being come into the territory of Ardea were by the townsmen who fell out upon them as they were dispers'd, environed and slain. The like slaughter to this there was of the Tuscans in the City off Veii; who had so little pity and compassion, to see a City which well near for four hundred years space bordering upon them, was now surprised by a strange enemy not heard of afore, that even at that very time they made rodes into the Territory of Rome, and laden with booty from thence, purposing to assil even Veii also and the garrison, being the only place and means of relief, and the last hope of the Roman name.
The Roman soldiers that lay in garrison there, had espied these Tuscanians ranging about the coun-
try, and gathered together in a body to drive booties at them: and withall they descried their
Camp pitched not far from Veii. Where, at first they pitched their own estate; but after, they fell
into an indignation and anger that the Tuscanians also, from whom they had diverted the Gauls war
upon themselves, should in their calamities thus scorn them and have them in derision: so they
could forsooth temper themselves and forbear, but presently let upon them. But being flated per-
force by Captain (editio) Centurion whom they themselves had made their Ruler, they put off
this exploit until night: Only their Commander and Leader was not to be compared with Cau-
silus; else all the service was achieved in the same order, and with as good speed and happy
success, Over and befofe, by the guidance and direction of those prisoners which remained unblin-
d over night, they went forward as far as Saline, to another power of the Tuscanians, and in the night
following, upon a sudden they made them a greater havoc and slaughter of them, and so in joyous
manner with double conquest they return to Veii. At Rome in this mean time, the siege for the
most part was but cold and slack, and all quiet on both sides: whiles the Gauls regarded and loo-
ked to this only, That none of their enemies should make an escape through their guards. At
what time a certain valiant young Roman behaved himself so, as his own countrmen and enemies
too had in great admiration. There was a set faciicke or solemnity to be celebrated by the
house and lineage of Fabius in the Mount Quirinal. For the accomplishment whereof, Comis Fabi-
uus Decius in his holy robes, after the Gabine fashion, bearing in his hand the holy complements
thereunto belonging, came down from the Capitol, passed through the midit of the enemies corps de
K guard, and nothing moved whatsoever was done or said to terrify him, went on forth right to the
Mount Quirinal. And when he had there performed and dispatched all solemnities, returning
the same way with like constant constenance and comly pace, hoping affolutely, that the gods
would be merciful and gracious unto him, whose worship he had not left undone for any fear of death:
he retired again to his company into the Capitol: whether it were that the Gauls were Astonish-
ed at his wondrous boldness, or rather were touched in conscience with a reverent regard of Reli-
gion, wherein that nation is very zealous and devout. At Veii in the mean while they gathered not
only heart every day more than other, but strength and forces also; for that not only Romans thir-
ter repaired out of the country, such as either in diturniture of the battell, or for the calamity
of the City now taken, had been catteder: but also out of Latin divers of their own accord
had flockt thither, to have their share in the pillage. Now they thought it high time to return
to their country again and to deliver it out of the enemies hands. The body was strong enough,
but without an head it was. The very place put them in mind of Camillus, and a great part of the
soldiers were such as had archived prosperous exploits under his leading and conduct. And Cau-
silus did indignantly plain: that no god or man should make him give over his government, but
would himself, as mindful of his own place, call for a General. So by general consent it was agreed,
that Camillus should be sent for from Aosta, but with the advice before of the Senat whic was
at Rome. So modest were they in all their carriage, and so precisely observed they (even in their
desperate case) the due respect and regard of every action. Now to pass through the wards of
their enemies, was an hard and dangerous adventure. To this exploit therefore, Postumus Comis-
inius, a valorous young man, promised his service. Who being himself upon a bark or corke under
him, hauled along the Tyber down the water to the City; and to the next way from the strand,
over a steep cliff (which was negligently or not at all guarded by the enemy) he passeth through
the Capitol, and being brought to the Magistrates, declareth there his message from the Army.
When he had received the Senates decree to this effect: Imperius, That Camillus should be called
back again out of exile by a Ward-leet, or the suffrages of the Curiae: Item, that by the voices
of the people he should be created Dictator out of hand, and that the soldiery might have for their
Genetall whom they desired: the messenger returned the same way back again to Veii. And Em-
busadours were sent to Camillus at Ardea, who conducted him to Veii. But I would rather be sree
that he departed not from Ardea, before he had certain intelligence of the Act of the Senate,
And for that neither without the will of the people, he might change the place whereunto he was
confined. nor might he were named Dictator, have the conduct of the Army; there passed an
Act of all the Wards, and Dictator he was declared in his absence. Whiles these things were a
doing at Veii, the Castle of Rome and the Capitol was in very danger. For the Gauls, either
having found out a man-footing that way as the messenger went from Veii, or espied at the cliff of
Carnutes, an easie place to climb up: in a clear night sent a man before him, to assy the pil-
lage, & then gave him up his armes, and where upon was first, one he had fitted up, and drew up
as the difficulty of the place required, so as they got up to the top with such silence, that
not only the Senenels were not aware of them, but also the dogs (a watchfull creature at e-
every noile in the right) were not once awakened therewith. But they could not escape the gale,
which were confounded into fume, and for all the leaftness of victual were lappd and not killed
up. And this it was that saved them all. For with their gagling and fluttering of their wings, M.
Moletus, who three years before had been Consul, a right hardy and noble warriour, was awaked.
Who taking weapon in hand, speedily went forth and raised the rest withall to take arms. And
whiles all else made shift in a great fright, he broke the Gauls who now flood upon the top, with
the boise and pike of his buckler, and turned them down. The fall of whom overturned them that
were
were next. Then flew he others, (whiles they were in fear) who laid their weapons out of hand, and took hold of the stones whereunto they clungged close. By which time the rest being come together, some flinging darts, others casting down stones, tumbled their enemies back, and the whole power of them lost their face footing and fell down headlong. This tumult being appeased the rest of the night (to far forth as men might with troubled minds, seeing that even the danger, past diquested them) they gave themselves to sleep. When day was come, the toulidors by sound of Trumpet were summoned to assemble before their Tribunes, and considering there was reward due both to well-doing and mis-doing: Marcus first for his valour was commended and rewarded, not only by the Tribunes military, but also by consent of all the toulidors. Upon whom, they amongst them all, bestowed and brought home his house (which stood upon the Castle hill) wheat-meal by the half-pints, and wine by the quarts. A matter of small reckoning to be spoken of: but in that fcurity, this might be an argument of their love and affection when every man beguiled his own belly, pluckt from himself and the recumbencies of his life, and conferred the same to the honour and recompence of that one man. Then were summoned to appear the seni- nels of that place where the enemy climbed up undescribed. And when as P. Sulpitius a Tribune Military, had pronounced that he would exercise martial law upon them all the toulidors cried out with open mouth, and laid all the fault on one watchman: and so for fear of a mutiny he spared all there; and with their general consent and approbation, he cawed that undoubtful guilty person to be thrown down from the rock. Whereupon they were more careful and circumspect in their watch, both amongst the Gauls (because it was commonly notified that there passed mes- sengers to and fro between Vei and Rome: and also amongst the Romans, for the remembrance of the late danger by night. But above all other miseries that follow war and siege, the famine was fore in both the Armies. The Gauls were plagued with pestilence besides: for that they had pitched their tents in a place lying between two hills, exceeding hot by reason of the fires, and full of imoak, carrying both dust and ashes, when any wind was stirring: which be things that of all others, that nation cannot abide, as being used to wet and cold. Thus being smothered with heat, and therewith filled and choked again, they died with contagious diseases like rotten sheep. And now for idleness that they would not bury them fearfully one by one, they laid the dead bodies on heaps one with another, and to burn them; and made that place famous and no- Table by the name of Buffa Gallia, i.e. Gaulbury. Hereupon, they grew to make some truce with the Romans, and embraced together by sufferance of the Generals. In which parleys, when as the Gauls very often alleged the famine, and upon that extremity persuaded them to yeeld: it is said that the Romans for to put them by that opinion of them, in many places from the Capitol slung out leaves of bread into the very stations and corps de guard of the enemies. But at length neither could their hunger be dissembled nor sustained any longer. Therefore, whiles the Dictator mulcted a power at Ardea by himself, he commandeth the Generall of hornemen L. P. Sulpitius to have away the Army from Vei and make to good preparation, and inmisheth himself to, as he might be able to match his enemies, and to charge upon them. In the mean season the army of the Capitol wearied out with watching and warden, having unmounted all humane miseries beside hunger, which only of all others, nature would not suffer to be over; one looking day by day for succour from the Dictator now at lat when not only their food, but their hope also failed them, and were grown to that weakness, that when they went to keep their guard, they could hardly bear the weight of their armour, they agreed and gave consent either to yield or to ransome themselves upon any condition, they cared not what. Whiles the Gauls also gave forth plainly, and said they might be entreated for a small consideration to give over siege. Then the Senate went together, and gave Commision to the Tribunes Military to bargain and go through with them. So by a parley or treaty had between P. Sulpitius Tribune Military, and Arnius the Duke of the Gauls, a conclusion was made: and that people, who within a short time should be Lords of the world, were valued and esteemed at a thousand pound weight of Gold. This in itself was a most odious and shamefull thing, but was adjoynd therunto a foul indignity. For the Gauls brought forth false weights and uneven balances. And when the Tribunes refuted them, behald, the insolent and proud Gaul would needs have his sward weighed too for vantage, adding this speech moreover, (which was intolerable to the Romans to hear) We worth men conquered and down with them ill. But neither God nor man would abide the Romans to live ranomd. For by good hap, before that shamefull sum of money by composition was paid, before (I say) that some wrangling that fell between, all the Gold was weighed out, cometh the Dictator in the manner, and commandeth the Gold to be had away, and the Gauls to void. And when as they made resistance and pleaded the capitation and bargain, he again replied, and faith, That the composition was not good, nor ought to stand, which after he had restored. 

G Dictator had been by an injurious Magistrate concluded, without his commandment and warrant: and withall wameth the Gauls to prepare themselves to fight commending his own toulidors to cast all their bag and bagage down on a heap, to put on their harnets, to make ready their weapons, and by dint of feed, and not by weight of sward to redeem their Country, having in fight before their eyes the Churches of their gods, their wives and children, and the foil whereon the City stood (deformed now with miseries of war) and all things else which they ought by good reason to defend, recover, and be revenged for. Hereupon he marshalled his battell as the ground
ground would give him leave, being the plot only of a City half ruinare and lying along, and with all of it self-naturally uneven, Forecalling and providing for all things with special choice and preparation to serve his lodgers turn, as far as martial skill could possibly reach, The Gauls attained at this to strange an accoutrement, betook them to their weapons and in a furious fit of anger rather than with any considerate discretion, they ran upon the Romans, Now had Formos turned her wheel: now Gods help and mans policy affixed the Romans. Therefore at the first encounter the Gauls were discomfitted with as little difficulty as they themselves had discomfitted the victory at Alma. Afterwards also, in another more hot battle in the way of Gades, about eight miles from Rome (to which place they were fled) they were vanquished by the confederacy and leading of the same Caureliam. For there were they slain in every place, their Camp taken, and not so much as one left to bring news of their overthrow. The Dictator having thus delivered his Country out of the enemies hand, returned again with triumph into the City. And in all the sports and pleasant ditties which the Gauls rudely suffer'd after their manner devi'd, he was fill'd Romulus the father of the Country, the second founder of the City, which were no vain titles of commendation.

When he had saved his Country thus in war, he preferred it afterwards again undoubtfully in time of peace, namely in gainlaying their transmigration to Veii: whiles both the Tribunes enforced that matter more earnestly, now after the burning of the City, and the Commons also of themselves were more enclined thereunto, than before. Which was one cause, that after his triumph he reign'd not up his Dictatorship: being requested also by the Senate not to leave the City in so doubtful terms of perplexity. And first and foremost (as he was evermore a most pious devout man and religions) he proposed these things which concern'd the immortal gods: and casteth an act of the Senat to be made, Imperium, that all the Temples, for that the enemies had held and possessed them) should be repaired, bound out new, and purged. Item, that the manner of cleaning them should be searched out of the books of Sybils by the Divinists. Moreover that with the inhabitants of Core, there should be made a league of publick and mutual hospitality, for receiving the sacred images and priests of the city of Rome: by the means and favour of which people, the honour and service of the immortal gods was not forelorn and disconforted. Item, that there should be set out the plagues called Caduplina, for that Jupiter Optimum Maximus had fill'd defeat and preserved his own face, and the Refuge of the people of Rome, in that fruitful time of trouble. And that M. Furion should ordain a guild, or fraternity out of those that dwelt in the hill of the Capitol, for the celebration of those plagues. Finally to the end there should also be some satisfaction and expiation made of that night voice which being the bore-messenger and warning-giver of their destruction before the coming of the Gauls, was heard and yet neglected, a motion was made, that a Temple should be erected in the new conley to Attis Locutus. The Gold which was recovered by force from the Gauls, as also that which out of other Temples in that fearful hurtly-burry, was brought into the chancel or chappel of Jupiter, because they could not call to mind precisely into which Churches they were to carry it again accordingly, was all judged holy and sacred to Jupiter: and order taken that it should be belov'd and laid up under his shrine. And how devout the City was, appeared before in this: That when there was not gold enough in the common chests, to make up the full sum of the ransom that was agreed upon between them and the Gauls, they took that which the matrons and wives of Rome contributed, and all to spare and save the gold appointed to holy uses. The Matrons were therefore thanked, and this honor bestowed done unto them. That after their death they as well as their husbands, should be openly paid in a solemn funeral Oration. When those things were once accomplisht which appertain'd to the Gods, and all that belonged to the Senate for to do: they and not alone, upon the fries that the Tribunes kept with the Commons continually, with their speeches in all their assemblies, soliciting them to leave the ruins of the City and to remove with all they had to Veii, a town readily furnished to their hand: then I say not before, Camillus accompanied with the whole Senate, came up into the common place of audience, and there before the N people spake in this wise. So grievous to me O Qutices, is all contention and variance with the Tribunes of the Commons that while I lived at Ardeia I found no other comfort and solace, in that most heavy and woful banishment of mine but this. That I was far enough off from those debates and jars. In regard whereof, I would never have come again, I affirme but that you called me back both by act of Senate, and also by approbation of the people. And it is not in me any change of mind but your calamity and distress'd estate, that hath forced me to return again unto you. For this was the very point that you stood upon, namely that our country might continue still and keep her ancient place: and not I wis, that I should return and dwell therein again. And even now verily, would I be still and keep silence willingly, but that this事宜 also is in the behalf of my forefathers, the whom I fail (so long is life doth last) for others might be a shameful reproach for our country: the which I fail (so long is life doth last) for others might be a shameful reproach for our country: the which I fail (so long is life doth last) for others might be a shameful reproach for our country: the which I fail (so long is life doth last). And when as the gods and men of Rome kept still, and inhabited the Capitol and the camp, notwithstanding the Gauls were Lords and possess'd of the whole City, is it possible that both Cisle and Capito, after the City is regained, should be forsaken and abandoned of the
A Roman visitors, and shal our prosperous hand over our enemies bring greater devotion to our
City, than adversity hath? Verily, if it were so, that we made no reckoning of that religion and
divine solemn service, instituted even with the foundation of our City; & that we counted all va-
rities that have been delivered unto us by tradition from our ancestors: yet so evident a power
of God hath alighted the Romans, that I must needs think, that men can now no longer neglect
the worship of God. For consider with me you either the prosperity or the adversity of
these years late past, one after another: ye shall find that as long as we served God and followed
his will so long we prospered & went forward; and all the while that we despised the same, we
ever went backward and fell to decay. And first and foremost the Vei-en war (recently finished),
you hoow many years lasted it? how troubledome and painful was it? And ended it was not before
that by the direction and advertisement of the gods, the war was let out of the Alban
pool: What shall I speak of this late & strange calamity of our own City? Begun it (and by truth)
before that voice which came from heaven was made so light of concerning the coming of the
Gauls: before the law of nations was by our Embassadors broken: and before that through the
lame neglect of the gods, that fact was by us winked at and put up, which indeed should have
been punished and revenged: This was the cause that we were vanquished made captive, not
to our famine and suffer'd such indignation punishment both at Gods hand and at mans, as that we
are made an example and amazement to the whole world. Then our adversity and affliction put
us in mind of our religion and the fear of the gods. We fled into the Capitol, to the gods even
to the very seat of Jupiter Optimus Maximus: and when our own priests clave we to how, or
the sacred monuments yet and holy Images: some we hid in the earth some we conveyed away
into the neighbourhood Towns, and removed them out of our enemies sight. And albeit we were
exposed and given over both of God and men, yet gave not we over, nor discontinued the service
of the gods, And therefore gave they us our country again, they gave us victory, and the
ancient honour of war which we had lost: and upon our enemies heads, who (blinded with co-
ventional) in the weighing of gold brake both covenant and fidelity, they have turned all fear-
fulness, all flight & slaughter. Considering then, O Quirites, by these great and apparent signs,
& testimonies in the course of this world, what it is to serve God, & what it is to displease him,
perceive ye not what wickedness we go about to plunge our selves into, being scarcely got forth
and escaped out of the shipwreck and peril of our former sin and calamity? A City we have founded,
and built, by the will of God and due observation of Anguys and Aulpiices, no corner therein, but full of religion, full of divine Majesty: and for solemn sacrifices, there are set daies
when they shall be celebrated, there are places also appointed wherein they ought to be per-
formed. And are ye about then, O Quirites, to leave all these gods both publicke & private? how for-
tith this deed of yours with that, which lately during the time of the siege, was seen within the:
admiration of our enemies, than our own selves in that Noble young Gentleman C. Fabius?
When through the pikes of the Gauls, he departed out of the Cattle, and performed a solemn
duty of the house of Fabius, even upon the mount Quirinal? What, can ye allow and like that
the sacred ceremonies of private families, should not for so much as in time of war be interrupted:
B but suffer now the publicke sacrifices and the Roman gods, in time of peace to be neglected, and
the City abandoned? That our high Priests and Flaminins should be left curious and precise in
the publicke service of God, than a private Citizen was in the Anniversary feast of his family
and kindred? But peradventure some one may say, We will do the same at Secession, or we will fend
from thence our Priests hither, for to execute that minitry. Neither of which can be done: faith
ing the due observance of holy ceremonies. For, to say nothing in general of all other holy
daies and of all the gods besides; in that one high feast and solemn dinner of Jupiter can a Pul-
vinar be celebrated, or a sacred Table be spread and spread in any place, but in the Capitol?
What should I speak of the eternal fires of Vesta, and of that Image, which is a pawn and secur-
ity of our imperial state, is kept within the falsgeard of that Temple? What should I speak of
those yours Ancient and Sustenamens? O Mars Graculans, and thon father Quirinal: are ye well
contented that all these festival and sacred solemnities, which are all of equal time with the Ci-
ty, yea, and of more antiquity (some of them) than the foundation of the City should be fora-
ken in a profane place? But see what od's there is between us and our ancestors? They left un-
to us, to certain solemn feasts and sacrifices to be celebrated in the Alban mountain and in Latini-
urn, Was it then matter of conscience and religion that some festival solemnities were brought
unto us from our enemies Cities to Rome? And shall we trample the fame from hence, to our e-
nemies City Feis, without a great and bainous offence, that would require expiation? Do but call
it to mind you pray, how often out feasts and sacrifices have been renewed and reformed clean,
for that some one old accustomed ceremony, either by chance or for want of taking heed, hath
been over-flipped and left out. And even of late, what was it else (after the strange miracle of
the Alban Pool) reconciled our Common-wealth to di-verfed with the Vei-en war, but the reforma-
tion of our divine service and renewing of our Aulpiices? And more than this we as it were in
remembrance of ancient religion and devotion, have both brought unto us from foreign gods,
and also have instituted and devised new. What a notable and festival day was that in regard of
the exceeding zeal and forward affection of the Matrons) upon which Queen Juno late tran-
slated from Veii, was dedicated in Aventine? And to Aulis Lornini, for a voice from heaven
heard
heard in the new c统筹wee, offered a Temple to be erected. The Capitoline plates have we did to other solemn feasts & thence to have ordained and founded a new guild or fraternity, even by the advice of the Senate. And what need was there, that we should have done any of these things, if we meant, together with the Gauls, to leave the City of Rome? if we abode not in the Capitol (so many months while we were besieged) willingly and without constraint? And if we were for fear of our enemies, held back from going elsewhere? Thus much of our festival daisies and temples. But what shall become now, I pray you of our Priests? Never think ye once of it, what a full deed you are about? As for the Vestal Virgins and Nuns, it is certain, this is their only place, forth of which nothing ever could drive them but the winning of the City.

"The Flamin of Jupiter may not lie forth of the City one night: and will ye make these Priests of Romans to be one Veientians? And shall thy virgins indeed, O Vestas, leave thee now and shall the Flamin dwelling in a strange place, for every night he is absent, taint with so great impiety, both himself and the Common wealth? As for other matters, which we do with great solemnity by the direction of the Augurs (and all well near within the Pomeroy or compas of the City) how can we forget or neglect them? Namely, the Ward-lee or assembly of the Curator of matters of war: also the other of Centuries, wherein ye chuse your Conuls and Military Tribunes, where can they be held (if we respect the will of the gods and regard the Augusti) but in the places accustomed? Shall we remove all these to Veii? or shall the people repair hither from thence with so great trouble and inconvenience, to a defolate City, forsaken of God and man, whensoever they would hold those assemblies? But the present necessity (they will say) forceth us to leave a town that is built with fire, and wholly ruinous, and to go to Veii, where all hands are safe and sound, and not to put the poor Commons to the toils and charge of new building. That this is a pretence and cause rather devised, than meant in earnest, if I should deny nothing, I think appeareth manifestly unto you already, O Quirites, who remember that before the coming of the French men, whilsts you publicke buildings and private houses were whole, and whilsts the City stood upright on foot, this self-same motion was made and debated, as touching the removing to Veii. Consider now ye Tribunes what difference there is between mine opinion and yours: ye are of mind, that if it had not then been meet to be done, yet now verify it were good and requisite: I contrariwise (but marvel not I pray you before you hear what I will say) am of opinion that albeit we might have then gone, whilsts our whole City flourished yet now we were not to leave it thus ruinate & decayed. For at that time we had some cause to remove into a conquered City, namely, Victory, a glorious thing to our selves and our posterity, but this removing now, were reproachfull and shamefull to our selves, but glorious and honourable to the Gauls. For we shall not be thought to have left our country as conquerors, but to have loft it as conquered. And shall it be said, that our running away at Albin, the winning of the City, the besieging of the Capitol hath imposed this necessity upon us, as to leave our house and home and make flats to seek our own exile and departure out of that place which we are not able to defend? And were, indeed, the Gauls able to pull down and rule that City of Rome, which the Romans shall not be thought able to reedifie and set up again? What remaineth now in the state that should come upon us atthesth, with a new power of men, for certain it is that their multitude is incredible, & were willing to dwell here in this City by them conquered & by you abandoned, but that ye gently permit and suffer them? Nay,What and if not the Gauls, but your old enemies the Equians and the Volsci would remove and come to Rome, would you be willing to have them become Romans and your selves Veientians? Would ye not rather, that this defert and wait ground as it lieth, were yours, than to be a City peopled by your enemies? For I cannot see, I assure you, whether of the twain, were more to be defeated. And because (forsooth) ye are loath to fall to building, are ye resolved to abide these mischiefs? Thee shamful reproaches? if through out the whole City there might not be built a more commodious or statly house, than is that cottage there of our founder, were it not better to dwell in cottages like shepherds & peasants, so it be among your facred monuments and household gods, than all at once generally to go into N exile? Our ancestors and forefathers being a mixture of divers countries and no other than herdsmen, finding in these parts nothing but woods and bogs, in a short time built a new City out of the ground: and are we loath having yet our Capitol, our cattle safe, the Temples of our gods standing full to reedifie it now that it is burnt. That which every one of us would have done, if our houses had been fired, resolve we altogether to do in the common carefire of the City? Give me leave a little, What if by some villany, or by mischance here there should be a fireare at Veii & by reason of the wind (as it is oftenen) the flame spread & carried to consume a great part of the City, shall we go from thence by and by, and seek to Fidenus or Gabii, or some other City near at hand to remove unto? Is the very native soil of our country, and this ground which we call out our mother, of no power at all to keep us here, but doth the whole love and affection of O our country, rest in the superficial outside, and in timber and rafter of our houses? Verily, content I will unto you (although I take leas pleasure to remember the wrongs you did me than the calamity which I endured) when I was abient and in exile, to ofen as I thought of my country, all these things ran in my mind: the hills, the plain, the Tiber, the coasts all about, which was daily prospect and this air, under which I was born and brought up. All which. O Quirites, elect them move you rather now with an affection to them for to tarry till in this your habitation, than
A than disquiet you hereafter, and torment you for the want and misf of them, when you have once left and forgone them. Nor without good cause both God and man have this place for the building of this City: most healthy and wholesome hills; a very convenient and commodious river to bring in corn and other fruits out of the inland parts, to receive provision of other viuats from the sea-coasts; the sea itself near enough for commodities, and not exposed and open by too much nearness to the dangers of foreign navies: the very heart and centre of all Italy, a place as a man would lay, naturally made, and only for that City to grow and encrease in, And that doth the very largeness and greatness of a City to newly founded, plainly prove.

It is now three hundred threecore and four years, and not above, since the foundation thereof. Amongst so many Nations of great antiquity, this long, ye have made war: and all this while (to lay nothing of particular Cities) neither the Volsciens together with the Etrurians populating so many toons, and those so strong, nor all the Horns so mighty by sea and land, and containing the whole breadth between the two seas, are in war to you comparable, Which being so, what reason have you (in the devil's name) when ye have had sufficient proof already of it to try again new experiments? considering now that albeit your valour and virtue may go with you elsewhere, yet surely, the good luck and fortune of this place can never depart and remove from hence? Here is the Capitol, where sometimes upon the finding of a man's head, answer was made by diviners and wizards, That in that very place should be the head of all punishment, and the imperial fear of the whole world. Here, at what time as the Capitol by the direction of the Augurs should be voided and cleared of all other Chappells Lady Juventas and god Terrors, to the great joy of our forefathers, would not suffer themselves to be stirred out of their place. Here are the fire of Hepha, here be the Scythian come down from heaven, here are all the gods; favorabla & gracious fill into you, so long as hereye make abode, and remain, Camillus in all his Oration throughout moved them much: but that part thereof touching religion (by report) was most effectual. But that which struck it dead, and put all out of doubt, was a certain word that fell out to be spoken fitly to the purpose. For at what time as the Senat a while after was gathered together in the Court Hefilia, to debate about these things and certain companies of fondlers that returned from their guards, chanced in the mean time to march through the market place, one Captain happen'd to speak in the Comitia, and said,

"Pitch down the enemy standard bearer, here shall be our best abode. Which voice was not so soon heard, but both the Senat being come out of the Council House, cried with one accord, That they took that omen for good luck, and happy presage: and also the Commons all gathered thereabout, approved the same. After this, when the foretold Act of transmigration was once clean daith and abolished, the City began to be built confidedly, and without order. Tile was allowed at the common charges: to dig either stone, or new timber, every man had liberty where he could, putting in forfeitures that within the compass of that year they would finish their buildings. The hasts they made, caused them to have no regard of drawing out the streets directly, whiles every man built in the void places without respect of his own or other mens ground. Which is the canie that the out-finks and vaults which first were conveyed through the common streets, now run every where under mens houses, and the form of the City seems th as if it were built at random (as every man could catch a place for himself) rather than distinctly ranged, and set out in good order since them.

The Sixth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Sixth Book.

I containeth the fortune we were against the Equians, the Volsciens, and Tusciens. Four Tribes were added to the former, Stellatins, Sabbrina, Promencina, Amienius. M. Manlius, who had defended the Capitol from the Gauls, which he called with the dehs of those that were in danger of their creditors, and released such as were then imprisoned was commended of aspiring to be king, and thrown down from the cliff Tarpeia. In whose reproach a decree was made by the Senat, that none of the heirs of Manlius should be named Marcus. C. Licinius, and L. Sextius, Tribunes of the Common, proposed a law, that Confels might be chosen out of the Commons, who were created before from among the Nobles only. And after the Senators withstood them with earnest endeavour, yet by reason that for five years since the same Tribune continued the only Magistrates of the City, they went through with that law and got it enacted. And L. Sextius was created the first Consul that ever was of Commons. A second time there posiedlikewise, That no man might possess above five hundred acres of land.
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That arises from the building of the City of Rome unto the taking of the fame, the Romans have achieved, first, under the government of Kings, afterwards of Consuls and dictators, Decemvirs, and Tribunes Consular, as well in the wars abroad as seditions at home: I have in five books declared, Matters obscure, both in regard of exceeding antiquity (as things that are far off hardly are discerned): also for that in those days there were very few writings and monuments, the only faithful safeguard, and true remembrancers of deeds past: and besides, whatsoever was registered in the Commentaries of the Priests, and in other public or private records, the fame for the most part, when the City was burned, perished with all. But now from henceforward, their civil affairs of policy, and maritall exploits in war, ensuing after a second beginning of the City (asspringing again with more fresh shoots and fruitfull sprouts from the root of the old stock) shall be delivered in more plain and certain manner.

And to begin with all, look by whom the first first was underpropped and set upright, upon him (as chief and principal) it still bare and rested: and that was M. Furius: whom the Romans would not suffer to give up his Dictatorship before one year was fully expired. As for those Tribunes (Consular) in time of whole government the City was lost, they liked not that they should call and hold an assembly for Election of Magistrates the year following. So the matter came to an Interregnum. Now while the City was buie in continual work and labour, about reedifying and repairing their buildings, Q. Fabius so soon as he was out of his office, was by C. Martius, a Tribune of the Commonwealth, arrested to make his answer at a day appointed, Who told to his charge, That he contrary to the Law of Nations, had sought against the Gauls, unto whom he was sent in embassage, and as an Orator only. But he avoided his judicial trial, by his death; and died to just against the time, that many men thought it was voluntary and wrought by his own hands. Then P. Cornelius Scipio first entered upon the Interregnum: and after him M. Furius Camillus the second time. He created Tribunes Military in Consuls authority, A. Valerius Publicola the second time; L. Virginius, P. Cornelius, A. Martius, L. Aemilius, and L. Postumius. These men presently after the Interregnum, were not so soon entered into office: but after all other things, they concerned with the Senate in matters concerning Religion and Conscience. And first of all they committed, that all the instruments of leagues and confederacies, the ordinances and laws after (as were the twelve tables & certain Statutes made by the Kings) should be sought up as many as could be found exact. Whereof some were published abroad, even amongst the Common people: but such as pertained properly to holy Rites, and divine service, were by the Priests and Prelates suppresse: especially, of purpose to hold the minds of the people in a reverent awe of religion and devotion. Then began they to reason and debate about the dismal dates, and the eleventh day before the Calends of August, so notorious for a twofold los: and overthrown, upon which day at Cremora the Fides were all slain, and after at Alba an unfortunate M. field was fought, even to the utter ruin and deolation of the City, they named of the latter misfortune, Alcuens: and set this unlucky mark upon it. That it should be reputed unmeet and inconvenient for any benign as well publicke as private. Some think, because upon the next day following the Ides of July, Sulpicius the Tribune Military could not by sacrifices find any tokens of happy speed, nor obtain the grace and favour of the gods; whereupon three days after the Roman host fell shamefully into the hands of the enemies: therefore, the morrow also after the Ides was interdicted, and men were commanded to forbear and abstain from doing sacrifices and thereon likewise, the day next following the Calends and the Nones, were by tradition held as ominous and dismal as the other.

But long they might not quietly sit about the devising of means to reform the Common-wealth, and set it upright again after grievous and dangerous a fall. For of one side the Volcanians, their old enemies, took arms, intending the final destruction of the Roman name. On the other side, the Merchants brought news, That the Princes and chief of all the Nations of Hatifria were banded and confederate together in a Diet held at the Temple of Pallas: to make war upon them. Besides a fresh and new fear came upon them by reason of the rebellion of the Latines and Hernicks, who after the battell at the pool Regillus, for the space almost of an hundred years, had continued fast in loyal league and amity with the people of Rome. Therefore being thus greatly affrighted on every side, that all the world might see apparently that the State of Rome was not only hated of her enemies but despised also of her allies; it was thought good and resolved upon, that by his direction and rule, the Common-wealth should now be maintained and defended, by whose conduct and guidance it was relieved and recovered: and that M. Furius Camillus should be created Dictator. He being declared Dictator, named Q. Servilius H. Il for Generall of the Horatians. And having proclaimed a law-feast (or vacation from Courts of Law) he took in all the younger fort and servicable men: but so, as the elder people were not left out, as many as were of strength sufficient for service: unto whom he likewise ministered the military oath of Allegiance, and enrolled them by hundreds in the muster book. When he had
A had thus levied a power of men, and furnished them with armour, he divided them into three parts. The one he opposed against Hermina in the Country of Vef; another he commanded to be encamped before the City. Over these A. Manlius a Tribune military was made Captain: those which were sent against the Tuscans had L. Aemilius for their Commander, A third part he himself led against the Volsciens: and not far from Lavinium (the place is called Ad-Metum) he began to assail their Camp. The enemies had put themselves on this their journey, with a kind of contemptful contentment, as thinking the whole manhood in a manner of Rome, was by the French discomfited and routed. But when they heard once, that Camillus was the Lord General, it broke such a fear and terror amongst them, that they were glad to defend themselves by the length of their trench and rampier, yea, and to fence it round about with huge-piled heaps of wood and trees, that their enemies might have no passage to enter in upon their munitions. Which when Camillus perceived, he gave order to let on fire that Barricado which flood in his way. And as good hap was, the wind was high and blew full upon the enemy. So that not only he made way by fire, but also with the flames thereof that went toward the Camp, with the vapour like a smoke, and the crackling noise of the green wood, he so amazed & astonied the enemies, that the Romans had less ado to pass the trench and pallidado, into the Camp of the Volsciens, than in getting over the mound and entourage covered with fire. Having thus defeated and slain his enemies and won withall the Camp in the same brauns, the Dictator gave the whole spoyle unto the fouldiers, which to them was too much the more welcome, as they les hoped for it at their General his hand: who was never known to be lavish of gift, and over-liberal in dealing rewards.

After this he followed them that fled, in chase, waited and forraged their whole country, and at length (in the leventieth year of the war) he wholly subdued the Volsciens, and forced them to yield submission. For this conquest he departed from thence against the Equiens, who likewise made preparations for war. Their forces he surprized and defeated at Bologna, and affaile not only their Camp but also forced the City, and at the first assault won both.

But whiles fortune smiled thus, what way how Camillus went, as being the only play of the Roman state: on another side the fear of peril greatly encreased. For the Tuscans well near all up in arms, lay before Sutrium, and believed it being in league with the people of Rome. Whole Embassadors came unto the Senat to entreat for succour in their distress, and had a decree granted unto them, that the Dictator with all speed should relie the Sutrians. But being so straitly beleaguered, that they might not abide the delay of this their hope, that the townsmen, who but few in number, were over-weared with working, watching, and bloody fighting, (all which lay still upon the same men without intermission) they were driven by compulsion to surrender the City to the enemies, and being disarmed and left away with a sullen fate of apparel (after a pitious for all a-row) departed the town, and left their dwelling places. But fce, it fortuned that Camillus at the same time came in the very manner with the Roman Army and met them. At whole fce the multitude all forrowfully lay prostrate: their Nobles and chief men in this extremity felt to beseech him to be good unto them: the women and children which went along with them, as partakers and companions of their exile, beseeched them with woful tears and lamentations.

But he willed the Sutrians to forbear their mourning plaints, and give over their dolefull moan: saying that he brought the Tuscans heavy and weeping cheer. Then caufed he his fouldiers to lay down their packs and load the Sutrians likewise there to abide with a mean guard, and his men to follow him with armour and weapons only. Thus marched he forward with his Army lightly appoincted for ready expedition, and advanced before Sutrium. Where, according to his expectation, he found the enemies all careles and secure (as commonly it fell out upon a propeorous success). No warders, no corporis de grand quartered before the walls, the gates wide open, the Conquestors here and there latching, rifing and flinging the goods out of their enemies houses. So was Sutrium in one day twice won. The Tuscans (for all their former victory) were hewn in pieces on every side, by a new-come enemy. They had no timeto call themselves round nor gather together into one place, no, nor to take weapon in hand: whereas every man for life, made in all haste to the gates, if haply any way they might escape into the fields. But when they came thither, the gates they found fast shut, for the Dictator had given order above-hand, Herceupon some betook themselves to their weapons: others (namely such as happened to be armed when this sudden tumult surprized them) fell to call their fellows together for to begin a skirmish: which no doubt in that desperate case of the enemies had been hotly fought, not onely the Cri and Trumpets which were sent into all parts of the City, made proclamation to lay down their weapons, to spare them which were unarmed, and that none should have any harm but that which were found in arms. Upon this, even they who in that extremity and delpair were fully bent to fight it out, for hope of life on all hands hang about their weapons; and thus disarmed as they were (for as the case flood, it was the latter course) presented themselves to the enemy. A great number of them were belewed in several places, and were attended upon with good guards. And before night the town was delivered again unto the Sutrians, safe and sound without any hurt at all done unto it, as being not won by force, but intended upon composition, Camillus then returned with triumph into the City of Rome, victor at one voyage in three fundry wars. The greatest number by far, of prisoners, whom he led before his chariot in triumph, were Tuscans: whom he sold in post-fale at the spear, and raised such a sum of mony, that when he had

Barricade } won in one day.
had out of it repaid the dames of Rome; the worth of their gold, there were of the four pluses of thereof three bowls made of purple gold, which with the title and inscription of Camillus his name, were for certainty, before the Capitol was burnt to be seen in the chamber of Jupiter set up and bestowed at the feet of Juno.

The same year, there were enthralled and made Citizens of Rome, such Venetians, Capenates and Flancians, as in the time of those wars were fled to the Romans; and for these new Citizens were certain lands set out, Tho' also, who for idleness doth to build at Rome, were gone to Vesl, there to inhabit the vacant houses, were by an Act of the Senat recalled home from thence. And they at the first stumbled & refusing to obey but after that a day was set them & they threatened upon pain of death to return again to Rome, as soon as they were, and obtain all of them together now for fear every one became obedient, as Rome now increased in number of inhabitants, and became well populated, so on all hands in every place they fell to building new edifices; whiles the Common-wealth somewhat eased them of charges, and the Eides by verse of their office called hard upon them, halting them forward as to a publice works, ye and every man privately made all speed possible, according as each ones need required, to make an end and finish his own house. So as within the year the City was new built and stood on foot again.

At the years end was the great election held for Tribunes military in Consuls authority, Wherein were created T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, Q. Servilus Falco at the fifth time, Julius Thullus, L. Aquilus Cornutus, L. Lucratus Tricipitimus, Ser. Sulpius Raffus. One army they let out and led against the Aquilians, not for war with them (for they granted themselves conquered) but upon K meet sport and deadly hatred, to waffe all their borders utterly, and to leave them no power and strength to enterprize any new rebellion. The other, into the territory of Tarquinii. Where, two towns of the Tufcans, Cortona and Contember, were by assault won and rafed. At Cortona was no resistance made. For the Romans surprized them on a sudden, and at the first shout and impression they were masters of it: The town was sacked and burned. As for Contember, it endured the assault for some few daies: but the continual labours, walking neither day nor night overcharged them: whereof the Roman Army divided into six parts, sought in hours in the soldiers turns round one after the other. And the townsman being few, and those overroiled, were fain without any supply, to maintain their skirmishes. Whereupon at last they retreated back & yielded giving the Romans leave to enter the City. The Tribunes were of mind and thought good, that the L spoil should be confiscate to the common treassie: but the commandment and proclamation was more slack than their purpose on that behalf. For whilst they lingered and procrastinated time, the fondlers already had feasted in their prizes: and taken from them again without much offence and hatred the booty could not be. In the same year, because the City should not flourish in private buildings only, the Capitol was also built ofigured after Itono: A piece of work even in this to glorious estate, and magnificence of the City, to be had in price and esteemed excellent. And now before this time, the Tribunes of the Commons, whiles the City was busied about their buildings, began often to move for the Laws Agraria (about the division of the lands) in all their assemblies and speeches before the people. For to draw them on and to set forward their hope, they presented unto them very often the Pomptine Territory, which then above all others, so presently upon the inducing and subversion of the Volsciens by Camillus, was no doubt, the rightfull possifion of the people of Rome. Complaints were made, that those grounds sustained much more detriment and damage by the Nobility, than they had received before from the Volsciens. For they, so long only as they were able to bear arms and maintain war, made inroads thither: but the Noblemen forcibly entred and made havock in the possifions of the common lands: and unless (before they had let loose footing there, and got all into their hands) a diuision were made, the Commons should never enjoy one foot of ground there. Thence Remonftrances of the Tribunes little moved the Commons and both because few of them referred to the common place of assemble whiles they pried their buildings; and also for that money was away, and their purses too emptied in the charges of workmen, that they had little mind of holding those lands, which to flour N and flock they were not able.

The City was now given much to their devotions and religions, and the rulers also somewhat superstitious upon their late calamity: infomuch as they minded to renew the Auspicia [or the omen of prelages taken by bird-flight] for some errors supposed therein: and therefore they agreed that the government should return to an Interregne. So there were Interregnes one after another, M. Manlius Capitolinus, Ser. Sulpius Camerarius, L. Valerius Postrust, Valerius at length held the assembly for to elect Tribunes Military in Consuls authority and created L. Papirius, Cn. Sergius, L. Calpurnius the second time, L. Lucius, T. Valerius Publicola the third time. These presently after the Interregne began their government. That year, the Temple of Mars vowed in the Gauls war was dedicated by T. Quinctius, a Dunawt deputed for the executinge of holy duties, O Four Tribes of new Citizens were now adjoynd Stellattina, Pomoniae Sabatica, Arpinian, and these made up the number of the 25 Tribes. And now L. Sicinius a Tribune of the Commons, was in some with the people in greater number assembled together, about the Pomptine lands: and more enabled they were and forward to hearken after grounds, than they had been afore. And whereas it was moved in the Senate house, to make work upon the Latines and the Hernicks, that was not followed, but put off to a further time: by reason of preparation for a greater war.
The Oration of M. Furius Camillus to his companions in government.

A. He was already up in arms. And all was laid again upon Camillus his shoulders, who was made Tribun Military with Continius authority, and had five other brethren in office joined unto him. So, Cornelius M. Legienius, Q. Servilius Fideles in the first time, L. Quintus Cornelius, L. Horatius Flaccus, P. Tiberius. In the beginning of the year, the minds of men were turned away from the careful regard they had of the Tartar war, by reason that a number of people that fled out of the Pompeian country, came all of a sudden in great haste to the City, and brought word, that the Antians were up in arms, that the nations of the Latin had lent their able youth to that war closely underhand, thereby disavowing it to be any action of the State, and standing up on this point, that by the covenant there was no proviso, but that voluntary soldiers might serve in what wars forever they would. Now had the Romans been well taught, and learned to set fire no more by any wars. The Senat therefore thanked the Gods, that Camillus was in place of government, who if he had been a private person, was no doubt to have been nominated and created Dictator: yea, and his companions in office conceived frankly that he was the only man to have the sovereign and absolute Regimen of all, in case there were any fearful and dangerous war to ward: and were fully resolved to yield up all their interest in government into him, thinking it no disparagement at any time unto them, nor any loss of their honour and reputation, in conferring the same upon the Majesty of so worthy a person. The Senat highly commended the Tribuns, and Camillus was much beloved in his mind, howbeit he gave them hearty thanks, and spake in this wise. 

"A weighty burthen (quoth he) I see is imposed upon me by the people of Rome, in that they have elected and nominated me Dictator now the fourth time: a greater charge is enjoyed by me the Senat: the whole state and body of which orders, hath delivered to me, in particular good opinion and judgement of me: but the heaviest load of all is laid upon me by the exceeding kindnefs and obsequious bemiety of those my honourable brethren and colleagues, if any painfull travel of mine therefore, and watchful care may be redoubled, I will entirely en- deavour, I will strain and strive to answer thereunto: that the opinion which the City with so great care hath conceived of me, right as it is exceeding great, so it may continue still and be perpetual. As to that war of the Antians, there are more brags and threats than any danger and peril from thence. But as I would counsel and advise you to be {335} on a war, so I would not have you to be careless and secure of any. The City of Rome is beter on every side: partly envied, and partly hated of her neighbour borderers. Need there is both of more Captains, and also of more armies, to manage the affairs of the Common-weal. I think it good therefore (quoth he) O Valesius, that you assist me in government and counsel, and have the leading together with me of certain legions against the Antian enemies. That you, Q. Servilius, with another army well appointed, and in readiness, ye{336}e{337}mented hard by the City side, having an eye and good regard, as either Hestusius, in the mean while, (as of late dayes) or the Latins and Hernicks (who trouble us now so much) break out and make some rising. Alas, I amí{338} the {339} that you will behave your self, and quit you in this service so worthily, as may answer the famous me- mory of such a father and grandsire as you have had, may becom your own honourable person, and thole fix Tribunships which you have already performed. As to: L. Quintius let him leave a third power of men, consisting of those that are by reason of their age, or otherwise excused for warre, and are above the ordinary age for military service, to be in head of a gen- tion for defence of the City and the Walls. Let L. Horatius provide harness, weapons, corn, and other necessaries for war, at all occasions whatsoever. Finally, O Sergius Cornelius, you are our fellow low Tribuns, ordain you President of this publick Council, the Censure and keeper of Religion and Church-matters, of general assemblies, of the Laws, and all other civil affairs of policy whatsoever. Now when they had all made promise, and that most willingly to do their endea- vor in performing their several charges, Valesius whom he had joined with himself in commis{340} sion, added moreover and said, That as he would take M. Furius to be Dictator, so would he be unto him again in head of his Colonel of Horsemen. And turning to the Lords of the Sen- 

F. exalted them, that what opinion they had of one only Sovereign General. The fame hope they would conceive of the whole war. The Senat hereat took great joy and contentement, giving out their willingely with one accord; that they hoped exceeding well of war, of peace, and generally of the State. Neither shall the Common-weal (as they) everlasting in need of Dictator, so long as inch Magnificats be in place, so jointly agreeing in one mind together, so indifferent and ready as well to obey as to rule, and rather yielding their proper praise to the ho- nour of the Common-weal, than dismembering and plucking from it to their private glory and re- pection.

After a Vacation or Law-fleeled proclaimed, and the Mufflers taken and past: Furius and V. le- rius let forward to S. Hermius: whether the Antians had not only lent the flour of all the Voluci, the choice youth out of a fresh, fry and new generation; but also had raised a mighty power of Latins and Hernicks, out of those Nations that by long peace were most fresh and lusty. These new enemies and old thus combined together, troubled the minde of the Roman solducer, and made him to flare. Which when the Centurions reported to Cato Has, as he was Marching and leaving his birets in array; and that in these terms I say, that the hearts of his sol- diers were disquiet and dismayed, that they took themselves but slowly to their weapons, made staying and idling when they should come forth of their tents, yea, and that there were some of them overheard to say, that, They must fight one to an hundred, and that to great a multitude of their
their enemies (if they were unarmed) might hardly be encountered, much less being so well armed and appointed; he mounted pretently upon Horaceback, and rode before the enemy, and turning himself afront his army, traversing between the ranks and arrays; 11 What heaviness is this my fouldiers (quoth he) what means this strange and unwonted lagging behind? Why? Know ye not your enemy? Know ye not me? Or, know ye not your own selves? The enemy, what is he else but the perpetual matter and jubjeé of your valour and glory? And ye again are the men, who under my conduct (to say nothing of the winning of Palerim and Veii, and of the slaughtering of the Gauls Legions, put to the fword by us, even when our native City was by them taken, and they matters thereof) of late, and but the other day, made a three-fold triumph, upon a triple victory, over the fame Volscians, Equians and people of Hercuera. What, do ye not agnize and accept me for your General, because no Dictator, but as Tribunum. I gave you the watchword, and put out the banner of battel? For mine own part, I stand not much upon a futile and sovereign command over you: no more likewise should ye regard ought else in me, but mine own felf. For never yet did my Dictatorship make me haughty and let me up aloft, no more than my banifhment abated my courage and call me down. We are the fame mentiffall of us: and since we are come to this war, furnish’d with the fame means that we carried with us unto the former, let us look for the fame event of our service, and no worse. So loon as ye shall encounter and joy the battel with them, perform each one that which he hath been taught and wanted to the journey lurely will be ours, and they (no doubt) shall run away. Then after he had founded the battel, he alighteth from his Horace, and caught the eniign-bearer that ftood K next him, with his hand haled him forward against the face of the enemy, crying very often aloud, On afore with thy banner. Port-ennign, and advance forward, fouldier. When they law that Camillus in praffon a man well kept in years, and thereby weak to perform the parts of bodily strength, put himself forth against the enemy: all at once they prefled forward, set up an outcry and shouted, every man calling upon his next fellow, to follow their General for fame. Over and befides, some fay that by the commandment of Camillus, there was an eniign flung into the very battel among the enemies. Whereupon they of the forefront, betrilled themfelvesamily to recover it again. And thereby were the Antiates first discomforted, and the fear not only came upon them in the vanguard, but entred alfo and reached as far as the rearward, that it stood ready for supply. And as the violent force of the fouldiers, provoked by the presence of their Captain, much troubled the enemy: fomethings more daunted the hearts of the Volscians, than the very fight of Camillus himself, when they chanced to eapie him. So furely carried he the victory with him, which way foever he went! And that appeared moft evidently in this, That when he law the left wing at the point to give back and run away, he took himfelf in all haft to his Horace, rode thither with his light foomans buckler, and with his only prefence renewed the fight, fhuing unto them how the reft of the battel had the better. Now were the enemies put to the worft, and the victory en- clined to a fide. But their multitude both hindered themfelves in their flight: and also a long piece of work the wearied fouldiers of the Romans had to put to fo great a number, all o the battel. But behold, there fell a great tempest of rain all of a sudden, which powred down with fo mighty winds and storms, that it rather put them by the execution of allured victory, than parted any M battles or layed the fight. Whereupon the retreat was founded: and the night ensuing, whiles the Romans were at rest, made an end of the war. For the Latins and Hernicks fortook the Volscians and departed home, with as ill speed, as their enterprife was bad. The Volscians feeming themselves abandoned and left in the lutch by them, (upon whole truth and confidence they had rebelled) quit the camp and field, and put themselves within the walls of Satricum; whom Camillus at first began to besiege, cafting a trench and rampamer about them, raising battilions and pal-toforms against the Town. And feeing his munitions and fabrics by no tallying forth of the enemies impeached he supped there was no fool courage in them, that he should need tof and so long about the hope of victory: and thereupon, encouraged his men not to wear themfelves out in a redion: and toilful piece of service as if they lay at the fiege of Veii: affuring them that the N victory was in their hands already: and so with exceeding cheerfulness of his fouldiers, he fett ladders upon every fide scaled the walls, and enterd the Town, Then the Volscians flung away their weapons and yeeled themfelves.

But the General mind his was bent upon a greater exploit, and that was the winning of Antium, being the fear Town of the Volscians, and from whence the beginning of the late war arose. Howbeit because to frow the City might not be won without great preparation of artillery, ordina- nce & engines of battery leaving his colleague behind him with the army, he went himfelf to Rome, to perfwade with the Senat, for to destroy and rafe Antium utterly. And whiles he was emapling with them (in which the will of God I believe, that Antium should fland still & continue longer) there came Ambassadors from Neper and Satricum craving aid against the Tuscians, saying: That it was more than high time, that they were fuccourcd and relieved. Upon which occasion it fell out, that Camillus was withdrawn thither from Antium. For feeling that those two Towns flood even against Hercuera as it were the very keyes and bar-gates from thence both the enemies laboured to gain them fiorc-hand, against the time that they went about to make new wars: & the Romans also held it a matter of great consequence, to refuse and defend thofe frontier Towns. The Senat therefore thought good to be in hand with Camillus, for to leave Antium: and to undertake the war with the Tuscians. The City-legions under General Quintius were appointed unto him,
And albeit, he rather would have had the leading of that army, which lay now in the Volscians Country, and which he had good tryal of, and were acquainted better with his government, yet refused he nothing: only he required to have Valerius his salliet still, and joined with him in commissio, so Quintus and Horatius were sent to succeed Valerius in the Volscian war. Ennius and Valerius took their voyage from the City to Saturnia, and round the one side of the Town polled already by the Volscians. On the other side, the Townsmen, for that the enemy had dropped all passages between, hardly able to repel the force of the auxiliaries. But the coming of the Roman aids, and the presence of the enemies as Allies both for the present gave them heart to abide the brunt, and till it to that B were before at the point to give over; and also gained time and respite to come in with fresh supplies and succours, Caesarius therefore divided his forces, and gave direction to his collegue, for to bring about his power, to that side which the enemies he did, and there to make an allay: for not so much for any hope he had by scaling the walls to win the City: as by withdrawing the enemies thither, not only to cale the Townsmen of their toil, and give them a breathing time (who were now wearied with auxiliaries) but also to get himself some opportunity and vantoge, to enter the City without skirmish and resistance. Which being put in execution on both hands accordingly, and performed at once: the Tuscans before with a two-fold fear round about, seeing the walls assailed most fiercely one way: and the enemy got within the Town another way: lying out at one gate (which as it happened was not before) and in great haste all together fought to escape away. But as they fled, they were slain by heaps both within the Town and abroad all over the fields. The greater number were killed within the walls by Ennius and his soldiers. Vedere his men were more ready and nimble in the chase, and gave not over the execution until the night came, that they could not see and discern them.

When Saturnius was thus recovered and restored again to their allies they led forward the army to Nepet: which Town the Tuscans held wholly, as surrendered already into their hands. Every man thought it would be a base piece of work to win that City again: not in this regard only, that it was fully in the enemies possession, but also because some of the Nepetines, by treachery had yeelded it up. Howbeit, they resolved to send unto the heads and principal citizens, that they should fether themselves from the Tuscans, and perform on their behalf truly and faithful loyalty, like as they had craved and besought at the Romans hands their friendly help and protection.

From whom they received this answer again. That it lay not now in them to do anything at all, for that the Tuscans kept the walls, and warded the gates. Wherupon they first terrified and served the Townsmen with foraging and spoiling their territory: after that, seeing they made more reckoning of keeping their faithful loyalty to their enemies unto whom they had lately surrendered, than observing the league with their friends, which they had long before concluded; they provided themselves out of the fields of a number of Egypts, of brushwood, and in like trouts, and so approached the City with the army filled up the ditches close to the walls, let ladders to, and at the first shout and assault given, the Town was taken. Then proclamation was made, that all the Nepetines should part with their armour and weapons, and so many as were found unarmed, should be pass. But the Tuscans as well armed as unarmed were put to the sword every one. As for the chief authors that perverted the Nepetines to deliver the Town to the enemies, they were beheaded. The harmin multitude had their good: restored, and so the Town was left with a garrison. Thus the two Tribuns (Conular) having regained out of the enemies hands two confederate Cities, returned in great glory to Rome with their victorious army.

The same year the Latins and Hernicks were required to make amends for harms done, and restitution of goods wrongfully detained: and the cause demended why of late years, according to a covenant in that behalf provided they had forth no loundics to the Romans wars. Answer from both Nations in their solemn Councils was returned: That neither the fault was general, nor proceeding from counsel of the State in case of some of their youth served under the Volscians: and yet themselves had well paid already for their Lewd and rash projects, in that no one of them was come home alive. And as to the not sending forth of loundics, the cause was, for that they were in continual fear and danger of the Volscians: which noisme plague (as it were) sticking to clothe unto their sides, until they could be rid of, notwithstanding so many wars one in the neck of another. When relation hereof was made unto the Lords of the Senat, they thought so well of their answer and excuses, that they deemed they had quartel and occasion good enough to war upon them, if they might have had while and time as well to follow it.

In the year following, when A. Manlius, P. Cornelius, Titus and Lucius Quintius, both Capitoles, and L. Papirius C. for the second time, were Tribuns Conular, there arose a grievous war abroad, and a more dangerous sedition brake forth at home. The war, from the Volscians banded with the Latins and Hernicks, that were fallen away and revolted. The sedition (where it was least feared) between a porsonage of noble lineage descended of great name and reputation, M. Manlius Capitolinus. Who being a man of too lofty and haughty a mind, destit of all other of the Nobility, and envied one above the rest, M. Ennius, so Singular, as well in regard of his honourable dignities, as his worthy parts and commendable vertues. He could not brook and endure, that he only should ever be Lord General in the field: who now was excited to high above others, that even those who were created with him in equal authority, he accounted not as

The execute of the Latins and Hernicks.

The dinements of M. Manlius, intending sedition.
his peers and fellows, but employed as his Ministers and Servitors. "Whereas (quoth he) if "men would weigh right, and duly consider every thing, M. Furio could never have delivered "his Country from the feige of the enemies, had not the Capitol and Cattle cliff been saved by "me afore. Camillus set upon the Gauls, when they were amased in receiving their gold, when "they were upon terms of peace, and their hearts quiet and secure: whereas my self bashe them "away whilsts they were in arms, and at the point to win the Cattle Hill. In that exploit of Ca-"millus the fouldiers, had each one his share proportionably of the glory, who together with "him did their parts: but in the service performed by me, no earthly creature was fellow and "partner with me. With these conceits he fed his own humour, and puffed up his proud spirit, "being withal by corrupt disposition of nature, hot and hafty, arrogant and insolent. Difconten-"ted besides, that of the Nobility, his gifts and qualities were not esteemed of that worth, as in his "own judgement they deserv'd: first, of a Senator he became popular, and began to break his mind, "and impart his designs unto the Magistrates of the Commons: finding fault with the Nobility, and "complaining of them: soliciting and inveighing the Commons, to call allying and favour towards "himself: caried away with the vantage of the peoples opinion: not guided by fage counsell and "discretion: and in one word, chusing rather to be of great name, than of good and honest re-"port. And not contenting himself to deal in the Laws Agrarie, about the division of Lands, "which had always minister'd to the Tribunes of the Commons matter enough of mutinies and le-"ditions: he began to intermeddle between the debtors and their creditors, and to overthrow all "keeping of credit. And indeed, deep debts are sharp goods, and prick fiercely: threatening "not only poverty and shame, but also terrifying the bodies of free men with hard imprifonment, "little else, and Irons. Now there were exceeding many in debt (a thing most dangerous and "hurtful to men, state) even of the richer fort: by reason of their great expenses defraided in build-"ing. The war therefore of the Volscians, which was it fell of great importance; but much "more, in regard of the Latins and Hernicks Rebellion withal, was in how pretended, as a cause "to seek for to have a more foreignd and absolute power to govern the State: but in truth, these "new deignonments and plots of Malinus, rather than the war, forced the Senat to creat a Dicta-"tor, And A. Cornelius Caffius being created, nominated for his General of Horie, T. Quinctius Ca-"pitellus. The Dictator, albeit he saw a greater contention toward, at home than abroad; yet "were it that the war required some speedy expedition, or because by victory and triumph, he "thought to make his Dictatorship more mighty and powerful) he took mutters, and set forward "into the Pomptine Land, into which parts he had intelligence, that the Volscians had proclai-"med their forces, to repair. I doubt not, but they that read in so many books already, of these continual wars fought with the Volscians, besides their tedious laticy of reading, will mufle allo at this (which to my elf was "likewise a wonder, when I perused the writers that lived near about the times of these acts) how "these Volscians and Equians, so often vanquished and defeated, were furnisht with supply of "fouldiers to maintain their wars. But seeing by the ancient Chroniclers it hath been overpaflied "with silence, what should I alledge, but only mine own opinion and bare conjecture, which every "man hath liberty to put in for himself? Likely it is, that either between the times of wars (as now "we we in the Roman mutters) they used to breed up one supply under another, of the younger "fort, to the maintenance and remmey sof oftentimes of their war: or that their armies were not always "levied out of the fame States: albeit the wars go under the name of one and theself-fame na-"tion: or that those countries yeelded in those dayes an infinite number of freemen, which now are "well near waft and defart but for some Roman slaves, which keep those parts yet from being void "and diploed, as having but a very small seminary, or none at all, let of serviceable fouldiers. "Certainly, the Volscian army, as all authors agree, was very great at this time: albeit of late "dayes by the leading and conduct of Camillus they were fore weakened, and their strength much "abated. Besides, there were with them in field, the Latins and Hernicks, some of the Circians-" and other Coloners from Pedare. The Roman Dictator having that day pitched his camp, and N "the next morrow come abroad with happy tokens of good peace from the Birds: having also "flain a sacrifice, and procured thereby the favour and grace of the Gods, in joyous manner shew-"ed himself unto his fouldiers: who according as they were commended, were ready early in the "morning, by break of day in arms, attending the sound of Trumpet for battle. The day is ours "(quoth he) my valorous fouldiers, if either the Gods or their Prophets can forcere light events, "Therefore as resolute men of affured hope, and such as shall encounter with farrneren than our "selves, pitch we our javelins down at our feet, and draw our swords only. Neither would I "have you to run out of the main battle, and to give the charge, but to keep your ground, to "stand fliated, and abide the first shock of the enemy. And when they have spent their volley of "flot in vain, and shall with full force come upon you as you stand, then brandish your swords, "and let them glitter in your eyes, and think every man of the Gods that they will help the Ro-"mans. The Gods I lie, which in happy hour, by the lucky approbation of their Birds, have "sent us into the field to fight. And as for you, O Quintius, keep your Horfemen close to-"gether, marking advasely the first beginning of the skirmish: and when you see the battles "buckle togetherspell-mell, and come to hand-ctrokes, whilsts they are busied and occupied one "way, fright them another way with your Horfemen, ride among their ranks as they fight, and "break their arrayes. Thus fought both Horie and Foece according to his direction. And,
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A as the legions wanted not a worthy Captain, no more misled the Captain of happy speed. The multitude of the enemies trusting upon nothing but their own number, which they measured and compared together only by their eye, interviewing both the one army and the other, rashly gave battle, and as rashly gave over again, in thou art only and liot themselves hot and eager at the first encounter; but were not able to abide the sword-fight, the closing together foot to foot, and the fiery countenance of their enemies, which for the very heat of their courage, shined and glistered fully in their eyes. So the foremost being put back, a faint came upon them likewise, that blood fled before supply, and withal, the Horatii for their parts set to and fought most terribly. Whereupon the ranks of the enemies in muddy places were broken and all set out of order, as their battalions seemed to fly and wave up and down to and fro, in suchcase whether to fight or fly. Afterwards, when they saw the formost litten down and slain, and every one thought no other but his own turn was next to be killed, they turned their backs and fled. The Romans came forward still and chased them. And so long as they went their way stern and thick huddled together, it was the footmen work to pursue them: but when it was perceived, that they flung away their weapons on all hands, and that the enemies army fled dispersed all abroad in the fields: then were the troops of Horatii set out after them, with this caveat and charge, to make no stay and forlet the time, by killing them one by one, and to give the main multitude of them in the mean while sufficiently relief to escape; but that they should content themselves, only to let fly some shot amongst them; and by fearing them to hinder their running; and when they were ridden beyond, to cross upon them and faile them, until the footmen might overtake them, slay them down right, and make an hand of them clean. Thus fled they, and thus were they followed in chase until night. The very same day was the Volscian camp taken and ransacked, and the whole pillage, besides the bodies of free men, was given unto the footmen. The greatest part of the prisoners were Hermicks and Latins: and those not of the common sort, and such as might be thought to have served for pay: but there were found among them certain young Gentlemen of good mark, a plain proof and evidence, that the Volscian enemies had aid from them by the publick and general warrant of the State. There were known also to be among them some of the Circians: yea and certain of the Velieric colony likewise. All of them were sent to Rome. Where being examined before the chief of the Senators, they confessed every one in plain terms, the robbing of their own Nation like, that they had before bewrayed it unto the Dictator. The Dictator still kept his forces together within the standing camp, making no doubt, but that the rulers and Senators of Rome would determine to war upon those countries.

But even at that time a greater heap of troubles which arose at home, cau't him to be sent for to Rome, by occasion of a sedition which grew daily more and more: and by reason of the Author thereof (a man of quality and note) was more tested than any usually had been more time. For now by this had M. Manlius not by speeches only, but by plain deeds also, (which in outward show seemed popular and plausible) shewed evidently upon what troublesome and tumultuous spirit all proceeded. For seeing upon a time a Centurion, of good worth for his service in war, condemned in an action of debt, and upon an execution of judgement carried to prison:

E he in the midst of the Forum came running unto him with a rout and crew of his followers and retinue, laid hand on him, and took him perforce from the officers: and after he'had given out some words along touching the pride of the Senators, the cruelty of the sufferers, the calamities of the Commons, the valour and present dittres of the party; Marry then (quoth he) have I done a great deed, to no purpose, in having the Capitol and the Castle with this right hand of mine, if I could abide to see my fellow sufferer (as it he were taken prisoner of the Gauls by way of conquest) had away into bondage and captivity, and laid up fat in gyves and fetters. And therewith openly in fight of all the people paid the whole debt down right on the nail, unto the creditor: and so after the usual and solemn ceremony by a brazen piece of coin and the balance, he set him at liberty out of the creditor his hands, and let him go at large; Who prayed heartily to God and man, to require accordingly M. Manlius his only deliverer, and the very patron and protector of the Commons of Rome. And when he was once got into that unmerciful and seditious tong, he presently himself set all a mudding, swerving the fears of his wounds received in the Venetians and Gauls wars, and in other services one after another: saying, That whiles he thus followed foudiery, and rebuilt the house that was destroyed, he became indebted, and that so deeply (by reason that the interest always overgrew the principal, which he by that means had paid and paid again) that he was not able to creep out of the sufferers book, but was plunged therein over head and ears. And now behold (quoth he) by the only good-ness of M. Manlius, I have the liberty again to see the light of the Sun, to behold the Commonwealth, to look my neighbours and fellow citizens in the face: at his hands I acknowledge to have received all the benefits that mine own parents could give me unto him I vow what ever in me is left, and in his quarter to spend that little life and blood which remaineth in my body: and in one word look what privilege I may enjoy in right of my country, and in the communion of the Gods, publick or private, the same do I impart and communicate with that one man. By these speeches the Commons were set on and pricked forward mightily, as wholly devoted unto one person; and who but Manlius now in every man's mouth? And presently in the nick he entred into another action that tended more effectually to mar all quite, and to set every thing out of order. His Land in the territory of Veii, which was the chief and capital,
Manor of his inheritance, even the fairest flowers of his garland, he set upon sale, causing it openly to be cried: and said withal, I will not O Quirites, so long as I have one foot of ground, or any thing else left, to one of you condemned and upon execution carried to prison. This set them so a flote, that they were ready, as it seemed, to follow him as the only protector of their liberties, in any action, were it right or wrong, they cared not which way, was all was one with them. Besides, at home in his own house, he spared not to call out flandous speeches against the Senators, as if he had been at the open Cross, making Orations. Amongst which, without all regard whether he spake true or false, he let fall their words, "That the Senators kept in secret certain hidden treasures of the Gauls gold, and were not now contented to hold in possession the common grounds, but they would also embelze the treasure publick, which if it came abroad, the Commons might soon be acquitted and discharged of their debts. This gap being once laid open, and this light given the people, they thought (ye may be sure) an unworthy indignity, that when there was gold to be levied for redemption of the City out of the Gauls hands, it should be gathered by a general contribution of all: and the same gold, now recovered from the enemies, should be as a prey in the clutches of a few. Therefore they followed instantly upon him and were very earnest to know, where so great a maxi of mony and gold was good had been. But when he posted them off, and said he would in due time disclose all: they were not content, but setting all other matters apart, their whole care was employed about this business, and nothing else. So as it plainly appeared that neither he should reap a mean thank if he reported a truth, nor incur a small offence and displeasure, in case he told a false tale.

Things hanging thus in these doubtful terms, the Dictator who was sent for, returned from the army into the City. The next day he assembled the Senate: and after he had thoroughly considered and felt the minds of them, that were there met, he commanded the Senators nor to depart from him: and assisted as he was with that company, he carried the Ivory chair of estate to beter in the Comitium or common Hall, and lent a lever for M. Manlius. Who being thus peremptorily summoned by the Dictator express command gave warning by a token to his complices and favourites, that there was a broil and fray toward: and with a mighty return of his followers, he presented himself before the Tribunal. On the one side, stood the Senators, on the other the Commons: either part beholding their Captain, as it were in a pight field ready to joynt battell. Then after silence made, "Wou'd to God (quoth the Dictator unto M. Manlius) I and the Senators of Rome, might in all other things fort as well with the Commons, as I am affermed, we shall agree all together about thee, and the matter which I shall ask and demand of thee. I fee thou haft put the City in some good hope, that by the Gauls treasure which the principal and chief of the Senators detain with them secretly hidden, all men may keep their credit, and lully pay and discharge their debts. Which I for my part, to God me help, am I far from hindering, that contrary wise I would exhort thee. O M. Manlius, to esate the Commons of Rome of the utters book: to discover these fellows and make them known, that Gale go greedily after the common treasure, and to disappoint them, and turn them out of this their pritty booby. Which if thou do not effect, either for that thy self would have a fexe with them or else because it is but a forged tale that thou haft made of thine own fingers ends I will not fail, but commit thee M to ward, and suffer no longer the multitude upon a vain and deceitful hope, thus by thee to be abused and disquieted. To this, Manlius made answer and said, "I was nothing deceived but witt well enough, that a Dictator was created not against the Volscians, who are enemies (forsooth) so oft as our great Maffeirs think it for their purpose: nor against the Latins and Hermics, whom they drive and provoke to rebellion by false and forged humties: but against my self and the Commons of Rome. For now I fee well, that the Dictator professeh to maintain and bear out the Utiner against the Commons: and that against my self, for the favour that the multitude beareth unto me, there is matter devilled to charge me withal, and to procure my utter ruin and overthrow. Doth it offend and grieve you indeed, O A.Cornelius and you my Lords of the Senat, that the people thus stand about me on every side? Why do not ye every man for N his part, by your good devers divide aloneder this company, and draw them away with you from me? Namely, by your mediation and intercession, by giving your word for them, by bidding out of gyves and prison your fellow citizens by having them that are condemned, from being awarded to the thraldom of their creditors, and out of the overplus and superfluity of your own living and goods by relieving their present need, and supplying their necessities? But what mean I to per wade you to forgo anything of your own, and belowe it upon them? Take another course with them, and make them another offer. Do but deduct out of the principal debt, that which hath been paid, for consideration of the loan: you shall soon see that my remitte will make no greater flew, than any other mens else. But why am I the only man so careful of the citizens and people? Certain, I can make no better answer hereunto than if one should ask me, O wherefore I alone saved the Capitol and the Cliff? As I then yeilded my helping hand to all in general so will I now to my power relieve each one in particular. For as touching the treasure of the Gauls: the thing in itself being easy, this demand of yours maketh hard and difficult. For what need you ask me that which you know already your selves? Why lay you not that open which is in your leeter bottom, rather than to have it fitted and bolted out? but that there is some privy jugling, some cunning practife and packing therein? The more ye would seem to have your leger demain to be fought into and detected: so much the more, I fear me, ye will hide
A hide it even from the eyes of those that are watchful and quicksighted. And therefore am not
I to be forced to reveal and shew where your stolen goods are: but you would be made, if you
were well served, to bring them abroad into the view of the World. At their words, the Di-
tator commanded him to leave off these foolish vapourings and trifling shifts: urging him either
to go through with his challenge and prove it true: or if he could not justify it, to confess that
he had falsely slandered and wrongfully charged the Senate, and sought to bring upon them the ill
will and hatred of men, for a vain furnic and filipution of Theevry. But as he stoutly and
ardently and fiercely replying, that he would not speak at the pleasure of his enemies, nor owed them any
such service: he commanded him to be had up to prison and kept in bonds. And as he was
apprehended by the Officers, "O Jupiter (quoth he) Optimus Maximus, I love Queen of heaven.
Q Minerva, with other gods and goddesses, that inhabit the Capitol and the Caile: Suffer ye
your Knight and Defender, to be thus tugged, misused, and evil encreased by his adversaries?
And shall this right hand wherewith I defeated the Gauls; and draw them from your Chap-
pels and shrines, be now pinnedon and manaced? There was no one man there, that law and
heard him, who could induce this indignity. But this City, as most pattern of all other Cities to
abide any just, righteous and lawful commandment of the Magistrate, contained her self, and was
content in some cases to be overruled: so far forth, that against the authority and absolute power of
the Dictator, neither the Tribuns of the Commons, nor the Commons themselves, durst
either call up their eyes to look away, or once open their mouths. But after M. Marins was com-
mitted, it was for certain known, that a great fort of the Commons, changed their weal
and put on their worship apparel and mourning array: many a man let his head and beard grow
long; yea, and a number of them withlad and heavy cheer, kept commonly about the Guard-
door.

Now when the Dictator triumphed over the Volksians, his triumph bred him more hatred
and displeasure than honor and glory: for it is commonly spoken, that he got it at home and not
abroad, and triumphed over a citizen not over an enemy: and this only wanted, (lay they) to
make up his pride to the full, that M. Marins was not led before his charriot. Whereupon there
was like to come much confusion and sedition. For the appealing and mitigation whereof, the Sen-
at upon a sudden, without any motion made, of themselves became bountiful, and affigned 3000,
citizens of Rome to be sent to Saturiens to inhabit as a Colony. And to every man was let out
a two acres and an half of Land spacie. Which the Commons continued to be a matter of no-
thing, a small boon bestowed upon a few, the very hire and reward for betraying M. Marins.
So that this proved a milchfor a remedy: and by this salve, the sore rather suffered and rancled,
and was healed up, and the sedition thereby fretted more and more. For now the crew of M. Marins
his followers made shew of greater mourning and heaviness, in their vile clothes and bad con-
venience, after the guise of perils accuated during the time of their troubles. And when the fear
and terror was once overblown, by reason that the Dictator after his triumph resigned up his
authority, then folks hearts were set at liberty, and their tongues walked at will. Some were
heard in open audience to upbraid the multitude and call in their teeth, "That it was their fa-
fions always to life up and advance their Protectors and Defenders into high places, and
afterwards, in the very pitch of danger and point of downfall, to forsake and leave them delu-
tiue. Thus was Sp. Caius servd, that solicited the Commons to the division of lands: thus
was Sp. Nelles overthrowne, that put his hand to his purse, and at his own proper charges kept
extream famine from the hungry jaws of the poor citizens. Semeably, M. Marins ende-
avouring to deliver a great part of the City (drowned as it were, and overwhelmed in debt) and
to enlarge them and let them abroad at liberty, now for his pains is betrayed into his deadly
enemies: so that the Commons do feed and starve up, even for the shambles and butchers knife
the fautors and mainrainers of their weal and liberty. And ought indeed (lay they) a Noble
man, that sometime had been Conul, thus to be mistyled, if he answered not to the good liking
and pleasure of the Dictator? Suppose, he had over-reached and made a lie store, and so had
not a present and ready answer at the time; was there ever any servand and slave, for leasing cat
in prison and laid up in Irons? And how could they forget that night, which was like to have
been the last night that ever the Romans should have seen; that fatal night of their final distru-
gtion for ever? Or how could they chuse, but have still in their eyes the army of the Gauls, clim-
bing up the Cliff Tergeste? and how M. Marins in petition, so bravely beleen in his armour,
all sweating, all bleeding roistered and saved Jupiter himself in a manner out of the enemies hands?
What? Did they think that with half pound measures of wheat meal, they had sufficiently re-
compenced the Saviour of their Country? And whom they had well near canonized among
the holy hallows of Heaven, or at least wise by his new addition of furnucre made equal to
the

G Iuper Capetiunim, was it well done to suffer him, imprisoned in chainslying in a dark dungeon.
A to draw his lively breath at the pleasure of the Hangman? Was he alone able to succour you all,
and are ye all not able to help him alone? Thus ceasd not the multitude to exclaim and make
their plaints, and would not depart from that place, no, not all the night long, but threatened
to break the prison by force; until such time as they got that remitted, which otherwise they would
have wreted, and M. Marins by an act of the Senar was releasted out of prison and enlarged.
Whereby the mutiny was never the more ended, but rather a Captain given them to maintain the
Sediton.
About the same time the Latins and Hernicks, the inhabitants also of the Colony Cirtica, and they of Pelletre, who came to excuse themselves for the Volitican war, wherein they were charg'd to have had their hands, and required to have the captives delivered, for to proceed against them, according to their own Laws, had a heavy answer. But the Coloners received the sharp check and rebuke, because they being Roman citizens, were entred into that wick'd plot and abominable action, to combine against their native Country. And they were not only deny'd their prisoners, but also (wherein the Romans dealt more favourably with the rest that were their Allies,) were warred and commanded in the name of the Senat, to avoid and that with speed out of the City; from the right and presence of the people of Rome; for fear lest the privilege of Embolage, provided for the security and safe conduct of strangers and not of citizens, should not serve to protect them. Now when the Sedition of Matalius was set on foot again, somewhat before the end of the year, the great assembly was holden for the Election of Magistrates: wherein there were created Tribuns in Consuls authority Serg. Cornelia Molugenus the second time. P. Valerius Poatinus the second time. M. Favoris Camillus the fifth time. Ser. Sulpicius Russius the first time. C. Papirius Carfus; T. Quintius Cincinnatus the second time. all of the Senators calling.

In the beginning of this year, peace they had with foreign nations; a matter very commodious both for the Senat and the Commons. For the Com. in this regard, that being not called away by any mutters, they had some good hope; especially having to mighty a champion to be rid at once for ever of Unity. For the Senators again, because their minds being not distracted by any fear from abroad, might attend about curing and healing the intestine maladies at home. When both parts therefore were now more sharp set, and eagerly bent, they thought out of hand to try what would be done, and to make either a fright or a bolt of it. Matalius calling the Com. to his house, devised with the principal heads of them both day and night, to bring in a change and alteration of the State: and fuller of homack, anger and gall he was now a good deal than afore-time. Netel he was, the rather by his late disgrace and shame, who never before had been touched in credit, nor talked of any reproach and contempt. He took him to heart, for that the Dict, durst not execute that rigor against him, which Cincinnatus Quintius had extend upon Sp. Melinus and it deemed unto him, that not only the Dict, sought to wind himself out, and in reigning up his room, to avoid the offence given by his imprisonment; but also that the very L. Senat was not able to endure the manner of proceeding. With these imaginations being put up and galled too, he failed not withal to prick forward and exasperate the minds of the Commons, who of themselves already, were kindled and set on fire. And with these and such like speeches he entertained them. How long (quoth he) I pray you, will ye be ingrannant, and not know what ye may do, and what power ye have? A thing that nature itself would not have so much as the very dumb beasts, but to understand. Do but count how many you are in number your selves, and how few adversaries ye have against you. If ye were but one to one, yet (I would think) you should more eagerly strive for to maintain your liberty, than they, to set up their Lordship. For, look how many favours ye have been, following and courting one patron, to many shall ye now be opposed to one enemy. Make but shew only of war, ye shall have peace, M. Let them see ye once ready to make head and offer violence, soon will they yield and part with their right; Either ye must adventure, all joyntly together to do somewhat, or else make account each one, to abide and suffer all. How long will ye stand looking from every side upon me? For my part, sure, will not fail any one of you. Look ye then to it, that fortune fail not me, I, even I, that was your redeemer and deliverer, was all at once, when it pleased mine enemies taken down and made no body. And ye, all of you law him led into prison. who make every one of you from prison. If happily those mine enemies should attempt to do me more spite, Where am I then? and what were I bent to rustle unto? Should I look for that end that Cassius and Melinus came unto? Ye do well to signify how you dread the preface, and with the contrary. And the Gods forbid that it should so come to pass. But look not that ever they should come down from Heaven to protect me. That mind they mult give you, to preserve me from so hard a hap, like as they gave me a restful heart, both in mine armour to save you from barbarous enemies, and in my gown to defend you from proud citizens. Is there so little courage in you (to mightly a people otherwise) as to think it sufficient, and to stand contented, if you may be backed only, and meet with some help against your enemies; and to know no other thing with your adversaries (the Senators) but wherein you suffer your selves to be commanded in the end? This barbarous cometh not to you by kind. By life and custom only, you are become their vaiffs and subjects. For what is the case ye are so courageous against your enemies abroad, that ye think it meet and reason to rule and govern them? No other in truth but this, because with them you have been ever wont to strive for so-crafty, whereas against these ye have been used rather, to make some flight proof and tryal what you may do by your liberty, than to do your belt, and to put your felvesthirt for to maintain it and extend it to the molt. And yet what manner of captains forever ye have met withal to lead you, and howsoever affected ye have been your selves. obtained ye have hit thereon all things that ye shot at, were they never to great: Such was your might, or such was your felicity. Wherefore now it is high time to give the adventure of greater matters also. Make but tryal only of your own good fortune, and of my self, whom I hope ye have had happy
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A

experience of already: with less ado shall ye be provided of one to over-rule and command the Senators, than ye have been hitherto of those, that were to refift only their imperious government. Down we must with their Dictatorships and Consulships both, and lay them levell with the ground: that the commonalty of Rome may once be sloth, and bear up the head. Bellir your selves therefore, and play the men. Hinder process and course of law for actions of debt, I profess my self a Patron of the Commons, which name my care over you, my faithfulness to you, hath induced me with. And if you please to entitle your leader and Captain, with a more glorious title of honour and Majesty, ye shall find it more potent and available to effect that which you long for and desire. And so from that time forward, began some practice to set up the Government of a King: But neither who were the agents in this action, nor to what terms these plots proceeded, is it plainly enough recorded. But on the other side, the Senators sat in Council, and debated about the Session and secret meeting of the Commons in the privy house of M. Manlius, and that house, which stood (as it fell out) upon the Castle Hill: Likewise of that immortal engine and fabric, devised for the overthrow of the present liberty. Many were of opinion, and spake it aloud, That there was need of a Servilus Holder, who not by commanding a publick enemy of the State to prison, would provoke him and make him more eager; but by dispatching of one wicked member out of the way, and cutting him off might end this intestine and civil war, but they came down at length, and grew to a resolution, in words milder, yet indeed and effectual one, That the Magistrates should have a careful eye, that they might discern plots and practices of M. Manlius, the Common-weed incurred no damage and curst. Then the Tribunes in Consuls authority, and the other Tribunes of the Commons (for even they also seeing, that in the loffe of the publick liberty of all, their power likewise should come to an end, had yielded to be advised and ruled by the Senat) laid all their heads together, and consult what course was best to be taken. When as no man could think of my way, but plain violence and bloodshed (a piece of work in all appearance, of great adventure and doubtful hazard) then M. Menenius, and Q. Publius, two Tribunes of the Commons stepped forth and said, What mean we to make that, a quarrel between the Senators and Commons, which the whole body united of the City, indeed should industriously to dangerous and polluted a member. Why trouble we ourselves to set up him and the Commons with him, wherein the means of the very Commons themselfes is it were the safer course, and less offensive to all? That being purchased and overweighed with his own power whereby he prefummeth, he may fall down and take his overthrow. We are fully minded to arrest him, to convene him judicially, and call him to his answer. Nothing is lees popular, and more odious to the people, than to hear of Kings government again. The multitude shall not so soon see and perceive, that our quarrel is not with them, but that they shall become his competent Judges, and pass upon him, who now are his Advocates also, that his accusers from out of the Commons, shall behold one of the Nobility to hold up his hand at the bar, and the indictment framed, upon the crime of usurping the Kingdom: but (ye be sure of it) they will tender and favour, the fair looks and concern of no man, before the counsel of their own free estate. When all the house liked ill, and allowed of this advise and overture, they made no more ado, but served Manlius with process to answer at a day appointed. Which was not so soon done, but the Commons at the very first, began to form and be enraged, especially when they law the accused man, during his trouble to hastily arrived, accompanied with none of the Senators, nor so much as one of his kindred and affinity, no nor his very brethren Ao and T. Manlius. A thing before that day never seen nor known, but that in so great a danger as this was, the nearest kinsfolk in blood, did change their weed. For even when Ap. Claudius his adversary, yes, and the whole lineage and name of the Claudii, were mournfully clad, and poorly apparelled. Now rarel (lay they) it is a very compact amongst all this, that this popular man, so gracious and wellbeloved, should be confounded and overthrown, because he was the first that ever fell away from the Senators to the Commons. When the day was come of his arraignment, F I find in no author, what was objected against the prisoner by his accusers, directly tending to prove the crime of aspiring to a Kingdom; but only the concocteries of the multitude, certain libellous words, his overmuch largess, and his forged libellous and fallacious assertions of the gold. I doubt not but there was matter of great importance, urged and enforced against him, seeing that the Commons delay in proceeding to his condemnation, was not long of his censure, but occasioned by the place only. This one thing seemeth worthy to be noted, and for all men learning, that how notable and how great wares of his honor, worship, and commendable parts were; the tott and cursed desire of tyrannical rule, made not only unpleasant and without grace, but also odious and detestable in the eyes of the people. He brought forth, as it is reported, weenier four hundred men, whom he had laid out money for gratis, and without any interest or consideration: To these whole goods he gave from port-tale, and kept from the bondage of their creditors, after they were condemned. Over and besides, he not only reckoned up, but shewed also in open sight, the honourable testimonies of his service in the wars: as the spoils of his enemies by him slain and dismembered to the number of 30, gifts bestowed upon him by Generals in way of reward 40, amongst which were two goodly mural garlands for scaling and erecting upon the walls first: eight diaphanous coronets for saving the lives of citizens in danger. Moreover, he presented there in person, the parties themselves in person, whom he had rescued out of the enemies hands, and amongst them he nominated C. Servilus at that instant General of the Horsemens, and now abdant.

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* Phuslum in form of the battlements of a wall.  
* Made of the branches.
The sixth Book of T. Livius.

abient. And when he had rehearsed his noble feats of arms, and amplified them according to the height of their worth in a most glorious and eloquent Oration, as one whole words were iterable and unanswerable to his deeds: at the last he flirip his breast bare, and shewed the scars there remaining of wounds received in the wars: and ever and anon looking to the Capitol, very often he called aloud upon Jupiter and the other Gods, to help him now in this extremity and peril of his state: and prayed that the same mind which they had given him to defend the Capitol, and even to the safeguard of the people of Rome, they would touch the fame people, in this direft of his woful calamity: bequeathing them both all and some, to look up to the cliff, and to the Capitol, to turn themselves toward the Gods there, and to proceed to judgement of him. All the whiles the people were cried and called by their Centuries, and the prisoner stretched forth his hands, and converted his prayers from men to the Gods; the Tribunes evidently law that unless they freed the eyes of the people by beholding the memorial of so great a daier, it would never be that so long as their minds were thus foc-called and possessed with that benefit of his, they would find the endimont, were it never so true. So the matter being put off and deferred to another day, the people were summoned to assemble in the grove Pecuian, without the gate Flumentans, from whence they might not have a sight of the Capitol. There the accufation prevailed more than composition, and the matter went against him: and with hard and obdurat hearts, they pronounced a heavy and dolorous sentence, and which the very judges themselves had in horror. Some there be that say there were Divinities ordained for the purpose, to make inquisition and fit upon this treafon against the State. Thus being condemned the Tribuns caused him to be thrown headlong down the rock Tarpeia. Which place was the self fame that yielded to that one man a monument and memorial both of singular glory, and also of extreme punishment and ignominious death. After his death there remained two infamous marks behind him of fame: the one public, occasioned by his dwelling house. For whereas it was situate, where now the chappel and work-house, or mint-house of Monetis standeth, an Act was proposed into the people. That none of the Senators image should dwell on the cliff or Capitol Mount. The other proceeding more properly from his own line and kinred: For that by a general decree of the house of Morti it was provided, That none of that family and race should ever after bear the name of M. Manlius. This was the end of him, who, but that he was born in a free City, had been a right worthy and renowned man.

But the people being now past all danger from him, calling to mind and considering without all affiction, his virtues as they were, found a mife of him shortly after. Yea, and for the patience which ensued upon, for that there could be no causes known of to great mortality, was imagined of many a man, to have grown upon the execution of Manlius: argufing thus, That the Capitol was polluted with the blood of the Saviour thereof: and the Gods took no delight and pleasure to have (as it were) presented unto their eyes, the punishment of that man, by whole means their Temples had been delivered out of the hands of the enemies. Upon this plague and scarcity of corn withal, and the common brute that spread abroad both of the one and the other, there ensued the year following many wars, when as L. Vatius the fourth time, A. Manlius the third time, Sert. Sulp. in the third time, L. Lucertius, L. Annius the third time, and M. M. Tribunim were Tribuns Military in Consulis authority. For besides the Volcannis, who by defline were appointed for ever in a manner to bury and keep occupied the Roman foildiers besides the Colonies Circius and Felice, which a long time were about to rebel; besides Latmum that stood in doubtful terms and was suspected, the Lamuvines also, who had been a motl fail and loyal City, all of a sudden rose and became new enemies. The L. of the Senat supposing all this grew upon contempt, for the that the revolting of the Veliterns, who were their natural citizens, had so long time escaped punishment, decreed with all speed to move the people to denounce and proclaim open war against them. And to the end that the Commons might be more forward in this Military service, they created certain Quinqueviri for the division of the Pompeian Lands: and Trinomii for the planting of a colony at Nepit. Then they propounded unto the people, that N. of them would appoint and determine of the war to be made. And notwithstanding the Tribuns of the Corn, laboured earnestly, but all in vain, to dissuade, yet the tribes throughout generally granted it, and gave their voyes for war. All that year passed in preparations only, but no army set forth by reason of the plague: which protracting of time and long delay, gave the inhabitants of the Colonies libert to intruce unto the Senat for peace. Many of them were in lined and stood thus affected, to send a 1000 men embassage with humble supplication to Rome: but that (as commonly is saideth our) the publick peril was entangled and interessed with the jealousy of some private persons: and the authors of the backsliding and revolt from the Romans, fearing left they alone should bear all the blame and be delivered up as a sacrifice to satisfy the wrath of the Romans, turned away clean and alienated the Colonies from all constitution of seeking for peace. And not only in their Council-House was this Embassage then crossed: but many of the Commons also they desired to invade the territories of Rome, to drive boories, and make pooll. This new wrong by them offered, clean put them by all hope of peace. In that year was the first rumour raised concerning the Rebellion also of the Prentifins. And when the Tusculans, Gabines, and Lati- canes, into whole marches they had made invades, complained unto the Senat, and laid much matter against them they received at their hands to calm and cool an answer, that it seemed they gave no credit to their complaints, because they were not willing they should prove true.
The sixth Book of T. Livius.

A The year following, Sp. and L. Papirius, new Tribunes Military with Consuls’ authority, led the legions to Velitri, whole four Colleagues, Ser. Cornelia Malignomen the fourth time, Q. Servilius, C. Sulpio, L. Aemilius the fourth time, were left Tribunes behind for defence of the City; and for fear left they should hear some intelligence of new and fresh risings out of Hurritus, where they suspected all would be caught. At Velitri they had the better hand of their enemies: they there found more Preneptus well near, that came to succour, than the very Colouers themselves. For the City was so near at hand, that it both gave the enemies occasion to fly the sooner, and yielded them the only place of safe refuge, after they were fled. The Tribuns forbore to assault the Town, as well in regard of the dangerous enterprise, as also for that they B thought it not good to hold tight to the utter destruction of that Colony. Letters were dispatched to Rome with tidings of victory, implying more sharp informations against the Preneptus than the Velitrans. So by an Act of the Senate and allent of the people there was proclaimed war against the Preneptus: who in the year following joined with the Volitans, and for they were

Preneptus a Colony of the people of Rome, notwithstanding it was manfully and valiantly defended by the Townmen even to the last; where most beantly and ertelly they exercised their victory upon those that they took prisoners, and put to them the sword. The Romans took this in a very ill part; and elected M. Furius Camillus Tribun Military the thirteenth time: who had for his companions in office, A. and Lucius Posthumus Reggellafia, L. Furius and L. Luctatius, and M. Fabius Ambullus.

C The Volitan war was appointed to Camillus extraordinarily: and to assist him therein, it fell to L. Furius his lot, once of the State-Tribuns, not so much for the good of the Common-weal, as to minimish unto his fellow all matter of honour and renown; as well in publick, (for that he set all upright again, which by the rafflins of Lucius was fallen down) as also in private, for that out of his error and mildoing, Marcus Furius, rather sought for thanks and love at his hands, than aimed at any vain glory to himself. Camillus was now far grown and kept in years and very aged, and when in the assembly for Election, he was about to take the usual form of oath, for to excuse hiscience and crazy body, the people with one consent would not permit him. Howbeit for all his age, he carried a lively spirit and lusty courage with him still: his fenes were as fresh and found: and the late civil affairs had stirred him up and gave him an edge, who now had no great mind to manage martial exploits. So he gathered a pover of forces, confilling of 4000. apiece, and made proclamation that all his forces should be ready the next day, at the gate Epsilina, and then he put himself in his journey to Scurium. The enemy that had won the Colony, nothing dismayed them, and tilling in the number of his foudlers, wherein he had the better by ods, expected and stayed his coming there. And so soon as he understood that the Romans approached, forthwith came into the field, minding without delay to put it to an hazard and try it out: presuming, that the skill of the Romans General, were he never so singular (in whom their enemies only trusted) would little or nought avail in regard they were so few in number. The Roman army was as hot as they, and one of their Generals as forward every way. And presently without any stay, had they tried the formne of a battle, but for the policy and rule E of oneman; who by holding off, and prostrating time of sight, fought so to help himself through good order and skill. But so much the more the enemy urged still, and was more fierce: so as now he not only ranged his men before his own camp in batter array, but also set forward into the mids of the field: and advancing himself with enigns displayed, near unto the extremity of his rampier of his enemies; made a proud bravado and show of his strength, wereupon he bare himself to confidently. This could the Roman foudlers hardly endure: and L. Furius one of the Tribun Military, had more ado by far to digest and put up that at the enemies hand. And a serious Knight he was, both by reason of his youthful years and natural disposition: and also cut off with hope of the multitude, which commonly take heart, and proceeds upon extremity uncertainties. And the foudlers being of themselves else-

F ready not enough, he inflamed and set them more on fire, by elevating and making light of his fellows reputation, in regard of his old age, the only thing that he could alledge giving out ever and anon. 4 That wars were for youngmen, that mens hearts flourished and failed as their bodies did: which was seen in Camillus, who of a most valorous and forward warrior, was now become a draw-back and a remorter, and one that would take his leisure: and he that was wont, so soon as he came to a place, with the first assault to win Forts and strong Towns, now within his mares and rampier sat still and trilled out the time. And what hopes had he? Dreamed he, that either his own power should encrease, or his enemies strength decrease? What occasion, what opportunity of time, what place of vantage for ambit he do for? Tho’ thefule policies and inventions of the good old man, are cold and dull God wot. In faith, C Camillus, as he hath lived long enough, to hath he gained glory enough. To what purpose then (quoch he) should we suffer the whole puissance of a City, which ought indeed to be immortal, to age and was old with the body of one man, whom all men see to be but mortal. With these and such like words he had drawn away the whole camp after him: and when from all parts thereof they called hard and cried for battle: 5 We are not able (quoch he) M. Furius 6 it, nor to keep in and represse any longer the violence of our foudlers: and as for the pride of the enemy,

whole courage by our delays we have encreated and whomintereth over us it is inseducible.

Give place then, you that are but one man, and yeeld unto us all. Suffer your self to be over-

L. Furius to his foudlers.
The sixth Book of T. Livius.

44 come with reason and counsel, that you may sooner overcome by force and arms. Hereunto
45 Camillus made answer again: What wars ever (quoth he) unto this present day have by mine
46 own entire conduct, and sole direction been managed; neither can you nor the people of Rome
47 deny, that in them you never repent, either of my policy or happy success. Now I know
48 full well, that I have a companion joyned with me in government & rule of equal communion:
49 for the prime and luttines of youth, much above me, and my better. And as to the army, I have
50 indeed been used ever to command; and not to be commanded: but yet my fellows authori-
51 ty, I cannot be against. Let him do in Gods Name, what he thinketh good for the Common-
52 weal, and God speed his hand. Only in regard of mine old age I crave this favour, that I may
53 not be set in the forefront: but for other labours, look what an old man may or ought to do t
54 in war, therein truly I shall not fail. And this one thing would I crave at the hands of the im-
55 mortal Gods; that some notable mishap befall not to make my former counsel good and pratic-
56 worthy. But neither would men be ruled by his advice to profitable and wholesome, nor the
57 Gods will have to bear his prayers so holy and devout. Then Lucinus further, the author and prin-
58 cipal perfwader of bataill, leteth the vanguard in array, Camillus he fortifieth the Regiments and
59 Squadrons for supply in the rearward: but above all, he placeth a strong guard before the camp.
60 Himself took up his standing on a higher place, to behold and mark the issue of another mens
61 counsel. So soon as at the first brunt and encounter, they ruttled and made a noife with their ar-
62 mor, the enemies on purpose (of policy, and not for fear) gavefooting and lost ground. Now,
63 there was behind them on their back a pretty rising of an Hill between their camp and the batai-
64 ll: and by reason that they were well floced of men, they had left behind them in the camp certain
65 strong companies armed and well appointed: with this intimation that whiles both armies were
66 hard in fight, and when their enemies should come near their trench and rambier, they might tally
67 out on a suddien upon them. The Romans following out of measure upon the enemies as they re-
68 treated, were drawn upon the disadvantage of the ground, and gave occasion and fit opportunity
69 unto the enemy to illuse out of the camp upon them. So the terror returned upon the supposed vi-
70 tors, by reason both of the new supplyes of the enemies, and also of the fall and defect of the
71 Hill: and forced the bataill of the Romans to give back. The Volscians that charged them from
72 out of the camp, and were fres and lusty, prest hard upon them: they alfo that made as though
73 they fled, began now to fight again. The Romans foildiers forgetting now both their late lost
74 losses, and their ancient honour, retired not easily and fosily in good order, but plaintext them
75 backs on all sides, fled amain by heaps, and ran away toward their own camp. Whereas Camillus
76 being by them that attended about his person, mounted upon a good Courier, and with all the
77 speed he could make, opposing the Squadrons of the rearward against the enemy. Is this (quoth
78 he) the fight, you soildiers, that ye so call it for? what God, what man can ye lay the weight
79 on now? It was your rashnes and fool-hardines afore; and it is your dastardly cowardice
80 now, and nothing else, that is the cause of all this. Followed ye have already one General,
81 Follow Camillus now a while: and as ye have been always wont by my leading, once more
82 win the victory. What look you toward the hold and the camp? there is nothing coming thither.
83 there is no being there for any of you without victory. At the first they were ashamed, and
84 fled themselves from farther flight: but after that they saw once the enemys wheel about, and
85 the Squadrons turn again, they made head, and charged the enemy amain. And the General
86 himself, a man renowned for so many triumphs, and besides, for his venerable age so revered, even
87 amongst the formost enemys, amid the greatest perils, and most diftresses, advanced forth in per-
88 son. Hereupon every one for his part, let the better leg forward, provoked his fellow withal, and
89 encouraged one another, so as with a cheerful and lively shout, the whole field rang again. Nei-
90 ther was the other Tribun behind hand for his part: but being sent by his College unto the
91 Horsemen (whiles he in the mean time marshalled again the Volscian in order) not by way of
92 chiding (for what might he avail thereby, so long as he was himself in fault as well as the rest?)
93 but laying aside all Lordly command, fell wholly to entreating, and comforted them both all and
94 none to quitt themselves like men, and acquit him of the guilt and blame of that unlucky dayes
95 work. Indeed (quoth he) when my brother Camillus would not agree thereto, but expressly
96 forbade, yet I chose rather to be a partaker of the folly and rashnes of all, than the wildomde
97 and paffe advice of one. Camillus (come what will of it, spced you well, or spced you ill) feeth the
98 glorious life will be: but I, unless the bataill be revived, shall take such part as you all, (a most mi-
99 nerable and pious cause) but the flame will redound and light upon my head and none else.
100 Well, at length they agreed, and thought it best to abandon their Horses to let them down among the
101 waving and disordered companies, and on foot to make head upon the enemies. Thus they go
102 both together, as bravely minded with revolution, as they were richly and gorgeously armed. And
103 in what part ever they law the footmen most disordered, there wanted neither in the General
104 nor in the soildiers, courage in the highest degree to fight it out nobly. Well was it seen by the
105 happy event, that valorous and undesirous speed ever well. For the Volscians the same way that
106 erewhile they made semblance of giving ground upon a counterfeit fear, now fled in good fidenes
107 as hard as they could. Great number both in the conflict, and after in the chale were slain. As
108 for the rest that remained in the camp, which pretently at one brunt was won, more of them
109 were taken prisoners than killed. In the view & account taken of the captives, there were some of
110 them known to be Tulsicans, who were levered apart from the rest, and brought before the
111 State-
A State-Tribuns. And upon examination, confessed truly, that they served by the publick warrant of the City, Camillus herewith disquieted, for fear of war from to near neighbors, said he would forth with have those prisoners with him to Rome, that the Lords of the Senate might not be ignorant how the Tusculans were revolted from their society. In the mean while, his brother Tribun might, if he so pleased, have the regiment of the legate and the holt. That days work had taught him now, not to prefer his own ways before the better counsel of another. And yet neither be him who, nor any man else in the army, thought that Camillus would quietly digest this fault of his, whereby the State of the Commonwealth was driven upon so dangerous a point of downfall. And as well in the holt, as also at Rome, it was rife and current in every mans mouth: that whereas the fight with the Volcii was variable, and the service doubtful: for the ill speed, the discomfiture, and the running away, L. Furius was all in fault: but for the good successes, Camillus only had all the honour.

When the captives were brought into the Council House, and the Lords of the Senate were of opinion and determined war against the Tusculans, and had laid the charge thereof upon Camillus, he requested to have an affiant joined with him in Commision: and being left to his own choice to take whom he would of all his Companions in office, contrary to all mens expectation, he chose L. Furius. By which moderation of his affections, and good carriage of himself, he both delayed the intamy of his Colleague, and won himself great glory and commendation. Yet for all this, proceeded not they to any war with the Tusculans. For they by their constant observation of peace, kept off the violence of the Romans, which by force of arms they had not been able. When the Romans entered and invaded their territory, they went not so much as out of those places that lay near the high way, whereas the enemy marched: they forter not the tilling of their grounds, but kept the gates of their City wide open, came forth solemnly in their long gowns to meet with the L. Generals in the way, and brought victuals right courteously to serve the army, as well as all of the City as Country. Camillus having pitched down his tents before the gates, and devious to know, whether there were the fame appearance of peace within the walls, as bare flew abroad in the Country, entered the City and seeing the doors standing open, the shop-windows up, all kind of wares for sale at the gates within the gates, and the Craft-merchant and Artificers busy every one occupied at his work: the Grammar-schools ringing again with a chorus of Scholars, learning and faying their lessons: the streets full of women and children amongst the other common people going in and out and about their business: he could perceive no where about him anything that carri'd a semblance of fearing men, no, not so much as of those that made any wonder at their coming in that warlike order. Thus call he his eyes into every corner, feeling where this war should be. For there was not so much as an token by being, either of ought removed out of the way, or brought in place, upon this present occasion: but all in so settled quietness and peace; as if they had scarcely heard any inking or rumor of hostility. Being therefore overcome with this patience and suflerance of the enemies, he caufed their Senat to assemble, unto whom he spake in this wise: "Ye alone to this day of all that I know, O Tusculans, have found the only armor of proof, and the forcible fenee indeed, to save your selves and all ye have from the Romans ire, E Go your ways to Rome unto the Senat there, The Lords of the Council wil weigh and consider, whether ye delivered more punishment before, then pardon now, I will not foretell and pick my elf a private thank for a publick benefit. Army hands ye shall have this favour and liberty, to speak for your selves and plead your own cause: as the Senat will think good, so shall you speed of your suit. After, that the Romans come to Rome, and their Senat (who but a while before had been faithful Allies and kept their allegiance) seem to stand waiting with heavy cheer, and giving their attendance at the entry of the Court and Council Chamber: the Lords of the Roman Senat, were presently moved thereat, and caufed them forthwith to be called in, and received by way of hospitality, more like than hostility. Then the Dictator of Tusculum made this speech and said: "Right honorable Senators, we against whom ye have proclaimed and made war, F Forth to encounter your Generals and Legions, armed and appointed ye fee us at this present standing in the porch of your Council House. This was our array, this was the habit of our Commons, and always thall be, unless at any time we shall put on arms for you and in your quarrel. Thanks we yield to your Captains and to your Armies, that they have beleaved rather their eyes than their ears: and where they saw no hostility at all, there they offered none themselves, That peace which we have sawned and observed, the fame crave we humbly flill at the hands of your Clemency. Turn we befeech you from us your forces thither, where war is to be found. And if we must needs make trial (by suffering ought) of your patience and power bent against us, we will try it purely without armor. This is our full resolution. God grant it prove as fortunate, as it is well meant and proceeding from a fingle heart. As for the trephins where-upon ye were moved to denote war against us: although it be boldness and to no purpose to disprove that by words, which by deed is already proved: yet surely, were they never to true, as we think verily, that without prejudice to our selves, we may lately confess the fame, since that we have so evidently represented thereof. And for ye, so long as ye be worthy to have so full satisfaction made it shal le nor, what damage or transgression be committed against you. Thus much in effect spake the Tusculans. At the very instant they obtained peace and not long after, the right of free burgage, to be made Citizens of Rome, So the Legions were withdrawn back again from Tusculum. Thus Camillus having won great honor by his policy and valour both, in the Vol.
The Tribunes against the Senec.

The Tribunes were this year need of Seniors also, by reason especially of the doubtful rumors that ran concerning debts: whilsts of the one side the Tribunes of the Commons did aggravate the grievances thereof; and made it seem an odious matter; and they again of the other side, did elevate and made little of the fame; for whom it was good and beneficial, that the lent money should be thought abroad, in danger of being lost; for that (say they) the debtors cautiously rather would not than I for ability could not, keep their credit and make payment. So there were created Seniors, C. Sulpitius Camerinus, Sps. Posthumius Regillius. This matter now already commenced, was broken off by the death of Paphianus, because it would have bred a scruple to the other Senioir in the room of him deceased. When Sulpitius therefore had resigned up his place, it fell out to that other new Seniors upon some error committed in their creation, excused not their office; and to chuse a third time they made a scruple, so tender confideration were they, as if the gods were not well pleased with that office for that year. But the Tribunes would not endure this deluding of the Commons, but gave it forth that it was intolerable: saying, "That the Senate fought to avoid the exhibiting of publick records and books, which gave testimony of the valuation of every man's substance to the worth: because they would not have the sums of debts to be seen and known, which might bewray and plainly shew, that one part of the City was ever eaten up and devoured of the other: and in the mean time the poor Commons so deeply engaged, were packed away, and lent forth against these enemies and thos: and now without all regard and distinction, they sought occasions to quarrel and make war in every place. From Antonius to Satrium; from Servium to Vbiare, from thence to Tusculum your Legions been posted. And now, forsooth, there is war intended against the Latins, Hernicks and Preneftins: for hatred rather of the Citizen here at home, then of the enemies abroad: and all to wear out the Commons with continual wars, and to afford them so breathing while within the City: that in time of rest, they might remember and think upon their freedom, keep their rooms in common assembly, where they might at the length hear their Tribunes voice pleading for the safe- ment of utility, and for a final end of all injuries. But and if the Commons had the heart, and carried that mind with them, as to call to remembrance their ancestors liberty, they would further any Citizen of Rome to be awarded to bondage for debts, nor any matters for to be taken, until a view were made and just accompt had, of every man his debts, and some conscience taken for abating the same: that each man might know, what he had of other mens goods, what remained of his own: whether his body were left free, or at the mercy of his creditor, to lie in cold iron and baleful prison. This hire and salary of sedition, this reward once propounded aforehand, stirred up (you may be sure) a mutiny soon after. For whereas there were many adjudged to be bound unto their Creditors, and the Senators had decreed new Legions to be believed, for the bruiz and rumor that went of the Preneftins wars: both matters began to be hindred for making any effect, as well by the Tribunes help as the Commons accord. For neither would the Tribunes suffer those that were condemned to be led to prisition: nor yet the younger sort of the Commons, enter their names in the Metter-matter his book. And the Senators for the present, left minded the execution of judgement for the Creditors behalf, then the murthering. For why? News came already, that the enemies had put themselves in their journey from Preneftis, and were encamped in the Sabines country: And all this while, the very tidings hereof rather quickened and provoked the Tribunes of the Commons to the broil that was begun, than frightened them any jot from it. Neither would any thing serve to quench the sedition in the City, until the war was come in manner to the very walls. For the Preneftins had intelligence given them, that in Rome there was no army gathered, no General certainly known: the Senators and Commons N at jar and together by the ears. Their Captains hereupon, taking this advantage and opportunity, with a running camp invaded, spoilt and wasted the fields all afore them as they went, and came with banners displayed before the gate Cullius. Great fear was in the City, every man cried Alarm, ran up to the walls to man them, and to the gates to ward them. And at the last they left their mutinies, turned to the wars, and created J. Quintins Cincinnatus Dictator. He appointed for his General of horsemen. A. Sempronius Aeronius. This was not so soon voice abroad. (so great a terror went always with that magistrate) but the enemies withal disabled and departed from the walls: and the younger sort of the Romans, without any trifling and drawing back, upon the proclamation, gatherd together. Whiles forces were thus arising at Rome, the enemies pitched their camp not far from the River Alia: and as they forraged the Country about, they bragged and vanned among themselves, that they had got that very plot of ground, which was ever fatal to the destruction of the City of Rome: Here will say they, the like sight, from hence will they fly, no doubt, as sometimes they did before in the Gauls war. For if the Romans feared that dismal and unlucky day, noted with the infamous name of this place; how much more will they dread the river Alia! it feldin memorial of their so great overthrow. than the only bare day Alia? Certainly, when they are come hither, they will think they see again the grim looks, and hear the hideous voices of those savage Gauls. Thus rolling & toffing with
A with themselves these toiyuh conists, tinge of as vain and foolish predistions, they refled wholly and reposed their full hope in the lucky preservation only of the place. The Romans contra-
ristive knew full well, that their enemies the Latins, were (where over they were) the very fame men still, and no other, whom for the space of one hundred years they held peaceable and quietly
as their devoted vallis in subjection. And as for the place noted indeed, for the memorial of that late defeat and los in ity, might it therefore rite them up and let an edge upon them to a-
bolish and cancel the remembrance of that Shameful disgrace, then put them in fear, that any
ground should be so unfortunate, as to be a bar unto their victory. Nay, if the very Gauls them-
selves came now in their way, they would so fight with them even in that ground, as they
B did at Rome, in the recovery of their country; as they did the morrow after at Gabii: when they
bare themselves so valiantly, that no one enemy that entred within the walls of Rome, went over
home again to tell news how they iped, well or ill. Thus on both sides being refoine, and coura-
giously bent, they met at Alia. The Roman Dictator discovering the enemies arranged in battle-
array, within light. 4 See you not (quoth he) O A. Sempronius; how they have stayed at Alia,
pretending upon the luckiness of the place? No finer confidence, no greater help may they have.
I pray God, but you, with trinity armor, keen weapons, and doughty courage set spurs to horse,
gallop amongst the thicket of their main battle with your horsemen, with the legions on foot
will advance mine Enemies, and display them, in their faces, and charge them heartily when they
are difbanded one, and put inear, Alia is now, and aid us. O ye gods (the witness of our
C league) and punish them duly for their defects, both in dishonouring your divine Majesty, and
deceiving us in your name, whom they called solemnly to witness. Neither horsemen nor foot-
men, could the Preneflins abide, but at the very first shout and shock were the ranks broken.
And seeing their Battalions in no place whole and kept together, they fled: and amazed as they
were in that confused fear, and carried away beyond their own camp, they stayed not running
for life, until by good footmman they were come within the fight of Prenefl. There, all fach as
had been scattered in the flight, met together, and chose a plot of ground, to fortifie in that halle
as well as they could: left peradventure, if they had put themselves within the town, forthey
their villages should have been fired, and after all confum'd and spoiled, the town also might for-
tune to be beleaguered. But when the Roman Conqueror after the filling of their camp at Alia was
D once come toward them and discovered, they abandoned that Fort also, and got within the town
Prenefl, thinking themselves secure enoogh within the walls thereof. Eight towns besides
there were under the feignoty of the Preneflins, against which the Dictator warned round: and
having won them all, one after another without much ado, he brought his army against Peflren,
and got that town also by assault. Then came he to the principal head and very seat town of the
war, Prenefl, which was not by force won, but by surrender yielded up into his hands, And T.
Qunitins thus having obtained one victory in a sight field, won two camps and holds of the en-
emies, conqunred by force nine towns, and regained Prenefl surrendered unto him, returned home
again to Rome. In his triumph he carried aloft the Image of Jupiter, fornamed Emperor, which
he brought from Prenefl, and set it up in the Capitol, where it was placed and dedicated be-
E tween the thrones of Jupiter and Minerva: and in a table of battle fixed under it, was the monu-
ment of this noble exploit recorded and engraven in thele or such like words: [7. Quinian Dict.
ator, by the gracious help of Jupiter, and all the gift of the gods, won nine Towns.] So on the 20.
day after his creation, he resigned up his Dictorship.
Then was the assemblie holden for election of Tribums Military with Coliauthority who were
equally choosen from one of the Nobility and the Com. Of Nobles were created, P. and C. Mund.
L. with E. folni. The Commons yeelded C. Sextilius, M. Albinius and L. Anufeius. Upon the two
Monili, for that in blood and degree they were above the Commons, and for favour more graci-
ous thenJulius the province of the Volcians was beitowd extraordinarily, without calling lots
or parting together by agreement of the Colleagues amongst them selves. Which both they them-
selves read, and the Senators also (that would have it so repeated afterwards. For without any
signals, sent out shorehand to front the coasts, they let forth certain cohorts or companies (of
footmen) a surrounding and when upon a falle alarm that those were befit & intapped, they march-
ed them selves aside after to their reufe & convoy, & kept not with them fill the reporter of their
fiding (who being indeed a Latin and an enemy, but negligent in the habit of a Roman footkildes,
had deceived them) they fell heeling into a train and ambishment laid of purpose for them. And
whiles they made reliance with main force only, in a ground of great disadvantage (giving & ra-
king the like measure) they were killed & slain on either side. But in the mean time their enemies
from another quarter, enter the camp of the Romans lying open in the plain. Thus in both places,
things went but badly and untowardly, & all through the rashnes and unskilfullness of the leaders.
F And what remained unforeld for the fortune of the people of Rome, that was preferred by the hard-
ly and reioiete value of the Roman footkiders only, without the help of general and command-
er. Upon which news reported at Rome, at the first it was thought good to chuse a Dictator: but after-
wards, when tidings came, that all was whole & the Volcians quiet; and that it was well seen
they knew not how to utle a victory when they had it, nor to take the opportunity of the time,
whiles it offered it fell: both the Generals & the army were sent for home from thence, & so for the
Volcians they were at rest afterwards. Only in the very end of the year, other stole some new fire &
udden tumult by reason that the Preneflins having illicited the people of the Latins, entered into
S 2 rebellion
rebellion again. In the same year the men of Sestia made moan of themselves for want of people, and thither new Colonies were assigned to inhabit there.

Albeit the Romans sped but badly in wars, yet the quietness at home was some comfort: which the Tribunes Military chosen out of the Commons had procured, by reason that they were so gracious and reverenced among those of their own cast and faction. All the beginning of the year following, was at the first on a light fire with hot discourse and mutiny, when Sp. Servilius, Quintius Servilius the second time, Licinius Memmius the third time, P. Claudius, M. Horatius and L. Geganius were Tribunes Military with Consules authority. The matter and cause of which seditions broils, were the debts above specified. For the due inquisition whereof and to what sums they amounted, Sp. Servilius Priscus and Clodius Soceitus were made Centors, but stopped they were for doing any thing by occasion of wars. For first, fearful mutineers in all haste brought word, and after, the flight of the Country people confirmed it, that the legions of the Volcians were entered into the confines, and fell to spoiling every where the territory about Rome. Norwithstanding which fear and foreign terror, so little were the civil disorders appeased, that contrarywise the Tribunes of the Commons extended their power with more violence to hinder the levy of soldiers, until they had indented and capitulated with the Senators, that so long as the wars lasted, no man should either contribute and be charged with any impost, or be freed in any action of debt. When the Com. took hold once of this easement and liberty, the mutiners were delayed no longer. And after they had levied and enrolled two new legions, it was thought convenient that the legions should be divided, and two armies sent forth into the Volcians Country, So Fabius and M. Horatius, went on the right hand along the sea coast to Antium. Q. Servilius and L. Geganius on the left hand, by the way of the mountains to Ecuera. But on neither side met they with the enemy, Whereupon they fell to foraging the Country, not here and there in scattering wise, as the Volcians had done, after the manner of robbers, at firsts upon advantage taken of their enemies discord, and by stealth for fear of their valour: but being a full power and army of men, and justly provoked to anger, the longer they continued there, the fouler work they made. For the Volcians standing in fear, left in the mean while they should be encountered with a power from Rome, had made roads only into the utmost frontiers: But contrarywise, the Romans made stay in the enemies land, the rather to train them forth and draw them to a field-fight. Having therefore burned up, in a manner, all the uplandish houset and granges, and some villages also, and left behind them no fruitful tree standing, nor the town corn for hope of grain, and driven away whole booties of men, women, and cattel, which they could light on without the walls; they reduced their armies of both sides home again to Rome. In this mean while the debords had some little reipit to breath themselves in. But so soon as all was quiet from enemies abroad, they began a fresh to be freed and troubled by their creditors at home. And so small hope they had to be released of their old fury, that they fell into a new, by reason of a contribution collected toward a wall, which the Census had set out to be made of square Ashler stone. To yeeld unto this imposition and burden, the Commons were driven, because there was no matter for the Tribunes of the Commons to hinder. Forced they were likewise through the might and power of the great men, to admit for Tribunes military, all of the Nobility, to wit, L. Romulius, P. Valerius the M fourth time, C. Veturius, Servius Sulpisius, L. and C. Quinti Cenclatii.

By the same strong hand also they prevailed so much, that without impeachment of any man, all the younger fort took the military oath, so that they levied three armies against the Latins and Volcians: who joining their legions together, had encompassed themselves at Satrium. One army was gathered for the defence of the City: another to be set out against all sudden wars, if haply elsewhere some tumult should arise: & a third, of all other the strongest, was under the conduct of P. Valerius, and L. Annulius, led to Satrium. Where, finding the enemies embattell'd in good array upon a plain & even ground, they charged upon them presently. But ere that they had got the victory evidently in sight, and were but only in some good hope of having a fair day of their enemies, the rain so pour'd down with huge storms and tempests, that it past both houfis and houses. The morrow after began a fresh conflict. And for a good while, the legions of the Latins especially, which by long alliance with the Romans had learned their manner of warfare, flooded it to as valiantly, and sped as fortunately as the Romans. At length, the Roman horsemen that rode in among them, brake their ranks; and when they were once disarray'd, the footmen displayed their ensigns, and advanced upon them: and look how much the Romans batterd forward, so much the enemies gave backward. But when they began once to faint in their fight, than the violence of the Romans was inofferable. Thus the enemies were discomfited and scattered: and flying not toward their camp, but to Satrium, which was two miles off, they were by the horsemen especially beaten down, trod under foot and slash. Their tents were taken and rifled. From Satrium they dislodged, the next night after the batterd was fought and marched in great haste (as if they fled) to Antium. And albeit the Roman army followed them by the tracks hard at heels, yet their footmanship served them better in their fear, than it did the Romans, for all their anger. So the enemies put themselves within the town walls, before the Romans could overtake them, and either cut off the tail of their renawer or force them to fly. After this, some days were spent in waiting the Country. For neither were the Romans sufficiently provided with warlike engines of batterd and artillery to assail their walls, nor they well appointed to abide batterd in plain field. Then arose some discord within the town, between the Latins and the Antians. The Antians,
The sixth Book of T. Livius.

A Antias, of one side wearied with calamities that follow long wars, wherewith all their life time they had been exercised even to their old age, were of mind to yield. The Latins by reason of their late revolt and rebellion (whiles after to long peace, their courage continued yet faith) were more forward and earnest to maintain wars still. But when they saw on both sides that they might do as they purposed, and follow their own designs, without being hindered one of another, their stirs was soon ended, so the Latins leaving their fellowship & society of peace, so unhonourable (as they thought it) departed from them, and stood out still to revenge their own quarrels. But the Antias being well rid of these Conn elors of their, forced unto all whomsoever counties, tending to their good and safety, yielded up their town and country to the Romans. But

B the anger and furious rage of the Latins, for that they could neither annoy the Romans by wars, nor keep the Volscians still in arms, brake out thus far, that they fired the City Streetums, which had been the first place of refuge, after their defeat and unhappy fight. Neither left they any house in that City standing, but let fire upon all indifferently, as well profane as holy edifices: only the Church of Dame Matuta spared. From which, it was neither any religion and conscience of their own, nor fear of the gods that kept them, but as (men report) a fearful voice heard out of the Temple with heavy threats, unless they held their hands, and kept them far enough from burning the sacred habitations to impiety. In this rage and mad fit of theirs, to Tufculans they go; for very flight that they taking the general Counsel of the Latins, had not only yielded themselves to be in league with the Romans, but also become incorporate Citizens with them. And coming upon them on a sudden, while their gates were open, at the first hint from the whole Town, all but the Castle, was surprized. The Townsmen with their Wives and Children were either fled: and sent messengers to Rome with certificate to the Senate of this sudden and unlooked for accident. And with all speed (as appertained to the fidelity of the people of Rome) an army was led to Tufculum: whereof L. Quintinius and Servius Sulpius, had the conduct. At Tufculum they found the gates afield against them, and the Latins, as men both befeeming and belied. And wiles of the one side tended the defence of the walls, on the other side assaulted the Castle, at one time they were afraid themselves, and put others in fear likewise. But the coming of the Romans wrought a great change and alteration in the hearts of both parties. For it caused the Tufculans of fearful men to become exceeding cheerful: and the

C Latins who made full reckoning to win the fortress out of hand, as being matters already of the town, but had small hope now to help and save themselves. The Tufculans they let up a great shout out of the Castle: and answered it again with a greater from the Roman army. The Latins were put to it hard on both sides: for neither were they able to abide the violence of the Tufculans running down the hill upon them, nor to put by and keep off the Romans, coming hard under the walls, and laying to break the bars of the gates. Fifth, they scaled the walls and gat upon them: after, they brake the port-cullis down. Thus the Latins environed with enemies both before and behind, that pressed (one upon them,) having neither strength enough left to fight, nor room of ground to make an escape, were slain in the midst between the enemies, every mothers sons. So when Tufculum was recovered out of the enemies hands, the army was

D brought back again to Rome.

But the more quietness there was that year without the City by reason of prosperous wars, the more recounted the violence and hard dealing of the Senators within: and the calamities of the Commons grew every day more than other. For they wanted means and were not able to pay for the interest that need must be paid. When nothing therefore was to be had, to make payment out of their goods, they were adjudged and awarded to satisfy their creditors in their body and name: and so their punishment served in stead of keeping their credit and discharging the consideration. Whereupon, not only the meanest of the Commons, but also the very chief, began now to let fall their hearts and loope to love, that was not a witty and nimble headed man and of experience amongst them, that would put himself forth to stand to be a Trimonials, in concurrence with the Nobles, (which they had to earnestly look at and laboured for,) no, nor so much as to bear and sue for any offices of the Commons, So as the Senators now, seemed to have recovered again for ever to themselves, the possession of that dignity, which the Commons of late, for some few years had disputed and occupied over their heads, But that this order might not joy too much hereat, a small occurrence hapned between which (as it fellent out most commodly) gave the occasion and first looking to an enterprise of much importance.

M. Fabius Aemilius a great and mighty man, as well amongst those of his own calling, as also with the Commons (whom he was reputed never to delique, as other did of his condition and estate) had two daughters married forth: the elder unto Servius Sulpius: the younger unto C. Licinius Stolo, a man very of good worth and reckoning but yet a Commoner. And Fabius disdaining not this alliance and affinity, won himself much love and favour among the Commons. Now it fell out to, that these sisters were upon a time together in the house of Servius Sulpius, then Trib Military: and as they past the time away (as the manner is) in much good talk, discoursing one another with many matters, it chanced that a Sergeant or Vetere of Sulpius, at what time as he was coming home from the Forum of Romon, hald, as the order was, with his rod at the door, When the yonger Fabia not acquainted with those fashions was therat somewhat amazed, her sister making a wunder at her ignorance, laught her to leorn. But that laught (as womens minds got wot are soon kindled with a light)yet her a work & hammered in her head.
Besides, the train of many that came about her, waiting and giving attendance, ready to know her pleasure and what she would, mended the matter much. I suppose she thought her father happily wedded, and repeated her own marriage; upon an ill and sinister judgment, whereby every man repined that his neighbor and nearest of kin especially, should go beyond him and do better than he. Upon this discontentment and spleen heart-burning of hers, her father highly seeing her displeased, asked her whether all was well at home? But when she would have turned the cause of her grief another way, (for that it stood neither with her love and kindness towards her father, to envy her estate; nor yet with her reverence honor that she was to yield unto her husband, to find fault with her own) she with mild questioning came about her so, that he drew from her the truth: so as she confessed her grief to arise upon this, that she was dispirited; and namely, married not according to her quality, but into an house incapable both of worship and favour. Then Ambilius, comforting his daughter, told her to be of good cheer, and said, That ere it were long, she should see the same estate, the same advancement and dignity at home, which she had seen already in her father's house. Hereupon began he to plot with his son-in-law, joying also unto them, Sextius, a stout young man, and one that was like enough to come to preferment, but that he was not of noble race. Good occasion and opportunity they seemed to have of composing some alteration in the State, by reason of the excessive debts that men were grown into; for the redressing and curing of which malady, the Com. had no other hope, but in advancing some of themselves into the sovereign government. They thought it needful therefore, presently to address themselves to the execution of these dispositions, considering that by endeavor and industry, the Commons were climed to that degree already, from whence if they would enforce and put themselves forward, they had but one step more unto the highest, and might be equal with the Nobles, as well in honour as in verum and prowess. And for the present, it was thought good to make them, two Tribus, of the Com, in which office they might open a way unto themselves, for other dignities. So C. Licinius and L. Sestius, proposed laws, all tending to abate the power and might of the Nobles, and wholly for the good and benefit of the Com. One, as touching taking order for debts: That when so much was debased and deducted out of the principal, as had been paid for the use and interest, the residue should be discharged by even portions in 3 years. A second, concerning a proportion and quantity of lands. That no man might hold in possession above 500 acres. The third, That from thenceforth there should be no election of Trib. Military, but of Cossi provided always, that one of them be chosen out of the Com. Matters all of right great weight and consequence, and such as without exceeding strife and contention, could not possibly be carried and obtained. Thus when all those things arose, lay a bleeding, and were in hazard to be lost, which the whole world unmeasurably coveteth and longeth after, to wit, land, money, and promotions: the Senators were put in a bodily fear, and began to stare. And laying their heads together both in publick consultation and private conference, they could devise no other remedy, but that which in many commotions already they had tried, namely, the skipping between and negative voice of some of the Tribus. And so, to crost those bills aforesaid put up by these two Tribus, they had wrought and made to their purpose certain of their own brotherhood, Who so soon as they saw the words and tribes called forth by Licinius and Sestius, to give their suffra-Mges, being well backed and guarded with the assent of the Senators, would suffer neither those laws to be read, nor any other besides as yearly they used to pass by the voices of the Commons. Thus the two Tribus aforesaid, having ointtimes (but ever in vain) assembled the people together, and seeing their laws still nibbled, as it were, in the head for ever going forward; "It is very well (quoth Sextius) and since ye like so well that these inhibitions may prevail so much: we will likewise defend the Commons with the same weapon and no other. Go to now my Masters of the Nobility, proclaim an election for the creation of Trib. Military: I will make it so as you shall do yourselves no good at all: howsoever now ye take for your great pleasure to hear our brethren keep that note still, and moreover that sweet concert of mirth. And surely, those threats proved indeed to good earnest and took effect. For there was no election at all but of Ediles and Tribus, and those both of the Commons. For Licinius and Sextius being chosen Tribus again, suffered no Magistrates of the Chair, or of State, to be created. Which defect and detolation of sovereign Magistracy continued in the City for the space of five years: whereas the Commons for their past chose the fame two Tribus still, and they again ever laid a bar and put in a caveat against the election of Tribus Military.

All other wars, as good hap was, were aleepe for the time. The Colonists only of Velite, upon so long rest and quietness began to be lusty and wax wanton: and for that there was no army of the Romans flitting abroad, they not only made inroads handy times into the territory of Rome, but also affailed the town Tusculum. And when the Tusculans, the ancient Allies and new enfranchised Citizens of Rome craved help, the Senators and Commons both, were moved especially for very shame to succour them. And the Tribuns of the Commons yeilded at length, and permitted an assembly for election, to be held by an Inter-regent: and Trib. Military there were created, L. Furius, A. Manlius, Ser. Sulpitius, Ser. Cornelius, A. and C. Volterius. Who found not the Commons for tractable in the mustering, as they were pliable in giving their voices at the Election. Yet after much ado & great contention they levied an army, and set forward on their journey: drove the enemies not from Tusculum only, but forced them within their own walls; besieged Velite more strictly a great deal, and in more forcible manner, than Tusculum had been by them. Howbeit..."
A Howbeit, they that began the siege were not able to win the town. For before that time, were new Tribuns Military chosen, Q. Servilius, C. Varinius, A, and M. Cornelius, Q. Quininius, M. Fabius. Neither performed these Tribuns any notable exploit at Velitrae. But the State, in more dangerous terms than before. For besides that Sextius and Licinius, the publishers of the laws aforesaid, were now the eighth time made Trib. of the Commons again, Fabius also a Tribun Military, Stelo his wives father, was seen openly in the action, to set forward and persuade for the same laws, which in very deed himself had devised. And whereas at the first, eight of the College or Company of the Tribuns of the Commons, had crost the proceeding of them now there were but five left that shewed themselves, and those (as commonly they use to do that dif-

B band from their own faction) like men bereaved of their wis and amazed, being indeed the tongue: and trunks that others spake by, pretended and made allegations in their prohibition, only as they were schooled and taught their lessons at home: (to wir) That a great fort of the Commons were in the army at Velitrae and absent, and that the Selethi Session or Assembly foren-

ating laws, ought to be adjoined until the return home of the louchers: to the end that all the Commons generally, might give their voices concerning their own commoditv and benefit. Sextius and Licinius with part of their brethren Tribuns, and M. Fabius one of the Tribuns Miliary, being their own craftsmen, knew well enough by so many years experience, how to manage and handle the minds of the Commons and plied the chief of the Senators (produced forth before the people) to hard with interrogatories of every particular that was proposed, that they were

C ed and tired them out; Demanding, how they could require to be allowed themselves to poll-

fei more then 300 acres a man; whereas the Commons had but two a piece divided amongst them: Whether that every one of them might in equity hold the lands, well near, of 500.

Citizens: and a Commoner to have hardly ground enough for to build him a necessary house upon, and to leave for a place to bury his dead: Also, whether their wild and pleasure was that the Commons oppressed with nury, should yeild their bodies to bear irons and suffer torment, unless they paid the interest before the principal? And that daily by whom companies they should be had away from the bar, condemned to straitdoms and Novels meanes houes to become goals, filled and peistered with prisoners: And wherofever a Patrician dwelt, there should be a privat

prison: Thee indignities and pitious matters to be heard, when they had with a loud voice

D charged upon them, even before those that were afraid of the like measure themselves; with more indignation and disdain of all that heard them, than they themselves swetved in the utterance and delivery: But these Senators say they (and they redoubled) will never make an end either of getting more land still into their hands, or spoiling and undoing the Commons with nury, until the Commons make once out of their body one Conful, for to be the maintainer and pro-
tector of their liberty. As for the Tribuns of the Commons, they were now just nothing let by;

as who by their privilege of inhibitions and negative voices, spoiled themselves and over-

threw their own power. And never will there be any indifferent and equal comice taken, so long as the Nobles keep the sovereign place of common, and the sword to strike whilsts the poor

Commons have only the buckler hand to ward all venues. For unless the government bpered

E between both alike, the Commons shall never have their due and equal portion in the Com-
mon-wealth. Neither is it reason that any man should stand contented with this only, that in the

Election of Conuls, the Commons are eligible and capable of the dignity: for in case, it be not

concluded absolutely, that one Conulf at the least should be of necessity a Commoner, there will

never be any at all. Have ye forgotten already (say they) that notwithstanding an Act made, That

there should be Tribuns Military, created rather then Conulis, for this intent that Commoners

might aspire and reach unto the chief place of honor; yet for all that is 44. years face, there

was not so much as one of the Commons chosen Tribun Military? And will any man believe

that they will of their own accord confer on the Commons (when others life they may chuse)

that dignity in the disposing only of two places, who were ever wont in the making of Tribun

F Military, to take up eight rooms all wholly to themselves? And will they allow them a way

unto the Conulsship, who thus long have held the (Conulsar) Tribunship fogarded as no man

might have access thither but themselves? Nay, it must be got by a positive law, which in their

Assemblies for Election, by favour and grace might not be obtained. One of the Conuls rooms

must be let aide, pall all peradventure and question, and that for a Commoner, to enter into:

For as much as it stand full upon a choice, the mightier man will ever go away with the game

clear. And whereas heretofore they have been wont to allledge and say. That the Commons al-

forded not sufficient and able men to bear the offices of the chair and of state: that, now cannot

be truly object. For was the Common-wealth, I pray you more slackly and negligently govern-
ed upon the (Conulsar) Tribunship of P. Licinius Calvisus (who was the first Commoner that e-

ver was made Tribun Military) than it was ruled for those years face, in which there was not

a Tribun Military but of the Nobility? Nay on the contrary side it will be justified that some of

the Nobles were condemned after they were out of their Tribunship, and not one of the Com-

moners. And whereas not many years past, we began to make Querriers or Treasurers out of the

Commons, like as we did Tribuns Military, the people of Rome repented never of the choice of

any one of them. It remained now, that the Commoners bear the office of Conulis too: That

were a farrors of their liberty, that were a strength and sure hold to craft unto. If they were

once come and step to that degree, them may the people of Rome think assuredly and be perf-

ervaded.
"Swaged, that the KK, are banished indeed out of the City, and their freedom fully established for ever to endure. For, from that day forward shall the Commons be parasites of all those things, wherein the Nobles now surpass them: namely, sovereign rule and authority, martial renown, parentage and Nobility: great ornaments doublets, unto themselves to enjoy here in this life: but far greater to leave behind them unto their Children and posterity. These and such like Orations when they saw to be plausible, and willingly accepted, they preferred a new Statute, That in stead of the two Duumvirs for holy Ceremonies and matters of the Church, there might be chosen ten Decemvirs: Provided always, that one part of them should be created from the Commons, and another from among the Nobles. The Seffion for enacting of all those Laws, they deferred until the army was returned, which lay then at the siege before I Veiirae."

But the year was come about and fully expired, before the legions were reduced home from thence: and by that means the whole business about those new Laws, hung till in suspense, and was put off unto the entrance of the new Tribuns Military. As for the Tribuns of the Commons, the Commonalty chose the same again, even those twain who had been the proposers of those Laws, and the Tribuns Military were the same, T. Quinctius, Ser. Cornelius, Ser. Sulphius, Sp. Servilius, L. Papirius, L. Veturius. Prefently in the beginning of the year, they put unto the jump and final trial what should become of those Laws. And when as the Tribuns were called, and none of the Tribuns Colleges stepped between to stop the proceeding of the Law-givers: the Nobles were afraid, and ran unto their two last helps, to wit, the highest and absolute office, and the greatest man among them. They thought it good therefore to create a Dictator, and M. Furia Camillus was nominated, who elected unto him L. Semius for General of the horde. The Law-makers likewise for their part, against so great preparation of their adversaries, armed at all parts the cause of the Commons, with stout stomach and contagious heart. And having assembled an Hall of the Commons, they called forth the wards to give their voices. At what time the Dictator accompanied with a great train of Nobles, full of wrath and menacing frowns, took his place and set him down. And after the matter was canvassed first, by the ordinary contest of the Tribuns among themselves, whiles some propounded, and others gainsaid the Law with their negatives voices: and that by how much in right the prohibition was the stronger, so much it was overweighted in favour and affection both of the Laws and Law-givers: and when the first Tribes had given their voice (\textit{Metagatis} affirmatively: then \textit{Camillus}, For as much as (quoth he) \textit{O Quntes}, ye are ruled now by the will and pleasure, and not by the authority of the Tribuns, and as in times past ye obtained the privilege of a negative voice and the \textit{Intercession} by your departure and Seccion, so now ye make it void and nothing worth, even by the same force that ye got it by: I choose Dictators as well for your sake as for the whole Common-wealth, will affift your privilege of Intercession, and by mine absolute authority maintain this your help and succour, now revered and overthrown. If therefore \textit{C. Licinius} and \textit{L. Sextius}, give place unto the negative voice and interceding of their fellows in Office: I will not in a meeting and assembly of the Commons, once intermedie, nor bring in the authority, of a Magistrate of the Nobles: but if they shall go forward still (notwithstanding all prohibition) to M impower and give Laws unto the City, as if it were won by conquest of the enemy, I will not suffer the Tribuns power by their own selves to be defaced and come to nothing. But (all these big words notwithstanding) when the Tribuns of the Commons made but a slight gesture, and went never the less forward with their enterprise, then \textit{Camillus} throughly angered indeed, sent his Lictors and Sergeants to command the Commons to avoid the place and depart: Threatening withal, that if they proceeded thus, he would take a Military oath of all the younger people, and lead an army presently forth of the City. This put the Commons in a very great fright, but let their Captains and King-leaders, rather in a greater heat of contention, than abated their courage one jot. And when he saw no relenting on either side, he gave up his office: Whether it were that there was some error in his creation (as some have written) or because the Tribuns of the N Commons had put up a bill to the Commons, and they granted it: that if \textit{M. Furia} (as Dictator) had proceeded to any action, he should have a round five feet on his head of 50000 \textit{Ases}, I know not certainly. But I believe that he was terrorized upon some unlucky signs of the birds, rather then with any such strange Aet never heard of before, and without precedent. And hereunto am I induced, both in regard of the disposition of the man so well given and of so good conscience, and also for that \textit{P. Marcellus} was immediately named Dictator in his stead. For to what end should \textit{Maullus} have been created Dictator for that broil and strife, wherein \textit{M. Furia} had taken the foil before? Again, seeing the same \textit{M. Furia} was Dictator the next year following, doublets, he would never for shame have resumed that office, wherein the year before he had received the foil and disgrace, to be so overruled. Over and besides, at the same time when as this bill was supposed to have been preferred, concerning his fine, either he might have withstood it too, (whereby he laid himself to be bridled) or else he had not been able to have hindered so much as those, for which this also was proposed. Finally, it was never seen to this day wherein we live, so long as the Tribuns and Consuls with their factions and parts-taking have been at variance and debate with all their might and main, but evermore the authority of the Dictator controlled them all, and put them down. Between the former Dictatorship of \textit{Camillus} now respungeted, and the new by \textit{Maullus} accepted
A ted and begun, there was an assembly of the Commons summoned by the Tribuns, in time as it were of a vacancy or interregnum: wherein the overture was made and evidently it was seen which of the laws proposed the Commons liked better, and which the Law-givers. For those that concerned minor and land, they granted to pass, but that other of a Commoner to be Conful, they denied and dafted quite. And truly both matters had been dispatched fully and established at once, but that the Tribuns said directly, that they required the Commons, to give their voices and speak to all three directly together. After this, P. Marcius the Dictator favoured somewhat, and helped the cause of the Commons, by nominating out of the Commons for his General of horse-men, C. Livius, who had been a Tribun Military before time. The Senators Bllormed hereat, as I find in records. And the Dictator was wont to excite the matter unto them, alleging for himself the near affinity and kindred that was between him and Livius: saying also, that the dignity of the General of horse-men was no greater then of a Tribun Confular. Now when the election day was published for the Tribuns of the Commons, Livius and Sextius so demeaned themselves, that by pretending that they would not any longer now continue in the office, they let the Commons on to be moult earnest and holy bent for that, which under colour of refusal, desired and sought for. They seemed, sooth to, to allledge and say, "That for these nine years they had good, as it were, in battel array, and afforded the States; and Nobles of the City, to the right great peril of themselves in privat, and to no good effect of all in publick: and now together with them, both the laws proposed, and the whole strength of the Tribuns authority, were waxed old and decayed. At the first their Laws were crolld by the interceding of their brethren Tribuns: afterwards by packing away the youth of the City to the Velitern war: and last of all, the Dictators lightning flashed in their faces, and their thunderbolts shot against them. "Now (say they) neither their fellow Tribuns withdrew them, nor forraine wars hindered them, nor yet the Dictator himself, as who for his part hath given a good fore-tokening and pretage of a Conful Commoner, in electing, his General of horsemen out of the Commons. The very Commons and none else, are they that hurt themselves, and delay their own goods. Who might presently if they would, have their City, their common Hall, and place of assemblies freed from these Creditors: yet, and their grounds recovered again from the unjust Land-lord: Which benefits and liberties, when are they like to weigh and esteem with thankful minds accordingly, if in the very time that they are to accept the Laws devised for their own wealth and good, they cut off all hope of promotion and honour, from the publishers and propoters thereof? For it standeth not with the modesty of the people of Rome, to require to be eaid themselves of Libya, and to be let in possession again of the land, wrongfully withheld from them by the mighty men: and then to leave those old Trib, by whom means they have come by those good commodities, to flit for themselves, not only without honor but also without all hope of honor. Let them all therefore set down with themselves, and resolve what they are minded to do: and afterwards in the election of Trib, declare the same openly. If they would be willing to speak affirmatively to those Laws, all jointly as they were propounded, then there were some reason to chuse the same Trib again: and then would they enact & establish finallly that which they had published, but in such a wil they was to accept of that and no more than which served each privat man then there was (mal need or none at all to have them fill in office with the veny and grudging of so many, And to be flouter, neither would they accept of the Tribunship any longer, neither should the Commons have those Laws ratified, which were already granted. When as all the rest of the Senators were struck into their dump's and blank, for the very indignity to seething thus go: At the last, one Appius Claudius Ccephas (the nephew or tonsion of that notorious Appius the December) upon a malicious mind and fell Romack, as it is reported, rather then for any hope he had to dislud the matter; stood up, and to this effect answered that so fluent and perpetume speech of the Tribuns, in this manner, "It can be no strange matter to me, nor unlooked for, O Quirates, if that which had been the only thing at all times objected by fictitious Tribuns against our house, I also should hear at this present; to wit, that the whole name and lineage of Claudius have ever from the first beginning, regarded nothing more in the Common weal, than the Majesty and honor of the Senators and the Nobles, and always set and opposed themselves against the good and well-fare of the Commons, Of which two challenges, the one I neither can, nor will deny and disavow; namely that we since the first time that we were enfranchised Citizen, and therewith at once taken into the number of Senators, have endeavoured and straitened ourselves, that it might be said and that truly, that the honor and dignity of that State and degree into which it was your good pleasure we should be incorporated, and graced with, was by us augmented, rather then impaired. And as for the other challenge, this I dare be bold, immine own behalf, and in the name of my ancestors and progenitors, to aver, O Quirates, that (unless a man would think whatsoever is done for the Weal-publick generally, is directly against the Commons, as if they were mere aliens of another City) we to our knowledge have practised nothing, writing and willing, either when we lived privat, or during the time we were office, prejudicial to commonality; and that neither in deed nor word we can be justly charged to have wrought and contrived any thing contrary to our good: although peradventure somewhat hath fallen on crois against your will and mind. But were I not a Claudius, and of that family, nor defended of noble blood, but some one of the Bargettes or Citizens: and knew my felt to be true born,
borne, both by father and mother, and to live in a free City: could I (think ye) hold my tongue? 

but irksomly speak and say, that these perpetual Tribuns (God save all) L. Sextius, and C. Licinius, as I mean, have for nine years (for lo long they have played Res Juxta so much upon them, and been so bold as to say they will not permit you to have free voices, neither in solemn assemblies for elections, nor in Seismons and Parliaments for allowing and ordaining Laws? Upon condition (quoth one of them) you shall make us Tribuns again the tenth time, What is this else but to say? That, which other wise, we so often and disdain, that accept of it we will not, without good hope and remembrance. And what reward and consideration is this good Sirs, for which we may have your Worships, our ever Tribuns? Marry (quoth he) that ye will accept jointly and at once, all our laws, whether they like you or dislike whether they be good and wholesome, or bad and noisome. Now I beseech you good Turquins (Tribuns of the Commons I would have had) I imagin one was of the ordinary Citizens, and should from out of the multitude assembled, speak out and say: Pleaste it your good grace, Sirs, that out of these laws proposed, we may chuse those that we think good and wholesome for us, and realtime and dilate the rest. (O quoth he) that may not be. Thou mayst allow, belike, and ordain, concerning any courts of Land, a law which tend to the commodity of you all. But now beware of bugs, 

This monstrous and portentous wonder must in no case be permitted in Rome, that thou holdest mee for L. Sextius, and this pernicious fellow C. Licinius to be Coniurs, which thy heart relieth at, and which goeth against thy stomach. Nay, my, either accept all or I will propound none at all.] This is one, as if a man should give him that is hunger-bitten, and ready to starve. And he, which in one have cried out and said, Avent you and your Tribunships, out upon you with your laws. What Sir? How if your Mastereth shall not put up and pretend that which is commodious and profitable for the people to accept: is there none, think you besides, that will propound it? If any Nobleman, or any Clandism (which they take to be more odious) shoud thus say. Either take all, or I will propound none at all. Which of you, Quirites, would endure it? why? will ye never regard the substanse more than the person; the matter rather than the man? But all is well taken and heard quickly, which that magistrate shall say. And will ye always hear with the wrong ear; whatsoever any of us shall have to speak? Well, the words are nothing, and the speech (without question) very uncivil and rude. Now let us see what manner of law it is, that they form at; because by you it is rejected. In good faith, O Quirites, much like unto their language. This require (quoth he) that it might not be lawful for you to make Cofl, whom ye will. For what else demandeth he, who would have it enacted by express tears, that one at least of the Cofl, must be a Commoner of Necessity, and leaveth it not unto your choice to make two Noblemen Cofl. If we had wars at this day, such as sometime the Turkish war was when Postius was master of the Janicel, and kept that piece against us; or such as the Gaul war of late days was, when the enemies were LL.and possession of all the City here, but the Capitol and two only; let alone, that L. Sextius should be pricket and propounded either with this M. Fabius here in place, or with any one other of the Nobles, and hand to be Cofl. M. would ye abide that Sextius should be undoubtedly Cofl, and Coilius at devotion and in hazard to take repulse? Is this indeed to betray your dignities indifferently with even and equal hand? That two of the Commons, forsooth, may be elected Coflins, and not two likewise of the Nobles? And that one of them must peril must be created out of the Com, and in the election of both the Nobles may be overlook? What society is this, what community and participation? Will not this serve thy turn and content thee, that wherein thou hadst no title nor interest afore, thou shouldest now have thy part unles in seeking to have a portion, thou pluck all unto thy self? I fear me (quoth he) if both Coflis might be made of the Nobility, ye would chuse none at all of the Commonalty. What is this else but to say? Because willingly of your selves, ye would not chuse unworthy persons and unmeet, I will bind you therefore of ne-ncensity, to elect thole whom otherwise ye would pass by. And what followeth henceupon but this, that the Commoner who standeth with two Furius, may plainly say, and that truly, he is not by vote chosen but by virtue of a law, and so acknowledge no benefit received of the people, nor be beholden at all to them, for their grace and favour? Thus seek they means to wring your dignities from you, and not the way to tie for them: and would so obtain the greatest, as that they might not be obliged & bound unto you for the least: and had rather get honours and offices by advantage taking and cunning fleights, then by their own virtue, delier, and worthines. But there is none one that scorneth to be prized and looked into, and to be considered as he deserveth: who thinks it meet, that he alone among the other Competitors, that conte in hand in suit, should be sure of offices and promotions, and will not submit himself to your censure: who would have your suffrages, of voluntary, to be constrained: of free, to be thrall and servile, I speak not of Licinius and Sextius, whose years of their continual government ye reckon upon, and mark up in the Capitol, as they used sometimetime, to count the years of the Kings reign. But what is he this day in the City, so base, so abject and low condition, that by the advantage and benefit of this law, hath not easier access to a Consilship than we and our children have? As for us truly, ye may sometimetime mis of chusing us, you would never to faint: but for them ye multi needs, yea, though full against your mind. And thus much concerning the indignity and
and unworthiness of the thing: For, dignity and worthiness, I take, to be matters properly to men pertaining. What shall I speak now of Religions, and of the solemnity of the Aulpiaces, which imply a meer contempt and injury done to the immortal gods? Who knoweth not, that by the approbation of the gods, tittleled by flight of birds, this City was first founded: that by the fame Aulpiaces, all hath been ordered and directed, as well in war abroad, as in peace at home? And who be they that have to do with these tokens and prelages, by ancient custom and tradition from our forefathers? Forlooke even the Nobles and none else. As for the Magistrates of the Commons, none are chosen with regard of flight, sight, and seeing of the birds, but to us, they do so properly belong, that not only those Magistrates of the Nobles, which the people create, they do not otherwise eat but by observation of the birds; but also our selves, without the silent and voice of the people, do nominate an Interrex by means of the birds: yea, and in the private actions of our life, we are guided by them at home, which the Commons use not in their very offices. What then meaneth he else, but to take the Aulpiaces out of the City, who by creating Commoners to be Consuls, deprive the Nobles thereof, who only may have and use them? Now let them mock on and scoff at our religions. Let them decide our Ceremonies. What makes matter (say they) if those pullens peck or eat not? What if they come somewhat late out of their coup or cage? What if a bird sing auk or crow crooks and contrarious? How then? A great piece of matter thinly, small things, I confess they be: but as small as they are, our enemies by not concerning them, have brought this C. W. to a flouishing state. And we now adays, as if we stood not in need of the grace and favour of God, pollute all holy rites and ceremonies. And therefore let our prelates and high Priests, our Augurers, and King at sacrifices be created (it skilless not how:) even out of the common multitude: Let us set upon any mans head (it matters not whose, to be come a victim of a man:) the Mitre of Jupiter his Flamin, Let us commit the keeping of the Anciles or heavenly shields, and the secret fanctaries; let us commit the gods themselves and the charge of their holy service to those, unto whom we may not lawfully nor without impety, let no lawes be published nor ordinances made, except they be done by persons, who are of the Decemvirs, who are chosen for this purpose; and, whereas the Decemvirs are chosen, we shall have our Ceremonies, except the Decemvirs create them. For there are many reason to conclude, and would counsel you, in any case to stop, fruitful and dissemble the overthrow and proceeding of these lawes: and in doing, I pray God bless and speed you well. This Oration of Appius thus far only prevailed, that the time of publication of their Acts, was cut off and deferred. But the fame Tribuns Sextus and Livius, being chosen again the tenth time, pronounced this law and had it enacted. That of the Decemvirs for divine service and Church business, some should be created of the Commons: So five of them were of the Nobles, and five of the Commoners: whereby they seemed to have gained already one good step onward unto the Comitialship.

The Commons contenting themselves with this victory, yielded unto the Senators, that for the present without any mentioning of Consuls there should be elected Tribuns Military. So there were created A. and M. in the second time, M. Censius, P. Aequus, L. Vicius and P. Valerius in the third. At what time, when as (but for the siege of Velitrae, which was like to be for service a long piece of work, rather then for illeis, doubtfull in the end) the Romans were rest for any foreign troubles, the sudden and unlooked-for news of the Gauls war, drove the City to choose M. Furius Dictator the fifth time: who took unto him for his General of the horsemen, T. Quinctius Cincinnatus. Claudius writeth that this year the Gauls were fought with, about the river Arvis; and that there was that noble combat upon the bridge, in which T. Mucius in the fight of both armies flew in single fight a Gaul that had challenged him and given defiance, and despoyled him of his collar of gold. But there be more writers that induce me to believe, that this exploit was performed ten years after: and that in this year the Gauls had a battell given them by M. Furius Dictator, in the Alban land: where the Romans had neither doubtful nor dangerous victory, although the French made them afraid at first in remembrance of their former overthrow. Many thousands of this barbarous nation were slain in field, many also fell upon the sword in their camp after it was won. Some were scattered and fled, and those most (who took the way to Alesia) laved themselves from the enemy, both by flying so far, and also for that upon fear they were so distracted and parted one from another. The Senators and Commons agreed and made a decree, that the Dictator should triumph. Who carelessly had made an end of that war, but he was welcomed home with a more hotter and more dangerous Sedition within the City. For after many sharp bickerings and contentions the Dictator and Senat both, were overmatched and overborne, ye, and forced to accept the Tribuns laws aforesaid. And also in despite of the Nobility and do what they could, there was an assembly held for election of Consuls: in which L. Sexius was created Consul, the first Commoner that ever sat in Consuls chair. But the broils fluid.
flatt not there. For, by reason that the Nobles denied to approve & give a silent theroet, the matter was like to grow unto a Sextion and general departure of the Commons, ye, and to other fearful tems and perilous threats of civil wars and intestitn troubles. However, by means of the Dictator, the flames were quenched and the discord appeased, upon these capitulations. Inquitimis, that the Nobility should accord unto the Commons to have one Consul from among themselves. Item, that the common people should be content that the Nobles might out of the Patritii create a Pretor or Lord chief Justice for oyer and determiner in causes within the City; Thus when after long anger the two states of the City were grown to unity and concord, the Senat thinking it a worthy matter (good cause they had verily as everany time before) willingly determined, for the honour of the immortal gods, to set out those most fatly [Roman] plays, And whereas before they had continued but three days, to add one more, and to celebrate them full four. And when the Adile of the Commons reified that charge & excused themselves, the younger Gentlemen of the Nobility cried all with one voice, That they would most gladly do that service and honor to the immortal gods, so as they might be made Adiles for that purpose. Thanked they were generally of all hands; and the Senat made a decree, That the Dictator should propose unto the people, that two men of the Nobility might be Adiles, and that in all the Assemblies and Elections for that year, whatsoever passed, should be ratified by the sovereign assent of the Senators.

The Seventh Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Seventh Book.

TWO new officers of State, to wit, the Pretorship and Adileship of the Chair, were adjoined to the republican. The City was now visited with the pestilence, which was more noted by reason of Tiberius Camillus who died therein. The remedy and end whereby, whiles they sought to procure by bringing in new and strange Religion, at length they devise stage-plays, which then first were set forth. M. Pompeius at the Council of the Commons, arrested L. Manlius for his exceeding rage in taking master of foundries; and for confiscating and hardy incurring his own son, T. Manlius, for no crime or bonâ fide of offence. And the young man himself, whose confining and misfortune was laid unto his fathers charge, entered the bed-chamber of the said Tribune, drew his Skæna and forced him to swear unto him, that he would in full his suit and proceed no further. Then all such incidents intended, were laid apart and had an end. Curius armed at a piece, mounted upon a Colours, rode headlong into the wide gaping chink or gulf within the City of Rome, and set presently filled up again. The same young Manlius, who had freed his father from the troubles of the Tribune, entered into combat with a French-man, that challenged any one of the Roman Souldiers to single fight. Bore him, took from him his coat of gold, which he wore about his neck afterwards himselfe, and thereof was called Torquatus. Two Tribes more were added, Poniina and Publicia. Licinius Stolo was condemn'd by Law of his own making, because he held in possession more then five hundred Acres of ground, M. Valerius a Colonel of one thousand and four, killed a Gaul, who challenged him to fight; and that, by the means and help of a Roman that relied upon his Morals, and with taunts and ill annoyed his enemy, and thereupon was named Corvinus. For which virtue and valorous Act, he was the year next following created Consul, being not full three and twenty years old. Amity was concluded with the Carthaginians, The Companies being warred upon by the Semnites, crept out of the City against them; and when they could not fasten, yielded their City and Territory to the people of Rome, Whereupon it was thought good, seeing both they and theirs, were now become proprietary to the people of Rome, that they should be defended by force of arms against the Semnites. When A. Cornelius the Consul, bed his hoof into a place of discomfiture and was in great peril, he was by the inoffensive service of P. Decius a Colonel saved: who having gained the hill-top, which commanded the ridge, wherein the Semnites lay encamped, gave the Consul an opportunity to escape and pass into a plain ground: and himselfe, having satisfying he was environed by the enemy, brake through them, and got away. The Roman souldiers left in Garrisone at Capua, having conspired to keep the City to their own behoof, were detected and their plot discovered: and for fear of punishment, revolted from the people of Rome contrary to their allegiance: but by the policy and wisdom of M. Corvinus, they were reclaimed from their outrage, and restored again to their country. Moreover, this book contained the fortunate wars against the Hermeces, Gauls, Tyburns, Pevrernats, Tarquinians, Semnites, and Volsclians.
The seventh Book of T. Livius.

Here entereth a year of especial note and mark, for the Consulship of a man newly risen: also for two new offices, the Pretorship and Edileship of the Chair. Both which dignities, they of the Nobility purchased to themselves in lieu of granting to the Commons one place of the two Consuls. The Commons bestowed the Consulship upon C. Quintus Cato Dolichus: and the Edileship upon Q. Servilius Scipio, patrimonies of their own order and degree: So grations were they with the people in Martisheld, L. Sexius had companion with him in government, L. Aelius Mamercus one of the Senators, In the beginning of the year, much debate there was and hard hold, both as well about the Gauls, who at the first ranged abroad over all "Apulia, and were now (as the report were) gathered together: as also concerning the Rebellion of the Heinzicks. But all matters being put off on purpose, until a further time, because nothing should be done by this new Consul a Commoner, all things were still and quiet, as if it had been vacation or Non-term: this only excepted, that the Tribuns muttered and could not endure with patience, that for one Consul of the Commons, the Nobility had got to themselves three Magistrates, all of the Patricii, sitting like Consuls, with their purpled and purpled long Robes in Ivory chairs of elite, And as for the Pretor sides, as L. chief Justice to hear and decide causes, he was fellow with the Consul, and with the same Auricles and authority created: Hereupon the Senat was abashed to be instant and to enforce that Ediles of the chair should be chosed out of the Nobility. And first it was agreed amongst them, that every second year they should be elected forth of the Commons: Afterwards, indifferently one with another in common, without that regard. Now when L. Cæcilius and Q. Servilius were Cost, and all at good reft for any home-fledion or to finish, the left them should at any time be void of care and danger, there began a great plague: In which died, as men say, one Censor, one Edile Curule, three Tribuns of the Commons: besides, a many a dead corps from among the multitude, was carried forth proportionable to the reft. But above all the bitter death of Consulibus and much lamented (notwithstanding the long and goodly time he had in this life) caus'd this petition to be much spoken of and remembered. For he was (in truth) the only person in all fortune both of prosperity and adversity, as well in peace as war: a rare and singular man before his baniishment, and during the fame more famous and renowned: either in regard that the City had him of him, and being taken by the enemy in his absence fought unto him for his life: or in respect of his happiness, in that together with his own restitution home he therewith restored his natural country. And after this, for 25 yearspace (for so long he lived afterwards) he bare himself answerable to the title of so great glory: accounted worthy to be furnished and reputed a second founder after Romulus, of the City of Rome. This all year long and the next which followed, when T. Sulpius Peticus, and C. Licinius Stolo were Consuls, the sickness continued. By reason whereof, nothing was done worth remembrance, but that for to obtain the mercy and grace of the Gods, there was a Levithian folemnized, which was the third since the City was first founded. But when by no device of man, nor help of the Gods, the violence of the sickness assailed: their minds and confidences were so posses'd with superstitious notions, that among other pacifications and appeasings of the heavenly ire, the stage-players (a strange and new device for a warlike and martial people, who afore time néeed only to behold the Solmian games and feats of strength and activity, in the great Licts or Race called Circus) were (as men say) first begun and ordained. But (as all beginnings lightly are) a small thing (God were it at first) without long and mete, without gelture and action fitted into long and verse, and the fame also meer outlandish. For the players, who were fit for out of Hetereias, as they danced the measures to the minstrel and sound of flute, geltured not unadequately wical, after the Tuscan fashion. But in process of time the youth began to imitate and counterfei't them; efilting pleasantly beside one with another, and singling in rude times and disordered metre: and their gelture was fortnet with their juts and ditties. Thus was this thing first taken up, and thus with much life and often exercisb, practisb. And hereupon our own Country Actors and artificial proficients of this fect, were called Histriones, of Histr, a Tuscan word, which signifieth a player or dancer. But these uttered not (as they used afore time) in their turns one after another, disorder'd, confused, and rude verses, like to the loofe and bawdy Fefenine rimes: but went through and rehearted out, whole Saturis, full of musical measures, with a fet concert of long alto, to the instrument of the minstrel and with gelture agreeable thereunto. Certain years after, Livius, who was the first that after the use of Saturis, ventured to set forth an Enterlude, of some one argument and uniform matter, is reported to have been himselb (as they were all no doubt in those days) the Author and Actor both, of his own verbs and lons: But being so often called on by the people to play, that he became hoarse again, and left his voice, he gave leave to let a boy to gelt before the minstrels. And being silent him selb, he acted the long with more agility and nimblines of motion a good deal: for not employing his voice, he had no hindrance of liberty in gelture. Then began the players to have others to gelt, and they themselves used their voices only in acting their parts in Comedies dialogue-
wife. After that, by this order taken and Law of Players, they came from laughter and pleasant conec- tions. Mith, and that this patience and sport turned by little and little to a method at Art and profession. Then the youth leaving to Comedians, the acting of parts in Interludes, began after the old manner to set off, one at another, merry sports and jests, interfaced with their time and metre, which thereupon were afterwards called Exodos, and were interred commonly in the A- tellian Comedies, Which kind of sport, the youth learned first of the Opera: and having once taken it up, they held it still, and would not suffer it to be disingayed and dishonested by common players. And hereof cometh it, that the Actors in the Attellane Interludes were neither disposed out of their own tribe, nor made Actors, but served in the wars, and have the Cities pay, as if they were not base Comedians, and Professors of infamous players craft. Thus have I thought good, among the small beginnings of other things, to set down the Original of Stage-players also: that it may appear, that the thing arising from a con siderable entrance, is grown now to this folly and excelsectiuinous, as hardly can be disayed by most rich and wealthy Kingsdomes. And yet these players at first, employed about a religious business, neither did mens minds of fimple and superstition, nor eased their bodies one jot of sickness. But rather, when by occasion of an over flow and inundation of the Tyber, the Circus or Theatre was drowned, and their players in the very midst hindered and interrupted, this occurrence mightly troubled and affrighted them, as if the Gods had turned away their face and countenance, and rejected all their endeavours in these appeasings of their wrath and indignation, Therefore in the time that Con, Genonius, and Emulus Mammecur were Conul's the second time, when mens minds were busied and troubled more in seeking means to pacify the wrath of the Gods, than their bodies vexed with diseases; the elder fort and grand ligitors called to mind that in old time there was a plague allavored and gave over by the driving and casting of a spike or a great nail by the Dictator. The Senat upon a religious devotion periworth with hereit, caused a Dictator to be crested, for to fetch the nail shoreland. And there being chosen L. Manlius Imperius, he nominated for his General of Hortemen, L. Pic- naris. There is an old law written with antique letters, and in antique words, That the chief Pretor for the time being, should be the Dictator in the month of Septemp. Well, a nail was driv- en, and stuck fast on the right side of the temple of Jupiter Optimum Maximus, on that hand where as M. Ansilius Chapel handeth, That nail, became in those days there was but little writing, likewise as they lay, the number of the years. And thereupon that Law was set up in Minis- gale Church, for that Minisia was the inverted number of Magnific. And Conte a diligent writer of such monuments, and a studious Antiquary, affiirmeth, That at Velita there stuck like spikes to be seen in the Temple of Norta, a goddess among the Tusciants, to quote and represent the number of the years. Now, as concerning the Temple of Jupiter Optimum Maximus, M. Horatius the Conul (by an act in that behalf provided) dedicated it the next ensuing the expulsio of the Kings. Afterwards, the solemn manner and costume of fixing a nail, was transferred from the Consul to the Dictators, as to the greater and more absolute Magistracy. And in process of time, this costume being discontinued, it was thought a thing init felt worthy, for which a Dictator should be created.

L. Manlius being elected [as above said] for this cause, as if he had been called to that dignity for some war, and not to free the people from their cruel of conscience: and intending himself war against the Hernicks, plagued the youth with a grievous matter: until at last all the Tribu- ons of the Commons taking against him, opposed themselves, and were it by force, or for very shame, he relent'd, and resigned up his room. Nevertheless, in the entrance of the year next follow- ing, when C. Servilius Hater and L. Gentinius the second time were Conul's, M. Pomponius a Tribun of the Commons stirred L. Manlius. His cruelty in taking of the murderers was odious, not only for the los's and dammage that the citizens sustained thereby, but also for resting and mang- ing their bodies partly by scourging them with rods who answered not to their name and par- tally slipping irons upon them in prison. But above all, his own cruel disposition by nature was hateful, and the surname (Imperius) offensive, especially to a free City. This cause he got by N.plain view of his cruelty, execrable no less upon his nearest friends and kin, folk, yes and his very own blood, than upon strangers. For amongst other matters, the Tribun laid to his charge, that having a young man to his son, detested of no lowdnes and dishonored, he him had be- stood (as it were) out of the City, from his house and home, debaunted from the common Hall and pen sight of men from the company of his mates and companions, set him to drudgery and servile work, and betaken him as it were, into a prison and houle of correction: where, a Dicta- tor for a young Gent omly held, defended by this daily misery of his, was taught to know, that he had indeed a Lord y and imperious Sir, to his father. And for what great offence, I pry you? Because he was not so fair spoken, nor all the residieth with his tongue. Which in- sinity and defect of nature, ought not a father to have been withal and cloak'd (if there had been any goodness, any common humanity in him), rather to punish it, and by rough handling, and sharp usage, to make it more known and notorious. Why? even the very minute bests - if it chance that any of their breed or young ones prove but notowardly, feed and che- rish them till nevertheless. But as for this L. Manlius, he augmenteth one inconvenience and defect in his son with another: whom being but oft and flow of nature, he keepeth down the more; and that like like and mill not that in him, he goeth about to quench and dull as once by this pestilens Life and natural usage, and converting amongst the cattelled beastis. Thele
These bitter complaints and accusations moved the patience, and stirred the tempests of every man else, sooner than the young man himself. Who contrary-wife was grieved in his mind, that he should be a cause of his fathers troubles, thus to incur the ill will and obloquy of the people. And that all the World, both Heaven and Earth might know that he desired rather to incur and help his father, than to afflict his adversaries and foes, he entered into a course becometh and bewraying (I must needs say) a rude and rustic mind. Which, although it savour nothing of Civility, yet for his kindnels and dutiful piety to his father, deserveth commendation. One morning betimes he gets him up, and unknown to every one of the house, with a good skin clothe by his side, to the City he goes: and from the gate freight ways directly to M. Pomponius the Tribun

B his house. He tellsthe Porter, that he must needs speak with his Matter out of hand, willing him to let him understand, that, T. Manlius the son of Lucius, was there. And being immediately left in, (for the Tribun hoped, that the son was thoroughly angered with his father, and brought new complaints, and onematter or other against him, or some devise and overhite how to proceed in the commenced Action) and facultations passed to and fro betwixt the Tribun and him, he said, that he was to talk with him apart out of all mens hearing. So the room being voided, and all commanded to depart far enough out of the way, he draweth out his skin: and leaping alight upon the bed, flood there, and held it full bent against him, and threatened presently to give him the stab, unless he would swear the oath he should render unto him, namely never to call an Assembly or Hall of the Commons together about his fathers inditement, or impanel a Jury against him.

C The Tribun affrighted (seeing the naked weapon glittering before his face, him self all alone and unarmed, the other a tall and witty young fellow, and, that which was as much to be feared as the rest, fool-hardy, and presumed upon his strength) took the oath in that form as he put it unto him. And afterwards he gave it out plainly and confusedly (for his excuse) that by this means he was forced in sight of his heart, to for sake his suit, and give over his enterprise. But the Commons were not so much offended at the son, for giving such an adventure in his fathers quarrel: but they could have been more contented and better pleased, that it had lien in their power to have pulled their voyces, for the condemnation of so cruel and proud a priser, as they had under their hands. And the more praise-worthy this was of the son, because to great rigor of the father, brought no alienation in all his heart, from the affection at duty that he owed unto

D him. So not only the father escaped his arraignment, but this action of the young man turned upon his own honour and pretention. For whereas, this year it was first ordained, that the Tribuns or Colonels should be chosen by voyces of the legionary fouldiers (for aforesay, as at this day, the Generals themselves made them, whom they called Ruffles) in fix places (for so many were elec
ted) he obtained the second room: and that, in regard of no defect other wise, either at home or abroad, which might win him this favour, as who had spent his youth in the country altogether, far from the civil society of men.

The same year, by earth-quake or some other forcible violence, the common place called Fa
rums, clave and opened wide, while the in the mids, and sink down to an exceeding depth: neither could that chink or pit be filled up by casting in of earth (notwithstanding every man laboured and

E brought what he could) before that they began to enquire, according as they were admonished by the divine Oracles, what it might be, wherein the most piissance and greatness of the people of Rome consist. (For the wisard prophesied, That it they would have the state of Rome to remain furc for ever, they should dedicate and offer, whatsoever it was, unto that place.) And when they were in doubt what this should be, it is reported, that M. Curtius, a right hardy knight, and martial young Gentleman, rebuked them therefore, because they doubted whether the Romans had any earthly thing better than armour and valor? Herewith, after silence made, he lift up his eyes, and beheld the Temples of the immortal Gods, situated near to the Forum, and the Capitol likewise: and stretching forth his hand, one while toward Heaven, another while to the gaping chimps and gulf in the earth, toward the infernal spirits beneath he offered and devoted himself
to the atured death. And mounting upon a brave courser, as richly strapped and set out, as possibly he could devise, armed as he was at pieces, he leaps Horse: and man and all into the hole. The people, both men and women, throw in after him funeral gifts and oblations, and fruits of the earth in great plenty. The place was after called Curtius L creator, of his name, and not of that Curtius Metius in the old time, who was a fouldier under Trium Phiatus. If I could by any means search out the truth, I would not spare for any pains in that behalf. But now seeing that by reason of antiquity the certainty is not fully known, we must go by the common voyce and report of men. And verify the name of the lake is more renowned and noble by occasion of this later and
ter tale, than the other.

After the expiation of so great and prodigious a wonder, much constution there was in the G Senate that year, as concerning the Herricks: for having lend their Heracles unto them for restitution of harms done, but to no effect: they determined with all convenient speed to proofo unto the people, for to proclaim war against the Herricks, and bid them defiance. The people generally with one voyce liked thereof, and approved it. The charge of that service and exploit fell to Gennadius his let, to undertake. Now for that he was the first Consul of the Commons: that by his own anticipies and conduct should manage war, the City was in great expectation of the sequel and issue, and according to the event that should fall out, good or bad in this journey: they were to judge whether they had done well or amiss to communit theye dignities with the Commons.

T 2 But

* A Tribun in a Legion, called Chilichurth, i.e., a Colonel or leader of a company of footmen.

M. Curtius his valor and re
citation.

Curtius L creator.
But it fortunet for, that _Genetin_ being with great preparation and power set forth against the ene-
mies, was entrapped by an Amboicado, his legions upon a sudden (as unlook'd for defeated, him-
self (the Consul) environ'd round about, and slay them, that will not whom they flew, Which
ridings being brought to Rome, the Senators were not to penive and forrowful for the common
calamity, as they famed and took on most inflently, for this unhappy expedition and conduct of
the Commoner Consul: and muttered in all places these and such speeches: "Now let them
"go and create Consuls again out of the commonality, and translate the Aupipes whither they
"ought not. What? Because the Senators by an Act of the Commons, might be defeated and dif-
"polled of their dignities, could so manipulate and irrreligios a law, prevail likewise against the
"Gods immortal? Who now themselfes have taken the matter into their own hands, and main-
tained their power their deity and Aupipes, which were not to beon medl'd withal, and pol-
luted by one that had no right thereto, nor lawful title, but both the whole army, and Captain
"also, were vanquished and overthrown; to teach them for ever hereafter, how they make their
"solemn Elecctions of Magistrates confusedly, without regard of the rights and royalties of noble
"honies. These speeches both Council-Houle and common place rung again withal, So the
Consul Servilus with content of the Nobles named for Dictator Appius Claudius, who had some-
time in an Oration before the whole assembly of the Commons disposed of the proceeding of
that law; and now with greater authority blamed the mishap of that counsel, which was by him mis-
lik'd and reproved. A mutter was proclaimed, and a publick Vacation. But before that the Dicta-
tor and their new enrolled legions were gone as far as the Hernicks confines, the other army under
the leading of C. Sulpicius the Lieutenant, by occasion of an accident that fell out there, got a
good hand against their enemies. For when as upon the death of the Consul, the Hernicks ad-
vanced in formous and comtempnous manner, cloe under the camp of the Romans, with a full
hope to be masters of the same; behold, what with the eharloration of the Lieutenant, and what
for anger and indignity, wherewith the fouldiers flamacks were full, they made a fallly out against
them. Whereupon the Hernicks came to far short of their acco'mpt, that they had no hope to
affai, no, nor approach the rampier: and in disorderly they dismark'd bed and departed. Afterwards
by the coming in of the Dictator with a fresh power, the old army was reinforc'd double. The
Dictator in a solemn audience, having praised the Lieutenant and his fouldiers for defending their
tents so manfully, both encouraged them that heard themselves to highly commended according
to their deferts, and also whett'd on the rest to perform the like valorous service. The enemies on
the other side were nothing lack to prepare themselves to fight again: who in remembrance of
the honour they had already won, albeit they were not ignorant that the Romans forces were
redoubled, encrcted their own power also. For the whole Nation of the Hernicks, even as many
as were able to draw sword, were call'd forth to the wars. Eight cohorts by themselves consisiting
of four hundred in a band were enrol'd, even the most able and choice men of all others. This
elect and especial flour of their youth and manhood, they fed with hope and encouraged the
more to this service, because they had taken order they should have double pay. Freed they were
besides from all other labour and Military toil that being thus referred to intend the fight and no-
things else; they should make reckoning and know, that they were to disencourage and strain them-
selves above the ordinary carriage of fouldiers. Placed also they were in the battel, apart from the
other ranks; to the end their valour and manhood might be more seen and marked. Between
both camps of the Romans and Hernicks, there was a plain of two miles in length: and there in
the mid way in a manner, was the battel fought. First, the fight was doubtful on both sides,
whiles the Roman Horfemen charged and recharg'd again, but ever in vain, to see if they could
break their battalions. Thus when the service on Horfback, proved les in effect than in attempt,
they asked the advice and craved leave of the Dictator: which being grant'd, they abandoned
their Horfes, and with a mighty flourish on forth before the enigns, and renewed the battel afresh.
Neither could they have been any longer endured, but that those extraordinary bands oppo'd
themselves, and receiv'd them with equal might of body and valour of heart. Then was the fight
maintained between the brave youth and principal flour of both nations. And look what slaughter
there was by common hazards of war, as well of the one side as of the other, the los was greater
for the quality of the persons, than the proportion of the number. For the rest of the common
fouldiers, as if they had flaited from themselves the whole conflict, and breaken it to the van-
guards only, reposed their own event and hap in the manhood of others. Many a man on both
parts was fittern down and dy'd in the place, but more were hurt and wound'd. "At last, those
Horfemen that dissimmon'd, fell to call and rebuke one another, asking what hope remained else
besides? If not on horfback they were able to drive the enemies back, nor on foot force
to them to give ground and remov'e them, what third kind of service they liked to try? Why leapt
they out so hastily and bravely into the forefront before the enigns? and fought in the place of
others? With these words provoking another one another, they pluck'd up their spirits, and with a fresh
flour set foot forward and gave a new charge. First, they compell'd the enemies to retreat and
lose their standing: then to give more ground: and at length plainly to turn their back and run a-
way. Hard it is to say, being so equally and indifferentl'y match'd as they were, what it was that
turned the ballance and give the victory: unless it were the perpetual fortune that ever followed
both nations, able to advance the spirit and courage of the one, and to daunt and abate the hearts
of the other, The Romans had the Hernicks in chace all the way long, so far as to their camp: but
A because it was far in the evening, they flaid from affailing it. For by reason that it was long ere the Dictator could by Sacrifice gather any affered token of Gods favour, he founded not the battle before noon: whereby it continued until night. The morrow after, were the Hernicks fled and their camp abandoned: only some hurt and wounded soldiours were found left behind. But one of them that forsook their eneigns (when as near unto their walls and forts their banners were discovered, tenderly accompanied, and with few about them) was scattered abroad over the fields, and in great fear stragled all about, and shamefully fled away. And yet this victory of the Romans cot them well the setting on, and spent some blood: for they left a fourth part of their men: and that which was no small damage unto them, some of the Roman Horfemen also were

B lain.

The next year following, when C. Sulpius and C. Licinius C. Iunus the Consuls, were gone with a power against the Hernicks, and finding not the enemy abroad in the country, had by force won Foreontum: A Town of theirs: in their return homeward, the Tyburn kept their gates shut against them. And after many complaints and unkindneffes ripped up between them: this last quarrel was it, that moved the Romans by their Herals (after defillation and amends demanded) to lend defiance, and proclaim war against the people of Tyburn. To which Titus Quintius Ferlus was Dictator that year, and Serg. Canius Malignemst General of his Horfemen, it is agreed upon by all authors, Mecc Licinius writeth that he was created for the holding of an assembly for Elecction of Magistrates, and that, by the Consul Licinius: because when his fellow Consul made haste
to have the Election before the war, thereby to continue his Ownfullhip; it was thought good to withfand and meet with his mighty defer in that behalf. But Licinius [Magister] in uttering to his name and family, that praise and commendation, made him himself to be of less credit in writing of the ref: especially, being in none of the old records, I find mention of any such matter. Mine own mind giveth me rather, that the Dictator was created because of the Gauls tumultuous war. For certainly that year they encampd themselves three miles from Rome, beyond the bridge of Anio, in the way Salutaris. The Dictator having proclaimed a Vacion, because of those troubles of the Gauls, received the Military oath of all the younger fort; and with a pluriail army departed the City, and upon the very bank on this side of Anio pitched his tents. In the mid way between them and the enemies there was a bridge: which they would not break down on either part, left they should be thought fearful towards. But about the seizing and gaining of that bridge, first, there was many a skirmifh: and judged it could not be, considering the equal forces of both fides, who should be masters of it. Then advanced forward unto the bridge (told of all guards) a mighty tall and big Frenchman, and as loud as ever he could set out a threat, made to this challenge: Now (quoth he) let the bravest gallant that Rome hath, come forth and spare not, to combat if he dare, that the event of this battle may shew whether nation is more valiant and warlike. The brave Knights and youths of Rome, held their peace a good while, both abaflied to refuse the challenge, and also unwilling to run upon the present hazard of a single fight. Then T. Manlius, the fon of Lucius, even he who released his father from the Tribuns troubles, goeth forth of his quarter into the Dictator. "Without your leave and expel E commandment (quoth he) O Noble Soveraign, I would never presume to fight out of my rank and standing, no, nor if I should fece afforded victory before mine eyes: but if it will please your Excellency to give me licence, I will shew unto that best wonder (that so proudly and lustily is come forth leaping before the enemies eneigns, and braving as you fee) that I am descended of that house and race, that gave the whole army of the Gauls the toil and turned them down the Cliff Tarpeia. Then said the Dictator unto him, God blefe thee T. Manlius: Onforta a Gods Name, in this thy dutiful mind and zeal that thou carriest both to Either and Country: Go on I say, and with the help of the Gods, perform the Roman name to be invincible. Then his fellows and companions holf to arm the young Gentleman. A light footman shed he takes unto him: and a spanifh blade by his fide, more hardorne to fight short and clofe. Being thus armed and fet out, they bring him forth against this vainglorious Gaul, let all upon joy in their loibility, and (as the ancient writers have thought it worth the noting and remembrance) normally lolling and baying out his tongue. Then the ref depart every man to his own quarter and ward: and the two athered Captains were left in the midl: more like a favelifh ipecacle and pageant to behold, than any fight in field, meeting to the manner, guise, and law of combat, considering they were not equally match'd: if a man should judge by the eye and outward view. The one of them of perfonage mighty and exceeding tall, his coat armour ofundy colours and gay, his helmes glittering and all damasked and engraved with gold. The other, a man of a middle ftature of Souldiers, no great show of arms, and thatrather fit and hardorne, than gaudy to be behold: without any hooping, finging, and joyeous vantering of himself: without vain-flourifhes and flaunting of his weapons in the aire: but he had an heart full of resolver courage, fiamon, and clofe anger wither, preserving all his feet, eneigns and egernefs unto the very combat and tryal of fight. As they Fow'd through the two armes, and so many men all about looking on: in doubtfull incence between hope and fear, the Gaul like as he had been a huge mountain aloft over the other, ready to fell upon him, held forth his targes with the left hand to bear off the sword of his enemy coming against him: and let drive a down-right blow edgelong, that re- founded again upon his shield; and did no harm at all. The Romanbeating his own sword with the point upward, and with his shield having imitent the neither part of his enemies target.
and turned it aside, got with his whole body close within him, and without the danger of being hurt: and when he had wound himself between his enemies body and his sword's point, he re-doubled one or two foins, and thrust him up into the belly at the groin, and so overthrew him. There lay the Gaul along, and took up a great ground in length. When he was down, without any further mangleing and tormenting his carcass, he depooled him only of his color of gold, which embrued as it was with blood, he did about his own neck. The Gauls with fear and admiration of this fight were afeomned. The Romans with great cheerfulnes came forth of their wards and quarters to meet their champion, and with great praise and congratulation brought him before the Dictator, And as they mearly call forth (as the manner of fouldiers is) certain pleasant ditties, ballad-wife, but without artificial skill of poetry, they were heard to surname him Tyburtns; which afterwards was taken up and commonly used, and became an honorable name to his posterity, and the whole house besides. Besides all this, the Dictator belloyed upon him a coronet of gold for a reward, and openly before the whole audience of the army, highly and wonderfully commended that fight of his. And certainly, that combat was of such consequence, and made so much to the event of the whole war, that the night next following, the booth of the Gauls fearfully aban-doning their tents, departed into the Tyburtin country; and being drawn into a society of war with the inhabitants of Tybur, and liberally by them relieved with victuals, they passed within a while into Campania. Which was the caufe that the next year, C. Petilius Balbus the Conful (when his fellow M. Fabius Ambiolus was by fort lent with commision against the Hernicks) led an army, to the aid of whom, when the French were returned out of Campania; there was foul spoil and havock made in the Lavician, Tuculian, and Alban territories, by the leading and conduct, no doubt of the Tyburts. And whereas the State stood well contented that the Conful should be the General commander, against these enemies the Tyburts; this new trouble and tumult of the Gauls, caused a Dictator for to be created. And that was Q. Servilius Halus, who named for his General of Horsemen, T. Quinctius. And by the authority and assent of the Senators, he vowed to let out the great games, in cafe he sped well in this war. The Dictator having commanded the Conful with his army to tarry still, that by his own conduct of war he might keep in the Tyburts, took the oaths of all the younger people: and there was not one refused to go to the war. Not far from the gate Cauina was this battle fought, in the fight of their Parents, Wives and Children, Great encouragements, I doubtles, to cheer up and animate men, absent and far off: but now before their eyes, partly, for shame, and partly, for pitty and compassion, they let the fouldiers all on fire. After much blood-fled on both sides, at the last the army of the Gauls turn back: and being put to flight, they made halt to Tybur, the very strength and fort of the Gauls war. But as they fled ftragling one from another, they were encountred by the Conful Petilius not far from Tybur. And when the Tyburts lifted forth to encounter them, they with the reit were beaten into the Town. Likewise the other Conful Fabius, first in small skirmishes, and at last in one notable fight, vanquifhed the Hernicks, at what time as his enemies charged upon him with all their forces and whole poffiance. The Dictator having highly commended the Confuls, both in the Senat-houfe and also in a publick assemble of all the people, and attributed the whole honour of his own Acts unto them, gave up the Dictorship, Petilius, obtained a double triumph, over the Gauls and the Tyburts. For Fabius was thought sufficient, that he should enter into the City Orant, in a petty triumph. The Tyburts scoffed and made good game at the triumph of Petilius. For, where was it (say they) that they encountered and joyned battle with us? There went forth indeed of the City gates a few of us to behold the flight and flight of the Gauls; but seeing our selves able to be fuchon, and killed one with another as we came in the way, we retired back, and got the City over our heads. And was that such a doubtful deed, that the Romans should think, it deferved a triumph? But that they may not decem it fitt, to noble and to wondour an "As, to make some fit, and raise a tumult in the enemies gates: they should themselves fee how greatly fearerfulnes, even under their own walls. Hereupon, the year following, when M. Petilius Lenas, and Cn. Martius were Confuls, at the first watch of the night, they came from Tybur in warlike manner to the City of Rome. This sudden occurrence, happening so fearfully in the night leaon, stroke a mighty terror into them that hastily awaked out of sleep. Besides, many there were that will not, either what enemies they were, or from whence they came. Howbeit they cried Alarm with all speed, on every side. The gates were forthened with worders, the walls manned with strong guards. When as early in the morning they were defcried to be but a mean number of enemies before the Town, and those none other but Tyburts: the Confuls fallled out at two gates, and affailed both ways their forces, as they were now come under the walls ready to scale. Then it was seen that they were thither come presumption rather on the vantage of the time than truiting in valour and manhood: to little were they able to abide the first brunt and change given by the Romans. Furthermore, it was well known that this their comming turned to the Romans good: for, the discord that was now becomming between the Senators and the Com, for fear of this to meet danger was quite halted. But in the next war that ensued the enemies came after another sort, and were more reticre to the fields and country, than to the City. For the Tarquinians over-ran all the marches of the Roman pale, waiting and spoiling all those parts especially that border upon Heruria. And after restitution & amends demanded but no effect the new Cof, C. Fabius & C. Plantus, by the ordinance of the people proclaimed war against them. The rumors all
A allof the Gauls warbegan to be rife. But amid these manifold and fearful troubles, this was their comfort, that the Latins had peace granted unto them, upon their own lute: and on them a great power was received, according to the ancient league, which for many years space, they had left palf and discontinued. The Roman forces by this aid well strengthened, made a lighter matter of it, when they heard that the Gauls were arrived already at Frælæs, and were set down and encamped about Petium. It was thought good that C. Sulpicius should be chosen Dictator, named by C. Pétinius, sent for to the same purpose. Unto whom M. Valerius was appointed for Commander of his Horsemens. Thefe marched against the Gauls with the choice foundiers of two Consular armies. This was a lings war and protracted longer a great deal than both parties liked of. At the

B first, the Gauls only were sharper and eager of battle; but afterwards the Roman foundiers, by running into fight and skirmish, exceeded theirencords and formorhness of the French. The Dictator was nothing pleased herewith, to put all upon the hazard of fortune, when there was no need at all, especially having to deal with that enemy, whom trait of time and deak ignorance of the place, made daily worse and worser: being unprovided besides of dietics and making long abroad without any fen. forts: moreover, of that Romack and constitution of body as served wholly for expedition and quick service, and by small delays waxed feeble and faint. Upon these considerations the Dictator held off still and drew the war on length, and had proclamed a grievous punishment, if any without his express commandment should fight with the enemy. The foundiers could not well brook this: but first within their wards and watches began among themselves to carpe at

C the Dictator, and otherwhiles they let fly the LL, of the Senate in general, blaming them for their direction in that the Confils had not the managing of this war. They have choven indeed (say they) a singular General on that purpose, a Captain alone, who thinks whiles he fitteth still and doth nothing, the victor will fall from Heaven, or flie into his very lap. After this they began openly abroad, and in the day time, to call out the fame, yea, and worse speeches: too and more maleparts: namely that they would either fight, and ask the Dictator no leave, or go along in order of battle to Rome. The Centurions also joined themselves to the foundiers: and not only in conventicles and knots together, there was whispering and grumbling: but in the very *  

Principes, and within the quarter of the L. General his pavilion, were heard confirmed speeches together in one accord. So as the multitude began now to grow to a full assembly, and from all

D parts to call and cry aloud, to go presently to the Dictator: and that Sex. Tullius should in the name of the whole army speak unto him, as becalmed his vertu and courage. This Tullius now had been seven times already a primipilur or principal Centurion: neither was there in the whole army, of all those that served on foot, a man more renowned for feats of arms. He going before the army of footmen, keppeth to the Tribunal. And when as Sulpicius marvelled not to much to see that company, as the leader of the company Tullius, who of all the foundiers had ever had in belt order and most obedient. * This is the manner (quoth he,) O Noble Dictator and nothing efe. The whole army in general, supposing themselves by you condemned of cowardice, and in a manner to their utter shame abandoned, and disarmed, have intreated me to plead their cause before your Majesty. And I for my part, I assure you, in case we might be charged to have left

E armed anywhere, in case we had turned our backs upon the enemy, in case we had left our entire arms, they would think it yet a reasonable suit to be obtained at your hands, that you would give us leave to amend that which is amiss, to correct our former fault with hardships and valeur, and by some fresh and glorious exploit, to cancel the remembrance of so foul a spoil and shameful dishonor. Even those very Legions that were defeated and put to flight at Allia, afterwards in their return from Vitis, recovered the same country of theirs by valor, which they had once before lost through cowardice. But we by the goodness of God, through the felicity of your self, and the people of France, have hitherto kept the army unoffiled, & honor unattainted. And yet I scarce dare say honour, if so be that not only our enemies may with all reproachful tears be shown and flay us, as if we were women sent in & mewed up close within our ramparts but also

F your General (the more is our grief,) doth use your army to be heartless, handless & armours;

G lest before any trial of us made, to depair of us, as if you took us for a Commander & leader of a fort of maimed & feeble persons. For what else can we think of it that you, an old experienced Captain and a valiant warrior should sit as they fly, with one hand in another, doing nothing? For howsoever the truth is indeed, more meet it is, that you should be thought to doubt of our valor, than of we yours. But if this be not a device of your own letting, but a publick plot laid, and some matter agreed upon among the Senators at home rather than any war of the Gauls, keepeth us away from thence, confined as it were from the City & our own houses: then I beseech you, whatsoever I shall say, you would think it as spoken not by the foundiers to their Lord General, but by the Commons to the miers and Senators. Whom may thus reply, that as ye have your policies and counsels, so will they have their dignes & ways of their own likewise.

F for who would think I pray you, that we are your foundiers and not your slaves sent to war, and not into banishment? If any set out the banner of war unto us, lead us forth into the field, and found the battle ready we are to fight like men, and like Romans: but if there be no need of war, we will rather set off at home than in the camp. And this much suppose as spoken to the Lords of the Senat, But you our foundiers. O worthy General believe they first to give us leave to fight, then defirous are we to conquer and under thy standard and conduct to conquer to present thee with a glorious garland of laurel, and in triumph to enter with thee into the City: and after thy *

chior.
"...to go up with joy and mirth to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. This Oration of Tullius, the multitude seconded with their petitions, calling aloud unto the General on every side, to found the alarm, and command them to arm. The Dictator, albeit he thought the matter in it fell good, but not handled in good manner; and for example fake not to be allowed; yet promised to satisfy the soldiers desire. "And calling Tullius secretly apart, questioned with him 'What this matter meant, what precedent or custom they had for their warrant? Tullius earnestly beheld the Dictator, not to think him to have forgotten either military Discipline, or his own 'place nor yet the Majesty of his Sovereign. And whereas he had not withdrawn himself away 'from the multitude being in a mutiny, nor refused to be their speaker (who lightly re semble 'those that are their ring-leaders) it was only for fear lest some other should have stept in place, I "such as the finely people in mutinies are wont to set up for their Captains. As for himself, do 'nothing he would, without the pleasure of the General. Howbeit he would advise him to look 'well about him, and carefully to see it, that he keep his army in order, government, and obe dience. And high time it is now, and would not be deferred. For considering their hearts were 'kindled already, and their blood up, they would be their own carvers, and chule themselves 'both time and place, if the General would not grant it them the sooner. Whilesthey were thus in sad communication, there happened two Roman soldiery to take perforce from a Gaul certain finger Horfe's, which feeding without the camp, he was driving away. At whom, the Gauls let flye fome good fcore. And thereupon rofe an alarm from the Roman Corpor de guard, and running out there was apace, on both sides. So as now they had grown to a full skirmish and battle indeed, had not the Centurions speedily flickled them, and ended the fray. Upon which occurred, the credit of Tullius with the Dictator was confirmed: and seeing the cafe would abide no delays, he proclaimed battle againft the morrow. The Dictator notwithstanding he had yelded to figh fight a feld as preluming more upon the courage of his men, than their forces; began to de vile with himself, and caft about every way, how by some stratagem he might strike a ter ror among the enemies. And having a fubtle wit and nimble head of his own, this new policy he thought upon: which afterwards many warriors, both of our own country, and of others also, yea, and some even in our time, have used and put in practice. He gave order, that the mules fump ters should be taken off their backs, leaving only two coniile twills or coverings upon them, and lettefs the muleators aloth thercon, furnifhed with the armour of certain captives, and fiek L and disfefted perfon's. Of thefe he made wel neer one thousand, and joynd into them one hundred good Horfemen. All thefe, he charge them in the night time to get above the camp into the hills, and among the Furs and woods, to befow themselves close: and not to flir from thence, before that he gave them a signal. Himself, fo long as it was day light, began with great warines and considerate care to embattel and arrange his army in length along the very foot of the mountains: to the end, that the enemy might have the hills full against him. Thus having fet out and directed thefe counterfeit comet's of Horfe, to scare the enemies with, who, as it fell out, did more good in a manner than the other forces indeed; at the firft the vanguard of the Gauls thought that the Romans would not come down on even ground: but afterwards, when they faw them upon a sudden defended, they alfo, as defirions of fight, ran on forwrd pretently to joynt battel, and be gan the fight before the Captains had founded. The Gauls charged the right wing more fiercely, so that harly they might have been abidden had not by good hap the Dictator been there in perf on. "Who call'd upon Sextus Tullius by name, and rebuked him, demanding whether he had 'given his word unto him, that the fouldiers fhould in that firit fight? What is become (quoth 'he) of thofe, that with out-cries and open mouth called for battel? Where are thofe threats 'now that they would begin to figh fight a field without commandment of the General? Lo, your "General himfelf calleth upon you as loud as he can, to fall to your business, and goehe armed be 'fore the enemyes in the vanguard: will any now follow after that weary while would needs lead the 'way afore? Fierce (I fay well) in camp tearfull in the field. And no fable it was that they heard 'him speak. Whereupon for very fame they were no pricked forward, that without calling any N perils, or minding pretent danger, they ran upon the darts and shot of their enemies. This vi olence of theirs, as if they had been weathe out of their right wits; as the very firft troubled and dis ordered the enemies. The Horfemen that were fent out hard after them, forced them to turn back, when they were one in diarray. The Dictator himfelf feeing the battel of one fide to fhirk ad vanced forward with the enemys againft the left wing, unto which he had the main multitude to refor t and gather together, and withal he gave the fign to them that were within the hills, ac cord as it was before agreed. And when from thence also a new fount arose, and that they were fone to march fide-long overthwart the hill, toward the Gauls camp; then for feaft, left they fhould be flut out from their hold, they gave over all fighting, and ran by heaps to their camp. Where MV. Ferius, the General of the Horfemen encountered and affronted them. For he feeing the right wing difcomfitted had fet a compafs about, and ridded to the fortifications and munities of the enemies. Whereupon they fled to the mountains and the woods. Most of them were received by the counterfeit fow of Horfemen, and by the muleators caught up, and came short home: but as many of them as fear drive through into the woods, were (after the heat of the battle was past) cruelly flain and hewn in pieces. Neither was there any one, letting MV. Ferius a fide, that triumphed more worthily over the Gauls, than did C. Subrinus. He confecrated alfo in the Capitol a good weighty mals of gold, got out of the Gauls spoil, and commiffed it within an enclofe of square stone.
A law against ambitious seeking for offices of government.

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The law against ambitious seeking for offices of government.

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A law against ambitious seeking for offices of government.

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A law against ambitious seeking for offices of government.
songs, the foolish preparation of the enemy, and also condemning their own fearfulness. After this, the whole nation of the Tuilcans arose, having for their leaders the Tarquinius and the Fallici, and came as far as Sulina. Against which fearful danger, was C. Marcus Rutulius chosen, the first Dictator that ever was of the Commons: who named for his General the Horatian a Commons likewise C. Plantinius. But the Senators thought this a shameful indignity, that the Dictatorship also should now be chosen in common: and did all they could possibly to hinder, that there should be nothing decreed toward the war, nor any preparation made for the Dictator. But to much the sooner, and with more readiness, all that the Dictator proposed, the Commons granted, So he departed from the City, and marched on both sides of the Tyber (transporting his army in boats and planks tilled together) to what place forever he heard the enemies were gone: and surprised many forriages of them, as they wanded and fraged one from another, in the fields. He set upon their camp also, and want it: and after that he had taken eight thousand prisoners, and either slain or chaled all the rest out of the Roman pale; he triumphed, by the sufferages of the people only, without the approbation and assent of the Senators, And for almsuch as would not in any case have an assembly for Election of Consuls, held either by the Dictator a Commons, or by the Consul: and because the other Consul Fabius was busied abroad in the wars, and not returned; therefore, the matter fell again to an Interregnum. There were Interregents one after another, Q. Servilius Hult., M. Fabius, Cn. Marcus C. Fabius, C. Sulpietius, L. Aemilius, Q. Servilius, and M. Fabius Ambulpus. During the second Interregnum, there arose some variances for that both Consuls were Patritii, of the Nobles. And when the Tribuns interposed themselves, and crossed those proceedings, Fabius the Interregent, alleged a Law out of the twelve tables in these terms, That whatsoever the people ordained or granted loth, the fame should be good, and stand firm and ratified: and in suffrages and voices of the people, were comprized their grant and ordinance. But when the Tribuns, for all their gainaying and flogging betwixt, could prevail no more, but to prologue the Comites for the Election, there were at length two of the Nobles created Consuls, C. Sulpietius Petetius the third time, and M. Valerius Publicola: who the same day they were chosen, entred into their office. Thus in the 400 year after the foundation of the City, and the 35 after it was recovered from the Gauls, the Commons left the Conullhip again, when they had enjoyed it nine years. And two Consuls of the Patritii, upon the Interregnum, began to govern, to wit; C. Sulpietius Petetius the third time, and L. M. Valerius Publicola. The same year was Empolium won from the Tyburnists, without any memorable warlike exploit: were it that, under the conduct of both Consuls there jointly together, the war was managed; as some have written: or that about the same time the Tarquinius Country was by the Conul Sulpietius over-run and wafted, whereas Valerius led forth a power again the Tyburns. But more ado had the Consuls at home, with the Commons and Tribuns, The Consuls thought now, it concerned them in truth and credit, as well as in vertue and valor, that as they, being Patritii both of them, had received the Conullhip, so they should make over the same again to the Nobility: and either wholly to give up their interest and title for ever, if to be the Conullhip should now become a Commons dignity: or else to keep it wholly in their possession, whereof they were first seized intirely, in right of their ancestors. On the other side, the Commons famed and formed in the like and such like terms, What should we live any "longer? and why are we accounted citizens? In cait, that which was first got by the vertue "and power of two only persons, L. Sextinius, and C. Licinius, we cannot now all of us together "hold and keep? Certainly, better we were to endure the KK, and Decemvirs again, or any other "heavier and more fearful name of absolute and Lordly Empire, than to see both Consuls of "the Nobility: and that we, may not both rule and obey in turns, but that the one part settled in "the place of rule for ever, should think us, the Commons, born for nothing else but to obey and "serve. The Tribuns themselves were nothing behind to fet forward their troublesome mutinies. But when the people are up once altogether and in commotion, the principal leaders are hardly seen above the rest in the action. And when as they were come down into Mars fieldunday times to assemble, by ever to no-purpose and effect, and that many Comitial days of assembly were paffed over, only in feditious troubles: at the last, the Commons being overmatched through the limines and obiliculty of the Consuls, took the matter to grievously to the heart, that when the Tribuns brake forth into their speeches: Now farewell freedom for ever: now are we driven, "not only to forbear coming into Mars field, but also to abandon and forsake the City; taken "captive and oppressed by the Lordly rule of the Nobles, and therewithal departed the Commons "with forrowful cheer did the semblable, and followed after. The Consuls being thus let ditti-"ufone part of the people, yet nevertheless went through with the Election, as few as they were there remaining. And Consuls there were elected of the Nobility both, M. Fabius Am-"buflus the third time, and T. Quintinius, in some annals or yearly records, I find Cofl. M. Popilius, instead of T. Quintius.

In that year, were two wars performed with prosperous success. And the Tyburnists were fought withal until they yielded. From them was the City safiude won by force: and other Towns had tafted of the fame fortune, but that the whole Nation laid arms aside, and submitted themselves to the Consul his mercy, He triumphed over the Tyburns: other wise the con-"quest was mild and gentle enough, without extremity of execution. But the Tarquinians were cruelly dealt withal: and many a man of them slain in field. Of the prisoners that were taken, whereof
As whereof there was a mighty number, there were 358 of the Noblest and greatest Gentlemen chosen out, and sent to Rome. The rest of the common sort were put to the sword. Neither spied they better at the peoples hands that were sent to Rome. For in the midst of the Forum were they all beaten with rods and beheaded. This execution made quitance with them, for refining the Romans in the marketplace of the Tarquinians. This good success in war caused the Samnites 3) to look for peace and amity. Their Embassadors were courteously answered by the Senat, and to upon covenants they were received into civility. But the Commons spied not to well at home in the City, as abroad in warfare. For albeit the Ulyss was well eated by bringing it down from twelve to one, in the hundred: yet the poorer people were over charged with the payment of the very principal, and became bond and thrall to their creditors. Whereby the Com, in regard of their privat freightes, that they were driven unto, never troubled their heads with the making of both Consills of the Nobles nor with the Embassadors and Elections nor other publick affairs. Still the two Consillships remained among the Patrines. And created there were Consills, C. Latio II. F. Pecius the fourth time, and M. Fabricius Pulcher the second time.

Now when as the City was earnestly amended upon the Tavuan war by reason that the news were, how that the people of Cæs., for very pity and compassion, and in regard also of contemptuity, took part with the Tarquinians; behold the Embassadors of the Latins turned them clean against the Volticans, Whil. Embassadors brought word, that there was an army levied already from thence and in arms, even now upon the point to invade their borders: and would from them enter the territory of Rome, and spoil as they go. The Senat therefore thought good to reflect neither business, and gave direction, that to both places certain legions should be appointed and the Consills to call for their several Provinces and Charges. But afterwards, the greater care was taken for the Tavuan war, upon intelligence given by Sulpicius the Consil his letters, which great commilunion was against Tarquinius, that the country was waited and spoilt all about the Roman-Sabine, [or Salt-pits] and part of the booties carried away into the confines of the Cæsiars: and that the youth of that people were doublebly employed in the driving of that booty. Whereupon Fabri- 

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cum the Consill, who was opposed against the Volticans, and encamped in the marches of Tav- 

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culm, was called back from thence, and commanded by the Senat to nominate a Dictator. Who named T. Manlius, the son of Latinus, and he taking to him A. Cornelius Cossus for his General of the Hordeans, conningent himself with his Consillary army, by the authority of the Senat, and the peoples sufferages, proclaimed war against the Cæsiars, and lent them defend. Then were the Cæsiars turned off: indeed, and good fortune, as though there had been no forces, their enemies bare words, to denounce and signify war, in their own persons, by spoiling and plundering, had provoked the Romans to war. Then saw they plainly that they were not armed and not able to make their parts good: then repented they that they had made such wait and spoil, courting the Tarquinians: for following them to revolt, not one of them making any preparation of armour or war: but every man labouring what he could, that Embassadors should be sent, to crave pardon for their trespass: and soe. When their Embassadors were come to the Senat, they were from thence put over to the people. And then the people might the Gods, whose 

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eared Images they had received in the French war and devoutly kept and cherishe. That the Romans now in their flourishing state, would take that pity and compassion of them, which they in times past had of the Romans, in their calamity and hard distresses. And turning to the choppes of Vefiis, they called upon the Flamines and Vetal Virginis, sometime their guests, whom they hastily and religiously had received and given entertainement unto, saying in this wise, "Would any man believe, that he had deferved no better, but thus of a sudden, without cause given, to be repined enemies? Drippose we had done somewhat flanding of hostility, would any man endure it rather to deliberate counsell, than to come fit of heat and folly? And that we would be mild and 

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mar our own good delectes, especially concerne and believe upon so thankful persons, with all new mildeeds and treble turns? and chuse to make the people of Rome their enemies now in their wealthy and flourishing State, and in their most happy felicity and whole friendship in their adversity we had embraced? Before us not to tell that considerate adde, which rather were to be called force and necessity. For the Tarquinians say they pulling with a cruel and puissant army through our country & requelling nothing but away, had drawn with them some of our rightful Peasants, to abild them only in lettch of that booty, which now to heavy is laid to our charge. Whom if you please to have them yielded, we are ready to deliver them; if to be punished they shall suffer accordingly: most hungrily craving, that their City (Cæs., the very sanctuary of the people of Rome, the harboret and habitacion of their Priestis, the place of receiv- 

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for the Roman sacred images and religiones they would grant unto them life from the calamity of war and exempt from the follower thereof: and the rather for the professed vetal Virginis take, of so kindly inertarn, and for the love of the Gods, by them devoutly honored. The people were moved, not so much with the justice and equity of the present case, as for their old delectes and good turns to forget rather the harm inflamed than the good received. Whereupon the people of Cæs. were pardoned. I agreed it was that a truce for one hundred years should be required among the Aediles of the Senat. Then were the forces diverted against the Falfiis, who were taunted likewise with the same offense. But the enemies would no where be found. They waited therefore all over their confines; & to bare to affit their Towns, So they withdrew their legions to Rome. The 

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tale of the year was employed in repairing their walls & Towers: and the Temple of Apollo was de-
dictated. In the very end of the year, the contention between the Senators and the Commons brake off the Election of the Consuls: whiles the Tribunes freely denied to suffer any assembly therefore to be holden, unless it were according to the Law Lictoria. And the Dictator again was as stoutly and freely bent, to abolish wholly out of the City the Consulship, rather than it should be indifferent for the Nobility and common people. Thus by adjourning the Election, the Dictator left his office, and the matter grew to an Interregnum. And the Interregnum, finding ever the Commons mulitiously set against the Senators, succeeded one after another unto the eleventh Interregnum: and all the while continued the discord and variance. The Tribunes they called on hard for the maintenance of the Law Lictoria. The Commons, they had an inward grief that stuck neerer to them upon the excessive utter that still increas'd: and each mans privat care and grievance, brake out in their publick contentions and debates. The LL. of the Senate weary of these troubles, commanded C. Cornelius Scipio the Interregent for the time being, for concord and unity in the Election of Consuls to observe the Law Lictoria. So P. Valerius Publicola had joyne with him in fellow ship of government, Caius Martius Rufus, one of the Commons.

Now whiles mens minds were enclined once to concord, the new Consuls labouring to eale also this matter of utter, the only spill or bone (as it were) between, that seemed to hinder the uniting of their hearts, and impeach the general agreement: took order publicly for the payment of debts, by creating five offices or Q. Quingueviri, whom of the defpating and disputing of the publick monies, they called Memphori. And surely, for their equity and careful diligence, they deserved in all monuments and records to be remembered and renowned. And these they were, C. Duellius, P. Decius, M. Papirius Q. Publicola, and T. Aemilius; who undertaken and managed this matter, so intricat and difficult to be dealt in: to grievous and combersome both sides for the most part, but evermore to one at the least, which they performed both with indifferent moderation, either, and also with some coit and defray of charge, rather than any los and damage to the State. For the long debts and more entangled, rather in regard of the debtors slackness and negligence, than their will of ability, either the City out of the common stock crosed out of the book, by letting up certain counters or tables with ready coin in the publick Hall (provided, that there were good security unto the City by sureties and cautions put in aore-hand); or else the goods of men valued at indifferent and reasonable prices discharged. So as not only without any wrong done, but also without the complaint of both parties, a mighty deal of L. debts was satisfied and paid.

After all this, a vain Fear of the Tufcan war, upon a falle Alarm given, that their twelve Nations confir'd and were confederate together, caufed a Dictator to be choene. So C. Fulvius was named in the camp: for thither to the Coift, was the patent of the Senats decreet sent. And to him was joyne General of the Horkemen, L. Aemilius. But all was quiet without the City: Within the City the Dictator gave the attempt, that both Consuls should be created of the Patriotes: which brought the government for the time to an Interregnum, and the two Interregents that were in that while (to wit) C. Sulpisius and M. Fulvius, obtained that which the Dictator had reached at in vain; namely, that both Consuls might be created of the Nobility: for now the Commons were more pliable and tractable, by reason of the treafe beneft received, in the eafe ment M. and satisfies of their debts. So there were choened C. Sulpisius Petiunculus, he, who was the former of the twin that gave over the Interregnum, and T. Quinctius Paeonius. Some there be that give to Quinctius the addition of Ces for his surname [and of Cenforhis forename]. Both of them went forth to war; Quinctius against the Falisci, and Sulpisius against the Tarquinians. Who, for that they could never meet with the enemy in open field, by burning and spoiling made war with the fields rather than with the men. By which lingering continuance, as it was of a languishing consumption, the stubborneest of both Nations was so well tamed, that they made petition first to the Consuls, and by their permissiop after to the Senat, for a truce, and obtained the fame for the term of forty years. Thus the care was lid aside of the two wars, which seeme to meate at hand. And whiles there was some rest from Arms, it was thought good because the payment of debts above N fayd, had changed the owners and masters of many things, that there shoule be held a general Selling of the citizens. But, when there was an assembly summoned for the chusing of Centoors, C. Martius Rufus professing himself to stand for a Cenforship, even he that had been the first Dictator of the Commons, troubled the peace and unity of the States of the City. This he went about (as it seemed) in a very undue and unfeasable time. For, both Consuls were then of the Nobility, as it fell out, who gave it forth that they would not admit him to be a Competitor, nor propound his name at the Election. Howbeit, both he by earnest perseverance in his resolution obtained that which he went about: and also the Tribunes with all their might endeaving to recover their right, which was lost in the Election of the Consuls, fert to their helping hand. And as the countenance and Majesty of the man himself, seem'd worthy of the highest type of honor: O the Commons were right willing, that by the same man who had opened the way unto the Dictatorship, the Cenforship also should draw to that side, and be in part conferred upon them. Neither in the assembly was there any variance in the Suffrages, but that, together with Martius Nervius, Martius should be created Cenfor. This year likewise had a Dictator, M. F.ibus; not for any fear of war, but because the Law Lictoria, for the choice of Consuls, shoule not be revived and observed. The General of the Horkemen unto the Dictator was Q. Servilius. And yet for all the Dictatorship, the agreement of the Senators together, was in the Election of the Consuls.
A. Consuls no more force then it was in the chusing of the Cenfores. For *Popilius Laenas* was Consul, of the Commons, and *L. Cornelius Scipio* of the Nobles. And thecommoner Consul, by good fortune, proved more famous of the twain, For when upon riding’s brought, that a mighty army of the Gauls were encamped in the Latine country, this Gaul’s war was laid extraordinary upon *Popilius*, because *Scipio* lay grieveously sick. Who having soon levied an army, and commanded all the younger men, to meet him in their arment at *Marcellus* His Church, without the gate *Capena*, and that the Queflos should bring the Standards and enignes out of the *Aquarium* [City chamber] and after he had chosen out of them, fully four Legions, he delivard all the refuse of soldiers unto P. *Valerius Publicola*, the Prætor: and moved the *L. of the Senat* to enroll another army to be in readiness, against all uncertain occurrances of war, what need ever the City should have. And now himselfe being at all points throughly furnished, setting forward to meet the enemy. Whole power because he would know, before he had trial therof with the uttermost hazard, he began to call a trench and raise a rampier upon the next hill unto the Gaul’s camp, that he could come unto. The Gauls a fierce kind of people and by nature eager of sight, having discovered afar of the Roman eignes, embattell’d themselves forthwith, as ready to bid battle. But when they saw the Roman army not brought forth into the plain and even ground, but that they were strongly defended, not only by the height of the place, but also with a dureh and palisade, and supposing them to be mittem with fear, and the fitter therefore to be affaile, for that they were at that instant bully occupied about their other fortifications, with a hideous noise and horrible shout, gave the charge upon them. The Romans gave over their work never the sooner (they were the Tissia of the rearward that made those fortifications) but the speenmen or juglers of the vanguard and the Princeps of the middle ward, who stood ready armed in guard for the defence of the pioners, made head and received them with fight. Besides their valour, the higher ground was their vantoge so as all their darts and spears light not in vain: as commonly they do that are slung and lanced on level ground; but flesh all fall as being poind with their own weight: so that the Gauls being uncharg’d with darts either flicking through their bodies, or fell let in their shield, and to weighing them down; having also turn them upon the hill first, as downfull what to do, made stay, afterwards, when protruding of time had discouraged themselves, and encouraged their enemies, they were driven back and fell one upon another: and in that confusion made greater havock and worse, then the slaughter was by the enemy; and cuffed they were to death, more in that cloud and thrust, then were slain by sword. Yet were not the Romans sure of victory: for when they were come down into the plain, there was a new piece of work to begin, and a fresh trouble behind. For the Gauls, by reason of their number, little keeping in a loose (as if a new army had start up in fight, out of the ground) stirred up their fresh footmen and unfoiled, against the enemy in his victory. Whereupon the Romans made a stand and stay’d their eignemes; both because they being already wearied, were to abide a new conflict; and all for that the Consul, whiles he laid about him with the forming, without regard of his own person, was wounded well near the left shoulder with a pike, and thereupon for a while was departed out of the battell. By occasion of which lingers, the victory had like to have been lost again; but that the Consul when his wounds were drest and bound up, came back again with speed to the torment eignes, and said: Why stand you still? Ye have not to deal now with the Latin or Sabins your enemies, whom after ye have conquer’d by the sword, ye may make of enemies friends and confederates: but upon very savage beasts we have drawn sword either we must have their blood, or they ours. From the camp ye have driven them back: chafed ye have them headlong down the hill side; over the bodies of enemies lying along, now ye stand: fill the plain with their dead carcasses, as ye have done the hills already: and never look that they will fliue, so long as ye stand still. Ye must advance your eignes, and charge the enemy fiercely: with these exhortations they fell to it the second time, and forced the former ranks and files of the Gauls to lose ground: and then with pointed close battalions of footmen, they brake through in to the heart of the main battell. Whereupon the barbarous people being disdistened, such as had neither certain directions to follow, nor Captains to command, turned their force upon their fellows, were scatter’d here and there about the plains, fled in this pursuit beyond their tents, and made toward the fort of Alba: which among many hills that stood of even height, they espied mounting above the rest. The Consul followed the chase no farther then their camp; both because his hurt made himself unwieldie, and also for that he was unwilling to put his tired army to a new labour, considering the enemy had gained the hills tops, and retir’d from farther pursuit. And when he had given the whole pillage of the camp to his footmen, he brought back to *Rome* his army with victory, and invinc’d with the spoils of the Gauls. The Consul his wound flaid his triumph’s, which was a cause also that the Senate wish’d and longed for a Dictator, to hold the assembly but for the Elecrion Consul, besides the other were sick.

B. *L. Flavius Camillus* being chosen Dictator, had yeald’d unto him P. *Cornelius Scipio* for his General of the bottome. He retir’d again to the Senators their ancient postellings of the Consulship: and for this good turn, was himself with exceeding of them all, electe Consull. And for his compinion he chose unto him *App. Claudius Crassus*. But before the new Consuls enter’d unto their office, *Popilius* with great love and favour of the Commons triumphed over the Gauls: who mumbliing and muttering among themselves, would often ask one another, whether there were any repent’d of a Commoner Consul: rating withall at the Dictator, so despising the
the law Livius, had got for his reward a Consulship; which was more shamefull and infamous, in regard of his privat seeking for it (for being Dictator he had made himself Conful) than for any publick harm and injury. This year for many and shameful stories was very famous. The Gauls from the Alban woods (for that they were not able then to endure the cold of winter) ranged all over the Champagne and sea-costs, and wasted the country. The less likewise were dangerous by reason of the Greeks navy. Also all the tract along Aeminium, and the river of Lantennium, even to the very mouth of Tiber. So as the rovers and men of war by sea, and the land robbers of the French, met both together, and struck once for all a dangerous battle; and then departed almos, the French unto their standing camp, the Greeks back unto their ships: both doubtfull, whether they had won or lost. Amid these troubles, the greatest fear by far, arose from this, that the Latine Nation held certain Diets and Councils at the grove of Parentium, and when the Romans demanded foillidours from them, flat answer was made, That they could not with any couneil or command as soon as they might resolve them some way, and so for the Latins, they were forced rather to bear their arms in defence of their own libertie, and to think for the maintenance of the dominions of Flamnes. The Senat being grieved and perplexed as well for these two forain wars, as also for the revolt of their confeders, seeing no other way, but to keep them in by force, whom loyally would not refrain, commanded their Conuls in their manifesting, to extend and delay to the utmost the whole strength of the State : for now that their Allies failed them, they were to tryst upon their City forces only. From all parts therefore, the youth as well without in the country, as within the City were taken up, and ten legions (as men say) were enrolled of foillidours, amounting to 4000. foot and 500. horse in a legion. Which puissant army, if now at this day any forain wars were toward, the mighty forces of the people of Roma, which the whole world is hardly able to contain, if they were united and brought into one together, would not easily make again: to great arc we grown in wealth only and superfluous delights, to which we like and apply our minds.

Among other heavy occurrences of that year, Ap. Claudius one of the Conuls, in the very preparation of the wars, departed this life. Whereupon the whole government was devolved up on Camillus. To which title Conul, either for his quality and worthless otherwise (not meet to be controlled by the absolute command of a Dictator) or for the lucky preage of his name to fortunator in all the tumultuous wars of the Gauls, the Lords of the Senat thought it not decent and convenient that there should be a Dictator adjoynd. The Conuls having ordiuned and appointed two legions for defence of the City, and parted the other eight with the Pretor L. Flaminus, bearing in mind his fathers valour and manhood, undertook the Gauls war himself, without calling lots therefore: commanding the Pretor to keep the sea-costs, and to put the Greeks back from landing on the thre. He went himelf down into the country of Pompeii, and because he was not willing to give battle in the champian, unforced thereunto, and thought the enemy might be wearied out well enough by keeping him short, for forraging and fetching in booties, who of necessity was driven to live of prey, chose a convenient place for a standing camp. Where, as they past the time quietly in their wards, as a settled Garrison, there came forth a mighty Gaul in perilous tall and beg, for armour brave and glorious: who clattering his shield and spear together, and thereby making silence, gave defiance and challenge by his interpreter to the Romans as a combat, a man to man. There was one M. Palerius a Conoul of foillidours, and a very young man, who thinking himelf nothing les worthy of that honour than T. Manlius, having first known the Conul his pleasure, advanced himself forth apart from the rest, armed at all points. But this contest, (as touching the prowess of themen) was les notable than the other, by reason that the whole of God came between and took a part. As for the Roman was ready to joyce and cope, behold suddenly a raven flew upon the crest his of morion, even full in the face of his enemy. Which at the very first, the Conul took joyfully as a token of good luck sent from heaven. Afterwards he praised devoutly, that the God or goddess who ever, that sent unto him from above that augural foul, to preface and forsignifie the future event, would be favourable and gratsious unto him. And lo, (a wonder to be spoken) the bird not only held the place still, which it first light upon, but also, as often as the champions buckled and cloed together, mounting up with the wings made at the eyes and the face of the enemy, with beak and claws both, so long, until Palerius killed him. For the Gaul being at length at this strange wondrous fight, both his eyes dazzled, and his mind was mingled, troubled. Then the raven took his ride, flew on high quite out of sight towards the East, All the while the camp on both sides was quiet hithero. But after that the Colonel began to rise and disperse the Body of the slain enemy, neither could the French keep themselves within their Stations, nor the Romans conten, but run with more speed upon their Conqueror champion. And so about the body of the Gaul left along dead, began some skirmish, and thereof grew a sharp and cruel battle; for now not only the compania of the next quarters, and corps de guard, but also the whole legions on both sides, came abroad and fought. Camillus commanded the foillidours, joyous for the victory of the Colonel; joyous also for the gods, so favourable and ready to help, to go to battle; and the reign very often unto them the Colonel, set out bravely and enriched with the spoiles of his enemy, "Follow this brave gentleman, good foillidours (quoth he) and about the dead champion of the Gauls killed their whole troops, and lay them along. In this fight appeared the help of God and maneviendly: and they fought it out with the Gauls, and had no doubtful conflict both armies.
A armies had so conceived and deeply imprinted before hand in their mind, the future event of these two factions that fought together. Between the formost, whose concorde had raised others, there was a sharp conflict: but the rest of the multitude, turned back before they came to the volley of darts. And first they were scattered along the Volscian and Etrurn countries; but afterward they took their ways toward Apulia and the lower Adriatick seas.

The Consul having assembl'd the factions to an audience, solemnly before them all, commended the Coi, one, and rewarded him with ten excons and a coronet of gold. Himself, by direction from the Senate, to attend the war by sea, joined camp with the Preter. And there, because through the cowardice of the Greeks that would not come into the field, the war was like to be long:

B and lingering, he nominated, by the authority of the Senate, T. Mamlius Torquatus for the Dictator, to hold the Election of Consuls. The Dictator having named for his Generall of horsemens, A. Cornelius Coflus, held the Election, and with exceeding favour of the people, declared for Consul one like himself, and tracing the steps of his own virtue and glory, M. Valerius Corvinius (for that was his surname afterwards) in his absence, a young man, I say, three and twenty years old. To Corvinius was adjointed companion in government a Comonner, M. Fopolis Lentus, the fourth time. Camillus performed no memorable exploit with the Greeks: for neither were the Greeks good soldiers on land, nor the Romans at sea. At the last being kept from landing; and failing, besides other necessaries, of fresh water, they left Italy. Of what people, or what nation in Greece, this fleet confituled, is not certainly known. I would think verily, that they were the Tyrians or potenntses of Sicily, above all other. For all Greece beyond them, at that time wearied and troubled with civil wars, much feared the greatnesse of the Macedonians. After the armies were discharged, and that abroad there was peace, as also at home quietness, through the unity of the States, it seems they should be glutted with too much joy, behold a pleniquence in the City and contrived the Senate to command the Decemvirs, to overlock the books of Sibyls: by and by direction thereof, was a Leisiflerea celebrated. The same year there was a Coloss drawn out of the anxious, to people Satricum, and the town was repaired for them, which the Latins had destroyed. Alto there was at Rome a league concluded with the Carthaginian Embassadors, who came of purpose to sue for societie and amity. The time retl continued full both at home and abroad, when T. Mamlius Torquatus, and C. Plantus the second time were Consuls. The story which was before after one in the hundred, became now but half so much. The payment of debts was dispensed & ordered into three years by even portions, as a fourth part should be paid out of hand. And albeit some of the Commons (for all that) were pinched therewith, yet the Senate had more regard to lee creditor kept with the chamber of the City, then of the difficulties of private persons. The greatest matters were well eased, in that they forbare to collect the tribute and to multer foundiers.

The third year after that Satricum was redeemed by the Volscians, M. Valerius Corvinius the second time Consul with C. Pernius, upon news of Latium, that Embassadors from Anuus were about to the nations of the Latins, soliciting them to rise up in arms, was commanded to make war upon theVolscians, before the enemies forces were greater: who put him to his journey with a fierce army toward Satricum. Whether when as the Anuans and other Volscians were to come meet him, with a power provided beforehand, against any preparations from Rome, presently without any stay they joyned a battle, as being through a deep diked and long batted, mutually bent one against the other. The Volscians, a nation more busy to rebel, than busy to fight, being defeated in a battle, fled amain and highspced to put themselves within the walls of Satricum. But when the walls were not able to save them, for that the town being environed and invested round with foundiers, was ready to be taken by scaling, there were upon 4000 of them, besides the common fort not met for service, that yielded themselves. The town was raised down and burnt; only they fired the firing of Mars's church. And the whole baggage and spoil was bestowed upon the foundiers. But there were not comprim'd within this booty, 45000 that yielded. Tho'the the Consul in his triumph caus'd to be led bound before his chariot: and after that, tol'd them, & brought a round sum of money into the treasury; Some write, that this number of captives, were condemned. And that is more like to be true, than that they should be fold, who yielded themselves. After this followed Consuls, M. Fainiis Dominus, and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus. Then began the Auruncan war upon a sudden incision that they made. And for fear left the action of that one State and City, had been the revolution of the whole Latine nation and by their maintenance, there was created Dictator (as it had been against all Latium already up in arms) L. Furia Caius: who chose for his General of armorines, Cn. Marullus Capito. And (as the state had been in time of great troubles and sudden tumults) it mattered without any respect of Inmunity and Exception, and there with proclaimed a Cessation of all courts of law: and the legions with all speed possible were led against the Auruancies, where they found, that they carried the mind of plunderers rather then of warriors. So that in the first battle, that war was dispatched. However the Dictator, because they not only made the quarrel and warred first but also offered fight without any drawing back, supposing there were some need of Gods help withall from heaven, had vowed a temple to Juno Moneta: and after he had obtained that he vowed for, and thereby was charg'd to perform his vow, so soon as he was returned home to Rome with victory, gave up his Dictatorship. The Senate commanded two officials called Dauniiwits to be created for the edifying of that temple, according to the magnificence of the people of Rome. The place was appointed and let out on the

The temple of Juno Moneta.
The seventh Book of T. Livius.

The beginning of the Samnite war,

*After the death of the Duke of Beneventum, as far as Naples.*

*The inhabitants of Sidium, otherwise called Ty-anam or Thrania.*

*Monte di Cepaea.*

The Embassadors of the Campains in the Senate at Rome.

[Capitol] hill, even the very plot of ground, where sometime before flood the dwelling house of H. M. M. Antistius Capitolinus. The Coll. having imploied the Dictator his army in the Volscian war, surprized at unawares the town Sora one of the enemies hands. The Temple of Moneta was dedicated the year after it had been vowed, when C. Marcius Rutulius the third time, and T. Manlius Torquatus the second time, were Consuls. I immediately upon the dedication of that church, there ensued a strange wonder, like unto that old marve of the hill Albuminus. For it rained stones, and in the daytime it seemed to be dark night. And the books of Sibylla being perused (for that the City now was slightly given to superstitition) the Senators ordained, that there should be a Dictator named for the ordaining of certain feails and holy days. So P. Valerius Publicola was chosen, and with him, Q. Fabius Ambustius General of the horsemen. Order was given, that not only the Tribes should go in solemn procession with their priests and Lantaries, but also the nations that bordered upon them: with a precise direction unto them, upon what dates every one should make application. This year (as it is reported) there passed heavy judgments and the Sentences of the people against the Utuines, with whom the Ediles had commenced guilt. And without any notable caufe to be remembered, they grew an Interreign. Upon which, that something might be thought thereby done, both Consuls were made of the Nobles, M. Valerius Corvinus the third time, and A. Cornelius Cetheus.

Now from hence-forth we treat of greater wars, both for the preservation of the enemies, and also for their far distance: as well for their spacious countries they inhabited, as long tract of time that they continued. For this year began the Romans to bear arms against the Samnites, a nation powerful in wealth, and valiant in field. After which war, fought on both sides with alteration, native fortunes, there succeeded Pyrrhus their enemy, and after Pyrrhus the Carthaginians. To fee (good Lord) the wonderful trials and troubles, and how often the Romans fell into extremities of perils, that their Dominion and Empire might arise unto this greatness and high state, which hath much ado to hold its own, and stand maintained, but the caufe of the Romans war with the *Samnites, being in society and animosity linked together, arose from others, and not upon any quarrel between themselves. At what time as the Samnites warred unrightfully (as being more mighty) upon the *Sidicins they: they as the weaker and forced to file for succour unto the richer, banded with the Campains. Who bringing with them a greater name, than power (in deed) to aid and subserve their Allies, and flowing in riot and uproarious delights, hapned in the country of the Sidicins to be foiled &defeated by the other, who had been joured and hardened by continual use of arms: and so after L. wards drew upon their own heads, the whole violence and poite of the wars. For the Samnites letting the Sidicins alone, went to the head, and set upon the Campains, as it were the very forts and castle of defence for all the borderers. For we will that there they might win victory as easily: but riches & honour at their hands they were to achieve much more. And when they had gained and held with a strong garrison, the hills called *Tisfrata were disjoining, and commanded the City Capua. From hence they descended with a four-square ranged battell into the plain that lyeth between Capua and Tifata: where a second field was fought: In which the Campains had the overthrow, and were beaten within their walls. Having threfore no hope nearer hand, and seeing the strength of their youth greatly decay, they were contrived to seek for aid of the Romans. Whose Embassadors being admitted into the Senat, and having audience given them, spake much what to this effect. The people of Capua, most noble Senators, hath sent us forth amably unto you, to crave at your hands friendship for ever, and succour for the present. Which accident if we had requisted in our prosperity, well might it sooner have begun, but knotted it had been with a weaker bond and not so durable. For then remembering our selves to have entered league and society on even ground, and in equal estate with you; friends hapy we should have been as we now are, but bounden and devoted unto you, we had never been. But now, in cale by your *comfortation and pity we be gained and won; and in our diffcre, by your aid, helped and reliev'd; we muil needs affectionally embrase a benefit from you received, unless we would be thought unthankfull wretches, and unworthy of any helpeither of God or man. And albeit the *Samnits, have been before us entertained in friendship and confradery, yet we think that no sufficient bar, but that we may also be received into the same. Only thus much it ought to make for them, as to be preferred before us in antiquity of time, and degree of honour. For in that alliance between you and the Samnites, there is no express clause, no covenant or proviso contained, against the making of any new confradery. And larely, alwaies hertofore ye have thought it such good enough of your friendship, if the party who fought the war, were but willing and deinous to be your friend, We Campains (albeit our present condition fuffereth us not to speak magnifically) giving place to no nation but your selves, either for the flately port of our City, or goodneffe, and fruitfulneffe, of our soil, in entraiing into your acquaintance, shall not a little, I suppose increase and better your good estate. And first for the Equins and Volscians, those eftabl. and perpetual enemie of this City, they shall not so soon at any time fire and put out their heads, but we will beftronge upon their jacks. And look what ye first shall find in your hearts to doe for our state, the fame will we always do for your Empire and honour. And when those nations be once subdued that are between you and us (which your vertue and fortuna felicif, promith will be shortly) then shall your dominions reach all the way in a continued train, as unto us. A pitifull and lamentable case it is, that our pretent for a time urgeth us to conffesse; To this exigent and hard terms of extremity are we Campains driven (right honourable) that subject we must be, either to our friends or to our enemies. If ye defend
defend us, yours will be we ; for sake us once, we must be the Samnites. Consent ye now therefore deliberately, whether ye had rather, that Capua and all the territories of Capua, should be annexed unto your power and State, or added to the Samnites Seigniory. your mercy your favour, O Noble Romans, sought in equity to extend unto all men, but especially unto those, who by yielding their relief and helping hand (even above their power) unto others, that impoverished and humbly beleaguered fucceors, are now themselves fallen, into the same straits of necessity. And yet, to say the truth, we sought in fure and reliance of word for the Samnites; but in very deed and effect for our selves. For considering a neighbour nation, bordering even upon us, to be robbed and spoiled most wrongfully by the Samnites; we well foresaw, that when the Samnites were once set a burning, the same fire would soon be driven and reach unto us. For now are not the Samnites come to all us, as discontented for any injury received: but, as well pleased that they have cause of quarrel offered and presented unto them. For if it had been but a revenge only of anger upon some pretended wrong, and not a mean and occasion, to satisfy their greedy appetite: had it not been enough for them, that they had vanquished and put to the sword our Legions once in the Seicene country, and a second time in Campains it tell our own territory? what a checkered and a mortall naile is this, which bloodshed and massacres in two battles can not fatigue or silence? besides the wanting of our fields, the driving away of booties, as well of people as castell, the firing of villages. the rain and havoc they made; and in every place nothing but fire and sword. Could not their anger and wrath have been satisfied with all this? But it is their greedy and unalterable covetounis and nothing else that must be filled. That is which carrieth them, that haleth and draggeth them to the assault of Capua. As it is their teeth water, that most goodly and beautiful City will they either destroy, or be LL. thereof themselves. But may it please you Romans, to gain it afore by your own benefit and good defeat: rather then suffer them to leiz upon it by wrong and mischief. I speake not this before a people that useth to make it strange and goodly to undertake any rightfull and just wars. If ye but shew a copy of your countenance, as it ye would aid and succour us, I suppose ye shall have no need at all of further war. The Samnites overweering of themselves and contempt of others, reacheth to us only, further it procedeth not. Thus under the very shadow of your assistance, O Romans, we may be safely covered and protected. And whatsoever we shall hereafter gain thereby, whatsoever we shall be of our selves (even as much as we are worthy) ready are we to acknowledge it all yours. For your sake shall the Campain ground be tilld: for your behoof shall the City Capua be returned unto and frequented: and accounted shall ye be of us no less than founders, parents, yes, and as the immor all gods. There shall be a borrough or Colony of yours, that shall go beyond us in obsequious dutifulness towards you. Do but aford unto us Campains, O Noble Senators, a token of your gracious countenance, yeeld us your invincible name as a powerful deity, and bid us hope affur'dly, that Capua shall remain still and continue in safety. What a number think ye of all forts and degrees of people, followed and accompanied us, when we came from thence? How left we all places filled with their vows, their prayers and tears? In what expectation now, do the Senat and of people Capua, our wives and children, attend our return? Affraied am, that the whole multitude stand about the gates looking toward the high portway that leadeth from hence thither, waiting to know what news, expecting what answer, my LL. your pleasure is that we should report back from you unto them, to carshall, to heavy, so perplexed. One word pretenteth unto them safety, victory, life and liberty: the other, I dread to preface what it may import. Wherefore to conclude, determine of us, either of them that shall and will be, your confederates and faithful Allies; or else both as must be worse then nothing. After that the Embassadors were withdrawn aside, and the Senat fell to counsel: although a good part of them were of opinion, that the greatest and wealthiest City of all Italy, the most plentiful and near to the sea, might be as it were the garner and storehouse, whatsoever variable changes of corn and victuals might happen: yet they let more by keeping their faith and promise, then of that great commodity that might accrue unto them: and thus by direction of the Senat made the Consul answer. "The Senat judgeth you O Campains worthy of aid: but meet it is that we entertain your amity, so, as more eminent society and friendship be not thereby violat and broken. The Samnites are in league, and confederate with us. We must needs therefore debar you from making that war against the Samnites, which should sooner dishonour the gods then hurt and wrong men. Howbeit, as equity and reason doth require, we will to our Allies and friends give our Embassadors, to intreate them to offer no violence upon you. To this answer the chief man of the Embassadors (according as he had commision from home) replied and said: "For as much as ye are not willing to defend our right and cause, by just and lawful power against violence and injury; your own yet. I am sure ye will maintain. Therefore my LL. of the Senat, here we yield up in your hands, and to the G Seigniory of the people of Rome, the whole nation of the Capuans, the City Capua, our lands and pollifions, the sacred temples of the gods, and all things else both holy and prolepare. And whatsoever from henceforth we shall suffer and abide, we will maintaine it as your judgement and subjects, wholly devoted as vassals unto you. At which words they all held up their hands unto the Consuls, shed tears plenteyly, and fell down upon their knees in the very entry of the Counsell house. The Senat moved with consideration of the changeable course and turn of human fortune, in the world, to see so great and mighty a people as power, to pompous for superflus
The fifth Book of T. Livius.

ous abundance and magnitude (at whole hands but a while before, the nations bordering had
creved and begged their aid) to carry with them now to base and broken hearts, as of their own
accord, to submit themselves and all they had in the whole world, to the power and devotion of
others: were persuaded now it was a matter of truth and faithfulness, not to abandon and see
betrayed, that these were thus reduced under their protection. Neither thought they, that the
people of Samnium could in any equity or colour of Justice, invade that land, or assault that City,
which was lucrured and annexed to the imperial State of Rome. Whereupon presently they a-
reed to dispatch Embassadors unto the Samnites, who had incharge and commission to make de-
claration unto them; First, of the Campains petitions: secondly, of the answer of the Se-
nat returned unto them, implying the remembrance of the Samnites amity: last of all, of the I
Campains surrender. Then to requite and define them in regard of their mutual society and friend-
ship, to pare and forbear thence, that were their vaills, and not with any hostility to invade that
territory, which was become subject to the people of Rome. If by this courteous dealing they
could do no good, then, to command the Samnites in the name of the people and Senate of Rome,
to abstain from the City Capua and the country of the Campains. When these Embassadors
debated these matters in the Council House of the Samnites, they returned to flout and arrogrant an
answer again, not in these terms only, That they would go forward in the war begun;
but (that which more was) the rulers coming forth of their Council House, even while the Em-
balladors there stood, called to the captains of the cohorts, and with a loud voice commanded
them forthwith to make a rode into the Campain country, for to spoil and fetch booties. This Em-
K
baffle being returned home again to Rome, the Senators letting aside the care of all other matters,
sent their heralds to demand restitution: and for default thereof, after the solemn manner to proclaim
open war. Whereupon they decreed with all speed possible to propound this matter to the people:
and by the consent of the people, both Coll, with two armies departed the City, Valerius into
Campania,Corneliu into Samnium: and pitched their tents,Valerius at the foot of the hill Gaurna,
and the other at Saricula. The Samnites legions pretented themselves first to Valerius(for that way
they implood all the forces would be bent) for indignation also, against the Campains, because they
were to ready one while with their own fuccons,& another while in fending for the aid of others
against them. And loo soon as they discovered the Romans camp, in all hal(l every one for his part)
called lustily to their captains for to strike up and found the battell: affuring themselves, and laying
plainly, that the Romans should speed as well in succouring the Campains, as the Campains
done had before them in aiding the Sicilians, Valerius, after he had amusfed the enemies not
many daces together, with some light skirmishes, only to make trial of them what they could do,
forthwith the signall of battell at the last, but first exhortcd his fooldars in a short speech in this
wife, That neither this new war nor new enemy should terrify them: for as much as the far-
thet they wearied from the City, the more cowardly Nations they were, and left warlike till to
whom they went. That they should not esteem the value of the Samnites by the late losses & de-
fears of the Sicilians or Campains: For whatsoever they be that contend & fight together, one fide
or other cannot chafe, but go to the wals. The Campains, doublet, had the overthrowing
ther through their own effeminate tenderness, as flowing too much in excelle and luperfility of M
pleasures, than by their enemies hardiness and valour. And what were two so untam'd bat-
ches's of the Samnites, in fo many ages to be let against so many honourable victories of the people
of Rome? Who, from the first foundation of their City, may number more Triumphs well near
than years: who have by war subdued all Nations about them, the Sabines, Hernia, the La-
tains, Heurnicks,Equiuns,Volciuns, and etucchini. And as they ought to go into the field,every
man preluming & trusting upon his own manhood and glorious warfare to shoule they have an
eye, and consider, under whole leading and regiment they were to enter into battell. Whether
the were a man that in the hearing of his fooldars, could only make good and magnificent Ora-
tions, fierce in brave words, void of Military works: or he who himself knew how to handle
his weapon, to advance before the Standards, yes, and to be empied even in the middle of all
the biset. I would have you (quoth he) my fooldars, to follow my deeds and not my words,
and of me to learn, not only discipline, but also good example. I have not by bribing and facti-
nons, nor yet by courting and Orations (small matters among Noblemen) but by this right hand
of mine, attainted unto three Confulships, and to the highest honour. The time had been indeed,
when a man might have said thus unto me: No marvel, For why You were a gentleman of
noble blood, descended from thosc that were the deliverers of their country: & in the same year
that the City had first a Conful, this house of yours had the Confulship But now the cale is alter-
ed, the way unto a Confulship, is open to you Commoners, as sons of the Nobility. Now is it
not the gudement of birth and gentry, as aforetime but the reward and remembrance of venue
and valour. And therefore my fooldars, loot at the highest dignities, and aim at Sovereignty
honour. And although that are men, have by the grace and approbation of the gods, given
unto me this new addition of furnaces [Corona]: yet have not forgot the antient name of the
Publiccat, appropriated unto our family. I love and ever will (as always I have done) the Com-
mons of Rome, at all times alike, both abroad in wars, and also at home in peace, as well a priv-
ate persons, as in my offices, were they little, or were they much; whilsts I was Prince, whilsts I was
Conful; and no ensnaring have I bee throughout all my Confulhips, one after another. Now for
this present enterprize which we are about, with the help of God, & in his name have I slept with
A me for a new and fresh Triumph over the Samnites. Never was there a Generall more familiar with his fooldiers: as willing as the meatt be of them, to lay his hand upon any base offices that that were to be done; yes, and in the very training and exercises of the fooldiers, at what time as equality matters of Activity and Strength, one with another, gently would he otherwhise take the foile, as well as the victory, and ever keep one countenance still: not rejecing or refusing any one whatsoever would offer to match him, or be his mate. For deed, benignse and bounti-ness to his power, and as occasion required: in his words, no leffe mindfull of the freedom of o-thers, than respective of his own place and dignity: and (what which, there is nothing more popu-lar) look by what vertuous demeanour & carriage of himself, he fought to attain unto honours and promotions, with the same he bare them, and went through with them. Therefore the whole army with incredible cheerfulness accepting this exhortation of their captain, illud forth of the camp into the field. Never was there battell fought more indifferentely on both sides. Their hope was like, their forces equall, with full trut and confidence in themselves, and yet without contempt of their enemies. The Samnites, for to what their courage, presumd upon their frethes and late ac-chieved acts, and their double victory but fewe days before. The Romans on the contrary side, flood upon their honour and reputation for the space of four hundred years, and their conquests every since the foundation of their City. Yet they were troubled, both the one and the other, to deal with a new and unknown enemy. The manner of their fight thew what romackes they car-ried. For the conflict was such, as for a good while they steemed on neither part to yield one foot.

C Then the Consul beinge they could not by mere force be caufed to retreat, thought to set a sudden fear among them: and therefore affaieth, by sending in the biffed men upon the fornooff enigges, to break their rankes, and put them in diftarray. But when he saw, that in small troops of ground they tooked themselves in vain, and could not well manage their troops and cornets, not break in upon the enemies, he rode back again to the van and forefront of the Legions, and di-urnished from horback, "Wether are footmen (quoth he) when all is done, must do the deed I fee well. Come on then, and as ye behold me (which way forever I go) by dint of sword to make way and entrance into the enemies battell: so every man for himself, down with him that stands next in his way. Straightways shall ye see, that where as now their spears and pikes stand glittering and bent upon us, there will be a wide lane made over their skin carcasses. He D had not to looke spoken their words, but the biffed men at the Consuls commandment, ran upon both the wings and points and made way for the footmen to enter the main battell. First and forth the Consul in perfon chargeth the enemy, and whomsoever he happened to encounter, him he killeth in the place. This goodly fight fell the reft on fire: and then every man did his best, laid about him manfully, and carried it afore him right worthily. The Samnites flood to it still and maintai ned, notalbeit they got more knocks and wounds then they gave. Thus when the fight had continued a good while, notwithstanding much bloody slaughter about the Samnites enigges: yet no flying was there on any side: so relutous were they, by death only to be vanquished. Whereupon the Romans feeling their own strength for weariness decreed and spen, and but little day left, in-flamed with anger, gave a fresh charge all at once upon the enemies. Then (and not before) be-gan they to think and give ground, and encline to flight: Then were the Samnites taken prisoners E and thain thick. Few or none had escaped alive, but that the night came to put them then, ther it in-terrupted the victory, rather then ended the battell. Both the Romans themselves confcribed, they never fought with a more stubborn and obstinate enemy: and the Samnites also beinge com-pelled the primitive caufe, which forced them (so likely bent as they were) to run away at the last, (that, the Romans seemed to have burning fire in their eies, and to carry in their faces and viftages the furious rage of mad and frantic persons: and therest first began they to be af-frighted, more then at any thing else. Which fearfulness of theirs, they bewaried not only by the present event of the battell, but also by their disdilling and departure away in the night. The mor-row after the Romans were masters of their empty and asked camp: into which all the while multitude of the Campaignes came running in numbuer to rejoice and congratulate their vic-to-

F. But this joy had like to have beene fowly blemished with an overthrow and defeat in Samnium. For Cornelius the Consul beinge departed from Samnium, had engaged his army undeviably within a forest, through which went an hollow valley or lawn, forisid on both sides with an ambusc: neither discovered he his enemies over his head, but as such time as he could not retire with his enigges into a place of safe receiue. But whiles the Samnites raised only until he had brought his army fully down into the bottom of the vale, P. Decius, a Colonel of footmen, espied in the for-ret one little high hill, which commanded the place where the enemies by encomped: and as it was for any man heavily armed, and charged with carriage, hard to be got up unto: so for them, that were lightly appointed and burdened, nothing difficult. He perceiv-ing the Consul troubled in mind and straignt: See you not (quoth he) O Augus Cornelius wonder hill-top above the ene-mie? That is the very fortifique of our hope and safety, if so be that we can gaine the same lusti-ly, as the Samnites have left it blindly. I require no more of you, but to let me have the princes and speare men of one only Legion. And when with them I have once preceded the top theretoo, let forward you from hence and fear not, neither make doubt to gave your left and the army. For the enemy being under us, and lying open to all our shot, cannot firr without great loss: and precedent milchiefe. As for us, either the fortune of the people of Rome, or our own manhood shall work out

The policy and valor of P. Decius,
Our evanion. Being commanded by the Consul, and having received that troop and guard which he demanded, he marched close through the woody paths, and was not defeated by the enemy before he approached the place that he went to. And whiles they all were amazed thereat and wondred, and wholly turned their eyes to himward, he bore the Consul some time to withdraw his army into a more convenient and open ground, and poissified himself of the hill top, and there roll'd. The Samnites, whiles they turn'd their enantes to and fro, (as men that loft the vantage of both sides) could neither make after the Consul, but through the same valley, wherein a while before they had him under their shot, nor yet ereft their squadrons, and march up that hill, which Decimus over them had already gained. But being more angry with those, that thus had disappropriated them of the fair means they had of a brave exploit, and considering within the meanece of the place, and their small number which were gotten thither, they were one while of mind to environ the hill round with armed men, and to keep Decimus from the Consul; another while, to make them way, that when they were come down into the valley, they might take upon them. Thus whiles they were in doubt what to do, the night overtook them; Decimus at the first, was in good hope to fight with them from the higher ground, as they mounted up against the hill: but afterwards he marvelled much, that they neither began to charge upon him, nor yet when they were disappropriated and put by that purpose, through disadvantage of the ground, fortified themselves with trench and rampier, and other pioners work. Then calling the Centurions unto him,

"what unskilledness (quothebe) of military service, what supine slackness and sloth is this? and how got thee loz'd the victory of the Sidicins and Campains? Ye fe the eneigns waving luther K and thither: one while budied they are in one together, another while advanced and dilatated at length. As for munitious & fortifications, no man beginneth any: and by this time we might have been entrenched round about. But if we stay here longer then for your vantage, we might be counted lazy lobbies like them. Come on then, go with me, that whiles day light ferveth, we may see in what places they quarter their guards, and what way we may get from hence and escape."

All this went he to elpoe and discover himself in person, clad in a common fellows jacket, leading with him the other captains in the habit of their fellows: to the end that the enemies might not take mark of the General himself, how he went about to view them. After this, when he had dispo'd the centurions and corpor de guard, to do the rest he commanded a watch word to be given, that when the rampfer mounted the second watch, they should come all unto him armed, and let no noise at all. When they were thither assembled with silence, as he had commanded, this filenelss my fellow louldiers (quoth he) must ye keep, whiles ye hear me speake, and forbear all giving affent by uttering your voices as louldiers use to do) When I shall have delivered my mind to you, let as many as like thereof, go loily on the right hand, and not speak a word: and look what side is greater, that course shall stand and take place. And now listen what my conceits is, and what I would have done. The enemy hath not invested you here, as men either fled a way for fear, or lagging behind for sloth and indolence. The place have ye won by manhood: by manhood must ye from thence escape. In coming hither, ye have already laved a brave army of the people of Rome: and now by breaking out from hence, save your own selves, Worthy you are that being but a few, have succoured many, ye should not stand in your selves of any mans help. With that enemy ye have to deal, who yesterday through their inenellesse, overflipp'd their happy opportunity to defeat our whole army: who were so blind, that they saw not this hill of great importance even over their heads, before it was by us gained: who being so to many thousands, could neither debar us from climbing up, as few as we were, nor when we had got the place, compasce us about with a trench, having so much day as they had. These eneigners, whom ye have thus deluded & beguiled, whiles they were awake, and had their eyes-right, ye are to deceive when they are fast asleep, say, ye must doe to indeed, there is no other remedy. For at that paffe we are now, that I am rather to shew you, in what terms of extremity ye stand, then to advise you to the execution of any good counsell. It is no considaring at this time whether ye shold here lay, or depart hence; that besides your weapons, and hearts setting up rest upon their weapons, fortune hath left you nothing at all. And die we must without doubt for hunger and thirst, when we dred the words point more then befitted hardy men, and valous Romans. One way there is therefore, and but one way of safety, even to make a brave self through and away. This muft we do, either by day or by night. And that doubt is soon cleared. It if we look for the morning day, what hope have we, but that the enemy will call a ditch and bank even round about us: who already as ye see lying under this little rising, have compassed it with their very bodies. Now, if it be to that the night might be a convenient and favourable time for irruptions and fallies, as in truth it is: then, this hour of the night certainly, is of all other the fittest. And at the second watches found ye are come hither, at which time all men are in their most sound and dead sleep. And their bodies being asleep, shall ye go. Either by fire hence deceive them unawares, or if they perceive you, slay them with a sudden ouercome, Do but follow me, as ye have done already, I will follow the same course that guided me hither. Now as many of you that think this good counsell, and a course like to speed well, make no more ado but pass on my right hand. So they all passed, and followed after Decimus as he went through the quarters void of watchmen and warders. Now were they escaped the midis of the camp, when a louldier, as he clambered over the watchmen bodies, lying heavy asleep, chance to tumble at a shield, which gave a found again. Wheret the watchman being awakened, railed his next fellow,
The seventh Book of T. Livius.

A low, and they being start up, call up other, not knowing whether they were enemies or fellows, whether the garrison of Decius on the hill was broken forth, or the Consul had surprised the camp. Decius then, seeing his garrisons could not escape clear and undisturbed, commanded them to let up a shout. And thereafter he joined with them a new fright, who were already drowned in drown-fines; so as they could neither take weapons readily, nor make head against them, nor yet pursue after them. While the Samnites were thus amazed and in confusion, the Roman garrisons had by this time slain the warders whom they met, & were marching towards the Consul his camp, as yet was somewhat of the night to come: but now they seemed to be safe, and put all danger. Then (quoth Decius) forward in this courage of yours, O hardy Romans; this your patience and return to and fro, all ages shall extol and praise. But for the full light and view of so great a worth, we had need of broad day light: for ye defend better, than that the full night should hide you in to glorious a return of yours into the camp. Let us here rest, and wait for day. His words were obeyed; and so soon as the day brake, he despatched a meffenger afore unto the Consul: and to with exceeding joy they made speed to the camp. And when it was known in the camp by the privy watchmen, that they who had put their lives in most dangerous hazard for the safety of them all, were themselves returned safe: then every one came forth to meet them as fast as they could, with praises and commendations, calling them all & some, their favours; praising the immortal gods, and giving thanks, ye, and extolling Decius to the skies. This was the triumph of Decius in the camp, as he marched through the midst thereof with his armed garrisons, whiles every man called his eis upon him, and made him a Coronell, equal to the Consul in all kind of honour. When he was come to the Praetorium, the Consul by found of trumpet, called all the army to an audience, and as he entered into a discourse of the deserved praises of Decius, Decius himself interrupted him, and cutteth off his speech. Whereupon the Consul put off the Oration. Decius then perfwadeth the Consul, to let slide all other things, and whiles the occasion and opportunity was offered, he urged him effectually, to give an alarm to the enemies, both while they were amazed with this care by night, and also lay flattering about the hill, as it were in their several fencens. Besides, he thought verily that some were sent out after him to make fresh fault, and wandered alway in the forrest. So the Legions were commanded to arm, and being departed out of the camp, and by means of the epilals better acquainted with the forrest, they were conducted by a wider and more open way toward the enemy, whom suddenly they surprised & charged, unaware and unprovided as he was. And for as much as the Samnites garrisons were striking abroad, and most unarm'd, and could neither rally themselves and take arms, nor retire into their trench, they drave them at first with fear into their camp: after, whiles the guards about it were disordered and troubled, they were matters thereof also. The noise was heard all about the hill, and caueth every man to flee out of his hold. So a great part of them took their heels before the enemy could come. But so many as for fear were driven within the trench (& those were some 3000) were all slain: and the camp rifled & spoiled. The Consul having achieved this exploit, called an assembly: and not only finilhed the praises of Decius, as he before began, but also amplified them with fresh commendation of this new service. And besides other military gifts, he rewarded him with a crown of gold, a hundred oxen, and one specilall white one, fat and fair above the rest with guiled horns. The fouldiers who together with him held the hill forsook, had given unto them for ever after, a double portion of corn, and for the present one ox, a piece, and two single liveries. After the Consul his reward was bestowed, the Legionary forthwith put up Decius his head a wreath of green graffe, in token of a delivery from siege, and with notable louses and loud cries approved this gift. Another chaplet or garland, also, in token of like honour, did his own band and company set upon him. And thus being adorned with these ornaments of honour, he sacrificed that chosen white oxen unto Mars; and belowed his hundred oxen among those his fouldiers, who had accompanied him in that exploit and service. To the same fouldiers the legions gave a pound measure of wheate meal, and a x textar of wine, a piece. All these particulars were performed and done with great cheerfulnes, and seconded with shouting and acclamation of

P. Drincis for laemly praised and rewarded:

The fouldiers also recompened,

Augarland called Obfublatas

* Securitas much about our wine measure called a quart.
viuels, and was both by their lying before Suessa, and also by their long stay there without fight brought to scarcity well-near of all things: it was thought good, that whiles the enemies kept within the wall as affrighted, the soldiers should be sent about the country to foraging. In which mean time they supposed that the Romans likewise would have spent all, who were thither come lightly appointed, and found no more corn with them than they could carry on their shou- ders, besides their armour. The Consuls having eloped the enemies straggling over the country, and their guards tenderly manned, after a brief exhortation to his soldiers, led them forth to give an assault upon their camp. Which when they had won at the first shout and onlet, and killed more of the enemies within their tents, then either upon the gates or upon the rampir; he caused the signes that he had taken, to be brought together into one place : and leaving there two legions, I for a guard and defence, with a strait charge, that until he came again, they should forbear to fight and make spoil, he went forward in order of battell. And when the hordesmen which he made out afore, had like hunters driven the scattered Samnites, as it were, within net and toil, he fell upon them and committed an exceeding great slaughter. For frighted as they were, they knew neither at what signal they should rally themselves together, nor whether they should make speed to the camp, or the farther away. But to great was their fright and flight both, that there were brought to the Consul, 40000 shields, more indeed then there were men slain : besides 170 en- signs, together with those that were won in the camp. Then returning he unto the enemies tents, and bellowed the whole pillage there, upon the soldiers. And such was the happy success of this war, that it both caused the Falisci being in truce, to come unto the Senate, for a league: and also turned the Latins, who had prepared their forces already from warring with the Romans, to wage war upon the Pellenii. Neither relented the same of this so fortunate a victory within the marches of Italy: for even the Carthaginians also, sent their Embassadors to Rome, with gratulation, and a present of a golden crown weighing twenty five pounds, to be set up in Jupiter Temple within the Capitol. Both Consuls triumphed over the Samnites, and Decius followed after, all goodly to be seen, with his gifts and worthy praiies: whiles the soldiers, as their manner was, with merry jeds and rude ditties, magnified and renowned the name of the Colonell noles than the Consuls.

After this the Embassadors of the Campains and the Suessians had a day of audience: and upon their humble request it was granted, that thither should be sent a standing garrison to winter there, for to stop the excursions and invasions of the Samnites. But Capua, even then no good place for military discipline, wrought an alteration in the soldiers there: who having once got a taste, and taken a delight in a world of pleasures of all sorts, quite forgot their own natural country. For of the garrison, began to lay plots and devise how to get Capua from the Campains: even by the same wicked practice, by which themselves had won it first from the ancient polefensian inhabitants, saying, "It made no matter and they were but rightly served, in case their own precedent example, should return upon their own heads. Again, why should the Campains, not able to defend themselves, nor maintain their liberties and goods, be left to the most plentiful country of Italy, and of a City answerable and correspondent thereunto, rather than the victorious army, which with their sweat and blood had repelled and expelled the Samnites from them? And was it any reason, that they who had yielded to be vassals unto them, should enjoy that fruitfull and pleasant tryst, while they themselves wearied with fighting, starved till and wearied in a perilous air, and dry barren soil, about the City of Rome, and within that City, indured the fetter, and invertebrate and infernal milch and plague of slavery, that surcharged them daily more and more? Whiles those projected conspiracies were contrived in secret conventicles, and as yet not broached and divulged to all mens knowledge, the new Consul, C. Marcius Rutulius came in place: whose lot it was to be L. Deputy of the province Campania, leaving his fellow Q. Servilius in the City, who having intelligence by the Captains and Colonels, of all the particularities of those desig- nes: being a wise man, both for his old age and long experience (as who was now Consul the fourth time, and withal had been Censor and Dictator) thought it bell to difmisse the matter, and to make void and frustrate the present heat and outrage of the soldiers, by deferring and prolong- ing their hope, as if they might put in execution their plots at their best leisure, whenever they pleased. He raifeth therefore a rumour, that the garrisons should in the same towns winter a- gainst the year following: [*For divided they were into sundry Cities of Campania: & the web began at Capua, was spread from thence through all the forces.] By means of this good reip to think themselves and advise of these matters, the mutiny for the present was well quieted. The Con- salts then led forth the soldiers into the summer places of wood and reposes, and purpoze while he had the Samnites in quietness to cleanse the army by the casting & discharging those, buff bodies and troublesome spirits: pretending colourably, and saying, that some of them had served already so long as the law required others were well now kept in years, or waxen feeble and their strength decayed. Some had their passports limited, and were sent home: the first one by one jingled out, afterwards certain whole cohorts or bands, as having wintered far from their dwelling places, from their goods and substancen. Under a pretence and colour all of military services and improvisions, whose one by one were dispatched one way, some another, a great part of them were rid clean away. All this multitude, the other Consul and the Pretor kept till at Rome; deviating this cause, and that, of delays and aising behind. And verily at thrust, they being not aware of this delusion, were not unwilling to visit home. But after that they perceived, that
neither they who were disimposed first returned again unto their colours, nor any in a manner dis-charged else, but such as had lien in winter garrison at Capua: and those especially, who of them were the authors of the conspiracy; first they marvelled, and afterwards feared in very deed, that their complots were revealed and come to light: and that now presently, they should be put to examinations and tortures, abide straignment and judgement, be executed secretly upon one by one, and suffer the insolent loundneffe, and cruel tyranny of Coniulds and Senators over them. Those and such like speeches low they and whisper secretly, that were in the camp, when they saw the principal authors of the mutiny, who were the ffeaws and strengh of the, by the cilly policie of the Conful to be demembered from them. One cohort of them, being not fafe from Axurr: first them down at Lutulc, in a narrow place or wood between the fes and the mountains, to intercept and play, whomoever the Confulent about this or that pretended mutinefe and abovefeid. Soon were there gathered together a strong power: and nothing wanted to make shew of a full army, but only a head and Captain, and disordered as they were, they were robbing and spoiling, as far as the Alban country, and under the fhill of Lavin: Alla they encamp themselves within a trench and rampjier. Which work being finished, they sped the rett of the day in consultation about chusing a Commander, little trusting any one there present in place. And who possibly (if they) could be fent for as fafe as Rome? What Senator or Commercer was there, that either wittingly would venture upon to great and dangerous an entreprize to whom the cause of an army, enraged upon an injury received, might feafe be committet? The next morrow, whiles they reasoned still about this point, and fealfly debated the matter, some of the wandering and vagrant forragers of the Country therselfe, bring certain intelligence, that Titus Quinctius implied himself in husbandry, and held a farme in Tusculum, meaning neither the City, nor dignities of flare and Common weal. This man was come of noble linage, and having served with great credit and honour in the wars by a wound received, was lame of a leg, and gave himself, determining to lead the rest of his life in the country, fettled afar from all courting and ambitious figne of civil office. They had not to foum heard his name, but prefently they took knowledge of the man, and (that which might turn to their good) agreed with one accord, he should be fent. Small hope there was that he would willingly do any thing: they thought therefore to use force and to bring him to by fear. So, in the deadef time of the night, they that were went theroeto, entered the farm house, and finding Quinctius found, and a full asleep, they awaked him; propounded unto him either rule and honour, or else present death: and no mean between, in cafe he made itay and refused to go with them: and so they held and brought him to their camp. Incontinent he was faled L. Generall at his first coming. And when the man was affhifted in troubled and wonderful occurrent, they cause him with the ornaments and emblems to that honor belonging, and will him to lead them as their commander to the City of Rome. Thus having plucked up the standards, in this heady fit of their own, rather then upon any advice or counfell of their captain, they march in warlike manner with a army toward Rome, within eight miles of the City, upon the eufcly or street way now called Appien Fas: and had approached immediately in that train to the very City, but that they heard there was a power coming against them, and a Dictator created to withhold them, and to wit M. Valerius Corinmius, togethcr with L. Emnius Mancrus General of horfmen. So soon as they were come in interview one of another, and took knowledge of the armor and emblems: the remembrance of their native country wrought with them straight way a mitigation of their mood. They were not yet so far gone, nor so hardy, as to fhead cill blood meother had they knowledge of any other wars but forren: and the uttermost rage and maddett fit that ever they proceeded unto, was counted their Seceffion and departure away from their own countreymen. And therefore both captains and foelfiers on either fide fought means to meet together, and draw to imparre. Quinctius for his part, who being had already his hands full of war: in defence of his country, could work: broock taking arms against the fame: Corinmius like wife for himself, as one that with loving affection embraced all his fellow-citizens, but the foelfiers especially and above all others thel of his own army that fought under his banner, came forth to a peace. And forthwith as soon as he was once known, he had no less value renounce done of unto him of the advartice part, than silence and audience given of his own men. The immortal gods (quoth he) O foelfiers as well thefe which are common to you all, as mine own particular patrons, when I took my leave of the City, I adored and worshipped in this wife, craving humbly upon my knees at their hands, to vouchsafe me the honour, not of a victory over you, but of procuring concord and unity among you. Exclamations there have been, and will be enceffe elwe where, to win glory and warlike renown: From hence, peace onely is to be taught. And evenths which among my voles that I made to be devoted to the immortal gods, it lieth in you to make me enjoy. Doe, but call to minde that neither in Samnium, nor among the Volocium yee are encamped, but upon Roman ground: that thole this which yee behold, are the fins of your native foelfie: this army which yee fee, are of your own Countreymen and fellow Citizens: and my leffe your Countil, under whose conduct and Auipice, yee have the year to passe defeated the Samnite legions, twice by mere force woon their campe, and driven them out of the field. I am, first, that M. Valerius Corinmius, who

The Oration of Valerius Corinmius to the Rebels
above the ye have had triall of, not by any wrongs done, but by good turnes on your part received. Author Have I been of no proud law, nor cruel Act of Senate against you: a man in all my government and rule that I bare, more rigorous to my felfe than severe to you. And if ever there were one, who might be proud either of Noble race and gentry, or of his own vertue and valour, of majesty and high calling or honourable dignities; of such progenitors am I descended, such profe of prowess have I given: at that age attained I to Consular honour, and being three and twenty years old, I was able to have been feared and dared, not of Commons only, but alio of the Senators. But what deed or word hath passed from me in your knowledge, more grievous and odious when I was once Consul, then all the time I was but a Colonel? the fame course held. I still during my two Consulships ensuing: and such shall my carriage be, and none other, I whiles I am Dictator: that I will be no more mild and gracious to thee here about me that are mine and my countries fouldiers, then to your selves affronting; who are, I tremble to speake it forth, mine enemies. Ye shall therefore draw sword upon me, before I draw upon you. The trumpets from thence shall begin sound, the flourishing from thence shall trie, the charge from thence shall be given stuff, if we must needs go to it and fortune. Yee, find in your hearts (if you can) that doth which neither your fathers nor grandfathers before you ever could: no, nor they who went away and departed unto the mount Sacer, nor those who afterwards held and kept the Aventine. Expect, until your mothers and wives, with their hair hanging about their ears, come forth of the City to meet with you one by one, as sometimes they did to Corioliannus. Then, the Volscian legion were quartered and pacified, because they had one Roman for their leader: will not ye then, being a whole army, all of the Romans, surcease this unhind and impious warre? And then T. Quintius, howsoever thou art come there to stand, whether with or against thy will: in cale there be no remedy, but fight worthily, retire thy felle amongst the hindermost: ny, with more honesty the thou shalt, and shew thy naturlly counten the fair parre of heale, then fight against thy country. But stand full hardly with both nour and credit among the formalty to make attemotions: thou shalt, be a true maker in this our carly and conference, to all our goods. Ask and have, any reasonable and indifferent conditions: although in truth we were better to yeld unto hard and unequal capitulations, than wickedly and ungody, one to fight with another. T. Quintius with tears gulling out at his eyes, turning to his owne companies: And even me also (quoth he) of fouldiers (if need there be at all of me) ye have a much better captain for peace than warre. As for him who even now uttered those wordes in your hearing, was neither Volscian nor Samnit, but a Romane, even your owne Consul sometyme, fouldiers, and your own General heretofore: whole Aupictecraft, you having tried for you, and in your defence: doe not prove now against your selves to your perdition. Others had the Senate to lend as captains, who would have fought more maliciously with you: but they have made choice of him who above all others, could beseare with you, yes, and bor hear you that have been his fouldiers: whom you of all others especially might trust, as having been your General. Peace, yee see, even they desire that are to get the victorie. And what is it then we ought and should do? Why then for we not angre and hope affide, two fafe motives, two deceitfull guides and counsellers; and betake our selves and all wee have to a man of approved truth and fidelity? These wordes being liked well of all (as appeared by a General shout) T. Quintius went forth before the enigne in the forfront, and pronounced that the fouldiers should be at the Dictator his devotion and pleasure: bethecheing him to consider and undertake the cause of poor and wretched citizens: and having taken it into his hands, to maintaine and protect the same, according to that faithfulness whereof with he used to governe the Commonwale. As for himselfe privately, he would not intend ought for his owne security: neither repose the hope in any thinge the but innocence. The fouldiers indeed were to be capitate, as once heretofore the Commons, and a second time the legions had done with the Senators: namely, that this their revolt and petty rebellion might not be laid unto their charge, and their hurts and utter undoing. Then the Dictator, after hee had first commended Quinittis, and willed thefe to be content and of good cheer, rode poht to the City, and by the advise of the Senators, preferred a bill unto the people in the grove Petulentia: That the mutiny and insurreccion should turn no mans fear and danger. He belought the Quiritis alio of this much favour besides, That neither in yft nor carnall, this should be laid in no mans dijt. The same time there was prepared besides, a faced military law under pain of death, That no fouldiers name once entered into the musetersfer his books, should be rased out against his will: With this branch annexed over and besides, That no man who had been aforetime a colouell or Tribune, should after have the leading of bands, and be a Corporall. This was followed hard and urged by those of the conspiracy, in regard of one P. Salaminus, who in maner each other year had been either a Colonel, or a chief Centurion, whom now they call Frampili. Him the fouldiers spighted much, and were maliciously set against, because he had always opposed
The Eighth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Eighth Book.

The Latines, together with the Capitans resolved: and the Latines having sent their Embassadors to the Senat of Rome offered and presented peace upon this condition only, that they would create one of their Capitans out of them. This Embassage thus declared, Annius their President, who had audience in the Capitol in going down from thence, took such a fall, that he died in the place. T. Manlius caused his owne son to loose his head, because contrary to his express commandement, he had fought against the Latines, notwithstanding his good success in that combat. At what time as the Romans were greatly distressed, and like to lose the field, P. Decius then Consul, with Manlius devoted and offered himselfe to present death for to save the Army: and setting spurs to his horse, rode into the midst of the enemies battall, where he was slain and by his death recovered victory to the Romans. The Latines yielded and received themselves. When T. Manlius returned into the City, there was not one of all the youth came forth to meet him, and do him honour. Minuitia a professed friend of Virginius, was condemned for her incest, or incontinent life. The Auantius being Judith, a Colony was planted in Cales, and another like wise in Frigilia. Many Roman dames were detected of practising poisons: and most of them were forced to drink of their own emposyed cups first, whereof they died presently. Wherupon was the first Law then ordained against poisons, The Priurnates, when they rebelled were overthrown and after wards disband with the Roys office of the City of Rome, The Palatins were defeated in battall first, and after he was surrendred upon Composition, Quintius Publilius who block'd them within their wall, was in the first month that had his Comission revoked, and continued fell in government, when the ordinary time was expired: and by means of the Consuls had a triumph granted unto him. The common people were delivered from the danger of their creditors, by a cession of the fifth part of one of them, Lu. Papirius, who would have forced, and against were accused C. Publilius, a debtor of his. When L. Papirius the Dictator was returned from his Army into the City, for to take the Ausciyes away, by reason of some error supposed in the former conduct of C. Fabius, the General of the horsemen. In his absence the opportunity and advantage of performing a worthy exploit came to his notice, and put the Samnites to the war, for which cause when the Dictator seem'd to punish him accordingly, Fabius made an escape and fled to Rome. And when his cause would not bear him out, he had his pardon at the earnest request of the people. This book containeth also the fortunate exploits against the Samnites.
Now was C. Plautius Consul the second time, with L. Emilius Paulus, when the Sicines and Norbans brought tidings to Rome of the Privenants revolt, with complaints of harms inflamed at their hands. News came likewise that an Army of Volsciens, under the conduct of the Antists, were encamped at Satricum. Both thes were fell by lot to Plautius. Who taking his journey first to Privernum, forthwith bad them battle: and with no great concern gave his enemies the overthrow. The Town was won and retafted again to the Privenants, with a strong garrison therein placed, but two parts of their Lands were taken from them. The Army thus having obtained victory, was conducted thence to Satricum against the Antists. Where was a cruel battle fought with much bloudshed on both sides: and when as the tempestuous and stormy weather parted them asunder, before that either side enclin'd to victory, the Romains ⟨no whit weaken'd with that conflict so doubtful⟩ addressed themselves to fight against the morrow. But the Volsciens having taken a view and account what men they had lost in fight, were not of like mind to adventure the hazard again: and therefore as vanquisht men they dislodged by night in disorder, and fearfull took their way to Antium, leaving behind them their wounded, and part of their baggage. Great store of armour was there found, both upon and among the slain bodies of the enemies, and also within the Camp: Which the Consul promised to dedicate to <span class="caps">C</span>. L. For the <span class="caps">C</span>onsul, that had put to death their/common friends, and <span class="caps">C</span>onsul, that had put to death their/common friends, and was bold to enter into the Sicilian land, neither were the Samnites encamp'd, nor theirLegions oppos'd any where. Whiles therefore with fire and fword he waited their Countrie, the Samnites Embassadors came unto him, craving peace: but being by him ])ept off to the Senate, after they had audience given, they let fall their flout Romans, and reques'ted peace for their selves with the Romans, and liberty to make war against the Sicines: which petition they enforced with more reason and equity. "First, in that they had entred into amity with the people of Rome, during their prosperity, and not as the Campains in their adversity: again, they were to take arms against the Sicines, enemies always to themselves, and never friends to the people of Rome: who also, neither in peace (as the Samnites) used for friendship and alliance; nor in time of war (as the Campains) fought for aid and succours: and finally, were neither under the protection of the people of Rome, nor yet their vassals and sujects. When as T. Ennius the Prætor had confuld with the Senate, about these points demanded by the Samnites, and that the <span class="caps">L</span>. thought good that the league with them should be renewed: the Prætor in the name of the Refp. made answer to the Samnites, "That neither the fault was in the people of Rome that the confederacy between them was not perpetual: neither gain'd their trust, but onely as much as they were weary themselves first, and re pented of the war commenced through their own defect. The league might yet be newly made again. Touching the Sicines, they would be no hinderance, but that the Samnites, people, might use their liberty, and do what they thought best, either for war or peace. The <span class="caps">M</span>. League being thus concluded and confirmed, and they returned home, presently the Roman Army was brought from thence upon receit of a years pay, and corn for three months, according to the capitulation covenanted with the Consul, in consideration of a truce granted, untill their Embassadors were returned.

The Samnites, with the same forces which they had employ'd to withstand the Roman war, went forth against the Sicines with undoubt'd hope, specially to win the City of their enemies, Then, had the Sicines before made an offer to yield themselves unto the Romans, but seeing the Nobles to reject them as coming too late, and wretl'd as it were perfecute from them in their last extremity, they tendred the same to the Latins, who were already of their own accord rifen up and had taken arms. The Campains likewise (so ready and forward as they were to bear in mind an injury of the Samnites, rather than a good turn of the Romans) forbare not to joy in this quarrel. Thus was there rais'd a mighty power of so many Nations band'd together, under the conduct of the Latins and invaded the borders of the Samnites, where more hurt was receiv'd by robes than skirmishes. And albeit the Latins in fight had the better hand, yet were they well content for avoiding many conflicts, to depart out of the enemies country. Which gave the Samnites leisure to send Embassadors to Rome, who before the Senar complaining, that they endured the same menace still, being now associats, which they had abidden before when they were enemies: begotht most humbly, "that the Romans would be satisfied with that victory of the Campains and Sicines, their enemies, which they had got out of the Samnites hands, and not suffer them to be deduced under foot by those Nations, the most dangerous, and cowards of all others: requesting moreover, if so be the Latins and Campains were under the dominion of the people of Rome, that they would command them by virtue of their authority to forbear the Samnites country: and if they refused to obey them, to chastifie and keep them in by force of war. To these demands they fram'd a doubtful answer, as being loath and abashed of the one side to consels, that the Latins were not at their devotion, and fearing again on the other side by reproving and provoking them to turn away their hearts, and lolesthem for ever. And this was the answer. As touching the Campains, their case was otherwise, who were not by covenants and conditions
In that year, it is recorded for certain, that Alexander, King of Epirus, arrived in Italy with a Navy; who, no doubt if he had sped well at his first entrance, would have proceeded farther and warred upon the Romans. In this age flourished Alexander the Great in glorious conquests, who being this man his father, and a warrior invincible, while he achieved feats of arms in another part of the world, hapned to die in his belteime and prime of his youth. But to proceed forward, the Romans although there was no doubt but that his associats, and namely, the Latines were revolted; yet, as though they were carefully buried about the Samnites only, and nothing intended them; they sent for to Rome ten of their chief Peers, pretending to give them in charge what their pleasure was to have done. At that time the Latines had two Prxtors or Provoits, L. Annius of Setia, and L. Numitius of Circeia, both Roman Colonies. By whose means, besides Signia and Velitrae, being also Colonies of Rome, the Volisians were liccitated likewise to take arms.

And thought good it was, that those Latine Prxtors by name, should be citted with the rest. No man was ignorant for what intent they were sent for, The Prxtors therefore, called a Council before they went, and there declared how they were convented by the Senat of Rome, demanding their advice what answer to make as touching those matters, wherewith, as they supposed, they should be charged. Whence some were of this opinion, some of that; then Annius spoke and said:—

"Although I myself have moved you to return upon an answer, yet I think it concerneth us more in our main extate, to determine what to do, than what to say. And when we are grown to a resolution once of our affairs, and what course to take, an easie matter will it be to frame words fit for the purpose. For if even now already under a shadow and pretence of an indifferent league, we can abide and find in our hearts to endure bondage, what handeth in the way, but that having abandoned and betrayed the Sidicines, we be obedient not only to the Romans commandment, but also to the Samnites? and answer the Romans in these plainters. That at their beck only, and if they do but nod their head, we will presently lay down all arms? But if at length, the define and longing after liberty do touch our hearts, and give an edge unto our spirits: if there be a league between us; and if confederacy ought to be nothing else but a society and equal fruition of liberty and privileges: if, I fly, we may now glory and vaunt, whereof sometimes we were ashamed that we are of kin to the Romans, and their friends: if they have an army of associates, by the addition whereof they redouble their forces and which the Consuls in leaving or levying their proper wars, will not part and sever from their own: why is there not equality in all things else? Why is not one of the Consuls a Latine? Look where is part of power and forces there also is part of rule and command. And certainly even this in it self is not a matter of soe great honor unto us as who have granted and confided Rome to be the head of Latium: yet by long patience and continual submission only, we have brought to pass that it might seem honourable. But if ever ye wilfully to see the day wherein ye might, participate in government and retain cover your liberties again, to that time is now come presented unto you by your own valour, and the gracious goodness of the immortal gods. Tried their patience ye have in denying souliers; who doubted not but that they were in a great choler and angry at the heart, when we brake our custom of two hundred years pecription and above; yet nevertheless this grace have they put up and given us not one foul word. We warned upon the Pelignians in our own name and quarrel they, who aforesoetime allowed not us the liberty so much as to defend our own marches of our selves, nothing gained and crofted it. That the Sidicines were taken to our mercy and protection that the Campains revolted from them and sided with us, that welevied an army against the Samnites their confederats, they heard and knew well no hand yet they flirred not once forth of their City. How come they to be so calm and quiet, but upon a privity and knowledge both of our puissance and of their own weaknes? I am able too avow by the report of a certain hundred years of good credit, that when the Samnites complained themselves of us, they had such an
"Iwer again of the Senat of Rome, that it plainly appeared that they themselves pretended not to be
require that Latium should be under the Roman Empire. Do ye but take upon you, and lay
claim unto that which they fictly yield unto you yourselves, and reposisit it at your pleasure.
Now if any man be afraid to be the speake, Lo, here am I, who profes to be the man, and to
say thus much not only in the audience of the people and Senat of Rome, but also of Jupiter him-
self, who is resident in the Capitol, namely, That if they will have us to be of the League and con-
federacy, they shall admit from amongst us one of the Consuls, ya and a part of the Senat, As he
with great spirit and boldnes, not only advised this, but promised also thus to do; all that were
present with a general applause and silent permitted him to do and say whatsoever he thought
expedient for the common good of the Latine nation, according to that truft which they rec-
pole in him. So soon as he was come to Rome, (with other Embassadors) he was admitted into the
Senat, and audience given him in the Capitol. Where when T. Manlius the Consul by the author-
ity and direction of the Senators, had dealt with him and the rest, not to make war upon the
Samnites their confederats; Annim. raging like a conqueror, as if he had won by force and arms
the Capitol; and not as an Embassador, who was to deliver his mind and meafage safely, by the
protection of the Law of Nations, began in this for: " The time required (quoth he) now at
length. O T. Manlius and ye Senators of Rome, not to treat and deal with us in any affairs by
way of authority and commandment, namely when you law Latiums by the favour of the gods
"to flourish exceeding both in men and munition, as having subdued the Samnits, confederate-
with the Sicilians and Campania, and now also combined with the Volkians; and besides, even
your own Colonies, and townsip too, have made choice to submit themselves to the Latines
rather than the Romans. But remember you cannot find in your hearts of your selves, nor see
how to make an end of your proud and outguarding Lordship and tyranny; We, albeit we be a-
cable to restore Latium unto her ancient freedom by force of arms, yet for kindred like will be con-
ient to offer indifferent articles and equal conditions of peace, forasmuch as it hath pleased
the immortal gods that we are equal unto you in power and force. Imprima, there is no re-
medy now, but your two Consuls must be one a Roman, and the other a Latine: T. Manlius, that the
number of Senators be elected as well out of the onecation as the other, Tenu, that we become
the better and more noble: and let us be called all by the name of Romans. By good hap it
so fell out that the Romans also had for their Consul T. Manlius to match him, one as stout and
not as the other: who could not contain his anger no longer but openly said, " That if the Sena-
tors were for ever overcircle and besides themselves, as to take conditions of a Setine, he would
come with his sword by his side into the Senate house, and what Latine foever he saw there in
Council, he would not blufh but flay him with his own hand in the place. And therewith turning
to the Image of Jupiter: Hearken (quoth he) O good god Jupiter. Hear this wickednes and in-
dignity, hear O Justice and piety to Godward. Wilt thou abide to see, O Jupiter, in this thy hol-
dy; and facred temple, will thou endure, as taken captive and troden under foot to see Consuls of M
aliens, and a Senat of forreinners? Are thebe the covenants, O ye Latines, which Tullus King of Rome
made with the Albans your forefathers? or which L. Tarentinus after him, confided with you?
Remember ye not the bared at the lake Recillus? Have ye fo forgotten indeed, both your
own calamities and overthrowes of old, and also the good turns and benefits received at our
hands? When this speech of the Consul was seconded with the indignation also of the Senators,
it is recorded that when they called upon the gods, witnesses of those covenants, and reitterated
their names oftentimes. Annim in mockery of those protestations, was over-heade to despire and
scorn the power and godhead of the Roman Jupiter. But this is certain, that as he in heat of anger
shaffed hattily to the entry or porch of the temple, and went apace, he fell down the stairs, and so
hurt his head that daifed against the bottom flate, that he twooned withall, and lay for dead. But N
because all writers agree not, that he yielded up his last breath thereupon, alfo will leave it doubt-
ful, as I find it; as also this, that in the very charging of him with break of covenants, there pour-
ded over a tempestuous storm, with many mighty thunders clapps, Fox, as thebe and such like things
may be very true, fo they may be pretely devised and invented on Ier purpose to repreff & shew
the wrath and vengeance of God, Tarentinus being sent by the Senat to give the Embassadors their
disparl, seeing Annim there to lie along, cried out aloud in the hearing both of the Senat and the
people, and said, " No force, it is well, and as it should be; thus begin and beles, O ye immortal
Gods, our just and rightfull war. Surely there is a God above, there is a power divine and deity
in heaven, ther are not feigneded and imaginary god O mighty Jupiter & not in vain have we hal-
lowed thee in this place, as the fearther both of gods and men. Why stay yet, O Roman Qui-
orities ye likewise my LL of the Senat, to take arms in the name of the gods, having them already
as you see to your Leaders? I for my part shall Jason overthrow and lay the Legions of the
Latines alone on the earth as ye now see their Embassadors, lying here at the stairs foot. The
words of the Consul, received with so great applause of the people, animated and enthralled them
in such fort, that had not the careful diligence of the Magistrates been more (who by command-
ment of the Consul accompanied the Embassadors as they went) than the ordinary fate conduct
of the Law of Nations, they had not escaped the rage and fury of the multitude,
The Senators also gave their attention to this war, and the Consuls having levied two armies, and
palled through the country of the Martians and Petilians, and joined unto them the Samnites
power, encamped themselves before Capua, whither the Latines with their allies, were already
come together. There, as the report goeth, the Consuls both of them in their sleep had a visi-
on; and there appeared unto them one and the same shape of a man: Personage much greater
and more lofty than the ordinary port of men, who should deliver their words unto them. That
of the two armies, embellishing and adorning one another, the one was appointed as a due tri-
bute to the internal spirits, and to Mother Earth: and of the other the chief General only. And
look of whether army the said sovereign General should devote and offer unto those infernal
spirits, and to mother Earth, the Legions of the enemies, and his own person withall, that part
and that Nation shall have the victory. When the Consuls had imparted one to the other these
night visions, it was thought good and agreed (for to divert and appease Gods anger) that cer-
tain sacrifices should be plain, and also if the same wove in their inwards, as appeared in their
sleep, then one or other of the Consuls should fulfill the destinies, and accomplish final appoint-
ment. When as the answers of the Soothsiers agreed also to that secret religion which was now
entred, and settled already in their minds, then the Consuls calling together the Lieutenants
and Colonels to a Council, and openly declaring before them all the pleasure of the gods, (to the end,
that the willful and voluntary death of one of the Consuls might not fright his army in the field)
they agree between themselves, that of whether ride the Roman battalions began first to give back
and retreat the Consul of that Army, should devote and betake himself to die for the people of
Rome and the Quirites. It was debated also in that assembly, that if ever at any time before there
had been war managed by severe rule and government, the military discipline should now be re-
vived and reduced to the old manner and ancient rigour: their care in that behalf was the greater
and more redoubled, for that they were to fight against the Latines, fighting altogether to them in
language, fashions, armours and especially above all, in the orders and laws of warfare. For many a
time, in these two armies, Norfolk with Norfolk, Centurion with Centurion Colonel with Colon-
el, had forced and converted together, as colleagues and companions in the same garrisons: yet
under the same colours and ensigns. By reason whereof, to the end, that by no mean the foes
should be overtaken or deceived, the Consuls made proclamation through the Camp, That no
man should fight with his enemy out of his own rank, and place appointed unto him. It formed
now, that among other Captains and Cornets of horsemen, which were sent out every way
as scouts and spies to discover the coasts, T. Musius the Consul his son together with the left
of his Cornet and Troop, was placed above the enemies Camp, to near, as he was within an ar-
row shot of their next Corps de guard, In which was quartered the cavalry of Tusculenus, under
the leading of Germius Metius, a Knight both for birth, and also for his noble feats of arms highly
esteemed in his country. He copied the Roman horse, and knowing the Colli, on, advancing be-
fore them, and of especial mark above the rest (for all Noblemen and of quality were well enough
known one to another.) What will ye Romans (quoth he) with one Colonier of horse fight with
the Latines and their confederates? What shall your Consuls, what shall two Consular armies do
the mean while? Marry (quoth Mius) they will be here time enough for you, and with them
Jupiter himself, a witness of league and cornets by you broken. Jupiter I say, who only can do
more than all men forces in the world. And we who at the pool Regillus, have given you fighting
your bellies full, will here also quit our selves so, that never after ye shall have any great joy and
pleasure to encounter and joyn battel with us again. With that, Germius, riding forth as he was
on horseback, alit from his company, Wilt thou then (quoth he) till that day come wherein ye
mean with so great a do do for forward your armies to a general set field, break a staff with
me in the mean time; that by the proof and event of us twain, it may henceforth appear: how
for the Latine men of arms, surpase the Roman? The young man his blend and courage was
soon up either upon anger and choler, or for very shame to refuse the combat, or because God
would have it, and it was his destiny that could not be avoided. Forgetting therefore his fa-
thers commandment, and the exple Edict of the Consuls, he returneth on head and rashly, to a
single fight: wherein it skilld not much, whether he had the better or the worse, for any great
odds thereby in the main trial of the quarrel. Thus when the right of the horsemen of both parts
were retired aside (as it were) to behold some spectacle or running at rati: in the void place of
the plain field that lay between, they ran their horses in full career one against the other, with
sharp and deadly spear in rest, Miusus with his lance alight did over and railed the Motion of his
enemy, and Metius with his spear lightly touched, and passed by the horse neck. Then having
turned about their horses, Miusus came upon him first with a second charge, and so redoubled
the push, that he thrust the others horse in between the ears. At the instant of which wound the
horse reared and mounted with his forefeet, and with great force shaking his head cast his rider.
And as he bare his spear and shield, to raise himself from his grievous fall, Miusus ran him through
at the throat, so that the spear-head came forth at his ribs and nailed him fast to the ground. And
having disarmed & dispoled him rode back to his own troop and both together with exceeding
joy hasted to the Camp, and to the Generals Pavilion, event to his father: I little knowing his fatall destiny, and what was to befall unto him, whether he had deferred praise, or incurred
danger of punishment, That all the world quoth he, (O father,) may be perfused and report truly
that I am defended indeed of your bloud, and your undoubtton (On here I am, who being
defed
defied and challenged to fight man to man, have killed mine enemy a man of arms: see here the
pains of him flain and dead. Which, so soon as the Cof, heard, precisely he could not abide to
look on his son, but turned away, and by sound of trumpet, commanded the host to a publike audi-
ence, Which being assembl'd in great number,^2 Forasmith (quoth he) as then, T. Manlius, with
out regard of Cof's authority, or dread of my fathers majesty and power over thee, against our E-
dict and exprest commandment, halft fought with the enemy, and that without thy rank and
place; and as much as lay in thee, hath broken the discipline of war, whereby to this day the State
of Rome hath freed maintained, and hath brought me thy father to this hard point, that I must
forget either the Common-wealth, or else mine own strength, and we will abide thither the pu-
imnent and smart for our own misdeeds, than the whole state to her good prejude and de-
li mage, thou'd pay for our folly and transgression. A fearful and dolorous example will we afford:
but good & profitable to all youth for ever hereafter. As for me verily both the inbred love and
affection of all fathers to their children, and also this swim and proof of thy valour and knight-
hood (although seduced with deceitful appearance and vain resemblance of honour) moveth
me not a little: but since that, either by thy death the Cof's commandment must be established, or by
impunity of thy disobedience for ever disannulled, I would not with thee to redeem (if there be any
of my blood in thee) but by thy punishment to restore and set up again the military discipline
which this day by thy default is lain down and ruined. Go speake, and bind him to a stake. At
this tis cruel a sentence, they were all amazed and in an estate, that were present: and as though
they had been the edge been against themselves, for fear more than for any modesty or reverence, they
were quiet. So when they were come again to themselves, as if their spirits had been recovered
after some deep impression of a wonder which had astonished them, they flound still with fiencebut
so soon as the poor wretch's head was chop't off, and his blood seen to gush and spurn out, then
began they all of a sudden to speak freely and complain with open mouth, so as they forbore nei-
ther lamentations nor curties: they covered the youth his body with his own victorious spoils,
they erected a funeral pile of wood over his corps with fire and rampiers, let on fire, and burnt him accordingly: and so as great love and affection did them all, performed their last duty unto him and solaced his obsequies. Thus the commandments of
Manlius were not only dreadful for the present, but gave an heavy and fearful precedent for the
future, to all sovereign Commanders of an Army. Howbeit, the rigour of this punishment made the
foildiers more dutiful to their Captains and Leaders: and besides that, the rounds and sentinels,
and the let corps de garde, were every where more carefully looked unto and observed: even in
the very hazard and extremity all of the battalion afterward, that earlier severity did much good.
For their fight was much like unto a civil war. So little, or nothing as all in a manner, differing the
Lattines from the Romans Common-wealth, but only in heart and courage.

Aforetime they used Roman long large shelves, covering their whole bodies; but in proeess
of time, after that they became Stipendaries and to take pay, they bare shorter targets. And whereas
aforetime they had their battalions thick and close together, like to the Macedonian Phalan-
eges, afterwards they began to range their battle into bands more loosely and distinctly, and
left of all, they were divided into thinner orders and squadrions: every such order or squadrion
contained three or four soildiers, two Centurions, and one Port enign. The forefront of the von-
dare were javeliners called Hospit, in fifteen squadrions, distant some little way one from an-
other; such a squadrion had twenty soildiers lightly armed, and all the rest a fort of Targeteers, and
those were called light-armed, who carried only a spear or javelin to fight with at hand, and other
darts to lance from them aloof. This forefront contained the flower of youths, that grew up as
apprentices to war-service. Then followed after them of stronger and riper age, as many bands or
squadrions, which were called Principes whom there followed hard at heels, thirty squadrions, all
targeteers or shield-bearers, with brave armours above all others. And this battalion of thirty
companies, they called Antepslma or avant-darters; for that the other fifteen orders or bands
were placed hard before the enignes. And of these, every band consisted of three parts: and each of them
they called Primopslma, and it was composed of three banners or pannels; and every such
banner contained 186 men. The first Pannel or banner conduct'd the Triarius, who were old
soildiers of approved valour: the second, those that were called Vararis, of less puissance both
for age and prowess; the third such as were named Accretis, who were of least account and fruit,
and therefore they were cast behind unto the tail of the battalion. When the Army was thus or-
dered in battel array into these bands & squadrions, the javelineers form'd of all began the fight:
if they were not able to discomfit the enemies, than they with steady footing and swift pace re-
ired back into the void places between the squadrions of the Principes, who received them: then
began the Principes, to enter into the battel to maintain fight, and were secured by the Hau-
flats or Javeliners. The Triarius remained standing all this time firmly about their enignes, setting
out their left legs afore them at length, with their Targes on their shoulders, and their pikes or
javelins sticking on the ground, with their heads somewhat bending forward, much like as their
battel were fortified with a Pallisado or rampier of pales and sharp stakes. Now if those Principes
had not good successe in fight, they retir'd themselves by little and little from the forefront to the
Triarius. And hereupon grew the proverb that when a thing was a dead lift and in difficulties they
would lay, We are come to the Triarius. Then the Triarius standing up right, so soon as they had re-
ceived the Principes and Hospit, into the void places between their files, presently drew in their
ranks.
A ranks and files close together, and shut up as it were all waies of passage and entrance, and with one main joint and close battalion (as it now there were no more hope behind) advanced toward the enemy. And this most of all feared and terrified the enemies, when thinking to chase those that they seemed to have vanquished; they saw a new battal of fresh men starting up, and the fame increased in number.

Now there were commonly four Legions enrolled, consisting of five thousand foot, and three hundred horse to every legion. As many more were added unto them, and those murthered out of the Latines, who at that time were enemies to the Romans, and had ordered their battalions after the same manner in all respects. And they knew well enough that not only enign with enign,

B all pikes and javelins with pikes and javelins, Princes with Princes, but one Centurion with another, if the arraies were not broken, were to encounter, Two Principes or chief Centurions, there amongst the Triarii in the one army and the other. The Roman, of body not so strong and well set, howbeit a good foildier otherwise, skillfull and of great experience: the Latine, exceeding mighty, and a notable fighter of all others. Well known they were one unto the other, because at all times they had the fame conduct and equal place of charge. The Roman not greatly trusting to his own strength, was permitted even at Rome by the Col. to shew unto him an under-Centurion whom he would: who might protect and defend him safe from an enemy that should hap to deal with him hand to hand. And it fortuned that the yong man by him elected, fought in the throng and got the victory of the Latine Centurion. As for the battel, it was fought not far from the foot of the hill Sævius, in the very way that leadeth to Pistoria. The Roman Coniples before they came into the field killed their beasts for sacrifice. And the bowe-paring Sophaier (as it is reported) theyed to Decius the head of the Liver on the inner side wounded (as it were) and cut off: otherwise in all respetcs, his sacrifice was acceptable to the gods. As for M. Claudius he had as good signs of Gods favour in his, and all as well as might be. That is well yet (quoth Decius) if my colleague speed well, and have good success by his sacrifice. Their battel being so ordered, as I laid before they marched into the field, M. Claudius led the right wing, Decius the left. At the first they fought on both sides with equal forces and like courage and heat of fork. But afterwards on the left wing, the Romans Hafnius, not able to sustaine the violent charge of the Latines, retired to the Prinicipes. In which trouble and fearful disorder, Decius the Col. called aloud to M. Valerius. "We have need of Gods help (quoth he) O Valerius, Where art thou, the publike high Priest of the people of Rome? Come and say acere that form of words, whereby I may devote, and betake my self for the Legions. The Priest commanded him to put on his long purple robe embroidered before, called Pretentia, to cover his head, and to put forth his hand under the said robe at his chin, and standing upon his javelin, with both his feet, to pronounce these words after him, as follow: O Jupites, Jupiter, Father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, Oye Latins and domesticall gods, the gods Novenatles and Indigetes; ye gods likewise whose power extendeth over us and our enemies, and M. Oanes the infernal gods, ye I invocas, ye I worship and adore, ye pardon I beseech and favourable excus, that ye would prosper all power and victory unto the people of Rome and Quirites; and put to fear, fright, and death the enemies of the people of Rome and Quirites. And as I pronounce these...

E words, so for the went publike of the Quirites, the Army, Legions and aids of the people of Rome, I beseech you, and I beseech you with me unto M. Valerius the infernal spirits, and dame Tellus, the Legions and aids of the enemies, and my self after them. Having made this prayer, he willed the Sergents or Lieutons to go to M. Claudius, and with all speed to tell them, that his colleague was devoted for the army. Himself girled after the Galine fashion, and armed at all pieces, mounted on horseback and forode into the midst of his enemies. Of both armies he was seen to carry with him much more stately and venerable port than a man as sent from heaven to be a satisfaction of all gods wrath; and to turn away all plague and mischief from his own people upon the enemies. All terror and fear he carried with him as he went, and first disordered the ensigns of the Latines in the edge and border of the battalions, and afterwards entred within into the whole army. This was noted and fear most evidently, that which way so ever he rode the enemies were smitten with fear, as if they had been blasted and struck with some untoward aspect and influence of a planet. But so soon as he was fain and overcharged with fliot of dartts, presently from that place all the, the cohorts of the Latines (out of all question) as amazed men fled away and avoided. And therewithal likewise the Romans as if they had been discharget and freed from their religious fear and spirituall consternation, and as if they had but then and not before heard the sound of the trumpet to battel, began to charge and fight as a fren. For both the Romarii advanced forward and ran among the ranks of the Apostuli, and thereby enforcing the Hafnius and Principalis; and caused them to fight more freely: and the Triarii kneeling on their right knee, waited till the Col gave them leam to strike. Afterward in process of time when in other parts the Latines in their number prevailed, M. Claudius the Conal, having heard of the final end of his companion and (right as it would) accompanied as well with painted and tears as with due prayers to worthy and memorable a death for a while doubted, whether it were yet time for the Triarii to strike. Afterwards thinking it better that they should be reserved in heart and fren, unto the left path of extremity, he biddeth the Accedes from the hindmost tail of the rewrade to come forth before the standards. Who so soon as they were come in place forth with the Latines, supposing the enemies had done the like raised their Triarii. Who having for a good while fought fiercely and weared themselves, and either broken their javelins or, duddled their points, and yet by mere force repulsed the enemies, thinking now all had been done, and
and the victory achieved as being come as far as to the utmost skirts of the battalions: * Then H

and the Conful to the Tribuns rife now fresh and lusty as ye are, against the wearied, mindful

of your country, parents wives and children, mindful of the Conful, who for your victory hath

taken his death. The Tribuns all hearty & unfoiled, were not to soon rife up, shewing themselves

in their bright and glittering armor, but there began on a sudden & unlooked for, a new skirmish

and conflict, For, they receiving the Aspersion between their files, set up a shout and outcry troubl

ed & disordered the ranks of the Latins, gored their faces with their javelins, swel the principal

flower and strength of their bale & formed men, and passed untouched in a manner through the

other bands, as if they had been drained and brake through their pointed and close bat-

tallions, with no great a murder, that Raecly they left behind them a fourth part of their enemies

drive. The Samnians also under the hill being seen a far off in battal array, smote a terror

among the Latins, but among all were none but Romans or Allies, the especial commendation of that

service rested in the Conful, of whom, the one turned all the threats and dangers from the gods

both above and beneath upon himself alone; the other in that battle showed such valour and poli-

cy, that it is confidred both of Romans and Latins, who have written of that journey and com-

mented it to pedantry, that of whether army T. Marcellus had the conduct, that way doublets

would the victory go. The Latins after their defeat and flight retired to Minturnae, their camp

previously upon the battal was won, and many a man there surprized alive and cut in pieces, but

the Campains especially. That day could not the corps of Decius be seen, for that the night came

upon them as they fought for it: the morrow after it was found amongst a mighty company of

plain enemies, overwhelmed with swords, darts and javelins; and all alike, honour and solemnity

according to his death performed by his brother Conul were his funeral.

This also amongst the rest, seemeth worth the remembrance and to be inserted in this place,

namely, That it was lawful for Conul, Dictator, and Praetors, whenever they sacrificed and be-

took to the Devil the Legions of their enemies, for to vow and offer withall, not themselves in a

nasty but an Citizens: the Pagan, that they would provided all that were one of the enrolled leg-

ions of the Conul. And if of the men, who is thus addressed and done, to death, to be done with it, as

it ought to be: But if he die not, then was the image of him even then high or above buried in the

ground, and a proper or propriatory sacrifice was slain in his stead: but wherefore it chance that I

may be so insert, thinker was it not Lawfull for any Roman Magistrate to set foot and come, But if

a man would oce only for, and himself to death, as Decius did, and died as he, shall not pervert

any sacred duty or sacrifice, either for himself or the City, that hath once thus taken himself. If he

will begin and offer his armour to Vulcan, or to some saint whomsoever he like, he permitted and

Lawful for him so to do, either by way of sacrifice or other offering as to pleases. As for the weapon

or spear by which the Conul standing on Ioth his foot, made his prayers and invocation, it is not lawful

the enemy to prise thereon: but if he fortune to win the same, a propriatory sacrifice must be offered to

oppose Mars, so wise a saviour, a spear, and a Bull." And albeit the records both of all divine and hu-

man customs and traditions, make no mention hereof, and are now grown out of use and re-

membrance by reason that we prefer new and foreign ceremonies, before the old ancient rites of

our own country and ancestors yet I thought not amiss to make report hereof, even in the very

words and sense as they were used delivered and pronounced.

In some writers find, that the Samnians having waited to see the event of this battal, came
to aid the Romans when all was done and pass. Also, that there was nocturne coming from Law-

niums unto the Latins, but not before they had the overthrow: by reason that they spent a great

time in deliberation. And when as now the most ensigns and some part of the army was gone

forth of the gates, and news came of the death and slaughter of the Latins; as they turned their

banners and returnned into the City, it is said, That their Praetor or Provoft, named Miliarius,

spoke these words, "That to small a way as they had gone, muff colt them dear, and full slyly

would the Romans be paid therefore. Such as were remaining of the Latins after the battel,

and were scattered thinder in main and divers waies, when they were rallied together, shrowded

themselves for safety in the City Fecio. Where in their Councils and assembles, Namists the

Generall, averred, and altered them, that Mars indeed was common, and the hazard indifferent
to both parties, as having made an equal massacre in the one army and the other: and that the bare

name only of victory went with the Romans: for otherwise, they carried away with them the

formes of men vanquished, and spes no better than they. For (with he) The two royal pavil-

ions of their Colours pollied and defied: the one with the particide of his own, the other for

the death of the Cof, who had vowed himself to die: all their forces in manner sain: their

Javeliners and principals killd; a bloody slaughter committed both before and behind the

Standards; and only the Triumvirs at the last uplift: renewed the fight and set all upright. And albe-

it (quoth he) the power of the Latins also be freelyly shated secur a fresh supply, even Lati-

nims or Volsci are nearer than Rome. And therefore if they thought good, he would with all speed

raise the lily flower and chosen manhood both out of the Latins and the Volscians, and return

again with a fresh army to Capua: and with his sudden coming unlooked for, surprize and de-

fer the Romans, expelling as then for nothing less, the second battel. So by dispatching

his cancellous and decretal letters into all parts of Latinum and the Volscian nation (by reason

that they who had not been present at the battel were sooner induced to give rash credite) there

was a summauky army in great haste levied, enrolled, and assembled together out of all quarters.
A This host as it marched, Terragna the Consul met at Tifinanta, a place between Sinuessa and Maturna. And before they could chuse one a plot of ground to encamp in, they believed their carriages and baggage on heaps of either side fell to a baleful present and made a final end and conclusion of all the war. For the enemies were brought so low that as the Consul led his victorious Army to waive their Country, all the Latines yielded themselves to him: and this their rendring the Campains likewise followed, Thus Latium and Cupa forsettied and lost part of their Territories. The lands of the Latines with the Pivilernats laid thereto, and the Territory of Aleris, which belonged to the people of Cupa, even as far as the river Vulturius was divided amongst the Commonwealth of Rome. Two acres in the Latine Country, with a supplemment of three four parts out of the Pivilernats land to make up the whole: and three acres in the Territory of Faleri, with addition of a fourth part to boot for amends, because it was so far off, were all assigned for a m. The Laurentins only, of all Latium, and the horsemens of the Campains cleared this punishment and were exempted from the rest, because they had not revolted. And a decree passed that the League with the Laurentins shou'd be renewed: and from that time vitally every year is it renewed, after the tenth day of the Latine holidays, Those Campain horsemen were made free denizens of Rome: and for a monument and memorial thereof, they set up and fenced a brazen table at Rome in the Temple of Vubbo, The people of Cupa were enjoyned to pay yearly to every one of them (and they were a thousand and fix hundred in all) 45 Deniers.

Thus after the war fully determined, and both rewards dealt, and punishment indicted according to each mans defeter, T. Mamilus returned home, whom the elders only for certain went forth to meet on the way: the youth, not only then, but ever after, during his life abhorred, and with curles defetled it. The Antonians made certain roads into the Territories of Hostia, Aridea, and Solone. And for that Mamilus the Consul was not able himselv in person to intend and manage that war, by reason of sickness, he nominated for Dictator L. Popilius Crassinus, who as it happened was at that time Praetor: by whom was named for General of the horsemens L. Popilius Cur-For, This Dictator, altho' he kept the field, and lay encamped certain mouths within the Conines, yet achieved no worthy and memorable exploit. After this year thus renounced for the victory of so many and so pulissant nations, and withall, for the noble and famous death of the one Consul, and for the government of the other, albeit stern and rigorous, yet notable and renowned; threexsucceeded Conulis, T. Aemilus Munerenses, and Q. Tullius Philus, who met not with the like subject and matter of great affairs: and they themselves were more mindful either of their own private businesses, and studious to maintain a fide and faction in the Common-wealth, than to advance the State of their Country. Howbeit, the Latines (who rebelled for anger that they lost their lands) which inconstanted in the plain of Fenele, drove them both out of their Camp, and forced them to leave the field. Where, whilst Tullius (by whose government and conduct that victory was achieved) received surrender of the Latines, the flower of whose youth was there all slain and killed. Aemilus led his Army against Pedam. As for the Pedans they had maintenance from Tybr, Preceate, and Vellcrn, who took their parts: there came also aid from Lomanaum and Antium. Where the Roman Conulis, albeit he had the better hand in skirmish, yet for E that there remained behind a new piece of servise about the City it itself Pedam, and the Camp of their Confederates which was adjoynd close to the Town: all of a sudden he gave over the war unfinished, because he heard that triumph was decreed unto his brother Consul. He also himself returned to Rome, and called earnestly for triumph before victory. At which untimely and coves- tose desire of his, the Nobles being offended, denied flatly: that unless he either forced Pedam by assault or won it by composition he should not triumph. Hereupon Aemilus being discomfited and alienated from the Senators, bare his Concision afterward like to the seditious Tribunes. For so long as he was Consul he ceased not to charge and accuse the Nobles before the people; and his Colleague no whit gainfald him as being himself one of the Commoners. He took occasion of these accusations upon this, that the lands in the Latine and Faleri Countries, were divided in F pinching and scant measure amongst the Commons. And after that the Senat, deeming to assist the time of the Conuls government, had decreed that a Dictator should be declared against the Latine rebels: Aemilus (who's turn it was at that time to govern) nominated his own companion in office to be Dictator, by whom Tullius Sempronius was named General of the horse. This Dictatorship was popular and a together framed to the humour of the common people both by reason of splendid and accuratly Invites made against the Nobles: and for that it enabled three Statutes most favourable and pleasing to the Commons, and as crofs and adverse to the Nobility: first, That the Acts devised and enacted by the Commons, should bind all the Quirites or Citizens of Rome; secondly, That all laws which were proposed and to pass by the suffrages of the Centuries, before the Scrutiny began, and voices g-thered, the Nobles should allow G and approve: thirdly, That forasmuch as they were come thus far already, that both the Conuls might be of the Commons, now one Conul at the least should be a Commoner of necessity. Insomuch as the Nobles thought verily that there was more lost at home this year by thee Consul and Dictator, than gained to the Empire abroad, by their victories and warlike exploits.

In the year following when C. Furio Camillus and Q. Menes were Conuls, to the end that Aemilus the Consul of the former year, might be more notably reproachd for the quitting and letting slip of a victory that should have been achieved in his year, the Senat began to muster
in their speeches, that Pedum by force of arms, by valour of men, &c all possible means; whatsoever, should be destroyed and raised to the ground. Whereupon the new Consuls being forced to lay aside all other affairs and to go in hand with that service, first took their journey thither. Now was Latium grown to such terms, as they could neither abide war nor endure peace, 1 to maintain the wars they wanted means; and peace they could not away with nor abide to hear of, never since the loss of their lands, so they thought best to hold a middle course; to stand upon their guard, and to keep themselves within their towns; that the Romans being not provoked, should make no quarter of war; and if there were tidings brought of any town beleaguered there might be aid sent from all parts to the beleaguered. And yet for all this were the Pedum succoured but of every view. The Tiburtins and Praenitins, whole country lay nearest came to Pedum, but the Aricins, Latovs, and Veltirmans, who joined their forces with the Anitrians and Volsciens, were suddenly assaulted and set upon near the river Anio by Menestius, and vanquished, Camillus fought before Pedum with the Tiburtins, who came into the field with a right puissant army, and put him to much trouble and hazard; bow boilke he had as good success in the end as Menestius. The greatest tumult and trouble was caused especially by occasion of a sudden fall of the townsmen in the very time of the conflict. Against whom, after that Camillus had opposed part of his forces to make head, he not only drove them within the walls, but the same day also, when he diiscomfited both them and their succours, he scaled the town and was Master thereof. Then it was thought good with greater preparation of power and courageous resolution after the winning of that one City to go about with the victorious army from one to another and to subdue and tame for ever the whole nation and name of Latium. Neither refted they, untill partly by main force, and partly by taking one City after another by way of surrender, they had brought all Latium under their subjection. After this, having disposed and placed garrisons in every town which they had got, they departed to Rome for triumph; which was to them by a general consent of all men granted. Besides their triumph this honour was to them done, that two titluses of honour (a rare thing in those days) should be erected for them in the Grand place called Forum. But before that they gathered the suffrages of the people, in the assembly for Election of Cons. against the year following, Camillus in this wise made the question, and the Senate, touching the Latin nations, 'My LL. and Senators of Rome, That which by war and force of arms was to be done in Latium, is now by God his goodneff and the valour of our foles, brought to good part. The Armies of our enemies being betrayed before Pedum and Anio. The Latium to all, and in the City of the Volsciens either by force of arms, or rendered by composition, are now held and kept to your behalf by your own garrisons. It remaineth now to confult (forasmuch as they troubles us by rebellion) and to devise some means how to keep them quiet in continual peace. In this consultation, the immortal gods have given you such powerful help to resolve upon it that both wholly in your hands to choose whether Latium shall continue still a parthio or no: and therefore may ye for ever procure your selves repose and security from thence either by vigour and punishment, or by clemency and pardon chuse you whether. Are ye minded to proceed by way of war or by means of conciliation, to try against those that have yielded themselves, and are vanquished? Ye may, indeed destroy all Latium, and make all war and a delart wilderness from when it was sometimes in land and dan. Meagre wars of yours ye have had the help of an army of Allies, which found them fall and valorous. But will ye (as your ancestors have done before you,) enlarge the Roman Empire by receiving into your City those whom ye have conquered? Then have ye matter and means to grow up still and was mightly, to your great honour and glory. Surely that government and dominion is of all other most strong and sure, wherein the subjects take joy in their obedience. But whatsoever you mean to determine in this behalf, ye need have made speed and resolve betimes, so many nations yet hold in part of mind between fear and hope: and therefore be bold and do it. And ye ye shall be able to win your efforts; and also whereas their heads are bowed and minds unresolved, (handing as they do amased in doubtful expectation,) either by punishment or by benefit, so foretell and prepare them before they take heart again. For our part, it was hitherto to our endeavour to effect and bring about, that ye might be able to dispose of all at your pleasure, and as ye would your selves: now your duty it is to determine what is best for your selves and the Common-wealth. The Lords and chief of the Senate prati冰箱ed this motion of the Col. and deemed good in general. But formerly as the condition of the parties was divers and their cause not all one, they said that they might resolve and determine betimes, according to the defect of each state, if they were specified by name and the opinions asked in particular. So they fell to consultation of them severally as they were proposed, and set down this order and decree. Inprima, that the Latinus be enfranchised Citizens of Rome, and enjoy against their own religion and sacred ceremonies, with this proviso, that the chappel and grove of Impepina should be common to the Burefles of Lanuvium and the people of Rome, Item, that the Aricins Nomentans, and Pedum shall be made denominates of Rome, and endued with the liberties and privileges of the Latinus. Item, that the Tusculans retain still that freedom of their City that, which as they then enjoyed; and the crime and attainder of rebellion to be charged upon a few of the chief to save the common state from danger, Item, that these should be grievous punishment inflicted upon the Veltirmans, who being ancient Roman Citizens, had notwithstanding taken arms and rebelled; that their was to be dismembered and razed: their Senators from thence transferred, and confined beyond Tyrris, there to dwell, upon pain of that

The Oration of Camillus to the Senate of Rome.

Ithe eighth Book of T. Livius.
A whoever were found on this side the water, it might be lawful for any man to take him as his prisoner, and to ransom him at a * 1000 Áfles. Provided always that he should not enlarge him, nor release him of his Irons, until the money were fully satisfied and paid. Into the possession and lands of those Senators, were tenants and Colonizers sent to inhabit: who being once enrolled,  Velleius deemed again as populous as before time. At Antium was there a new Colony planted, with this proviso, that the ancient inhabitants of the Antians should be permitted (if they themselves would) to be enroiled there, and remain still. From thence were their long Gallics and war-ships, with the people of Antium wholly forbidden the sea: but the freedom of Roman Citizens to them was granted. The Tyburns and Pretelins forfeited their lands, for their late treachery, and perjury.

B Common with other Latins, but because they repining and envying the good estate of the Romans had in times past joined arms with the Frenchmen, a savage and uncontrollable nation, from the other Latins cities and states, they took away the privilege of marriage, the commerce of traffic, and entercourts of mutual intelligence, and holding comice themselves, for ever after. To the Campan Gentlemen that lived with horse abreast, for that they would not give consent to revolt with the Latins: to the Fundans also and Formans, through whose country they had always had free, safe, and quiet passage to and fro, this honour was done, as to be made Citizens of Rome; but without the liberty of giving voices. Items, it was decreed, that the Camans and Suflians, should be of the same condition and state that Cupa was. The Ships of the Antians were part of them transported to the Arsenals at Rome, and the reflect on fire and burnt. With the Items, bezel heads, and brazen piles whereof, it was thought good, that the pulpit of Common fame and Orations in the grand pace of Rome, should be beautified and adorn'd with. In publick Pulpit was thereupon called

C Whiles Sulpicius Longus, and P. Flavius Petus were Conuls, when as the Romans held peaceably under their dominion all the countries, as well through the favour which they won by bountiful dealing, as by might and strong hand, there arose war between the Sidicins and Aurumians. The Aurumian, who had yielded atore to T. Manlius Conul, and were taken into protection afterwards, rebelled not: whereby they had a more just cause to request and seek for aid at the Romans hand; but before that the Conuls had led forth their power out of the City (for the Senate had commanded, that the Aurumians should be defended) tidings came, that the Aurumians for fear had quit their town: and being Red with their wives and children, had fortified Sinesia, which now at this day is called Aurumana: and that the ancient wals, with the town is fell, were by the Sidicins destroyed. Hereat the Senate offended with the Conuls, by whose delay and lingering their allies had been betrayed in time of their necessity, ordained a Dictator to be chosen. So there was elected C. Claudius Regillensis, who appointed for General of horsemen C. Claudius Hortator. But hereupon rofe a scruple of conscience about the creation of the Dictator. And when the Augurs had pronounced, that they thought him not rightly created, both Dictator and General of horsemen gave over their rooms. The same year Minuittus, a Vexal Nun, was first suspected of impropriety, for going in her apparel more trim than was decent for one of her calling and profession: and after that brought in question and accused by a bond-servant, that inform'd against her to the High Priests, First, by a decree of theirs she was awarded to abstain from divine service, to keep her house, and not to manapurse and set free any of her bond-slaves: but to have them forth coming, whenever they were called for: and after farther examination and judgment pass'd, was buried quick under the ground, at the gate Collina, in the paved caucy on the right-hand, within the plain or field called Secedenans, i.e. Extantable or polluted. I suppose that place took the name of such in eff of filthy whoredom. The same year, Q. Publius Philo was elected Praetor, the first that ever was of the Commons, not withstanding the mind of Sulpicius the Conul, said That he would not take his name to propound it for Election nor admit him among other competitors. But the Senate strive the less in impeaching this Praetorship, seeing they could not have their will in the highest rooms and dignities.

D The year next ensuing, under the ConulsHIP of L. Papirius Crassus and Cæs. Duilio., was notable and famous for the war of the Aurumians, in regard rather of the novelty, than the greatnes and danger thereof. They were a people that inhabitied a town called Cales and had joyned their power with the Sidicins their next neighbours. The whole power of which two nations being discomfted in one battell, and the same not to memorable, was for the nearest of their Cities more ready to fly, and in their flight more sable and secure. Yet the Noblest of Rome omitted not the care of that war: for that the Sidicins to often, either had themselves mov'd war, or aid'd those that began, or else were the cause of all troubles. Whereupon they endeavoured all that they could to make Conul the fourth time, the noblest warrior in those days, M. V. Lentulus Condovius, who had for his brother in government M. Atusius Regillini. And left haply some errour by chance G should be committed, but was made to the Conuls that extraordinary, and without calling for, that province might fall to Conus: who having received the Army (after the victory at Cales) of the former Conuls, went forth. And when at the first shout and order he had di stomated his enemies, who in remembrance of their former late overthrow were affrighted he advis'd to assait their very wals: and so eager and hasty bent (I assure you) were the londiers, that even at the first they would have set ladders to, as making hill account to scale up to the top, and enter the town. But Condovius, because that was an hard adventure, was desirous to accomplish that enterprise by the long toil of his londiers, rather than their present peril the raised therefore
therefore a countermarch and platforms and rolling frames, mounted against the walls but as good a
hap was by an opportunity that fell out they had no use of these munitions and fabrics, for M. Fatini a Roman prisoner, taking vantage of the negligence of his keepers upon a festival holiday,
and making means to break his bonds, let himself down by a long cord, fainted at one end to a
pinacle or battlement of the wall, and slid by the arms, among the munitions and fabrics of the Romans who so perverted and prevailed with the General that he caused him to give an assail
upon the enemies now being fast asleep, as having filled their bellies with wine and good meals.
So that with as little ado were the Aulonians and their City surprized, as they were moreover
vainished in night. A great booty of pilage was there got: and after a garrison placed at Cales the Le-

gions were brought back to Rome. The Consul by decree of the Senate triumphed: and that At.
Titus should not be without his glory too, both Coll, were appointed to lead forth an Army aga-

In this Election held by this Dictator, there were created Consuls, T. Veturius, and Sp. Po-

hehumus. Who albeit there remained some part behind of the Sidicins war yet to the intent they
might gratifie the Commons by some good turn, and prevent their longings before they speak:

of them promised an Act concerning the bringing of a Colony to Cales: and when as the Se-

nate had ordained that two thousand and five hundred men should be enrolled and assign

that: they created Triumvirs to bring them thither. and to divide the lands, namely, Cceo K

Dullius, T. Quinatus, and M. Fabius. After this, the new Consuls having received the army of the old,

entred into the enemies confines waiting all before until they came to the very walls of their
City. Now, for that the Sidicins had assembl'd a puissant army, and seemed themselves fully relo-

lent, and bent upon utter despair to put all unto the last adventure, and to fight it out to the last
man. Moreover because it was noticed that all Samnium was risen up in arms: by authority from

the Senate the Consul's appointed T Corvinus Rufinus Dictator, and M. Antonius was nominated
General of the horde. But hereupon grew again another fuppose, that there was some error effa-

ed in the creation: so they resigned up their places; and because they enfolded also a plague here-

upon (as all their Authoric for Elections of Magistrates had been touched and infected with

that error and default) the managing of all affairs fell to an Interregne. Which being now entred

upon by the fifth Interregne, M. Valerius Corvinus, then Consuls were created, L. Cornelius the

second time and Ca. Domitius,

When all things else were at quiet the rumour of the Gauls war was so rife and hot, that it was

taken for a very Tumult. Whereupon it was thought good, that a Dictator should be created,

And M. Poppius Graffiti was nominated, who had P. Aelius Publicola for General of the horde-

men. When they had multered the foundiers more strictly and with greater regard than would

have been for war near hand the epsi, who were went out, brought word that all was well and

quiet among the Gauls. But suspected it was that Samnium now the second year was ready to
drop out of their allegiance and seek a change. Whereupon the Roman army was not withdrawn
out of the Sidicins country. However the war of Alexander King of Epiroi, drew the Samnium into
the Lucass country, which two nations uniting their forces, gave the King a barlett, as he made

rudes from Pef'T, in which he left, L. s. a. s.

with having got the upper hand entered into a League and amity with the Romans; though it was much doubted, with what faithfulness he would observe the same, if all his affairs prospered as well.
The same year a solemn Levy or Numbering of the people of Rome he did and the new Citizens were matriculated and enrolled.

and therefore two Tribes were annexed. Metio and Caepia: the Leviers that ordained them were

Publ. Philo and Sp. Peflumius. The Aetians were some Roman Citizens, by an Act proposed by L.

Papius the Praetor: by virtue whereof they were enfranchised Denizens, but without the privi-

lege of giving voices. Tullie were the Aetians for this year both at home and abroad.

The year next following were it through the unkind disposition of the air, or some N

wicked prophet, that was in a storm when M. L. Marcellus and T. Valerius were Consuls,

If the fortune of this Consul to vary in divers Chronicles, in some Flaccoi, in others Pettin-

But it matters not whether be true, that rather I could willingly have wished (and yet all

Author's do not record it), that it had been falsely recorded that those persons by the city and poi-

son were made away, whole death hath defamed that year with the note of a pellit. But yet as

the thing is left in writing, I purpose to do over it, lest that I should seem to derogate ought from

the credence of any wiser. When as the chief personages of the City died upon like diles, and

after one and the same manner of symptoms a certain chambermaid presented her self to F. Fer-

tius Maximus (being for the time an Edi of State) and prevailed to bear the cause of such

that publick and passions madly: if it might be assur'd by faithful promise from him, that by

utterance thereof, she should not come to harm nor trouble. Forthwith Fertius delivered this

matters to the Consuls: and the Consuls made relation thereof to the Senate: by the consent of

which State affianz was made according unto the pitty foresaid, to reveal the matter. Then

she declared that by the wight and mitieious wickedness of women the City was thus affianz-

ded: and namely. That certain Daughters of Rome, even their own wives, boilded and tempered rank poi-

sons. (to kill their husbands) and if they would follow it prenily they might be taken in the

manner. So they went straight wayes with the wench, and found some women as they were

feething

The eighth Book of T. Livius.
Afeething and preparing venomous drugs, yea and some poiyoned cOnfections already put up. Which were brought into the market place, and about zo, of thosc dames, with whom the poisons were found, were sent for by a sergeant. Two of thern Concinus and Serrus, both noble women born, suddenly standing upon their teatms, and stiffly avouching, That they were for reignime-
dickes and wholem for the body of man, were by the chamber-maid aforesaid confused, and
enjoyed to drink thereon, that they might disproove her, and make her a liar, and to have devi
d of her own fingers ends this false slander. Who took a time to commune and confer together, that
the people were avoided aside to make them way. Now when as in fight of all the World,
these two Dames had propoundcd the matter to the reil there in place, they all refuted not: and
Bio having drunk the poiyoned potion they all perished by their own apothecary's practive. Then
presently were the commodities apprehended, who detected and discovered a great number of oth-
er Wives: of which 170, were condemned. Never afore that day was there any inquisition nor
proces at Rome, about poiyoning and forcery. So as the thing was taken for a prodigious won-
der, and imputed rather to their minds besotted and bewitched, then to any criminal intent of
their. Whereupon the Magistrates of the City, calling to mind and fearing the old Chronicles,
found, that in times past, at what time as the Commons in a mad fit withdrew themselves and
departed the City, there was a spike or great rail driven and fixed by the Dictator: and that the
minds of the people, which by discord had been distracted and out of their right wits, were by
that ceremonical satisfaction, brought again in good tune: and therefore it was thought good,
that for the failing or sticking up of such a nail, there should a Dictator be created. So Con.
Qun-tulius was nominated, who named L. Valerius General of horlemen, who so soon as the nail was
fallen, gave over their places.

Conulse then were created, L. Papirius Craffus the second time, and L. Plaucius_Verres. In the be-
ginning of which year, there came from the country of the Volcians as Embassadors to Rome,
the Fabrinius and Lucas, making request that they would take them into their protection, pro-
mising that if by them they were defended from the forces of the Samnites, they would become
loyal and obedient subjects to the people of Rome: Then were Embassadors sent from the Senat,
to give commandment to the Samnites, to forbear doing any violence upon the borders of thosc
nations, which Embassages speed well and took place; not so much for that the Samnites desired
peace, as because they were not as yet prepared for this war. The same year began the Pri-
verernum war. The confederates whereof, were the Fundans, and their Leader likewise a Fundan,
one Vitruvius Vecius, a man of great name and reputation, not only in his own country, but also
at Rome. His dwelling house stood sometime in mount Palatine, even the very same, which after
the building was pulled down, and the ground forfeit and confiscate, was called Avec Prius, A-
gainst whom as he waited and spoiled far and near the Serin, Norban and Coran countries; L. Pa-
pirius went thither with a power, and refted nor far from his very camp. But Vitruvius neither had
the wit to keep himself within his trench against a mightier enemy, nor yet the heart to encoun-
ter far from his host. But having put his foildiers in battle array, before they were all well out of
the gate of the camp, while the foildiers had more mind to file backward, then march forward
and encounter the enemy: without either advicc or confident courage he fought: and with a lit-
tle ado, and without any question of the matter he was vanquished: to by reason of the shortnes
of the way, and the easie retire into the camp so near, he found no great trouble to face his foild-
iers from mutt'l laughter. For in the very conflict, few or none in a manner were slain, and not
many in the press of the rout and fall of the flight, at what time as they rushed into their
Camp. And in the beginning of the night, the army thus discomfired, made halfe to Privennum,
there to defend themselves within a wall rather then a trench. Plautus the other CoU, having
from Privennum, overrun and forragrd the territory, and driven booties away, conducted his
army into the Fundan country. The Senat of the Fundans as he entered into their confines
met him, saying: 4 They were not come as Orators to entreat either for Vitruvius, or for those
that took this war; but for the people of the Fundans: who that they were innocent and not
 culpable for this war, Vitruvius himself hath plainly proved and declared, in that he chose Pri-
vernurn to be his place of retreat and retire and not the City Fundis; the very place of his nativ-
ity. And therefore at Privennum the enemies of the people of Rome were to be fought for and
punish'd, who unmindful of both their own countries, had revolted as well from the Fundans
as the Romans. As for the Citizens of Fundis, they were at peace with Rome, they, they were
Romans in heart, and carried thankful remembrance of a benefit received: they entreated there-
fore and besought the Conul to forbear hostilities with a gentle people: affuring him that their
Lands, their City, their own Bodies, their Wives and Children were and should be at the devo-
tion of the people of Rome; The Conul after that he had commended the Fundans, and sent
Letters to Rome that they remained firm and fast in their allegiance, turned his way to Pri-
vernurn. But before he dilleged (as Claudius writeth) the Conul executed those that were the heads
of the conspiracy, and three hundred and fifty of those rebellious conspirators were sent prisoners to
Rome. But the Senat accepted it not, and were not content with this submission, as judging the
Fundan people, defirous to be excused and discharged, with the punishmenl of the needy and base
fort of people. Now when as Privennum was besieged and invested with two Consular Armies,
the one of the Consuls was called home to hold the Election of Magistrates. That year were re-
lected in the great race called Circus, the Barriers from whence the stories and their chariots are
let forth, when their prizes. But before they were well past the care of the Privenats war, there
arrived a terrible and fearful boute of the Gauls war, which never was regarded slightlie of the
Nobles of Rome. Incidentally therefore the new Conuls, L. Aemilius Mamercus, and Cn. Plautus,
on that very day, namely, on the Calends of July, wherein they entered their offices, were
commanded to determin and agree between themselves upon their Provinces: and Mamercus,
who had the charge of the Gauls war, levied and enrolled an army without allowing any immu-
ni and exemption from warfare. Moreover and besides, even the poor handcrafts men and ar-
rists, liv as keep their shops, and live by sedentary occupations, a sort far unmeet for martial
service, are said to have been called forth, and prett to the wars: and a mighty army was assem-
bled and met together at Veii, that from thence they might march to encounter the Gauls: For it
I was thought good that they should now go farther forward, for fear lest the enemy taking an-
other way, might receive them and march directly to the City of Rome. But a few days after,
when it was known for certain that all the trouble and fear for that time was overblown, they
divered their forces from the Gauls, and bent all against Privenat. But the issue hereof is re-
ported two manner of ways, some write that the City was forced by assaulet, and that Virsavia
came alive into their hands: others, that the utmost extremity of assault was used, they
of their own accord, carry ing before them white bands in token of peace, yielded themselves
unto the Conuls: and that Virsavia by his own Country men was rendered and delivered unto
him. The Senat being moved, and their opinion asked concerning Virsavia and the Privenats;
sent for the Conul Plautus to triumph, after that he had dismantled the walls of Privenum and K
there placed a strong guard: and they gave order in the mean time that Virsavia should be kept
in prision until the Consuls return, then to be whipped and put to death. They appointed al-
so that his habitation in Palantium should be pulled down, and his goods consecrated to their
Dol Sena Sanguis. And look what money [of brass] was raised thereof, it served to make bran
round Plates, which were offered and put up in the Chappel of Sangus towards the temple of Quir-
ins. Touching the Senat of the Privenats, thus it was decreed, that every one of the Senators cal-
ing, who remianed at Privenum after their revolt ing from the Romans, should in the same
condition and state as the Veliterns, be confined beyond Tylbris, and there dwell. These Ares
being thus let down, there was no more talk of the Privenats until the triumph of Plautus. After
the triumph, the Conuls having executed Virsavia and his complices, supposing now that he
might safely propound the cause of the Privenats, to the LL of the Senat, whereas they were
newly satisfied with the execution of the guilty offenders, "Since that (quoth he) my LL of the,
Senat, the principal authors of this revolt and rebellion, have both at the hands of the immor-
tal gods, and at yours, suffered now already condigne punishment: what is your further plea-
ture, and what shall be done with the innocent and harmless multitude? For my part verily,
although I be rather to demand your opinions then deliver mine own: yet seeing the Priven-
ats neer neighbors unto the Samnits, with whom we now at this time entertain a most uncer-
tain and slippery peace, I would have as little grudge and tancer left as may be, between us
and them. As the question in it fell was doubtful and ambiguous, whereas mengave advice tome
proceed cruely, others to deal gently, according to each man his nature and inclination: so, there
was one of the Privenat Embassadors that made it more doubtful, and put all out of square; a
man mindfull of that state wherein he was born, more than of his preferred and extremity, Who
being demanded of one (that had spok en to the point, and delivered some sharp sentence and
heavy sentence against them) What punishment he judged the Privenats deserved? Matry (quoth he)
that which they deserve, who deem themselves worthy of liberty and freedom. At whose flow and arrogant answer, when the Conul law tiose to be more eagerly and bitterly
bent, who before impugned the cause of the Privenats: to the end that he himself by some mild
and gentle demand might draw from the party more modellanguage: What (quoth he) if we
should remit and pardon your punishment: what kind of peace might we hope to have at your
hands? If (quoth he) ye offer us good peace, ye shall find it on our part loyal and perpetuall: but N
if ye tender hard conditions of peace, ye shall have it last but a small while. But then one gavo
out that the Privenat began to threaten plainly: and said moreover, that such speeches were e-
ough to stir up any peaceable and quiet people to war, that never thought to have fought. But
the better part of the Senat drew he his answers to a better tene, and said that it was the speech
of a man and of a man true born. For, was it credible (quoth they) that any state, may any
particular person, would longer abide (than needs he must) that condition which he gathered and
goeth against his stomach? There only is peace sure and like to hold, where men are contented
and willing to keep themselves in peace: and never let men look or hope to find faithful loyalty,
where they will impose their demands and servitude. And to this purpose the Conuls himself e-
movably and enclosed his hearts, reiterating these words to the Senators that were first to give
their opinions, and that to fond, as he might of many more be over-heard. That they above al-
other and none but they indeed were worthy to be made Roman Citizens, who minded and e-
feemed nothing in the world but their freedom, Whereupon, both in the Senat they obtained
their <i>just</i> and also by the authority of the LL, a Bill was exhibited to the people, That the Pri-
venats might be enfrancbied Romans.

The same yeare were three hundred sent as a Colony, to inhabit Anxur: and had two Acres
of ground a piece allowed them. The year following was memorable in no respect, either of the
home
A home affairs or foreign, in the time of P. Plautius Proculus, and P. Cornelius Scapula Coff. Only this till out that year, that in Fregella (which some time was in the territory of the Sidicines, and after of the Volcians) there was a Colony planted and unto the people there was given a dole or distribution of raw flesh amongst them, by Marcus Flaminus, at the funeral of his mother. Some there were that thought, how under a colour of honoring his mother, he defrayed and paid unto the people a defered hire & reward; in that when he was by the Eldies arrested & brought to his answer for adultery committed with a Dame or married Wife in the City, the people had by their voices acquit him. This dole givenon a favour part at his trial, was the occasion also of a dignity following: for in the next Election notwithstanding he was able, he was preferred to the Tri- Bunship of the Commons, even before those Competitors that were in present place.

There stood sometime the City Paleopolis, not far from thence where was now Nupti Standeth. In theo two Cities, one and the same people inhabited, defended and deriving their beginning from Cumae, and the Cumans fetched their off-spring from Chalcis in Euboea. With that fleet where in they failed from their own country, they were able to do much a sea, and were mighty upon those coasts where they dwelt. And first landing in the Hands Acastia and Perseus, afterwards they adventured to set themselves in the main and continent. This City relying and trusting in their own power, as well as preening upon the faithfull and disloyal society of the Samnites with the Romans or bearing themselves bold upon the rumor that ran of a persistence that reigned in the City of Rome, wrought much mischief and hostility against such Romans as inhabited the C. Campain and Falernian Countries. Whereupon when as (in the time of Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, and Quintus Pulius Philo Confuls, the 2ed. and 3. time) there were Facials sent to Paleopolis, fort to demand restitution again, and a proud answer returned back from the Greeks, a Nation more fluent and valiant in tongue then in deed and execution; by the authority of the Senate the people declared, that there should be war made upon the Paleopolitans. And when as the Confuls had divided their own selves between themselves, it fell to Publius, his turn to war upon these Greeks. Cornelius with another army was opposed against the Samnites, if they should hop to stir any way. For the report went that they looking and expecting silently the revolt of the Campains would encamp nearer and join with them. There, Cornelius thought it best to keep a standing camp, The Senat was certified from both Confuls, that they had small hope of peace with the Sam- nites, Publius gave intelligence, that two thousand Nolan soldiers, and four thousand Sam- nits, were rather by the compulsion and importunity of the Nolans, than with the good will of the Greeks, received at Paleopolis. At Rome it was for certain known, that in Samnium there were new mutters taken by the Magistrates direction, and that the whole country, and the people adjoining, were raised, and out in arms. Moreover, That the Privernata Fundians, and Formians were without all dissimulation jubilicited and moved to rebel. Upon which causes, it was advised by the Senat, first to send Embassadors to the Samnites, before they made war; and from them they had an infeolent answer, And they themselves made quarter, and charged the Romans with wrongs offered first: and nevertheless they justified themselves for anything by them done, and answered all objections that were laid against them full freely. "Namely, that the Greeks were not aided by any publick counsel or order of theirs, nor yet were the Fundians and Formians by them jubilicited, as who need not be ashamed of their own power, but thought them- selves sufficient enough to war if they lifted. Thus much moreover, they could not differ- bly, but speak it out in plain terms, That the Nation and Senat of the Samnites take it ill "parts, that the people of Rome had re-edified and repaired Fregella, a town by them conquered, and won from the Volcians, and by them laid ruinate: and not only so, but they had placed a Colony also in the Samnies Country, which the inhabitants called Fregella. Which contumely and reproachful injury, unless they that were the authors thereof would do their best to "abolish and cancel, they would with all their might and main repel it from them. And when as the Roman Embassadors made a motion, and would have had them to put the matter for to be decided into the common Conferendates and friends of both parties; What double and indirect dealing is this (quoth the Samnites?) What jagging is here to no purpose? As for the quarrels and differences between us (O ye Romans) neither the babbling words of Embassador, nor yet any days-man, or arbitrator, but the very Campain field, wherein we must encounter in earnest, even dint of sword, and the spears point, and the doublet chine of battel shall determin. And therefore encamp within Campan and Scaevola, in the sight one of another, and let us then try the latter, whether Sammit or Roman shall be Lord of itself. The Embassadors of Rome made answer, that they were not to go whither the enemy called them, but whither their General and Captains led them. In this mean while Paleopolis had already got a convenient piece of ground between Paleopolis and Naples, and thereby impeached the enemies of the mutual encounter of G. Successors from the one to the other, which they had used reciprocally as either place had need, and was distressed. Therefore, when at the time of Election of Magistrates at Rome drew on ap- pear, and expedient it was not for the Common-weal that Paleopolis (now approaching near the enemies walls, and read by affinity) should be called away from the hope which daily they had of winning the City: the Tribuns were dealt withal, to propone an Act unto the people. That when the time of Paleopolis Confulship should be expired, he might in quality and name of Proconsul, remain in government, until the war with the Greeks were fully ended. And into L. Cornelius were letters sent, implying thus much. That whereas it was not thought good, that
he now being entred into Sannium, should be called away from the chief pith of the war, he should nominate a Dictator to be President of the Election of Magistrates: Who named M. Claudius Marcellus, and by him was appointed for General of horse Sp. Pojlimus. Yet for all this, was no assembly for the said election, helden by the Dictator, Forte came in question, Whether he were rightly created or no. And the Angurs being hereabout coniunct with, pronounced, "That the Dictator seemed not created right. But the Tribuns discredited and made fucipious "and infamous, by their acculatory speeches, this their sentence and declaration, saying, That nei-ther it was eafe to know the fault and error in the creation, seeing that the Cnuli nominated 'the Dictator in the beginning of the still night; neither had the Cnuli written to any man pub-lickly or privately thereof, nor yet was there any person could come forth and say, that he either I faw or heard ought, that might mar and interrupt the Auspicies, nor yet could the Angurs fe-tting at Rome, guests and divine, what error had hapned to the Cnuli in the camp to far off, And "who faw not ( say they ) that the Angurs found fault herewith, because the Dictator Elect, "was a Commoner? Thelie and other fuch allegations were (to no purpose) by the Tribuns given out, For the matter grew to an Interreign, and the forefaid Election being still put off and adjourned for one caufe or other; at length the fourteenth Interregnum, L. Emilius created Cnuliis, C. Petulius, and L. Pappirus, surnamed Mutillanum or Carfor, as I find in other Chroni-cles.

In that year it was recorded, that the City Alexandria in Egypt was founded: and that Alex-ander the King of Ephesins was murdered by a certain Lucan, a banished perion, to verify the O-K racle of Jupiter Ddananus, which had foretold his death. For when he was ent for into Italy by the Tarentins, he had warning given him, [To take head of the Acheronian Water, and the City Pan-dofia, for there it was his destiny to end his days: ] and therefore, with more speed he passed ovet into Italy, to be far off as might be, from the City Pandofia in Ephirus, and the river Acheron: which liuinf out of Malofis into the lower Meers and Lakes, dilcargeth it selt, and falleth into the Theptsonian Gulf, Howbeit (as commonly it is seen when men leck moth to fly and avoid their fatal death, they run headlong and plunge themselves into it) he, having oftentimes van-quished and overthrown the legions of the Brutians and Lucas: won by force Heraclea Celony- of the Tarentines, and Confedio in Lucan, and Sipontum, and also Acrerom a Colony of the Brutians, and other Cities afterwards of the Meepiains and Lucas: sent into Epirus three hun-dered Noble houses and families, whom he meant to keep as hostages: he encamped not far from Pandofia, a City situate neer to the Confinies of the Lucas and Brutians, And there he held three his somewhat distant aunder, from whence he might make excursions and rodes into every part of his enemies country: and he had in ordinary about him almost 200. banished men of the Lucas, for his future truly guard: who notwithstanding (as the nature are of such for the most part) changed with every wind, and carried mutable minds according to the variety of fortunes. Now it fell out so, that the continual wars which overbowed all the fields, had foreclosed and lopped the paffages three ways between his armies, fo as they could not help one another: whereby those two garrisons where the King was not in perfon, were surprized by the unexpected coming of the enemies: who having put them all to the sword, turn'd their whole forces to besiege the King. M From whence, there were by the Lucas exiles, meffengers sent to their own countrie-men: who in the name of the rest capitulatated that if they might be restored again, they would deliver the King either dead or alive into their hands. Howbeit he himfelf with an elect number of men, made a noble and hardy adventure, and brake through the midf of the enemies: and encountering the chief Commander of the Lucas hand to hand, killed him outright: and having rallied his men near together, who were scattered aunder in fight, he came at length to a river, by which he the fresh ruins of a broken bridge, that the violence of that water had been done, flowed passage, Which as the army passed over an unknown and blind foord, one fouldier wearied with fear and travel, cursing and deteighting the unlucky and abominable name of the Rivers, fortrow to Say, Thou hast not thy name * Acheron for naught: which word when it came once to the King his N ear, he prentely began to think and mule of his finallend: and there staid till in a deep fimpence whether he shall pas over or no. Then Settums, one of the Kings servitors and liege-men, asked him why he lingered and made delay, being so great a peril and jeoparde as he was ? and fhow-ed him withal, how the Lucas intended to play false with him, and fough occasion to forelay and do him a milchief. With that the King looked behind him, and epihed them afar off in a troop coming against him: whereupon he drew his fword, put his horifie to it, took the River, and rode through the midft thereof: and when he was now fo far pased that he was ready to take the land one of those banifht Lucas landed a dart alfo at him, and fluck him quite through. Whereupon he fell down dead with the dart (licking in his body, and the firem car-ried it down as far as to the Corps de guard of the enemies, Where his breathles enemies was O fhamefully minded and mangled: for having cut it crofs the middle, rent the one half to * Confedio, and kept the other with themelves still, to pradice a thousand villanies upon it. And as they shot and flung flones at it afar off, a certain woman being amongst this outrages multitude (raging beyond all measure of anger and malice that man heart canderior or beleve) after she had boughht them to forbear a while, with her eyes gushing out tears paid unto them. That her husband and children were prifoners, and in the hands of the enemies: but she hoped with the Kings body, howsoever it were abused and martyred, to redeem them again. This
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A flayed them from farther mangle thereof: Thus all that was left of the Kings body: by the means of one only woman, was burnt at Conteria: and his bones sent back afterwards to the enemies unto Metapontium, and from thence conveyed to Epirus, unto Cleopatra his wife, and his litter Olympia: whereas the one was litter, the other Mother to Alexander the Great, thus much concerning the woful and unhappy end of Alexander the King of Epirus. Whole fortune albeit was such, that he came thither, and was cut off before he intermeded in the Roman war; yet because he warred in Italy, let it suffice that briefly by the way I have touched his story.

The same year was there a Leetifern at Rome, (which was the fit after the foundation and building of that City) for the pacifying of the same gods as heretofore. Afterwards the new Consuls by the ordinance and direction of the people, sent defiance and proclaimed war against the Samnits. And as they had made themselves greater preparation every way than against the Greeks, so they had besides new aids, whereof (as then) they least thought of: The Lucins and the Apian towns (nations which to that day had no dealing nor commerce at all with the Romans) came to their liege and loyal Allies, offering men and munition toward that war. Whereupon they were by form of Covenant and league entertained and received into their amity. At the same time also the Romans had good success in the Samnits quarters: for three towns there yielded unto them, and they became Masters thereof, to wit, Albans, Callises, Ruffium: all the territory besides at the first coming of the Consul, was pill'd and spoiled far and near. These exploits thus prosperously achieved, the other enterprise also of besieging the Greeks, was well followed and at the point of an end. For over and besides, that by certain forges and blocusses between the enemies forts and forces, one part was cut from the other; they endured also within their own walls, much more misery and calamity, than the enemy menaced and threatened without and as if they had been captives to their own garison fondlers, whom they had called to them for their defense. They suffered infinite villanies, and indignities in the persons as well of their wives as of their children, and even the hardest extremities, that follow upon Cities forced by the enemy. And therefore when it was noised abroad, that there were new successe coming from Tarentum and the Samnits: they supposed that for Samnits, there were already within their walls more of them than they would marvel, as for Tarentins they looked willingly for their help, as Greeks both the one & the other, hoping by their means that they might as well withstand the outrages of the Samnits and Nolans, as the Romans their open and professed enemies. Last of all of many inconsideration, that they were driven unto, the least and least was thought, to yield simply unto the Romans. Charilans and Nyphius: two great men and the chief personages of the City, having laid their heads and plotted one with the other, parted the matter between themselves, that the one should flie unto the Roman General, and the other stay behind, to find some opportune and minister ready means to render the City according to their desig'nment. Charilans was the man who presented himself unto Philus, and laid unto him, "To the good and happy fortune be it: said and done of the Paleopolitians and the people of Rome, I am determined to deliver and render the City into your hands: in which Action, whether I may be thought to have been trayed or faved my country, it relleth only in the truth and fidelity of the Romans. As for my selfe priuately, I am come neither to indure, nor yet to crave ought at all: but publicly in the behalf of the City. I would rather by way of petition request, than article and capitulate, thus much, That if this enterprise incended, proposal, speed well and take effect, the people of Rome would think and consider, in what affection, endeavours, and jealousy, our City returneth again into their amity, rather than upon what felly and rashness, it brake their allegiance, and revolted. Then, after he had been badden wellcom by the General, entertained with good and gracious words, and highly commended, he received 5000 fondlers, to keep, surprize, and to seize that part of the quarter of the City, where the Samnits were lodged, and which they held: of this regiment and garrison, I, Quintus a Colonell had the conduct. During this time, Nyphius also did his part, and dealt so craftily under hand with the Prrest of the Samnits, that I induced and wrought him to this point, That for as much as all forces, were either about Paleopolis or in Samnium, he would permit him with the fleet to cast about to the Roman coastes, for that he intended to forrage and waste, not only the maritime parts, but the territories also adjoining to the City: and the better to deceive the enemy (quoth he) I had need to go by night, and therefore the Ships presently must lanch forth, and be set at sea. And to effect this more speedily, all the youth of the Samnits besides the necessary garrison of the City, was sent to the shoar. Where whiles Nyphius, in the dark, and amongst the multitude that hindered one another purposely, spent time in letting confusly, some to this and others to that, Charilans, according to the complot set before, was by his associates received into the City: and having filled the highest places of the town with Roman fondlers, commanded to let up a shout, whereas the Greeks upon a secret taking them by their Captains, kept themselves still and quiet. The Nolans then, at the backside of the town, escaped and fled by the high way, that leadeth to Nola. And the Samnits being excluded out of the town, as they had a more ready mean to fle from the present, to they found it, after they were put danger, a more shameful disgrace. For, they were disarmed and naked men, they had lost all the good they had amongst the enemies, and returned home spoiled, poor and needy, and served for a laughing stock and derision, not only to other nations, but also to their own neighbors and couritmen. Albeit I am not ignorant that there is another opinion...
opinion, whereby it is given out that Palapoli was by the Samnites betrayed: yet as I have credited and followed herein such authors, as I think it were hard if they should not deliver a truth; for I am induced the rather to believe that the Neapolitans returned into amity with the Romans, because of the league extant in their name (for unto them afterwards the State and chief feast of the Greeks was translated.) Unto Publius was decreed a triumph, for that it appeared clearly and was believed constantly, that by his siege the enemies were tame, and to contrain to come to a composition and surrender. Two special favours happened to this man above all others before him, namely, the prerogation of his government not granted to any man aforesight; and triumph after his Magistracy was expired.

Upon the fall of this war, arose another with the Greeks of the other tract or coast. For the Tar- rentines having born the Palapolitans in hand a good while, and fed them with a vain hope of help, when they heard once that the Romans were possessed of their city, complained themselves like men forfaken, and not as those who had forsaken others, much blaming the Palapolitans, and with anger and envy raging against the Romans, Disquited all they were, for that news came that the Lucans and Apulians (for both these nations that year began to contract alliances) were under the protection of the Romans. For now (lay they) they are well near come to us, and shortly we shall grow to this pass, that we must acknowledge the Romans for our Lords; or have them our heavy friends. And verily the trial and hazzard of our estate, dependeth only upon the Samnits war, and the event thereof, which nation alone, and the same nothing mighty, remains now; since that the Lucans are gone and revolted to the Romans: who yet might be reclai med and moved to shake off the society with the Romans, if any feat were wrought and practiced to low some discord and contision between them. These devices and overtakes took place and prevailed with such, as were deliberate of change and novelty: in so much assert of the Lucan youth (better known, than trusted and reputed honest, amongst their countrymen and fellow Citizens, hired alo for a sum of money,) whipped one another with rods, came naked into the assembly of the Citizens, and with open mouth cried out aloud and said, that for preening only to come into the Roman camp, they were by the Cof, thus scourged, escaped narrowly the loss of their heads. The thing it felt pitious and unjeemly to behold, as bearing a fhew rather of wrong done unto them, than of any malicious & subtil practice by them intended, stirred the people up, to force their Magistrates with their unceasant outcries to assemble a Council. Some flanding round about the Senate in council, called hard for war again the Romans: others ran up and down to raise the multitude of Peasants to take arms and in this fir and uproar, which was able to disquiet and amaze even those that were well minded, a decree passed; that the league with Samnits should be resumed, and Embassadors dispatched forthwith, to the same purpose. This was a sudden change; and as it had no colour of caufe, so it carried final credit with it amongst the Samnits, who forced the Lucanians to give hostages and to take garrisons into their fortresses: and they, blinded with anger, and inveigled with flattery, refused nothing. But shortly after began the fraud to appear and thew itself namely, after that the authors and devilers of these false families and flanders, were retired to Tarentin: but having put themselves out of all, and being not at liberty to dispole of their own affairs; they had nothing else left them, but like fools to repent in vain.

That year hapned to the Commons of Rome another beginning of their liberty, in that they were no more either bound in chains, or held in thrall by their creditors. Which priviledg against poor debtors, was altered, by occasion of the filthy luft and notorious cruelty of one Ulitar, And L. Publius was the man unto whom C. Publius for his fathers debt, became bound, and configned himself his prifoner; whole tender age and lovely favor which might and should have moved pity, inflamed the mind of this Ulitar to unkind luft and shameful comnunely: for making foul accounts, that the prime and flower of his youth should satisfie and pay for the intereft of the debt, he first began to allure and entire unto him the youth with wanton & unchaft speeches afterwards seeing that his ears abhorred to hear such filthinesse he cried to minatory words, & ever and anon put him in mind of his present condition wherein he fiold but laft of all, perceiving by him, that he flood more N upon his honor and freedom by birth then respected his hard estate by fortune, he cauied him to be stripped naked and whipping chest to be presented unto him, The poor flripping thus pitifully rent and torn, ran forth into the open street, complained of the filthy luft & cruelty of his creditor, Whereupon, a number of people, enkindled as well with pity and commiseration of the flripping, and indignity of the injurie, so in regard of their own case, and of their children, came running into the Forum or common place, and so from thence in a long train to the court of the Council, The Consuls upon this sudden uproar were forced to call a Senate, and as the Senators entered into the Council chamber, they lay all prostrate at their feet, as they pass'd by, one after another, & shew'd unto them the young mans back and fides in what taking they were. And that one day, by occasion of the outrageous enormity of one person, brake the neck of that mighty bond, whereby, to that day, the creditors had their debtors, in danger unto them. For the Conft, had in charge, to pro pole unto the people, that from thence forward, no person whatsoever, unless he had committed some heinous fact, and until he were to suffer therefore, should be either kept in fetters and gives, or fet of upon the rack, Item, that for lent money, the goods of the debtor and not the body should be obliged. So they that were in bondage, became released and enlarged: and order was taken for the time to come, that none should be imprisoned by their creditors again.

The same year, whiles the Samnits war of it fell alone, besides the sudden revolt of the Lucans, together
The Eighth Book of T. Livius.

A together with the Tarentins the hatchers thereof, held the Senators of Rome in care and perplexity enough: behold over and above all these, the Veiiin people, as a furrocate to their troubles, joined and banded with the Samnits. Which new occurrent as, for that year it rather maintained this discord amongst men in their ordinary talk every where, than mimitated cause of ferior debating in public Council: to the Confuls of the year following, L. Furris Camillus the second time, and Jun. Brutus Servus, thought no one thing more important than it, and need ful to be creased of in the Senate with the frift. And albeit the thing were but new: and a breeding, yet to greatly were the L. hereabout troubled. that they feared no less to begin to take in hand, then to neglect it altogether, and not to see it: doubtless, lest if they were let go unpunished, the next neighbors would grow too lulty and prouer: and again, if they seemed to chastise them by war, the rest for fear of the like measure, might be provoked to anger, take arms, and enter into a general rebellion. And all, and every one of them, namely, the Martians, the Pelignians and Marins, were in tents of arms comparable and equal to the Samnits every which: every nation they might be sure to have their enemies, if they medled with the Veiiins, and touched them once never to little. Howbeit, that part prevailed and took place, which for the present, seemed to carry more courage and valor, then fage advice and wisdom: but the ill use and event thowed, that Fortune favoured Fortitude. So the people by authority and direction of the Nobiles. decreed war against the Veiiins: the charge whereof of light by lot upon Brutus, and Samnium left to Camillus.

To both places were the armies conducted: and by the care and industry employed in the defense of the marchs and frontiers the enemies were impeached for joining their forces together. Howbeit the Consul Furris Camillus, who had the greater and weightier charge laid upon him, fortunately to fail, gently only, and thereby could not follow the wars: who being commanded to nominate a Dictator, for to manage and conduct his affairs, declared the noblest warrior in those days, L. Papius Curtor: by whom Q. Fabius Rutilianus was named General ofhostmen, a couple hardly of great name and highly renowned for their worthy acts, achieved in this in their government: yet more famous and voiced abroad, by reason of variance and discord which fell between them: whereby they grew well near to the utmostterms of cancelling one another in extremity. The other Consul warred with the Veiiins many and findy ways, but more with like fortune and happy success. For he forraged and wafted their country: and b, by pillage, riving, and turning their houses and corn, forced them against their wills into the field: and in one battel so eneefbled and abated the forces of the Veiiins (but not without bloodshed of his own men) that his enemies not only fled into their camp, but also as not truing now to their ramparts and trenches, they were constrained to flee away into their towns, minding for to fave themselves, as well by the natural situation of the places, as the strength of their good walls. In the end, he made a fult upon those walled Cities, purpofing by force to win them. And first he gained Cutina by scaling, either through the exceeding courage of his fouldiers, or their anger, being so chafed as they were at their hurts received: that scarcely one escaped out of the throne and skirmish, clear & not wounded. Then he likewise took Cingioli: and gave the pillage of both Cities to his fouldiers. Neither gates nor walls could stand in their way and keep them out. But into Samnium the journey was undertaken by the Dictator with doubtful Antipaces and uncertain knowledge of the will of the gods. The default and terror whereof took not effect in the main event and illuse of the war, (for it was prosperous and fortunate) but turned to the rage and anger of the chief leaders, who fell out deadly one with another. For Papius the Dictator, advised by the Pullarius, that had the custody and charge of the fared Pullets, went back to Rome to take the Aufipices, (or the prefage by the bird-flight) and it sharply charged his General of horse to keep himself close within his hold, and in no wife to give the enemies battel during his absence. But Fabius after the Dictators departure, advertised by the ephials that the enemies were even as careless, as loose and disorder, as if there had been no Roman in Samnium? whether it were, that being a fhort and lively young Gentleman, he took into scorn and thought it an indignity, that all should not seem to ret in the Dictator only: or that he was induced with the good opportunity of doing some brave exploit (I wont not) but he went forth with an army in order of battle to Ismolinium, (that was the places name) & there fought a field with the Samnits. But (such was the happy illuse of this battel, that it the Dictator himself had been there in person, he could not have been better managed. For, neither Captain failed his fouldiers, nor fouldiers their Captain. The horsemen also under the leading of L. Cominius Colonel by his place, (who findy times charged and recharged again, and could not with force break the enemies arrays) unbred their horses, and ran them all on the spur; that no strength was able to abide them: such an hauock, such a race made they all about over armour and men. The footmen foering this hot charge of the horse, advanced the eniiogs against the enemies thus put in disorder: and twenty thousand men (by report) were that day slain. In some authors I find, that twice in the Dictators abfence he fought, and twice had the upper hand. But in the molt ancient writers I read but of one battel. In some Chronicles the whole matter is piffed over and let out clean. The General of the horse having gained a mighty mafs of spoil, as otherwise he could not chuse, upon to fraw a laughter & mischief gathered together into one heap all the enemies armor made a fire under, & burned them: were it that he had made some such vow to one of the gods: or as I lift rather to believe it was a motive of Fabius himself, that the Dict, should not reap the fruit of his glory, and enfile his name thereto: or in pomp carry those spoils before him at his triumph.
Moreover, the letters of this victory by him sent to the Senat, and not a word thereof to the Dictator, were some proof, that he was not willing to impart and communicate his praisethis with him. But certainly, the Dictator took the matter in all parts, that when every man else was joyful for this noble victory achieved, he only showed anger and disdain in his very countenance. Whereupon suddenly he dissolved the Senat, and departed in great haste out of the court, giving out and often uttering these words; Then hath the matter of hermesen in deeds as well exerted and overthrown, both Dictators Majesty and military discipline, as defeated the Samnites legions, it kec to go clear away and escape unpunished, with so manifest contempt of my express commandment. Whereupon, full of threats and indignation, he hastened to the camp, and took long journeys; yet could he not prevent the fruit of his coming. For there were Vanturiers that I posted from the City before, to bring word that the Dictator was coming, full of revenge, and set upon punishment, and at every instant word almost, commending the late exemplary justice of T. Mummius. Then Fabius immediately calling an audience, beheld the frontiers, that with what valor and virtue they had defended the Commonwealth from most deadly and mortal enemies, with the fame they would protect him from the outrageous cruelty of the Dictators, himselfe (I say) by whose conduct and fortune they had gotten so glorious a victory. "Furnow, reciting he is (quoth he) for envy out of his right wits, and beside himselfe: for anger at another mans mankind and dexterity, furious and horn-mad, and all is no more but this that in his absence, to his death, we have stood well; who withfeath rather in his heart, if he could change the course of fortune, that the Samnites had won the victory than the Romans: and nothing is so K face in his mouth, as, That his commandment was commended: as who would say, he forbade not bawd, until he had the same mind, wherein he now grieveth that we have fought. For so is his will, good, even tor very envy to hinder and suppress the troubles of another, and went a bout to take weapons away from most forward soldiers, detestous of fight, that in his absence they might not lay hand to their swords: so now, see how he retrencheth and limiteth in greater choicel at this, that without L. Papirius the soldiers were not disarmed, demembreth as it were, and maineth: and for that Q. Fabius forgot not his place, but bare himself General of the Cury, and not as a Servant and follower of the Dictator, standing at court, and waiting at an inch when some under Captainship would fall, that he might step into the place. What would this man (think ye) have done, how would he have treated, (as the fortune and L. doubtful chance of war oftentimes goeth) we had been put to the worst and left the day; who now that the enemies are vanquished, the field so well fought, the State so well served, asby the most singular Captain in the world, better it might not be, thus meanceth execution to me the General of the horfe, even in the honour of my counpell? Neither is he (my masters) jun ely bent and set upon mischief against the General of the horne more then against the Colonels, the Centurions and common Soldiers: may, he would (be ye sure) if he had been able, have raged and lated as bitterly, yer, and executed his ire and furious rage upon all, But because he cannot, now he doth harry his gale upon us alone. For even as envy, like a flaming fire, learned and moumet up to the highest, so runneth he upon the chief Captain, and aimeth at the head of this worthy exploit. If he had once extinguished him, together with the glory of M. this brave service, then like a Conqueror and Lord over a poor captive army, whatsoever he might by law execute against a General of the Cury, he would attempt and extend, upon the simple soldiers. Make reckoning therefore, that in running fall to me and in defence of my cause, ye uphold the liberty of all. For in case he shall perceive once, the same agreement of the army in the maintenance of the victory, which was well seen in the battle, and that ye all have a care and regard of the life and safety of one, his flomack will come down. his heart will relent and incline to clemency, and a milder sentence. To conclude, I recommend my life, and whole estate to your verme and faithful protection. Then from all parts of the audience they cried unto him aloud & bade him take a good heart: for so long as the Legions of the Romans were alive, there should no person do him harm or injury. Soon after came the Dictator, and presently S by sound of trumpet summoned a general assembly. And the public Crier after an Oieze made called by name for Q. Fabius General of the horfe. Who so soon as he was come from a lower place where he was, and approached near the Tribunal, (then quoth the Dictator) "I demand of thee, Q. Fabius, since that the rule of the Dictator is sovereign and highest above all others, whereto the Comuls ended with kingly pujiance and government, do obey, ye, & Pratrors are treated with the same authority that Comuls are whether thou elicent it meet and right, that a General of horfe should be obedient to his commandment or not? demand likewise, whether I my self knowing that I took my journey and went from home with doubtful and uncertain Anace, ought to have put the mainattake of the Common-wealth in hazard against the order and religious obligation in that behalf; and not rather, to go again to take new Apepia, that I might adventure & attempt nothing so long as I stood in doubt of the grace & favor of the gods? And withall, this I demand, whether the General of the horsemens could be freed, exempted & dis charged of that scriple of conscience, which checked and stayed the Dictator from execution of his charge? But what mean I to make these demands? Seeing that if he had departed with out laying one word, yet thou shouldst have framed thy opinion and applied thy mind according to the interpretation of my will and pleasure? Why layest thou nothing? Answer me I say, Forbad I thee not expressly, to do any thing in my absence? Forbad I not thee to fight with the enemies? How
How dart thou in conceiue of my commandment, whiles our Aespiicia were uncertaine, when our confidences were unresolved and with scruples troubled, against Military custom, and that thou, against the discipline of our ancestors, and against the will and direction of the gods: how dart thou, I say, to be so hardy as to encounter with the enemy? To these interrogatories make answer directly. Answer I charge thee, to all these points, and nothing but these, and at the peril of thy life, not a word besides. Now come Sergeant and do thine office the while.

To whilk, his serving to, when Fabius could not readily answer point by point, one while comliaining that he had him for his accuser, who was the judge of his life and death: other whiles crying out aloud, that sooner might his life be taken from him, than the glory and honor of his benefactors: and as he justified and excused his own tell, he began again to challenge and accuse the Dictator.

Then Popirius being in more heat of choler than before, commanded the General of the horsemen to be stripped out of his cloaths and uncased, and the rods and axes to be brought forth ready. With that, Fabius calling earnestly for the help of the soldiers, whiles the officers were a tearing and rasing his cloaths from his back, made means to retire himself into the ranks of the Triaria, who began already to make a mutiny and uproar in the assembly. From whence there arose an outcry over all the audience, Some were heard to intreat, others to threaten, They who forsook to stand next to the Tribunal, because that being within the view and eye of the Dictator they might be known and noted, befought his Majesty to spare and pardon the General of the horse, and not with him to condemn the whole army. They that were farthest off in the skirt of the assembly, and especially that troop and company about Fabius, rated and cried out upon him with a rigorous and merciless Dictator. And a little thing more would have made them mutiny: nay, within the very compass of the Tribunal all was not clear and quiet. The Lieutenant or Colonels of whole legions, standing about his seat or chair of state intreated him to put off the matter until the morrow: to give his choler some time to cool, and allow space and respite to consider of it with advice and counsel: saying, 'If Fabius had played a youthful part, he had paid sufficiently for it already, and his victory had received disgrace and dishonour: enough, before him not to proceed to these extremities of utmost execution not to let him be a brand and noose of ignominy and shame upon the young Gentleman himself, to rare and gallant a Knight: or on his father, a most honourable and excellent personage, not yet upon the noble hone, and name of the Fabii. But when they saw how little they prevailed by their prayers, and as little by any reasons they could alledge: then, they admonished him to have a regard to the furious assembly of the soldiers: and that it was not for a man of his years and wit-teem, thus to put more fire to the hot stomack of Soulardis enkindled already, nor to administer more matter of mutiny: and if such a thing should happen, no man would impute the blame to Q. Fabius, who fought and humbly craved pardon of punishment, but to the Dictator: if he overcame with choler, should blindly forbear himself in willful peevishness, as to provoke the outrageous multitude against himself. Finally, that he should not think, how they laboured thus for any affectionate favour, but only to Q. Fabius: but were ready to take an oath, that they thought it not safe for the State and Commonwealth that he should proceed at such a time, to execute the rigor of justice upon Q. Fabius. By these and such like remonstrances, when as the Lieutenant had stirred up the Dictator his blood against himself, rather then pacified his mood against Fabius, they were commanded to go down from the Tribunal. And when as the Crier had assailed to make silence all in vain, for that by reason of the noise and tumult, neither the Dictator his voice nor any of his apparatus and harpards about him, could be heard, the night came upon them and ended the contention, as if it had been a battle in field. The General of the horse was commanded to appear on the morrow. Now when as every man gave it out and avouched unto him, that Popirius would proceed more vehemently, for that concerning the Lieutenant, and that the more he was dealt withal the worse he was: Fabius privately took out of the camp and fled to Rome. And by the means of his father M. Fabius, a man who had been already thrice Consul and Dictator, the Senate was called together immediately. And as he was in the midst of his grievous complaints before the Lords, touching the violent and wrong of the Dictator, all of a sudden, there was heard before the Council House door, a great noise and brawling of the citizens. Whiles they made way and voided the press. And no marvel; for the Dictator himselfe was come with a revenging mind. For so soon as he had heard how Fabius was departed out of the camp, he followed after with his light horsemen. Then began the bruit to be remov'd abroad, and Popirius called Fabius to be atticked, whereupon the chief of the Nobility, and the whole body of the Senate began to enterpose themselves by way of mediation: but all their intent was withstanding, he perilled his in impecable anger. Then leaped forth M. F. from the river. For as much as he, whether the authority of the Senate nor mine old age, whom you seek to make chidelnor yet the valor noble courage of the General of horse, by your own self chosen and nominated, can preval, nor any humble prayers which are able to appease the fury of the enemy, my offenders yea, and to pacifie the wrath and indignation of the gods: I implore the lawful help of the Tribunal, and to the whole body of the people I appeal. And since that you challenge and expect against the judgement of your own army, and of the Senate, I offer and present unto you that judge, who only is of more force and power, I am, then, your Dictatorship, I will see whether you will yield to this appeal, whereunto the Roman King Tribune, Fabius give place. Then out of the Council house they went straight to the Common place of audience: and
and when the Dictator, attended with some few, was attended up, and the General of the Cavalry accompanied with all his whole troop of the chief of the City, Papirius commanded that he should come down or else be fetched from the Restraunto the lower ground. The father followed after him. "Well done (quoth he) in commanding us to be brought hither, from whence we may be allowed to speak our minds, if we were no better then privy persons. At the first there passed no continued speeches so much, as wrangling and altercation, But afterwards the voice and indignation of old Fabius, surmounted and drowned the other noise; who greatly blamed and cried out upon the pride and cruelty of Papirius. "What many (quoth he) I have been also a Dictator of Rome my self, and yet was there never so much as a poor Commoner, no Cen
turion, nor Souldier hardly entreated or minced by me. But Papirius teelketh victory and tri-
umph over a Roman Grand-Captain and Generals, as over the Leaders and Commanders of his enemies. See, lee, what difference there is between the government in old time, and this new pride & cruelty of late days. Quintus Cincinnatus a Dictator for the time, proceeded no farther in punishment against Minunus, when he was slain to deliver him lying entioned & beaten with
in his own camp, but to leave him as a Lieutenant in stead of Conulu, in the army whereof he had charge. M. Furius Consulius, not only for the present tempered his choler toward L. Furi-
lius, who in contempt of his own age and authority, had fought most untowardly and with
disdiscount in the end; and wrote nothing to the people or the Senate but well, of his Collegue: but alo being returned, made a special reckoning of him above all the Tribuns consular, whom alo of all his colleagues, when as he had the choice granted him by the Senate, he elected to be K his coadjoitur in the charge of his government. Neither the people verify, whose power is So-
verain over all, were ever more angry against those, that through rashness and want of skill left whole armies, than to fine them at a sum of money. For the lossf and miscarriage of any
battel, that a General should be brought into question and answer for his life, was never heard of this day. And now, rods and axes, whipping and beheading, are prepared for the Com-
mmanders under the people of Rome, and those, who are conquerors and have deferred most justly triumphs; which by no law can be offered to those that have been vanquished. What else I pray you should my son have endured, if he had bearedly suffered the field to be lost and his ar-
my withall? If he had been discomfited, put to flight, and driven clean out of the field, how far forth further would the Dictator his ire and violence have proceeded, than to scourge L
and kill? And see how fit and feemly a thing it is that the City for the victory of Q. Fabius,
should be in joy, in procession to the gods, and thankings, with congratulation and feast-
ing one another; and he himself by whose means the Tempies stand open, the Altars smackle
incense and sacrifice, and are heaped up again with vows, oblations, and offerings, to be stripped
naked, to be whipped and torn in the sight of the people of Rome, looking up to the Capitol and
the Caffle, lifting up his eyes to the gods upon whom in two such noble battels he called and in-
vocated, not in vain nor without good and happy success? With what heart will the army take
this, which under his leading and conduct and under his fortune,achieved victory? What la-
damentation will there be in the Roman camp, and what rejoicing on the other side amongst the en-
emies? Thus fired this good old father thus pleaded he by way of expostulation and complaint, M calling upon God and man for help, and withal embraced his son in his arms, and shed many a tear. "On the one side, there made with young Fabius, and took his part, the majesty and coun-
tenance of the Senat, the favour and love of the people, the alacrity of the Tribuns, and the re-
membrane of the army alfo. On the other side were allsed against him by Papirius: the in-
vincible government and Empire of the people of Rome, the discipline of warfare. the Dictators
commandment (observed and received at all times, no lefs then the Oracle & will of the gods)
the fevere edicts of Metellus, whose fatherly love and affection to his dear son was fet behind the
service and common good of the State. Alfo it was allsden, that the fame exemplary justice, L
Britius the firft founder of the Roman liberty, executed in his two sons, and now mild and kind
fathers, indulgent and fond old men in the cafe of contempt of other mens commandment, give N
liberty to youths and pardon as a small matter, the overthrow of military discipline. Howbeit, he
for his part would persist in his purpose still, nor remit one jot of condign punishment to him,
who contrary to his commandment and notwithstanding the trouble and confusion of religion,
and the doubtful Auspices, had given battel, saying, That as it was not in his power to abridge
any jot the majesty of that State and Empire, for being everlaifting to L. Papirius would diminish
mough of the authority thereof willing, That neither the Tribuns punish;execute and inviolable
in it should by their opposition & interposing of their negative voice, violate the Empire of
Rome: nor that the people of Rome, should in him above all others abohl and extinguishing both
Dictator and Dictatorship. Which if it did, the poterity hereafter should lay the weight and
blame (although in vain) not in L. Papirius, but in the Tribuns, and in the perverse judgment O
the people: when as the military discipline being once polluted and stained, neither souldier
would obey the Centurions commandment, nor the Centurion the Colonels, nor Colonel the
Lieutenant nor Lieutenant the Consuls, nor yet General of horse, the Dictator: whi's no man
bath regard and reverence either of men or of gods; no Edicts of Dictator, no flight of Birds
observed; but that without pafore, the souldiers may wander and rove, either in their own
ground or the enemies land, and unmindful of their sacred military oath, may caffher and di-
charge themselves from souldiery, through a licentious liberty of their own, whenever they lift; leaving
But earnestly, and without a doubt, the Dictator was charged by the words end: lay down you must, and go current for solemn and sacred warfare. Without these crimes and absurd inconveniences of the Tribuns, charged you must be to the words and your own lives for the audacious disobedience of Q. Fabius, for whom ye are now an

The Tribuns, were alarmed here, and for themselves now rather careful and perplexed, than for him who had recourse unto them for refuge and interv.

But the general consent of the people of Rome, turning to prayer and intreaty, sealed them of this heavy load and burden: and with one voice humbly besought the Dictator, to remit the punishment of the General of horse, for their sake. The Tribuns also, feeling that was the way, and all enquiring and growing to Petition, followed after, and did the like: earnestly beseeching the Dictator to forgive this human frailty, and youthful folly of Q. Fabius, saying, that he had inflicted chastisement enough. Then the young man himself, then his father M. Fabius, forgetting all spite, and laying aside debate, fell down at the Dictator's feet, and besought him to appease his wrathful displeasure. Hereupon the Dictator utter silence made, "yea marry (quoth he) O Quirites, this like well, and thus it should be; now hath military discipline got the victory, now hath the majesty of your Emiiure prevailed indeed, which lay both a bleed and were in hazzard to have been abolished and overthrown for ever, after this day, Q. Fabius is not acquit of his offence, in that he fought against his sovereigns commandment: but being thereof convicted and cast, is forgiven any, is given rather to the people of Rome and the Tribuns power, whole assistance and help is granted for their instant prayers, and not of duty. Well, Rise up, Q. Fabius and live, a most happy man forth this agreement of the City in thy defence, than for that victory, upon which erewhile thou batest thy selfe to bravely. Live (I say) thou that hast been so bold to commit that fact, which thine own father here, if he had been in L. Popirius his place, would never have pardoned. And as for me, into my grace and favour thou mayst come again, at thine own will and pleasure: But the people of Rome, to whom thou art beholden and obliged for thy life, thou shalt perform no greater duty and service than that the example of this day work may be a teaching and warning to thee for ever, to obey, as well in war as in peace, all lawful commands of superior Majesties. After that he had pronounced the pardon of the General of horse and discharged him of the Cour, and was departed himself out of the common place of audience, the Senate joyfull and highly contented, and the people much more, came all about them. And on the one side bidding joy to the General of the horse aforesaid, and on the other side giving thanks to the Dictator, followed after, and accompanied them both: and it was generally thought, that military government was no less confirmed and established by this peril and danger only of young Q. Fabius, then by the late pious execution of young Manilius.

By chance that year so fell out, that as often as the Dictator absented himself from the Army, E to often the enemies rose and railed troubles in Samnium, Howbeit, the fresh example of Q. Fabius was ever in the eye of M. Valerius, Lieutenant General and Governor of the camp, who feared as well the dread wrath of the Dictator, as any violent attempts of his enemies whatsoever. Infomuch, as when purveyours for corn being entrapped by an ambuscue were left, in a place of disadvantage commonly it was thought and believed that they might have been by the Lieutenant relented and saved, but for fear of these rigorous and terrible edicts. For anger hereof, the Dictator sent the hearts of the focondists, who were already malcontent, for that he was so inexorable in the cause of Q. Fabius, and had denied them that, at their intant intreaty, which afterwards he yielded unto and pardoned, at the suit and request of the people of Rome. The Dictator after that he had left for the government of the city L. Papirius Craflus the General of horse, discharged Q. Fabius, and forbidden him to administer any thing by virtue of that office, returned into the camp. Whole coming was neither very welcome and joyful to his own comm ' the focondists, nor yet struck any terror in his enemies the Samnites. For, the nestmorrow, were it, that they knew not that the Dictator was come, or little cared and weighed whether he were present or absent, they approached the camp in order of battel. Howbeit, that one man, L. Papirius, the Dictator was of such valor and importance, that if the love of the focondists hadseconded the policy and fadge conduct of their Commander, the war with Samnites had by that day been quite dispersed and ended, put all adventure, so skillfully he let the battel in array, so warily he chose his ground of advantage, so strengthened he the same with supplies out of the terregard, in all warlike skil and military policy. But the focondists failed for their parts and went coldly to Q their mine's even of purpose that the valiant and commendable parts of the Captain might be disdained and depraved, and the victory was much hindered and impeded. Howbeit, many of the Samnites were slain: and in exchange as many of the Romans butt. But he like a wise and expert Captain, so percieved, what was the cause that stayed the victory. He law well enough, that he was to temper his own nature and to allow that severity of his within midnes and ortefe. And therefore, taking with him the Lieutenants himself in person went about to lift the wounded soldiers, putting his head into their tents searching asking each one how they did; harved the Lieutenants, Colonels, Provost-Marshal's, and other officers of the camp, to tend and look unto.
unto the sick fouldiers, recommending their care unto them particularly by name. This being a thing in it fell popular, he handled and ordered with such dexterity; that by curing their bodies, their minds also and hearts were much sooner gained and reconciled to their General. And nothing made more for the speedy recovery of their health, than their thankful acceptance of that care and diligence of his. When he had thus refreshed and repaired his army, he encountered once again the enemy with asured hope of himself and his fouldiers, to obtain a final victory; and so dispatched and put them to flight, that the Samnites after that day, durst never fight again with the Dictator. Then the victorious army marched, as any hope of booty and pillage guided and directed them; and as they overran their enemies country, they found no force nor resistance, either in open field, or covert ambusc. This also encouraged them the more, and cheered their hearts, for that the Dictator had by proclamation given away the whole spoil among the fouldiers; so that their private gain when them on against their enemies, no less then the common anger and publick quarrel. The Samnites ramed and fubdued by these lofes and overthrowes, sued to the Dictator for peace; with whom they capitulated, and made offer to allow unto every fouldier one livery, and the full wages of one year. But being commanded to go to the Senate, they made answer, That they would accompany the Dictator, recommending and putting their caufe and whole effeet to his faithful protection, to his venue and goodness only. Thus the Army was withdrawn from the Samnites, the Dictator with triumph entered the City: and when he would have resigned up the Dictatorship, the Senate ordained, That before he gave over, he should create Consuls, So C. Sulpicius Longus the second time, and Q. Emilius Lepidus were elected.

The Samnits not having concluded peace, (for that they varied about the conditions, and were to treat farther thereupon) yet brought with them from the City of Rome, truce for a year. Which they observed not faithfully: so soon were their timmacks up again to make war; after they had intelligence, that Papirius was out of government, Whiles C. Sulpicius, and Q. Emilius (or Aulus as some Chronicles have) were Consuls; besides the revolting of the Samnites, there arose a new war also from the Apullians. Both ways was there a power lent, Sulpicius his lot was to go against the Samnites, and Emilius against the Apullians. Some write, that upon the Apullians themselves no war was made, but contrariwise, that the confederate States of that Nation were defended from the violence and wrong of the Samnits. Howbeit, the low estate of the Samnits at that time, I hardly able to maintain and defend themselves, made it more likely and credible, that the Apullians, were not warred upon by them, but that the Romans made war with both Nations at once. But no memorable act or exploit was there performed: only the Apullian country, and Samnium was waited: and the enemies no where at all to be found, but at Rome there happeped a scare by night, which raised every man so suddenly out of their first sleep, and so affrighted the City, that presently at one instant the Capitol and the Castle, the Walls and Gates were full of armed men. And when as from all places, there was running, and crying alarm, the morrow morning at the break of day, there appeared neither author, nor cause of this fear.

The same year the Tufculans were judicially condemned before the people of Rome by process; and that by a law that Flavius preferred. This M. Flavius, Tribun of the Commons, exhibited M a bill of Endiament to the people, that some punishment might be inflicted upon the Tufculans: For that through their afflance and Counsel, the Velliterns and Privenans had taken arms against the people of Rome. The Tufculans with their wives and children referred to Rome. Which multitude having changed their apparel, and clad in poor array and habit, as prisoners at the bar, went about from Tribe to Tribe, falling down upon their knees: to every man. Whereupon, partly prevailed more to obtain pardon of punishment, then the goodness of their caufe to the purging of their guilt. So all the Tribes except Polibus, disarmed and made void the Endiament aforesaid. But the sentence of the Tribe Polibus was, That as many as were of age and undergrown, to wit, fourteen year old and upward, should be scourged and put to death, Item their wives and children, by martial law, should be sold in open port-sale. And for certain it is reported, that N the Tufculans took to keep deep an anger against the authors of this hard and cruel doom, that they have carried it in mind even to our fathers days. For in despite thereof no Candidate, or Competitor for an office of the Tribe Polibus, was ever wont to get the voices of the Tribe Papirius. The year following, whiles Q. Fabius and L. Fabius were Consuls, A. Cornelius Arrius Dictator, and M. Fabius Amphilochus General of horse; having taken a straitersey fouldiers then ordinary, for fear of a greater war in Sannhum (for it was reported that the whole manhood and flower of the youth were taken up and waged out of the countries adjoining) led forth a goodly and puilliant army against the Samnites. But they pitched their camp so carefully in the enemies ground, as if the enemy had been far off: and the Samnites legions came on a sudden so proudly, as they far forward the trench and rampart, and encamped close to the Corps of the Romans. Howebeit the night approached so fast, that they were hindered for affaying the Camp: but they gave it out plainly, they would do it the morrow after by day light. The Dictator seeing that he must fight neeter than he expected or hoped; for fear left the straightsenes and disadvantage of the ground, might prejudice and hinder the valour of his fouldiers, leaving fire-thick burning in the camp, for to disappoint the fire of the enemies, in the still night with silence leadeth for his legions: but yet could he not for the neerness of their camp escape, but be copied of them. The horsemen forthwith followed upon them in the tail, and
A. and prefixed hard upon the army in their march, yet in such sort, that before it was day, they would not light, nay, the very footmen were not all issue out of the camp before day light. At length when it was broad day, the Horsemens adventured to charge upon the Romans, and partly by playing upon the tail of the hindmost, and partly by skirmishing in places that were hard to be passed over, they hindered their march and kept them behind. In the mean while their Infantry also overtook the Cavally, as now the Samnites with all their forces came upon them. The Dictator seeing he could not go farther without his great loss and dilapidation, commanded his men to fortify even in that very place where he stood: but for as much as the light Horsemens of their enemies were overpiped all about, they could not possibly go to provide flake to make a parapet or rampire, nor begin to call a trench. When he perceived therefore that he neither could go forward, nor retire with safety, he removed all his baggage out of the ranges, and let his men in battle array. The enemies do the like, and were not behind either in courage or in forces. But this mott of all heartened and encouraged them, for that they being ignorant that the occasion of the enemies retreat was the disadvantage and / straightness of the place, presumed that they did it upon fear: and therefore they in terrible manner followed after them, as if the Romans had fled and been affrighted. And even that for a good while held the fight in doubtful balance, albeit the Samnites a long time had not been used to abide among as the first shott of the Roman army when they give the charge. But verily that day, from the third hour unto the eight, it is said that the battle stood to equal an indifferent, that neither the shout and cry were redoubled, nor heard the second time, after it was once let up at the first buckling: nor the enigns were let forward, or withdrawn backward, but remained where they were: nor yet of any part were they seen to retire or go back, but every man in his degree and place, bending forward and prefixing with his shield, without breathing or looking back, still fought a front: the same noise one resolution to die or fight it out, and not to give over before utter weariness or dark night. Now began the strength of men to fail, now the Spear point and edge of the sword, began to turn and lose their force, and now the Captains themselves were to seek for counsel and what to do: By what time all at once the Samnites Horsemens hearing that the carriages of the Romans with one only Comet were gone a good way off from the armed fouldiers, without any other guard and fortification: for greediness of spoil let upon them. Which when a messenger in great hail and fear reported to the Dictator: Let them alone (quoth he) let them encumber themselves with the spoil, and spare not. Then came others one after another, windstirs with running, crying out and saying, that all was gone: and that every where where the fouldiers goods were filled, ranicked and carried clean away. Whereupon he sent for the General of Horsemens. See ye not (quoth he) O M. Fabius, the batter abandoned of our enemies Cavally? They stand still and are encumbered and pereird with our carriages. Now therefore charge upon them, disbanded as they are, (which usually happeneth to any multitude, but in pillage) find them you shall (no doubt) few on Horseback, and as few with weapon in hand: and whiles they are lodging their Horses with spoil, kill them unarmed, and make it bloody booty to them, and let them buy it full deely: as for me, let me alone with the charge of the legions and footmen: have you the honour of the Horsemens service. Then the Cavally ranged into a Squadrion, as exquisitely and skillfully as possibly might be, ran forcibly upon the enemies disarrayed and clogged with cavage, beating them down, and making a miserable massacre of them in every place. For being (as they were) among packs and fardels which they catt from them suddenly, and now lay against their feet to stumble on as they fled, and in the Horses way, that were amazed and afraid, they were not able well, either to fly or to fight, and so were slain. When as the enemies Cavally were thus defeated and welter all come to naught, then M. Fabius wheeling about his wings of Horsemens, for to fetch a compass, set upon the Infantry at their backs: Whereupon arose a new fearful cry, which caueth the hearts of the Samnites to tremble and quake. The Dictator withal, seeing the formost of the enemies fighting in the front, looking back ever and anon, their enigns out of order, and all their battalions wavering and sifting to and fro: called hard upon his footmen, and exhorted them to fight heartily; cried unto the Colonels, the Sergeants of Bands and Corporals severally by name, to re-engage and renew the battle again with him. Thus with a fresh and new shout, they advance the Standards, and stirr forward the enigns and the farther they march on, the more perceived they the enemies to be troubled, and dilatory. And now by this time, the Horsemens also were within the fight of the formost in the vanguard: and Cornelian looking back to the bands and companies of his footmen, making sign with hand and with voice as well as he could, thowed and made demonstration unto them that they saw the colours and targets of their own fellow Horsemens. Which when they once heard, and saw withal: presently as if they had forgot the burre which they endured almost a whole day, and felt no heart of their wounds, they bellifed themselves against the enemy as heartily, as if they had newly come out of their rents, and in their heart and keen but now the signal, and heard the sound of trumpet, to a batter. Now were the Samnites no longer able to incite the terror of the Horsemens behind, and the violence of the footmen before: but were either slain in the midst between, or scattered abroad in flight. Such as layed and were environed about, the footmen flew: those who fled were troubled under the Horse feet and killed: among whom the General himself left his body on the earth. This batter above all other, so quelled and daimned the hearts of the Samnites and crushed their forces, that in all their Diets and Counsellcs they mitertered and gave out, That it was no marvel that they
they spent so ill, in all their affairs of arms, the quarrel was so bad and ungodly, and the war begun so contrary to a covenant or truce, and having the very Gods, and that justly, more against them and greater enemies than men: and that such a war must needs cost some great overthrow, and might not be expiat without some notable satisfaction. Here only was the difficulty and difference, whether vengeance and punishment should be taken of the guilty blood of a few, or of the guiltier blood of all. And even then, sometime there were, that doubt nominate the very authors of this war. And one specially, to wit, Brutus Papius, whose name was by the common voice and consent heard above all the rest. A noble and mighty man he was, and without question, the principal breaker of this last truce. The Pretors being enforced therefore, to determine as touching him what was to be done; at length decreed, That Brutus Papius should be delivered to the I Romans, and that together with him, all the Roman pillage and their prisoners should be sent to Rome: and that of all the goods, unto which according to the covenant and composition, the Feclials laid claim, there should, according to right and equity, restitution be made. Then were the Heralds, by virtue of the decree, sent to Rome, together with the deads corpses of Brutus: for he to avoid shame and punishment, wilfully killed himself. It was thought good, that with his body all his goods also, should be delivered. Howbeit none of all these things but only the captives, and whatsoever could justly be owned out of the booty, was received: all the rest were offered, but in vain, for nothing was accepted. The Dictator by virtue of an act of the Senat, triumphed. Some write that this war was fought by the Consuls, and that they triumphed over the Samnits: and that Fabius also went forward into Apulia, and from thence brought away K great and rich prizes. But without all controversy, A. Cornel, was Dictator that year: this only was the doubt, whether he were created for the conduct of this war, or at the Roman games (Cerefenes) (because L. Cato was aptly to be grievously grieved) to give the signal when the chariots and fleeds should be set out of the Barriers to run the race for their prize: and that having done that function of a charge (I wis not worth the remembrance) he should leave his Dictator place. It is not an easy thing to prefer either one matter, or one author before another. I suppose rather for my part, that the record and memorial of these matters hath been depraved and corrupt-ed, by these funeral Orations of praiies, and by these counterfeit and false titles of images; whiles every houte and family draweth to it, the honour and renown of noble exploits, martial feats, and dignities, by any untruth and lie, so it be colourable: And hereupon, surely it is, that both the deeds of particular personis, and the publick records and monuments of Acts, are confounded: neither is there extant any one writer, who lived in those dayes, upon whom, as a true and certain author, we might ground, and rest our selves.

The Ninth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Ninth Book.

Titus Livius, and Sp. Pothismius Consuls, having engaged their army so far, within the Gulfe off Bright of Caudium, into a place of great advantage, that they had no means nor hope to get forth again, fell to composition with the Samnits, and compounded with them: and after they had delivered unto them 600 Roman Horfmen for hostages, they went away with the rest of the army, but so, as they were forced all of them to pass shamefully under the gallowes. The same Consuls (even by the N motion of one of them, Sp. Pothismius, who persuaded the Senat, that by rendring of these to the enemys hands, though wholesome and very becoming and insignificant a covenant was concluded, the City might be delivered and discharged of the promise given in the name thereof) with two Tribunes of the Commons, and as many besides as had subscribed to the foresaid accord and agreement, were sent and sended to the Samnits: but they might not be received. Not long after, Papius surnamed Cornes, disse, and put them likewise under the gallowes: and recovered against those 600 Roman Horfmen aforesaid, that were left for hostages. By which means, the shame and disgrace of the former fossef, Act was cancelled and abolished. Two Tribes were added to the rest, Liticinana and Faliteria. New inhabitants were sent to people Suella and Pontix. Ap. Claudius being Cornes, brought a chace of water to the City, called of his name Claudia: and proved the high way, named after him likewise, Appia. He O admired also into the range of Senators the son of Libertins. But for such as this state and degree of Citizens, seemed as it were polluted with these unworthy persons among them, the Consul of the year following, in the review of the Senators, and chufing new, held themselves to the order that other Cornes next before had observed. This book containeth moreover the proper works against the Apuliens, Tafcans, Umbrians, Maritians, Pelignians, Aequians, and Samnits: with whom was renueed the ancient league and amity. Flavius the scribe or notary, the son of a Libertin or unenfranchis Roman, was made Adile Curnile, by the sallion of the base common people. Which sallion, because it troubled and disquieted
The Ninth Book of T. Livius.

After this year, immediately followed the peace made at Cannae, so memorable for the Roman fools and misfortune, which happened in the Consulship of T. Vatinius Calvinius, and S. Poffinius. During which, the Samnites had for their General Conductor, C. Pontius, the son of Herennius a most prudent and politic father, and was himself a worthy warrior, and a most excellent Captain. This Pontius, after the Embassadors aforesaid (who had been sent to yeild and deliver the goods) were returned home without peace concluded, spake thus in a frequent assembly of the Samnites, and said: "Makers and friends, think never, but good there hath been in this voyage; and our Embassage hath taken some effect, for look what wrath the Gods in Heaven conceived against us, by our breach of covenant and truce, is thereby wholly satisfied, and duly done away. This I know assuredly, that the Gods above (whose pleasure it was, that we should be driven to this necrot point and hard exigent, as to render the goods claimed of us, by virtue of an accord and covenant) were nothing concerned and pleased, that this our satisfaction and recompence for the breach thereof, was so proudly and disdainfully deploied and rejected of the Romans. For what could possibly have been done more, either to pacify the Gods, or to appease men, than that which we offered and performed? Whatever we won by way of hostility and spoil, from our enemies, and which by right of war seemed to be ours, we went back again: the counsellors and persuaders of taking arms, because we could not send alive, we delivered dead as they were: and their very goods also (be able nothing might remain with us, to bring us within the compass of their guiltiness,) we brought to Rome. What ov I more to thee O Romans? what am I bound to perform besides, in regard either of covenant, or of the Gods, the judges of the covenant? Whom shall I chuse and take for an indifferent arbitrate between thine anger and my punishment? No State D body and person in general, no private person in particular do I retaine: and if no equity and reason for the poor and needy, be reserved amongst men against the greater and more mighty, yet fill we I, and have recourse to the Gods; the Revengers of such intolerable pride: and I will pray them to turn their anger upon those, whom neither restitution of their own goods, nor the rending of other mens without to boast, will serve and content: whole hell cruelty, neither the deaths of the guilty persons, nor the delivery of dead bodies, neither the owners themselves yielded, nor all they had in the World rendered with them, can satisfie: briefly, who may not possibly be appeas'd, without we should part with our heart blood unto them for to drink, and give our bowels and entrails to be torn in pieces. The war (O Samnites) is put and right on their behalfe, who have no way and means to avoid it: and ever lawfully take them arms, who E have no other hope, but in force of arms. Since then, in all the affairs of this World, nothing is of more importance than this, That men weigh and consider, whether the Gods be gracious or advers to unto their enterprises: be sure of this, that as we made our former war not to much against men as the Gods; so, we shall fight that which is now in hand, in the name of the Gods, and under their conduct and guidance. Having spoken by way of Prophecy these words, (which as they were right pleasant and plausible in the hearing, to they proved as true and were verified in the successes ensuing) he lead forth an army into the field, and about Cannae he encamp'd himself, as conqueror as he could. From thence he sent home to *Caecilia (where he heard that the Roman Consuls and their forces lay in camp,) ten soldiery disdained in the habift of Hardmen, and commanded them to keep their cattell grazing apart, some in one place and some in another, but never far from the Romans forts and guards: with this instruction, That when they hapned upon any of the Roman foragers and victuallers, they should agree all in one tale, and say, That the Samnite legions were in Apulia, besieging Laceria with all their forces, and were at the point of winning it by a man's. This rumour also was on purpose by others before, let abroad and spread yea, and came to the Romans ears: but these capives made it sound more credible and like to be true, for this especialy, that all their words agree one with another. No man doubted but that the Romans would aid the Lacerins, their good and faithful Allies, and the rather for fear left all Apulia would upon this present trouble and fearful example revolve, and band with the Samnites: and the only thing they stood upon was this, Which way to go unto them. For twain there were leading to Laceria the one head and open along the coast of the Adriatic Sea: but as it was the last, it was the farther about. Another shorter cut there was through the heights or gulley of *Cannoon called *Præstna Cannone. But the natural situation of the place is thus: There are two deep, narrow, and woody passes, of dales, one in the tail of the other, with continual crests and ridges of hills round about them: between them lieth enclosed in the midle, a good large plain or meadow: green of grass and flood of waters, through the midst wherein, there lieth a direct passage. But before ye come to that green, ye must enter into that flat freight aforesaid, and return again either the same way that ye went in, or if ye proceed to go forward, ye must pass through another such pass or freight, but narrower and

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*Stradone allep. or il fago di S. Maria, and Pelle di Garlone, more
more cumb'ome than the other. Into that plain aforesaid the Romans marched down with their army another way, through and hollow rock, but when they went on forth to the other freight valley, they found it flopped and made up with the fall of trees, one cross over another,

and likewise with a huge heap of mighty stones, laid full against them in the way. And they had not soon discovered this guileful practice of their enemies, but they might decry withal, a power of them also on the top of the Hill. Then with all speed they seek to go back again the same way they came: but if they found also dammed up in like sort, and better with armed men. Whereupon they made a stand, without any mans commandment: and as their minds were all amazed and attainted, so their bodies also were possetted as it were with a strange and extraordinary num-

medness in their limbs: and whilst they looked one upon another, each man thinking his fel-
low to be more witty, and have better understanding than himself: for a good while they stood still, and laid not a word. But afterwards, when as they saw the two Consuls pavilions a sitting up, and some making ready things necessary to fortification; although they saw well enough, that in this desperate case, pait all hope of recovery, for all the defences they could devise, they should but lose their time and travel and prove tools in the end: yet nevertheless, because they would not seem to encreace their diffireased fortune, and double it with their own default and negligence, every man what he could, to his power, without the direction of any leader, setted himself to work, and to fortify along the water side their camp, with a trench and rampier. And besides the insolent and proud scottion and derision of their enemies, every man with pitifull con-

fession scorned and checked his own work and travel, as vain, and to no purpose. As the Consuls K then were penive and discomforted, and called none about them to counsel, (for that indeed they supposed they were past all advice and help) the Lieutenants and Colonels came unto them of their selves unient for, and the foildiers turning to the Praeatorium or Consul: Quarter, cried to their Captains for help and succour, which hardly the very immortal Gods could afford and give them, but, rather made their moans and complaints one to another of their misfortune, than for in rage counsel to give or take advice; until the night came upon them: whilst each man according to his natural humour and fancy, muttered differently. "One said, let us break through "the stoppages opposed against us in the way: another, let us pas over the mountains and "woods before us, what way forever we may be able to carry armour: so for we get to the ene-

my once, when we have acompt for these thirty years vanquished and chased before us: all will L be plain, even and early unto us Romans fighting against their faithless, perjured, and disloy-

d Samnits. Tush, faith another, whither should we go, or which way? What? Are we about to "remove mountains out of their places? So long as these tops of Hills are over our heads, how "will you possibly come to the enemy? Armed or unarmed, contours or cowards, is all one, en-

trapped we are and undone every one. Our enemy will not so much as offer as the sword, "whereon we may dye like men with honor: he will fit still and end this war. Thus pasid words to and fro. and thus pasid the night away: unmindful were they of taking repose, not thought they of taking repose and sleep. The Samnits on the other side, in this tofortunate and happy op-
pportunity presented unto them, were as much to feck what to do, and what course to chuse and follow. Whereupon, they all in general were to dispass letters to Herennius Postumus, the fa-M ther of their General, and to know his opinion. Now this man beforehand by reason of his great age, had given over not only Military affairs, but also all civil busineses: howbeit in that old crafi and spent body of his, he bare the fresh vigour of mind and a pregnant wit to give coun-

fell. When he understood that the Romans army was shut up fast within the two forrests, at the Caudine Gulches, and that his advice was asked by his sons messenger: he gave presently this counsel, That with all speed they should be let go from thence every one, without any harm at all done unto them. Which opinion of his being rejected [of his son the army] his mind was demanded a second time, by the same curier first again unto him of purpose, and then he gave advice, that they should be all killed, and not one left alive. Upon which answers so far disagreeing, and thus delivered, as it were out of a doubtful Oracle: albeit his son himself N imagined, of all others most, that his fathers wit was in the wane, and aged as well as his fee-
bale warked body: yet by a general consent of all he was overcome, to send for him in person for to declare his meaning by word of mouth. Neither thought the old man much thereof, but was brought (by report) to the camp in a chariot: and being called to counsel, he was in the same tale still, so as he nothing changed of his former advice; but allagued only causes and reasons thereof. Namely, that in his former resolution (which he took to be simply the best) "his meaning was, by a singular benefice and good turn, to confirm peace and amity for ever, "with a most mighty and puitant people: in the second his purpose was, by the utter loose of "two armies, whereby the State of Rome would not easily recover their strength again, to defer "the wars for many a year. And as for a third counsel, he had none at all. When his son and O other chief Captains, by questioning inquired of him, what if a middle couuue between both were taken; namely, to diimi them failing, and according to the Law of arms and conquest to impose upon them, hard Laws and Conditions? Mary (quoth he) this is the way indeed, that "neither winneth you friends, nor yet riddeth you of your foes: save them whom ye have pro-

oked with flame and disgrace; and fee what ye get thereby. The Romans are ofthis nature, "that they cannot be still and quiet so long as they have the worse; it will never dye in their "hearts, but will be always fresh whatsoever flame this present extremity that brand them with; "and
The ninth Book of T. Livius.

A "and never will I give them any rest, before they have been by manifold and fundry wayes recon

ged of you. So his advice was not accepted, neither the one nor the other, and old Heremius

was carried home again from the camp. The Romans likewise in the camp, after many attempts

(but all in vain) for to break forth and escape away, being now in great penury and fear. So all

things, for no necessity were driven to send Embassadors unto the enemies: who first should

crave an equal and indifferent peace: and if they might not obtain it, then to bid defiance and

challenge them to a battle. Ponzius made answer, that there was no calling of battle; for that the

field was won already: and because they being vanquished, and as good as taken captive, knew

not how to come down and confide their poor estate: he gave them to understand, that he

would put them under the gallows, defoil their armour, and strip into their shirts; and as

for other conditions of peace, they should be such, as were mean to put between men conquered, and

conquerors: namely, if they would depart out of the Sannites country, withdraw their co-

lony, and to both Sannit and Roman in equal alliance live under their own laws and ordinances:

upon these Articles and Capitalizations, he was content to come to some point of accord with the

Consuls. If any of these covenants did like them then he forbid the Embassadors to repair again

to him any more, but at their peril. When relation of this answer was made in the camp, there

arose suddenly such a fighting and groaning amongst them all, and to great peniveness and anguish

of heart, upon them, that it seemed they could not have taken it more heavily, and to the

hears, it was very much brought that they must all have died in the peace. After long silence,

when as the Consuls will not how to open their mouth: either for the accord and composition

C to shamefull, or against it so necessary: then L. Lentulus, who as well in regard of his vter, as of

his dignities, was chief of all the Lieutenants, said: "I have heard my father (quoth he) O ye

Consuls, oftentimes make report, that he was the only man in the Capitol, who perused the

Senate, not to rendem and redeem with gold, the City from the hands of the Gauls: at what

time as they were not inclined either with trench or rampier by their enemies, (a Notion to

lay a truth, of all others mort lide in inch works, and fortifications) but might have broken

through them, if not without great danger, yet without evident ruin, and allured definition.

Were the case so now, that as they then, being armed might have run down out of the Capitol

upon their enemies under them (in which fort oftentimes the besieged have fallen upon upon

them that lay in siege) so we might but fight with our enemies in any place (it sketched not

D good or bad even or uneven: I would not in giving counsel be any jot behind my father in cour-

rage and valor. For I contes verily that to die for our country is a brave death: and for my

part, ready am I even to offer my body as a sacrific to prevent death yea, and it were to engage

my self among the thickest of my enemies thereby to save the people of Rome and the legions:

But alas! here I see my country, here lies all the Roman Regiments and Legions that are, who

unles for their own selves they will run upon their death, what have they elie to save by their

depth? Why, will they manly, the houses and buildings of the City, the walls, and that mul-

itude that inhabit the City, Nay rather, if this my fortune here to miliarly, they are all clean

betrayed into the enemies hand and not saved. For whom shall defend them? Peradventure, the

weak and unarmid multitude: even as well larks as they defended it against the violence of the

E Gauls: Or, will they send for an army from Thessali, and becheel the help again of Captain Camillus?

Even the one as well as the other. But here in this place is out whole hope, here is all our power

and puline: in saving it we preserve our country; in offering it to die we abandon and betray

our country. To yield and render our selves, is a foul and shamefull thing: true, but I think it

the love of our Country, that we ought to preserve it as well with our utter flame, if need re-

quire, as by our death. Let us undergo then, and abide this shameful indignity whatsoever,

and obey that fatal necessitie, which the very Gods themselves cannot overcome. Go to them,

Consuls, a Gods name, redeem the City with your armor and weapons, which your fore-fa-

thers ransomed with their gold. Then went the Consuls to Luuentius to parle. And when as

he began like a conqueror to debate about the capitulations of Covenants, they denied plainly

F that any league could be made, without the privicy, will and authority of the whole people: not

without the Fealias, and other solemn and usual Ceremonies. So that this Caudine accord was

not (as commonly it is believed, and as Claudins also wrote.) concluded by form of absolute co-

venant, but by way of stipulation and promis. For what needed either ratificies in a perfect

agreement and league, or hoitages to be given when the matter is plified by this form of prayer,

by whole default it hapned that the conditions agreed were not fulfilled, that people Jupiter would so

finit as the fames there was by the ferial fature? The Coll. Lieutenants, Treasurers and Col-

nels, who undertook as sureties, subscribed and signed; and the names yet are extant of them

all: where, if the matter had plified by way of an absolute league there shou'd have been subcri-

bed no more but the names of the Fealias only. Moreover, by reason that the corification

G this accord was of necessity de'red, there were required also two hostmen hostages, who

should take their heads, in case the covenants of the accord were not observed. And there-

upon was the time appointed and let down of delivering the said hostages, and yielding the ar-

my without their armor. Now the coming of the Gauls renewed again the froward in the

camp, that hardly they could hold their hands from their, through whole rash conduct they

were come to that place of disadvantage: and through whole cowardly they were to depart from

there more shamefully than they came: complaining that they had not to much as a guide to

Z 3 1
direct them, nor an epistle to discover the coats: but like beasts were driven blinded into a trap or H 
pitfall: and one looked upon another: beholding the armor that within a while they were to de- 
liver up, viewing their right hands, which anon should be unarmed, their naked bodies exposed 
to the mercy and devotion of the enemy. They let before their eyes, the gallowes prepared by the 
enemy for them to pass under, the cornes and reproachful taunts of the Victor, his proud and dis- 
dainful looks, and how they (disarmed) should pass in a long train and go through the armed e- 
nemies: then afterwards, the piteous spectacle of the way which they must go, and the shameful 
dismarch of their disarmed army: briefly, their soul and dishonourable return through the Cities 
of their allies unto their country and parents, whether they themselves and their ancestors ofte- 
times had gone in triumph. They were the only men, which without wound, without dint of 
weapon, without battle fought, were discomfited and vanquished: who might not so much as 
draw their sword, and never came to joy or encounter with their enemy; having armour, having 
strength of limb, having hearts given them in vain. As they brayed out with great discontentment 
and anguish, these words, the fatal hour of their reproach and shame was come: which by proof 
and sensible experience, was to make all matters more heavy and woul, than they conceived 
and imagined in their minds aforehand. First and foremost were they commanded all, to go forth 
without the trench disarmed, and in their tangle garments; then were the holocausts presently de- 
livered, and had to ward: after this, were the Serjeants and Officers willed to depart from the Con- 
fuls: whose rich coats of arms, when they were plucked from their shoulders, moved such pity and 
compassion even in them, who a while before with all cursing and bannings, judged them worthy 
to be delivered bound hand and foot into their enemies hands, for to be mangled distempered and 
cut in pieces: that every man forgetting his own estate, wherein he stood, turned away his eyes, as 
it were from an abominable spectacle, and could not induce to behold that disgracing and disfig- 
guring of so great State and Majesty. The first that were put under the gallowes, were the Coss, wel- 
nee, half naked: and according to their degree and place, so was every one in order put to the 
shame: and afterward, the legions one after another. The enemies in their armor stood at the 
while about them scorning mocking, and making a game of them: many had swords and daggers 
set against their hearts, in menacing wife, some were hark and flabbed to death: namely, such as 
with stern countenance and grim looks above the rest, for the indignity of these things, offended 
the conqueror. Thus were they sent with shame enough under the gallowes, and (that was L 
more grievous than the thing) even in the sight and view of their enemies. they were not so soon 
got out of the forest, but although they seemed but then as plucked out of dark hell to see the day, 
yet the very light it fell was worse than all kind of deaths, when they beheld so ill favoured an army 
and uneamfully. And therefore, albeit they might have reached to Capua before night, yet being 
doubtful of the faithfulness and protection of their allies, or else dismayed for very shame, they cast 
their poor and filty bodies upon the ground, about the high ways not far from Capua. Whereof, 
when news came to Capua, the just and due pity which they took of their allies, overcame the 
imbred arrogancy and pride of that people by kind, Immediately they sent unto the Coss, the ensigns 
and ornaments belonging to their place of authority, the lictors and Serjeants with their rods they 
sent armor and Horse apparel; and also alo for the fouldiers bountifully: and as they came near 
to Capua, the whole Senat and people went out to meet them, and performed all duties of kindne- 
s and hospitality both privat and publick, that could be devised, and as meet was and requisite. And 
yet neither the courteous usage, nor the pleasant countenances and lightsome speeches of their ali- 
lies, could draw from them any words, no, nor so much as make them to hold up their heads and 
eyes, and to look again upon their friends, when they yeelded them at these comforts they could, 
So as besides their grief and sorrow of hearts, a certain balefulness and flame forced them to thin 
all communication and conversing with men. The morrow after, when as certain young Gentle- 
men of the Nobility were returned, who had been sent in convoy from Capua, to accompany them 
and bring them on their way, as far as their liberties and confines: they were sent for into the Sen- 
ate house, and being demanded by the ancients and elders, what news: they reported, that they N 
seemed unto them much more heavy and cast down than before, so silent and in manner dumb, 
they marched along: that noble mind and courage of the Romans was now mute and mumm their 
hearts clean done and gone together with their arms, not able toger again, no, nor to give a 
word to those that faileth them, not one of them for fear able to open his mouth, as if till they 
were that yoke and gallows upon their necks, under which they went. That the Samnites had in- 
deed not only a brave victory, but also a perpetual over them, and the hand of them for ever: and 
had now won not Rome, as the Gauls aforesaiue, but also (which was a more hardy and warlike 
exploit) had conquered the Romans courage, stoutness, and valour. As these news were reported, 
and audience given thereto, with such affent, that every man lamented now the Roman name, as 
desperat: and concluded generally it was in the counsel of these their faithful confederates, that 
they were past recovery: one Oeffia Celsonis, the son of Onias, a man right nobly born, renowned 
for his valiant acts, and besides, very grave and reverend for his age, spoke by report in this man- 
ner and said: That he took the matter far otherwisethan they all did: for that stubbon and resolute 
silence, (qd. he) the eyes fastened so wildly on the earth, those dealers to admirall foliage and 
comfort, that flame of theirs to look up and behold the light, were expresse and certain tokens of 
them that toiled and rolled from the very root and bottom of their heart, a huge herd and mass of 
anger & despite, Either (qd. he) I know not the nature of the Romans, or else that flinnes & silence 
will
will shortly cost the Samnites, woful cries and doeful groans; and the remembrance of this Caudinum accord, will be more heavy and dolorous a good deal to the Samnites than to the Romans: for, as for them, they will every man find their hearts and courage again, whereover they shall hap to encounter: but the Samnites shall not meet every where with the Caudinum. The ninth Book of T. Livius. 259

and now by this time was this shameful overthrow and disgrace known at Rome, Intelligence they had before, how they were beaten and enclosed about: but afterwards arrived a messenger with news more heavy and forrowful for that ignominious peace, than for any peril and danger otherwise. At the first noise and brut that they were besieged, they began to mutter: but after they heard, they had so shamefully yielded themselves, all that preparation of aid and facror was dishearted and sent away; and prefently without any order from publick authority, they gave themselves every one to all manner of mourning and lamentation. The shops all about the market place were shut up. A general vacation began of itself, and pleading in all courts ceased, before Proclamation made: the purple and scarlet robes were left off, the golden rings laid away, and the whole City in a manner more forrowful and heavy, than the very army. Neither were they angry and offended with the Captains only, with the authors of the peace with the cautions and incres for the faire; but hated also the guiltlesse soldiery, denying fently, that they were worthy to be received into City or house. Which heat of fiamock and wrathfull indignation, the first arrival of the army, utterly alloy'd; which even to angry perions was pitifull and lamentable. For they returnd not as men that escaped fälle, alive, and unclothd for into their country, like captoies in habit and countenance: they entered late into the Town, and hid their heads, every man within his own house: so as the morrow after, and for certain dayes following, none of them would come into the market place, nor put his head out at dores to look into the streets. The Consuls likewise for their part, kept in, as privat men, and would exercise no function pertaining to their charge, but only that which they were forced into by an act of the Senat: namely, to nominate a Dictator for to be President at the Election of Consuls. So, they elected Q. Fabius Ambusius for Dictator, and P. Aelius Panni, General of Horie, Who being wrong creat, and without the approbation of the Auiictors, there were chosen in their room, M. Ansilius Pappus for Dictator, and L. Falerius Plaetus General of the Horicmen, and yet by them was not the interregnum holden for the Election abovefail'd. And forasmuch as the people were even weary again of all that years Magistrats, as unlucky and unfortunate, it grew at length to an interregn. So Interregni there were, Q. Fabius Maximus, and M. V. Marcius Corvinus, who created Consuls, Q. Publius Philo, and L. Pappus Corv for the second time; with the whole content, no doubt, of the City, for that in those dayes there were not two more noble and renowned Captains to be found.

Thee fame day they were creat, they eneterd their Magistraty (for to the I.L. of the Counsell had decreed:) and after certain solemn and ordinary acts of the Senat past, they went in hand to contoht about the treaty of the Caudine peace. And Publius, whole content it was then to have the soveraigny of rule, "Speak (quoth he) Sp. Poibhumus, to the matter propounded, and let us hear your opinion, and what you can say. Who alter he was ril'en and stood up, with the very same countenance and cheer that he went under the gallows: I am not (quoth he) O ye Consuls, ignorant, that I am first called forth, not for honour, but to my disgrace; and commanded to speak, nor as a Senate and Councillor, but as a man culpable and accursed, both for an unfortunate war administered, and an shamefull peace concluded. However, seeing that ye have not propounded and toucht ought, concerning our trepious or our punishment, (setting apart kind of excite and defence, which would be no very hard matter to maintain, before men that are not ignorant of humane fortune, and of necessities, wheroeto men be driven) I will in brief deliver my mind concerning that, which you have moved and propounded. Which lenience of mine may sufficiently witness and teftify, whether I meant to spare mine own life, or save your regiohs, when as I became bound to that dishonest or necetyfull stipulation and promise, call it whether ye will. And yet, seeming it was made without the peoples pri-

vity and grant, the State of Rome is not obliged theero, and thereby nothing due to the Samnits, but only our bare bodies. Let us therefore be rendered by the hands of the Faciales and Herals, in our shirts, and fast bound: let us deliver and rid the people of all scruple and trouble of conscience, if we have enraged them with any; that there be no let in Law of God or man, but that both justly and lawfully ye may begin the war anew. In the mean while my mind and advice is, that the Consuls levy, enrol, anne, and lead forth an army: but not to enter within the enemies marches, before all things only belonging to the delivery of us into their hands, be fully accomplished. Now, I pray and beleeeh ye, O immortal Gods, that seeing it was not your good will and pleasure, that Sp. Poibhumus and T. Ventun Consuls, should with fortunate conduct fight against the Samnitics, yet ye would be satisfied herewith. That ye beheld us put under the gallowes; that ye saw us obliged in an infamous and shamefull bond of covenance; that ye now view us naked and delivered bound into the enemies hands: ready to receive upon our heads even with the loss of our lives, all their anger, malice, and designd; that it would please you that the new Consuls and Legions of the Romans, may in that later war with the Samnites, as everywhere the wars before us Consuls have been conducted, managed and performed. When he had spoked these words, all men both so wondred at this man and pitied him too, that one while they would not believe he was the name Sp. Poibhumus, who had moved and persuaded the fouf
foul and dishonest a treaty of peace: otherwise they lamanted that to brave and noble a person, should suffer any especial torment above other, at the enemies hands, for anger and despite of reverting and breach of that accord. When as now they all alter singular prates of the man, condescended to his opinion: the Tribuns of the Com. L. Livius and Q. M. lius, attempted for a while to oppose themselves against this proceeding: saying, "That neither the people could be acquit and soiled in conscience, by their delivery, unless every thing were again restored to the Samnites in the same estate wherein they stood at Cardusio nor they themselves (in that they subscribed and became bound for the accord of peace, to save the hoft of the people of Rome) had deferred any punishment: nor yet, latt of all, ought they being laced Magistrats and inviolable, to be yeilded to the enemies, and exposed to any outrage and violence. Then (quoth Posthumius) in the mean while deliver us up that are but lay and profane men, with whom I have conscience and without offence ye may. And as for thefe, I facro-fainct that now they be, ye shall hereafter render them likewise, even as soon as they are out of their charge. But ye will be ruin'd by me, let them before they be thus yeelled, here in this common Hal be whipped and foure, for the utity and interest of their punishment, which they would seem to defer and put off to long. For whereas they allgede and say, That by the delivery and yeelding of us, the peoples consciences cannot be cleared and soiled; who is under the Tectules and Heralds law, that knoweth not that these men make this, for this end rather, that they themselves might not be bended, than for that the truth requirath fo. Neither do I deny my Lords, that there promises and stipulations are inviolable, and to be kept as well as covenants and obligations with thole men, among whom both Religion to Godward, and faithfulness to men is in regard and K estimation; but I deny again, that without the peoples affent and grant, any thing can be establisht good and effectual, to bind the people thenceunto. What if the Samnites, in the same pride and inoffencely, where they had ordered and forced upon us this stipulation, yea, and wrong it from us, would also have urged us to utter and speak, the solemnum of words, which they use to do that surrender up Cityes: would ye (my Maiters that are Tribuns) inter and lay, that by venture thereof the people of Rome is surrenderd into their hands? and that this City, with the Temples, Chappells, Limits and Waters, by strength thereof, are the Samnits possession? Well, I let pass to speak of dedication, because the matter in question is touching only a stipulation, What, I pray you, if we had promised and undertook, that the people of Rome should forfake and abandon this City? or let fire on it? or not have Magistrats, Senats, or laws any longer? or Lord to be governed again by Kings? God forbid and deny that, fay you. Well, it is not the indignity of things, that cail eth the bond of Stipulation. If there be any one cafe, wherein the people may be obliged then in truth may they be in all was: neither skillett it any when, (whereas haply some will make a stay, and think it is material) whether Conul, Dictator, or Pretor, enter into bond and become surety. And even this it was, that the Samnits themselves judged fo to be, and stood upon: thinking it not sufficient, that the Conuls became bound, but they put the Lieutenants the Trifforers, and the Colonies there, to the same. And now, let no man demand of me, why I entred into stipulation, being a thing not in incident to the Conuls charge and right, neither was I to undertake into them peace, which was not in my power to effect: nor in your name to promise it, from whom I had no commiss and warrant. Certainly my Lords M and Senators, there was nothing at Cardusio done at all by mans policy and counsel. The immortal Gods bereft both your Generals and the enemies too, of all their fenie and understanding: for neither we, in the conduct and ordering of our service, stood warily enough upon our good guard: and they again, as they get the victory full bade, so they lost it as lewdly: whilst they hardly trusted the strength of those places, by means of which they had gained the vantage and better hand of us: and while they made such effect, upon what agreement they cared not, to disarm men that are born martial, and naturally made for wars. For, if they had been in their right wits, what an hard matter was it for them in the time that they sent for old aged men from their home, to come to Counsell, for to have dispatched their Embassadors to Rome? and so to have dealt and treated with the Senate and people about a perfect peace and final league indeed? It had been but three days journey for men not encumbered, but lightly appointed. All that mean while there might have been truce until the Embeassador from Rome, had brought them either certain victory or asured peace. For that had been a covenant and stipulation good in law, which the we should have agreed unto by warrant of the peoples will and approbation. But ye would never have granted and allowed it: no more should we have entered into any such stipulation. Neither was it Gods will and providence: that there should be any other issue and end of things than this: that both they should vainly be deluded, and feed themselves as it were, with the fancy of a more joyful dream than their minds could well conceive and apprehend: and also that the same fortune, which had entangled, shatred and brought into danger our army, should relieve the fame, and rid it again out of peril that as their victory was frivolous and vain, if a vainer and more frivolous peace, should make it truer and worth nothing: and that such a stipulation and promise should be interpoled and come between, which might oblige and bind no person, but the very makers themselves. For what dealing hath there been with you my Lords of the Senate? or with the people of Rome? Who can challenge you? Who can call you into question? Who can come forth and complain that he is by you deceived? Enemy, or Citizen? To enemy ye have past no promise: Citizen to undertake for you and in your name, ye command
commanded none. Therefore ye have nothing to do to meddle with us, to whom ye gave nought in charge: and with the Samnites as little, with whom ye had no treaty at all. To the Samnites, we are sufficient pledges enough, and answerable to perform that which is our own: for that, I say, which we are able to make good and yield; even our bodies and lives: upon these let them exercise their rage, upon these let them whose swords and their upright malice. And as for the Tribunes of Commons, consult ye together, whether they may be rendered presently, or ought to be referred and put off to another day: let us in the mean time (O Victorius, and ye that are the reft,) offer these wretched heads and lives of ours, like captives to discharge our bond, and by our punishment and execution, deliver and let free the Roman army.

Both the cause it felt, and the Advocate also, moved the Lords of the Senate: and wrought so much not only with the reft, but also with the Tribunes themselves of Commons: that they promised to be at the Consuls ordering and appointment. Whereupon immediately they gave up their offices, and were delivered into the Fecials hands with the other, to be led all, to _Caudium_. There was not to loo an act of the Senate passed herof, but it seemed that the very light and rays of the Sun shone upon the City again. _Pophanium_ was in every man his mouth, him they prayed and exorted to the heavens: comparing him with the voluntary offering of _P. Decius_, the Fecials for the safety of the army, and other worthy and noble acts of others: Saying, that by his overtaking, by his means and travel, the City was delivered from a servile, dishonourable and underhanded peace. He (lay they) hath offered himself to all the torments, anger, and vengeance of the enemies, and made full satisfaction thereby for the people of _Rome_. Nothing now but war, war:

Alarm, now cried every man: and, oh, that ever they might see the day, to encounter once again with the Samnites, in their armour and with weapon in hand. So, whilst the City was thus insulted and boistered with hateful ire and indignation, there was an army levied, well near all of Volunteers. New legions were mustred and enrolled again out of the fame footsolders, and a sufficient army let forth to _Caudium_. The Fecials marched before, and when they were come to the gate of the City, commanded the Senators, such as had subscribed and signed the accord aforesaid, to be debaupued and stript out of their cloths, and their hands to be pinioned behind him. And when the Lictor or Serjeant, for very reverence of Majesty in _Pophanium_ his person, bound him at large and at ease, Why dost not thou (quoth he) draw and pull the cord firethrest, that the rendering and delivery of us may be according to law and as it ought to be, and not fault to be found with? Afterwards, when they were come into the assembly of the Samnites, and before the Tribunal judgment (ea: _Pontius_, _A. Cornelius Arvina_ one of the Fecials or Heralds thus spake: For much as these persons, without commandment and commission from the Senators and people of _Rome_, have undertaken by stipulation, That there shall a league and peace be made with you: and in doing have offended and trespassed against the State, therefore, to the end, that the people of _Rome_ might be freed and spoiled from a detestable and heinous offence. Here I deliver and ye to unto you, the said men. No sooner had he uttered these words, but _Pophanium_ with his knee more the Fecial his high, with all the might he could: and with a loud voice said, That he being now a Samnite citizen, and the other an Embassador or an Herald of the people of _Rome_; had against the Law of Nations injured him and offered him the abate: whereby the Romans might more justly make war. Then quoth _Pontius_. This delivery either will I accept of and admit, either shall the Samnites hold it good and lawful, But why doth not thou _Sp. Pophanium_, if thou believe there be any Gods, either undo and cancel all, or stand to thy bargain and covenant? For by right either are they all due unto the Samnites, whom they once had in their power; or else peace, in lieu of them. But why speak I thus, and challenge you, who dost yeild thyself again prisoner to the conqueror as faithfully and loyally as thou canst? The people of _Rome_ I challenge, who, if they repent of the promisc and bargain made at the firesights of _Caudium_, let them bring again the Legions into that gutler, wherein they were environed, enclosed, and compassed. Let no man deceive and delude other. Let all be undone again, and every thing as it was: let them take again their armour: by which covenant they yeelded up: let them return into their own camp, and have whatsoever they had the day before the Parle. Then let them place themselves with war, with valiant and magnumenous deeds: refere this then, and spare not all covenant: reject then all treachery of peace. Let us have the fame fortune, the fame opportunity and vantage of the places, which we had before the mention of peace: and to make war, and true the issue. So shall neither the people of _Rome_, blame the Consuls stipulation, nor we find any lack and default in the faithfulness of the people of _Rome_. And will ye never have done, but always find fracts and excuses, and not hand to your covenants, when ye are overcome, and have the worke of your enemies? Ye gave sometimes hostages to King _Porfonius_ and when ye had done, afterwards stole them away. For a sum of gold you bought again your _City of th_ Gauls: and as they were receiving the same, gold, imdered they were by you and bawn in pieces. Peace ye have covenanted with us upon condition that we should restore again your_ legions unto you: that peace ye cancel and make void: and even more ye let some colour of right upon your_ council: and fraudulent dealing: Well, alloweth not the people of _Rome_ of the laying of their Legions, by a dishonorable and shamefull peace? Say it is so. Let peace go whether it will: but give you again to the Victor your Legions: captivity. Is this your faithful dealing? are these your covenants, ceremonies of Fecials & Heralds?
E "raids? that then, according to the agreement and accord, should have that desire of thine. H "even so many citizens lives saved? and I not have the peace (which by letting mine hold go un- "to thee an enemy) I bargained for? What Julies is this, that thou O Tribune, and yet that are "heralds, pretend to Nations abroad? Nay se, neither will accept of these persons whom "ye make a flew to deliver neither can I believe, that they are yeilded in verty and good earnet. N " Nay, I pafs not at all, whether they return again into that City, which is obliged by a convenant "made, attended upon with the wrath and displeasure of all the Gods, whose heaine power "and deit is thus deduced. Now go and make war, seeing that, Sp. Posthumius crewile while, and "and pulled an Emmissary herald with his knee; and so the Gods will believe no doubt, that "Posthumius is a Samnite citizen, and no Roman; and that by a Samnite, an Roman Emmissary hath I "been abided: and thereupon you may take a just occasion and good quarrel to make war upon "upon us. Are you not lathamed, and bafh you not toe broach and ter abroad, in the view and "face of the world, fuch mockeries of Religion? What? old and ancient grave personages, and "such as have been Consuls, to feck fuch fufcite devices (not fit for very children and babeto "play with) and all to shift off and falsify their promife made by convenant. Go Liefs, loose the "Romans of their bands: and no man to hardy as to flay them, but that they may depart when "they will at their own pleasure. So they, that have perhapes discharged the publick fidelity, "or at leafe quit themselves undoubtedly of their own, returned from Caudium, unhurt, to "the Roman camp. 

The Samnits seeing that in liuen of a proud and unreasonable peace, there was a moft cruel war K new sprung up again, not only forcaft and apprehended in their minds, but well neer saw evid- "ently with their eyes, all that ever ensued after. Then, all too late and in vain, God wet, they "praised the two-fold counel of old Pontius: and how they taking the middle way between, were "decreed & had exchanged the certain pellection of victory, for an uncertain and doubtful peace; "and having lori the opportunity both of gratifying the Romans, or doing them harm any more, "were now to fight & wage war with them, whom they might either have disabled for being hurt- "ful enemies, or made their faith and affured friends forever. And do without any weakening of "their power and forces of either side by battle, their hearts after this Caudine peace were fo "changed, that Posthumius by his voluntary yeelding was more honored among the Romans, than "Pontius his bloodyes victory among the Samnits: and the Romans made this rekening, that L "the possibility of making war was to them as much as undoubted victory : and the Samnits believed verily, that the Romans had at once made war again and got the upper- "hand. 

Whiles these things thus paffed, the Satrincips revolted to the Samnits: and the Colony at Fre- "geles, by the fidden and unlooked for arrival of the Samnits (with whom it is certain the Satri- "cians were blinded) in the night was surprifed and taken. But the mutual fear one of the other, "kept them in on both fides that they firred not out until the morning. Then began the fight, "which for a certain time was equal and indifferent: yet, for that the Fregeleses within fough for "their Church and chimney (as they lay) and by reaon that the multitude, unmeet for arms, "flood them in good head in annoyings their enemies from off their homes; they held out and M "found them play a long time. But afterwards, a wilful and deceitful policy turn'd all backwards "and was their undoing: for they furred the voize of the cryer to be heard through the Town, "who proclaimed, That who ever laid down weapon, should depart alive and safe with bag and "baggaze. The hope whereof, caufed them to flack somewhat of their fight, and therewith they "beg to call away their armor in every place. But the refoltant fort armed fell, brake away through "a poftern gate, whole venuitrounes proved to them more safe, than the inconfradear of the other "which made them credulous and too light of belief. For the Samnits compaflhed them about "with fire, and for all they called upon the Gods for their help , and to their enemies for perfor- "mance of their promife, yet they burned them most piteously. 

The Conns parted between themselves, their Provinces, Pappius took his way to Leceria in N "Apulia, where the Roman Horicemen given for hostages at Caudium were kept in ward: but Publi- "us stayed in Samnium to make head against the Caudine legions. Which thing much troubled and "distraied the minds of the Samnits: for neither their hearts would serve them to go to Leceria, "let the enemy should come on their backs; not yet to play behind, for fear left in the while, Lec- "eria should be left. They thought it bett therefore, to put all in hazard of a battle, and to try it out "with Pupius. Whereupon, they bring forth their power into the field: with whom when Publi- "us was minded to joy in fight, he thought it not amifs, faith to make some speech unto his men, "and to commanded them to assemble unto an audience. But, as they came running to the Prato- "rium, with exceeding great cheutelines, so by reason of their noise that called hard for battel, no "exhoration of the General could be heard: each man his own heart mingled of the former dis- "grace, served well enough to encourage and animat them. So they march out to battel, putting "forward the standard-bearers and port-riengs. And because they would lose no time, they firll "charge with laning their javelins and shooting darts, and after that, in drawing their swords, "they threw away their javelins, as if they had had a signal given them to do, and with naked "drawn sword, they ran upon the enemies. No cunning was there to be shewed of warlike Cap- "tain, no skill to be shewed either in letting in array the fiyes and ranks, or placing of the renewal "for supplies: the loundiers furious anger, with raging violence, marshall'd and managed all,
A So, the enemies were not only discomfited and put to the rout, but also because they durst not hinder their flight by retiring to their own camp, they made all the haft they could; disbanded as they were, toward Apulia. Howbeit they were rallied together in one company, and so came to Luceria. The Romans, in the same boiling heat of blood that they pierced through the mists of the enemies battel: entred also into their camp: where was more bloodshed and execution than in the battel, and the greater part of the pillage was in their cholé marred and clean left.

The other army commanded by Papirius the Coff, march’d along the Sea coast to Arpi: and all the Country they pass’d thorow, shewed them friendship and courtee, more for the outrages and lofes inflamed by the Samnits, and the hatred they bare them, than for any love to the people of Rome, or good received at their hands. And now the Samnits at that time dwelling upon the Hills in Villages, being mountaineers and wild people, and as it is commonly seen, of like disposition to the places which they do inhabit, walled the plain Champian and Sea coasts, defpising indeed their more civil life and conversation. Which Country, if it had been true to the Samnits, either the Roman army had not been able to come to Arpi, or else the penury and scarcity of all things between Rome and Arpi, would have converted them, being cut off from all provision of victuals. For even then, being gone from them, and laying encamped before Luceria as well they without the leaguer & those that were within the City besieged, were nipped and bitten with hunger, the Romans were served all from Arpi, but to slenderly and scantily, that whiles the footmen were occupied in their guards warding, watching, and working unceasingly: the horsemen, were

laid to bring corn from Arpi, in little leather bags: and otherwhils, if they met the enemy, were forced to cast the corn from off their Horiebacks, to fight more nimly. They that were within besieged before the other Conuf came with his army, had both from the mountains of the Samnits, victuals brought unto them, and Muccors also of men let in to them, but the coming of Papirius made all provisions more strait: for, leaving the charge of the siege to his brother Conuf, he rode lightly appointed without carriage, all over the Country, and to beat all the quarters, that they were too hot for the enemies to forage and purvey victuals. Then the Samnits, seeing that they within the City besieged, were vast all hope to abide the famine any longer, encamped about Luceria, and were forced to gather all their forces together from all parts, and to give Papirius battel. At which very instant, when they were on both sides preparing to fight, the Tarentins Embassadors came between, discharging and forbidding, both Samnits and Romans to fight: professing withal, that whatsoever they were that refused to give over war, against them they would fight in defence and favor of the others, Papirius having heard that embassage, making semblance, as if he had greatly regarded their speeches, answered that he would confer with his brother Conuf: and having sent for him, and bestowed all the mean time in preparation to fight, when he had talked with him as touching the execution of matters already resolved, he presently gave the signal, and set out the bloody banner of battel. Now as the Conuls were busy in facrificing and performing duties belonging to God and man (as their manner is when they purpose to go to a battel) the Tarentin Embassadors aforefaid, encountered them and expected an answer, To whom Papirius, The Chick-maister (q.d. he) O ye Tarentins, fendeth me word, that the birds feed right, and all is well: and besides that, the Gods in our facrifice feem paffing well pleased. And in the name of the Gods, and under their conduct (as ye see) we are going to battel. Then commanded he to let forward the standards, and led forth his power, mocking the footloef nation for their great vanity, who, not able to manage their own affairs by reason of home seditions and civil discords, thought it meet to be moderators between others, and to prescribe them war or peace. The Samnits on the other side, having flaked all their care and desir of war, for that they desired peace in good earnest, or else thought it expedient for them to make a semblance thereof, for to win unto them the Tarentins: seeing the Romans all of a sudden arranged in battel array and ready to fight, cried forth alond, that they relied still in the authority of the Tarentins, and were at their direction: neither would they come forth into the field, nor put themselves in harms out of their force: choosing rather being thus disappointed, to abide the chance of fortune whatsoever, than to seem to have despised the Tarentins, who had interposed themselves as Mediators for peace. Marry (quoth the Coff,) we take that for a good sign and preface of lucky successe: and we would with no more at Gods hands, but to put into their enemies heads that resolution, not to defend their trench and rampire. So the Coff when they had parted between them their forces, approached the very camp of their enemies, and let upon them with an hot assault on every side. Thus while some filled and damned up the trenches, others plucked up the flates of the rampier, and threw the bank and all down the ditches under their feet: whiles not only their own inbred valour by nature, but also anger and cholre provoked and prick’d to the quick, their hearts already fretted and cankered at the very root, for the last disgrace receivèd, they

Genned the camp. Every man for his part gave out and laid, Here are not the straight gullers of Caedinius, here are not the impassible nor inaccessible passses, and forrests, where as proud fraud had gone beyond their silly errors and want of foresight: but Roman virtue and prowess, which no rampier never so strong, no trench how deep forever, is able to put by and withstand. So they killed all afore them indifferently, as well them that made resistance and stood to it, as those that retired and gave way: armed and disarmed, bond and free born, old and young, as well under age as undergrown, man and beast, one with another: neither had there escapèd any living creature drawing breath; but that the Conuls founded the retreat, and with ministy words
words commanded the foildiers, to greediness of murder and bloudthly, to go forth of the camp. Whereupon when they were highly discontented and in great indignation, for that they were flaid and interrupted in this sweetness of eating their anger, and initiating their revenge to the full; it was time to deliver this speech unto them, wherein the foildiers were given to understand, how the Consuls neither were behind any of them in malice and hatred to their enemies, nor would be hereafter, but as they were their chief conductors to the war, so they would be their leaders and throw them the way to unflatable appetite of revenge and executions: had not the care and regard of those 600 Horfemen, which were kept as hostages in Luceria, cooled their thirft and flaim their fonacks: let hapy the enemies in defpair to find pardon and mercy, should run upon them in a blind fit of fury and rage, and put them all to the word; choking rather to torment and kill them first, before they died themselves. The foildiers greatly commendedit this conduct, and rejoiced that thus their choicer was allaid, and their fury bridled, confenting: That they were indeed to abdicate whatsoever, rather than the life of so many of the forwardest and principal young Gentlemen of Rome, should be betray'd, or in danger. This audience being dismissed, they drew together to a Counsel, whether with all their forces they should affay and prefs hard upon Luceria, or with one of the armies and chief Leaders, give the attempt to found the Apulia, a close and secret kind of people thereabout, who ever to that day had blood in doubtful terms with them: 

Publius the Consul, who had taken this journey to over-run all Apulia, in that one voyage and expedition, either by force subdued and brought under his obedience certain States, or upon conditions entered league and society with them. Pappius also, who flaid at the siege of Luceria, within a short time sped according to his expectation. For having forefaid and beheld all the ways, by which victual was conveyed thither out of Saminium, the Samnites who lay in garrison at Luceria, pinched and tamed with famine, sent Embassadors to the Roman Consul, making offer to relieve and deliver up into his hands thofe Horfemen, (the only cause of the present war) in cafe he would raise and levy the siege. To whom Pappius made this answar, that they should have gone first to Pontius, the fon of Herennius, by whose counsel they had put the Romans under the yoke and the gallowes, to learn and know of him what, in his opinion they were to abide, who were vanquished and overcome. Howbeit, for airmuch as they had rather, and choice rather to be cenfured indifferently, and to receive equal conditions of their enemies, than of their own felves, he will'd the Embassadors to give them to understand, in Luceria, that they should leave their arms, their bag and baggage, their befts of carriage, and impatient multitude not fit for the war, within the walls. And as for the fighting foildiers, he would put them to pafs under the gallowes in their tangle thirt, tor to revenge the flame firft offerrd them, and not to inflict any new ingominy upon them. Nothing was denied and refus'd: seven thoufand men of war were put under the gallowes, a rich and huge pillage raifed within Luceria, all their own enimies and armor regained, which they had lost at Caunium: and that which furmount'd all other joys, they recover'd again thofe Gentlemen of arms, whom lying for pledges and security of the peace afofraid, the Samnits had fent to Luceria to be kept in fale custody. There is not hightly to be found a vi- dory more noble, and of greater conquence to the people of Rome than this, in regard of the sudden change of fortune, in cafe (as some records bear witnefs) Pontius also himfelf the fon of Herennius, and General of the Samnites, to make satisfaction and quittance for the Conulis disgrace and flame, was putt under the yoke, as well as all the rest. But let us marvel that it is not clear, but left uncertain, that the enemies General was rendred, and went under the gallowes: this rather I wonder at thofe doubts it is, whether Lucius Cornelius Dictator, with L. Pappius Curfus, General of the Horfemen, managed thofe acts firft at Caunium, and then afterwards at Luceria: and being the only revenger of that disgrace of the Romans, triumph'd most worthily (I dare be bold to faie) of any man before that time, next to Flavius Comitius: or whether the chief honour hereof pertain'd by right to Pappius as Consul. Upon this error followeth another in the lack of it, whether Pappius, furnamed Curfus, for his good service at Luceria, in the next Election, continued in Magistracy, and were made the third time Consul with Q. Aemilius Cesarinus, the fecnond time; or whether it were L. Pappius Magillanus, and the error grew upon the furname. But it is agreed upon by all writers, that from this time forward all the reigne of the wars, were performed and finifh'd by Comiuis, Aemilius in one prosperous battle made a final conqueft of the Ferentians, and upon composition had the City delivered up unto him, whether they had retir'd their forces for succor after their defeat in the field, and hostages were impofed upon them. With like good success fought the other Consul with the Sarricians, who being Roman citizens, had revolted to the Samnites, after the los at Caunium, and had received into their City a garrifon of theirs. For when as the Roman army approached under the walls of Sarriciam, and that the ci- zizens within (after Embassadors fent to treat by way of humble petition for peace) had received this hard and heavy answer from the Consul, That unlefs they would kill the garrifon of the Sam- nites, or deliver them into his hands, they fhou'd come no more again to him: the Coloners and inhabitants were more frighted and terrified with that speech, than at all the forcible attempts of their army. Whereupon the Embassadors followed their suit hard, and continued till, demanding very often of the Consul how he could believe, that they being but few, feeble, and indisarmed, fhould be able to force a garrifon so strong and well appointed, against their wills? being willing to ask counsel of them, by whose means they had received the said garrifon into the Town, they de- parted
A part their wives: and having hardly obtained leave & licence at his hands to confer with their Senate and to bring answer, they return home again. Their Senate was divided into two sects, which distracted and led them in impatience that they could not soon resolve. The one consisting of the chief personages and head men who had solicited them to revolt from the people of Rome: the other of the most learned and loyal Citizens, howbeit both sides strove in the end and endeavored to labor the Conuls for reparation of peace. The one part thought it sufficient (be it that the Samnite garrison having not provision enough aboard to hold out the siege, was to depart the night following) to give notice to the Conul, what hour of the night through what gate the enemies would go forth and which way they would take: the other, namely, against whom will

B were revolting to the Samnites the very same night, opened another gate beside to the Conuls, and privily let their enemies armed into the City. So by a twofold complot of treason, they were surprised unawares and all their throats cut not only the garrison of the Samnites(by reason that the woods all about the high way were laid for them and belit) but also at one instant there was a shout and allarm raised by the enemys within the City, which was full of them: and thus in the space of one hour both the Samnites were slain, the Satricans taken, and all they had in the world left into the hands of the Conuls: who after diligent inquisition by torture, Who were the principal authors of this revolt? whomsoever he found guilty, those he scourged and beheaded: and letting there a strong garrison he took from the Satricans all their armament. From thence Pappius Curtor departed to Rome for to triumph (as they write, that Jay, by his leading Lector was recovered, and the Samnites put under the yoke.) And without censure, a man he was worthy of all commendations of a warrior, surprising not only in fortitude and courage of spirit, but also in force and natural strength of body and name, for his good footman ship: whereinupon he got his surname Curtor. For in running (they say) he had not his peer but went away with pride and prize before all other in those daisies: and were it by reason of his bodily vigour and strong constitution, or his much exercise a stout and mighty eater he was, he drank as liberally to his meat and could carry it as well. Never had foot or horse under any Captain more rough and harder service, for that himself was of so tough metal and steel to the very back (as they say) that he could abide any pains and travel whatsoever. His horsemen upon a time were so bold, as to request him in lieu of their good service in some exploit, to ease them a little of their ordinary toil and labour: yes marry will I (quoth he) and that ye shall not complain that ye have no ease at all, I will ease you of this pains, That when ye alight from your horses, ye shall not need any more to stroke their shoulders, back and buttoks, He was a man besides for severity, bright, and of right great command, as well over his allies and confederates as his own Citizens. The Praxtor of Prunfpe, for very fear chanced once to be somewhat behind, and lack in bringing forward the retreating into the vangard and front of the battel: as he walked before his pavilion he commanded him to be called unto him: when he was come, he willed the sergeant to bring forth his axe immediately: at which word when the Prunetin flood amazed and well near died, Dispatch Lictor (quoth he) lock me up and grub this root that hindreth them that walk this way: and when he saw him astonied and his heart in his heele for fear of death helet a good round fine upon his head, and let him go. Doubtless in all that age (than which there was never any more fertile and fruitful for vertue and valour) there was no man one, upon whom the state of Rome relied and relied more: Infomuch as men had defined, and in their minds appointed him to have matched and made head with Alexander the great, if after the conquest of Asia, he should have been his power hitcher, and warred in Europe.

Albeit it may well appear that I have nothing left fought, ever since I began this work, than to digress and decline more than was needful, from the order and course of mine history, and by extravagant garnishing and mingling my writings with variety of matters, both to seek for the readers pleasant stores and diverticles to repose themselves, and for my self some ease and refreshment of my spirits: yet the mention of so mighty a King and renowned Captain, maketh me to think upon, and to utter abroad the secret conceits and discourses, which often I have cast and ma
toed in my mind: and which induce me now to search and examine willingly, what event would have hapned and befall to the Romans, in case they had waged war with Alexander. First and forthom, the things that seem to bear (way and prevail in war, to befe (to wit) number of soldiers, valour, and courage withall. wit, sufficiency and dexterity of their chief leaders, and lastly, fortune, which as in all other humane and worldly affairs beareth a great stroke, so in war most of all. Which points, if a man consider either severally by themselves, or jointly altogether, do prove that the Roman Empire and government had flowed as well against him as other princes and nations invincible. And first to begin with comparing of the Captains themselves: I do not deny, but that Alexander was a noble and singular warrior: and this maketh more for his fame and reputation, that he was a sole commander of himself, that he was a young man and died in the growth of his prosperous affairs before he had felt and tasted of adverse fortune. For to let pass other other the-glorious Princes and brave captains, (the great mirror and examples of humane changes and varieties of this world) what was it that expired Cyrus, whom the Greeks commend and magnify above all other, as also of late time. Pomp as the great, to disfavor & the turning wheel of fortune, but only this: that they lived long? Let me but rehearse and reckon up the Roman captains: and though not all, nor in every age, wherein they flourished: but even them only, with whom being either Conuls or Dictator, Alexander should have warred, if had he come: namely, M.Velhianus

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Corvinius, C. Martius Euiilliis, C. Sulpiiius, T. Manlius Torquatus, Q. Publius Philo, L. Papinius Cursor, for Q. Fabius Maximus: the two Decii, L. Volumnius, M. Curius: Besides other brave men and valiant personages that followed after in case he had fought the Carthaginian were first (for if he had lived he meant to have warred there) and then passed over into Italy, when he had been well kept in years. In every one of these there were the same good parts, the like towards of nature, as much forwardness of courage and spirit, as in Alexander, yeo, and as good Military discipline, which even from the foundation of the City, passing from hand to hand, grew at length to the form and perfection of an Art, framed & compiled of continual rules and precepts, and confirmed by experiments. For, after one course the Kings conducted their wars: even fo, next unto them the banishers of the Kings, to wit the Junii and Valerii, confecutively the Fabii, the Quintins, and Cornelius: to did Ennius Camillus, whom those two Romains in their youth (Manlius Torquatus and Valerius Corvinus) with whom Alexander should have encountered, was an aged man in the latter end of his days, And whereas Alexander ventured his own proper person in battle, and performed all Military duties with other soldiers, (which was not the least part of his praiseworthy glory) would Manlius Torquatus have given him one inch of ground, think ye, if he had met with him in skirmish equally matched? or Valerius Corvinus either, both of them brave & stout soldiers before they were leaders and captains? Or would the Decii have given him place, who with devoted bodies to death, came among the thickest of their enemies into present danger? Would Papinius Cursor have given him way, a man of that incomparable strength of body, & invincible courage of heart? And (not to name every one particularly) would that Senat & Council have been over K wroth with the straights & policies of that one young man, which, whatsoever he was that said, it confided and was composed altogether of Kings, was the only man that conceived & comprehended the true image and Idea of the Roman Senat, Mary, here was all the doubting (forfooth) left that he knew how to chuse out a convenient plot of ground, to pitch a Camp in, more wisely & cunningly than any one of those before named, to make provision for viands, to foresee & beware of ambuscades, to pick out & take a meet time for to fight a battle, to set his battaillons in array, and to strengthen the same with sufficient succours & supplies from the rearguard, Surely, he would have said himself, that he had not now to deal with Darius, which Monarch carrying with time a train of dainty women, and tender Eunuchs, weakened and made effeminate with wearing purple and gold, with all his rich furniture, for new and ostentation of his wealthy and superfluous fortune, Alexander without any such brooding, with doing nought else but knowing well how to convene such roies and vanities conquered as a prey and booty rather than an enemy and warrior, He would have thought very well, that the situation and nature of Italy far differed from that of India, through which he marched at his ease with his drunken Army, leafting and banqueting all the way: but specially, when he should have beheld the woody forests and unsappable straights of Apulia, the high hills and mountains of Lucania, and the fresh marks and tokens of the lofts that hapned in his own name and house, namely, where not long before his Uncle Alexander late King of Epirus, miserably perished. Our talk all this while is of Alexander, not drowned yet with the overflow of prosperity; wherein no man had ever let's rule of himself than he, Whom if we consider, as he was arrayed in the habit and attire of his new fortune, and (if I may so lay) of a new M nature, whereinto after his conquests and victories he was transfigned: surely he would have come into Italy more like a Darius than an Alexander, and brought a baffard army with him, nothing at all resembling but quite forgetting their native country of Macedonie, degenerated already, and growing out of kind, into the manners and fashions of the Persians. It grieved me, and I am ashamed, in so great a Monarch as he was, to report the proud and mighty and variety every while of his appearance, his excessive vain-glory and desire of being courted and crouched unto (as he was) in flattering manner by men laying upon the earth grovelling and prostrate at his feet. Such object bafeness should have been hardly endured by Macedonians conquered and subdued; much less than being conquerours as they were, Abashed I am to recount the foul and horrible torments & executions, the murders of his well deserving friends, even in the midst of his cups and N dainty viands: last of all his vanity, his over-weening, and forging to himself a divine race and pedigree from the gods. But what if his drunkenness and unmannerly love of wine, were every day more than other? what if his fell anger and exceeding heat of choler increased daily? (for I report nothing but that which all writers agree upon) reckon we not these infirmities for great blemishes and wondrous hindrances, to the virtues and perfections of a warrior & general commander? But here is all the danger and fear (which some are wont to give out & alledge, even the vainest persons of all other Greeks, who favour & magnifie the glory of the very Parthians in comparison of the Roman name,) that the people of Rome had never been able to abide the very majesty and name of Alexander the great. (And I think verily, that even themselves that talk so much of him never heard the truth, so much as by the brute and fame) and that against whom in Athens, O a City mightily decayed by war with the Macedonians, and even then, when as they might fee before their face the ruins of Thebes in manner smoking full in their eyes, the Orators durst freely make publicke invevities (which appeareth by the very records of their Orations now extant) against him: I lay, not one of so many States and noble personages of Rome durst have opened his mouth and given one word again frankly and boldly, How much theore the grandeur and greatness of this man may be conceived and imagined in the mind, all that shall be but one only magnifing, growing, and come to his height with the felicity of little more than ten years, Whhic
A Which happiness of his, they that extol in this respect, that the people of Rome, although in no war they were fubdued, yet in many battles had the foile and left the day; whereas Alexander never fought field but he won the victory; little understand they, that compare the exploits of one perfon, and him a young man, with the the deeds and acts of a State, which had now warred eight hundred years. And can we marvell, if when on the one part there may be reckoned more ages than years on the other, that in so long a time, fortune should vary more, than in the space of thirteen years? But why compare you not man with man, Captain with Captain, and lay their fortunes together? How many Roman Captains and Generals, in this case am I able to name, who never lost field? Ye may turn every leaf and page of the yearly annals of Magistrates, of day-books and journals of those Consuls and Dictators, whose valour and felicity the people of Rome had never ceased to repent of and be disconforted for, so much as one day. And that which maketh them more wonderful, and to be admired above Alexander or any other King in the world, some of them bare the Dictatorship but ten or twenty days; and none the Confulship longer than a year. Their levies and mutters now and then were letted and impeached by the Tribunes of the Commons. The due and belc time for war otherwhiles overthipped them, and yet they went forth, before their term expired, they were often called home for to be precentors of the Magistrates Election. In the very midst and busiest time of their affairs, the year very often turned about. The inconsiderate rashness one while, and the prudent crookedness another while of a Collegue and companion in government was hindrance and harm both. They succeeded landy times after the los and overthrow of their predecessors, and received the army either of raw untrained fooldiers or iarch as were ill discipline trained up: whereas Kings and Monarchs contraiwise not only freed and exempt from all quick obstacles and inconveniences, but also Lords and Maffers, and of absolute command over their enterprises; over times and feations fix for execution, give direction to others, draw all after them to their advice and counsel, and are themselves directed and over-ridden by none. Say now, that Alexander were invincible, and dealt with their Captains as invincible himself, he should likewise have hazarded as great pawns and favours of fortune as any of them; nay rather, he should have adventured and incurred more jeopardy in that the Macedonians had but Alexander alone, a man not only subject but also expiring himself to many perilous chances: but many Romans there had been equal to Alexander, either for glory or greatness of their worthy deeds: who every one should have lived and died according to the Fatal course of his own several destiny, without the hazard of the whole and main chance. It remained now that forces be compared with forces, and armies to armies, either in number, or in quality of fooldiers, or multitude of Allies from whom they had their aids. There were esteemed by computation in the Taxing years and Surveys taken by the Centors of that age, two hundred and fifty thousand poll Citizens of Rome. And therefore in all the reveol and rebellions of their allies the Latins they were able to levy and enroll ten legions compleat of Roman Citizens well near and none else. And for many years oftentimes there were four and five armies employed at once, which maintained wars in Tuscan, in Etruria, in Umbria, take also the Gauls with you, with their enemies likewise Lucania in Samnium. Besides all the, Alexander should have found all Latium with the Sabins, Volsci, and Equians; all Campania, part of Umbria and Etruria, with the P e n e n t e s the Marfians, Pelignians, Veftrians, and Apulians, and all the coaft adjoining therto of the Greeks, along the nether Tyrrhenian Sea, from the Thurtians to Naples and Campania and thence, the Sammils, as far as to Antium and Hafia. All these should he have met with, either mighty and puifant allies and friends to the Romans, or if they were enemies, vanquished and fubdued by their arms. He should have paffed the seas himself, having of old Macedonian bands, not above thirty thousand, and four thoufand horse, and thoufand more, of them Thelfarians; for this was all his power. And in cale he had joyned therto the Perfians, Indians, and other fuch nations, he should have drawn along after him, more let and euncumbance, that help and succour by them, this take over and besides. The Romans had ftrong supplies alwayes ready and near at hand, at home in the City: whereas Alexander his army (as afterwards it happened to Ambulac warring in a strange country) would have waxed old and decayed. They had for their armour and weapons, a shield or buckler and a pears in manner of a pik. The Romans had a target of larger capacity to cover the whole body, and a javelin, being a weapon much better and more forcible than the pike, either to strike and push withal near hand, or to have been a far off. The fouldiers, I confefs, both of the one fide and the other, hooed their ground furily, kept their place and array still within their severall ranks, the Macedonian huge Philans moved not, was feldiift and alwayes after one fort: but the Romans battalion more dillent, and confiding of many parts eafe both to divide and diplay, or to joyn and reunite upon any occation. To speak now of painfull work and travel, what fouldeir is comparable to the Roman? Who better able to endure all forts of labour? Alexander by the los but of one barrall had been clean done, and his war at an end forever. But the Romans, whose hearts, neither the flamefull disgrace at Canni, nor the would defeat at Carra, could amaze and do: what power would have discouraged? What barrall in the world would have broken their backs? Certainly, Alexander although he had prosperity and good succés in his first beginnings and enterprises, would oftentimes hwe been miffed his Perifans and Indians, and defire with all his heart to have had dealing with them again, and other cowardly and daffard Nations of Asia: nay, he would have faved, that he had warred before but with women, as Alexander, King of Epirus (by report) gave out, when
when he was wounded to death, concurring the easy occurrences of war which this young Prince his nephew met withal in Africa, with the difficulties of his own that he found herein Italy. And verily, when I call to mind and remember the conflicts and fights at sea, in the first Punic war, for the space of twenty four years, with the Carthaginians, I suppose the whole age of Alexander would hardly have brought about and finished that one war, and against one of those two States. And peradventure, when both Carthaginians and Romans had been combined, either according to the ancient leagues, or for equal fear of a common enemy, and those two Cities most puissant both for men and munition, had taken arms at once against him, he would have been overwhelmed with the Punic and Roman war together. Moreover, the Romans have made good proof of the Macedonians as enemies, if not when they had Alexander to be their Captain, nor when the Empire of Macedonie was at the belt, and food upright unoffiled: yet tried them they have, and made head against them under the conduct of Antiochus, Philip, and Perseus: and it never cost them the loss and overthrow of their own part, nor so much as any appearance of danger atall. I would not be thought to speak a proud word, but be it without arrogance, and letting all our civil wars aside: never were we dethreaded, either by force of foot, or in open field and battle ranged, never on even and plain ground, never in unequal places of disadvantage, were we ever endangerd. The foolid in heavy and complex harness, I conciude may fear the Cavalry in the plains: may fear a host of arrows, number some forrests and woods, straight galleries, and unpassable wilds, without wailes forward or backward: but let there be a thousand armies greater and stronger than the Macedonians or Alexanders, so long as we hold together, and continue still in this love of peace and care of civil concord, wherein we live at this present, we are able, and ever shall be, to discomfort and put them all to flight.

After this, were M. Fulvius Flaccus, and L. Plautius Venax Consuls. The same year there came from fundry Nations of the Samnites Embassadors, to treat for the renewing of the league, and moved the Senate, most humbly kneeling prostrate upon the ground: but being put off and referred to the people, their prayers availed not to that effect: for as touching a league, they had a flat no. And after they had for certain daies together impetuous and one upon another, with cap and conge: at length after much fault, they obtained truce for two years, and out of Apulia the Theanenns and Camuns wearied with rods and spoils made in their Territories, after they had put in hostages to Lucius Plautius the Consul, yielded themselves to his protection. The same year first began Provoits to be created at Capua, to govern under certain laws given unto them by L. Ennius the Pretror: after that themselves had made suit for the one and the other, as a remedy for their flait, greatly decayed through civil discord. And at Rome were two more Tribes added to the reft, Afranius and Valerius. When Apulia began once to thrinck and go backward, the Theatins, being all Apulians, prepared themselves unto the new Conuls C. Junius Bubulcus, and Q. Ennius Bocchus: and fuel to enter into a league with the Romans. And since they were the men that led the way first, and by their example and perwauction induced all Apulia to be in peace with the Romans, and had confidently undertaken, as duties and Pledges to bring it to pass they obtained their request. Yet was not the league indifferent and formal, with equal conditions, but so, as it should be in subsequenc to the people of Rome. After that Apulia was conquered (for Junius had won all Turentum, a strong town and a rich,) they marched forward against the Lucans. Then upon the sudden coming of Ennius the other Consul, Nerullus was by force taken, and after that it was noise abroad amongst the allies of the people of Rome, that the late and weal publicke of Capua were establishd by Roman discipline and government: the Antias also, who made mean and complained, that they lived without positive laws and Magistrates, obtained of the Senate certain Advocats and Commisioners, to ordain Statutes likewise for that Colony, So that not only the Roman arms, but also their law and jurisdiction extended far and near, and was of great request. C. Junius Bubulcus, and Q. Ennius Bocchus Consuls, in the end of the year, delivered their Legions not to the Cossi, by them created, S. Nautius, and M. Poplius, but configned them to L. Ennius the Dictator, Who with his General of N. horse, L. Fulvius, began to lay siege to Satrianda, whereby he gave the Samnites occasion to rebel. Which brought upon the Romans a double fear two waies. For of the one side the Samns having assemblled a mighty army, to deliver their allies from the siege, pitchted their Camp not far from the Romans legaue: on the other side, the Satriacas set open their gates suddenly, and with a great tumult brake into the wards and corps de garde of their enemies. And to both partes, relying rather upon hope of succour and help elsewhere, than trusting upon their own strength, within a while began to charge the Romans in full battell, with banner dissolved, and dethreaded them. And although the Dictator was assembled both waies, yet was he little and faine on either side, because he had got a plot of ground, not eafe to be compassed, and made head both against the one and the other, advancing his eninges accordingly. Howbeit, he charged more hotly upon them that fellied forth, and without much ado beat them again within the walls. Then turned he the whole battell upon the Samnits. Where there was hard hold, and more to do. The victory, though long fift, was neither doubtfull nor variable. The Samnits being chafted and driven into their Camp, having in the night put out all their fires, dilthred and departed privily away: and being past all hope of defending Satrianda, they besiegued Philnea, a town confederate to the Romans, to require their enemy with the like displeasure. The revolution of the year being gone about, the war continued under the conduct of Q. Fabius.
The ninth Book of T. Livius.

A. Q. Fabius Dictator: and the new Comitils, like as the former remained till at Rome. And Fabius

came before Surrincla to receive the Army of Ennibus, bringing with him a new supply to make

up the broken bands: for the Samnites made no stay at Pliffla, but having levied and tent for fresh

foudliers from home, pre luming upon their great numbers, encamped in the very place where

they lay alone; where by braving the Romans, and challenging them with many skirmishes, they

would have forced them to raise the siege. But the Dictator so much more earnestly bent his for-

ces against the walls of the enemies, thinking it the best piece of service to affall the Town, as be-

ing of such importance to the rest of the war, which depended thereon: and was more ready to

therefore of the Samnites, and only opposed against them certain guards both day and night, along

the trench and rampire, to keep them from making any affall upon the Camp. But the Samnites

on the other side, so much the more fiercely skirmished on horseback about the fortifications, and

never gave them rest. In most, as when the enemy now was at the point to enter the gates of the

Camp, the General of the Horse, Q. Ennibus Caesar, without advice and direction of the

Dictator, riding forth in great noise with all his Corners of Horse, repelled the enemy. But even

in that light manner of skirmish, and no set battle of any long continuance. Fortune to pilad her

part, and shewed what she could do, that on either side there be a memorable, with the glori-

ous death of both the Captains. For the General of the Samnites first taking it to heart, to see

Ennibus so fiercely ride and give the charge, and himself to be disarrayed and driven out of his

place, with much intercating and exhorting his horsemen, renewed the fight. Against whom, as he

advanced himself, bravely to be seen among his men and sought most valiantly, the Roman Gen-

eral of the horse, with great in reit, galloped his horse, that with one push he unhorsed him

and left him for dead; and yet for all this was not the whole troop besides (as commonly it is seen)

at the fall of their Captain so much amazed, as provoked rather to fight. For that they were

about him charged Ennibus hard as he fairly rode without head, and engaged himself too

far within the thicket of the squadrons of his enemies, and lanced their javelins at him: but they

gave the special honour to the brother of the Samnites Captain to be revenge for his death.

He, full of anger and sorrow, plucked Ennibus from his horse, and flew him in the

place, even in the midst of his victory: and for that he fell among the troops of his enemies,

he had like to have left his dead corps among the Samnites. But presently the Romans alight-

ted on foot, and the Samnites were forced to do the same: and thus being arranged suddenly

in great battie into battalions, there began a cruel fight, on foot upon the bodies of the Capt-

ains. Wherein the Romans went clear away with the better, and having recovered the corps of

Ennibus, in great joy, in amazing and sorrow, they returned winners into their Camp. The

Samnites thus having lost their Captain, and tried their strength what they could do in

fight on horse-back, left Surrincla, which they supposcd could not possibly be defended, and

so returned again to the siege of Pliffla. After few daies, Surrincla was surrendered by com-

position to the Romans, and the Samnites by assault were Pliffla. Then changed they the seat town

of the war. For out of Samnium and Apulia, the Legions were removed to Sors. This Sors

was revolted to the Samnites, and had slain all the inhabitants therein that were Romans.

Against which place, when the Romans were come first by great journeys to revenge the loss

of their Countrymen, and to recover the Colony, their epian and fous whom they had

sent out dispersed along the high waies, brought word, that the Legions of the Samnites followed

yed, and one after another gave advertisement, that they were no far off. Hereupon they

went forth to meet with the enemy, and near to a place called Largue there was fought a dou-

ble and dangerous battle: for no laughter it was, nor flight of either part, but the very night

that parted them, and they knew not whether they had the better or the worse. In some Chroni-

cles I find, that the Romans lost the day, and that there died in this battle Q. Ennibus Gen-

eral of the horse, C. Fabius chosen in the room of Ennibus, came with a new and fresh army

from Rome, and having dispatched messengers before to the Dictator to know his advice, where

he should stay and rest, and what time and which on side he should let upon the enemy: after he

was well informed and instructed in all points what to do, he put himself close in ambush,

The Dictator himself, who had for certain dies after the last skirmish, kept his fouldiers within

the same; more like one besieged, than besieging; all on a sudden, put forth the signal and token

of battle: and thinking nothing more effectual to animate and kindle the courage of hardy men,

than to know of no other help or hope, nor to trust upon any man but in themselves, he con-

cealed from his fouldiers the coming of the General of Horse and his fresh forces; and as if

there had been no other way but one, even to break forth and tally with violence: "We being

(quo he my fouldiers, went here and taken tardy in the firelights there have no other ilke but

that which by victory we shall make open. Our hold wherein we lie is fortified sife enough but

the same for the city of all things not alone, icktome, and hurtful to us: for all parties hereabout

are resisted from where we should have convoy of victuals and were it that the people were

debted to us yet the advances & paffages are hard, and the place of our abode incommo-

dious. Therefore will not I deceive and abuse you any longer, by leaving here your tents into

which ye may after ye have misled the entire victory but take your felkes for sorry, as ye did the

other day: for our fortifications and holds, ought to be defended by force of arms: and not

our arms by fenced forts. Let them have their Camp well fortified, to issue forth and to retire

thither again at their pleasure, who have a purpose to make along war of it. But let
s cut off all regard of other matters, but only of a present and final victory. Advance then your enmies directly against the enemy: and so soon as our Army is once without the trench and rampiers let them set the tents a fire, that have the charge so to do, you shall make up your forces against the enemy, and they shall be vanquished. At this speech of the Dictator, which shewed no other resemblance but of extreme necessity, the soldiers took heart, and were hot set to match straight to the enemy. And the very light of their tents burning behind them (albeit those only which flood next were set on fire, for the Dictator had given commandment) was no small provocation and prick unto them. And therefore they gave a charge like mad men, and at the first pull and burst they broke the array of the enemies; and withall, in good time, the General of the horse, when he saw a fair off the tents on fire (for that was the signal agreed between them) came hastily upon the back of the enemies and baffled them. So the Saxons being environed round about, made every man what shift he could to get forth and escape, and to fly. But the main multitude that were shambled together all on a round heap, for fear, being an hinderance one to another in the press, was slain in the midst and cut in pieces, the enemies camp won, and ransacked: with the pillage whereof the soldiers were laden, and the Dictator brought them back unto their own Camp; who were not so joyful for the victory, as for that they found (besides a little part thereof disfigured by fire) all the rest safe and found beyond their expectation.

From thence they returned to Sora, where the new Consuls M, Petilius and Gnaeus Sulpicius took the Army at the hands of Fabius the Dictator: who discharged many of the old soldiers, and brought certain new cohorts for supply in their stead. But when by reason of the difficult and inaccessible height of the Town, they knew not well which way, and by what means to make assault, and seeing that the winning of it would either ask long time, or be exposed to manifold and present dangers: a certain runaway - Traitor of Sora who had closely flown out of the Town, got to the Roman Sentinels, and required forthwith to be brought to the Consuls: who being preferred before them, promised to betray the Town: and being questioned withall, how and by what means he would perform that which he undertook, seemed unto them to allude some reason to good purpose, and prevailed far with them, that he caused the Roman Camp, which lay in a manner close under the walls, to be removed six miles off the Town, laying, that thereby the wards by day, and the watch by night would be neglighest, and left careful and diligent to keep the City. Himself the night following, after he had willed certain cohorts of soldiers to lye in ambush within the woods near the Town, took with him ten elect and chosen soldiers; and through steep places, and such as were not well passable, conducted them into the Castle, having brought thither more flots and darts to throw than to serve for a number of men: besides, there was good store of stones at hand, which lay there, either fattering by chance (as commonly in such craggy and rocky ground) or else helped together by the townsmen of purpose, for the better defence of the place. Whereafter he had bellowed the Romans, and shewed them a narrow and steep path-way out of the Town into the Castle. From getting up here (quoth he) there needs no more but three men only well armed to keep back the greatest multitude that is ye are in number ten, and more than that, Romans; and of Romans the most hardy and valiant: the place will hold you. I know, the darkness of the night will be for your purpose, the night, I say, which by reason of uncertainties, maketh all things seem much more than they are to men affrighted and amazed already. I will for my part act all in a hurly burly, look you in the meantime that you duly keep the fortresses. This said, he runs down with as great a noise and shouting as he could, crying, Alarms, help, help, Citizens, the Castle is taken by the enemy come you away to defends. These words he renewed ever as he rapped at the gates of the principal Citizens and Noblemen: these words he redoubled aloud to all that he met, and to as many as ran forth affrighted into the streets. This fearful alarm received from one man, was set abroad by many more all over the City. The Magistrates quaking for fear, sent certain to the Castle in spia: to discover the truth: and advertised by them that the Castle was surprized indeed by armed men, and full of armor (for they made the number, and every thing else more than it was) were clean put out of all hope to recover their Fortresses. So very where they stood to running away the gates were broken open by them that were not well awake, and those most part unarmed. At one of the gates, the companies of the Romans aforesaid, who lay in ambush, and were raised with sudden and clamour, brake in, and killed all that in this night ran headlong in their way. Thus was Sora won against the Consuls timidly come in the morning before the break of day; and look whose fortune it was to escape out of the massacre made in the night; and to flee away those they took to mercy upon illusion: whereof two hundred twenty five, even the who by the general voice of all were pointed at, and reputed above the rest the principal actors in that horrid massacre above said of the Roman Colonists. inhabitants, and the authors of the revolt they had away with them to Rome, bound hand and foot. The other multitude they left at Sora safe and unharmed, and planted there a garrison. All they that were brought to Rome were in the market-place couped with rods, and beheaded with the exceeding joy and contentment of all the Commons, whom it concerned most, that the multitude which should be sent into sundry Colonies might in every place live in safety and security of their lives.

The Consuls being departed from Sora, marched forward to make war upon the Lands and Territories.
A Territory of the Auriones; for the coming of the Samnites after the battle of Lake'Thira, they were all out, full of inteructions and commotions: and many conspiracies there were in all places about Campania: neither was Capua so well without blame and tumults. Nay, this matter palled as far as Rome, where information was made against them to the Nobles, and warning given to enquire into them. But the whole nation of the Auriones by reason that the Cities were betrayed, etc. as Sena, was reduced under obedience to the people of Rome. Annius, M. Latina, and the Florae were the Cities, out of which twelve of the chief young Gentlemen having conspired and sworn together to betray their own Cities, presented themselves into the Comitia, giving them to understand, that their countrymen wished long ago for the coming of the Samnites, and so forth.

B "As soon as they heard of the battle at Lake'Thira, made account that the Romans were utterly vanquished and helped the Samnites both with men and munition. But now, they say, that the Samnites were chaled from thence, they lived unculture without all mean terms of peace, and thence not their gates in deed upon the Romans, for fear of bringing war upon themselves, yet ob,, obliquely bent to flurn them, if their Army approached toward them. In this wavering and double, floating of their minds, they might at unawares be suddenly surprized. By this perdition of theirs they enslaved nearer, and at one and the self-same time were the doors sent about the three towns before named, some in armor closely to lie in ambush in convenient places near the walls: others in side gowns with swords under them, who little before day, so soon as the gates were let open, should enter into those Cities. By whom the matter was to handled, that at one instant they began to kill the warders at the gates, and gave a signal to those armed landlords who lay in ambush, to come once at once and come to Lucceae. Thus were the gates seized and possessed, and three towns in one hour by the fame fatigues only surprized. But because this exploit was performed in the absence of the Captains, there was no stay in execution and slaughter, but beyond all measure, and without all mercy, no less nor age was spared: and so the whole nation of the Anzones before they were detected for certain revolt, was destroyed and extinguished, as if they had warred mortally and been at deadly lead.

C The same year Lucceae came into the hands of the Samnites, by reason that the City had betrayed and delivered the Roman garrison within it; but the traitors went not long unpunished for it. The Roman Army charged to be not far from thence, and at the first affliit, the City standing as it did on a plain, was won. The Lucceans and Samnites both were put to the sword every one: and for that reason proceeded their furious rage, that when the Senat met in council at Rome, about sending men to inhabit Lucceae, many were of mind, that the City it self should be razed to the ground and destroyed: for besides the cursed and execrable hatred they bare against them being twice conquered and revolted: the distance also of the place to remove, grieved them to dislike greatly, and abhor the conning, as it were, of their Citizens, so far from home, to live amongst such a kind of people, cruel and dangerous. Howbeit, their opinion took place and prevailed; who gave advice, that Colonizers and inhabitants should either be sent, and to the number of two thousand were there planted.

D The same year in which the Romans found all loyal unto them, and nothing but filth and good E on all sides at Capua also certain secret conspiracies of the Nobles and bold of the City were detected and revealed. Touching which, the Senat's advice was asked, and the matter not detected by them, but Commissions were appointed and thought good, that a Dictator should be nominated for to sit upon the many conspiracies and inquisitions. And C. Menenius was created, who named M. Fufius Galba, the Chief of the Horie. Great was the terror of that Magistrate, and thereupon either for fear, or guiltlines of conscience, the two Carbini Osienis and Nucius, who were the chief of that commission before information was given against them by name to the Dictator died: and questioners by their own hands shortened their days, and so avoided the trial of justice and punishment accordingly. After this, the Inquisition wanted subject matter once about the Capuar, the Inqui;: to, by interpretation of words in the Commissio, proceeded to Rome, saying, that the Senat had good warrant to make enquiry and strict search, not only by name and precisely, who at Capua only; but generally, who in any place whatsoever had used concivities, and conspired against the Common-wealth: and all secret meetings; say they, and packings together for to get Dignities and Offices, were directly against the State and Common-wealth: so that the Commissio extended larger both for persons and real action. Yes, and the Dictator himself nothing gained, but that the virtue of his Comission was disturbed without limitation, Hereupon they were certain Gentlemen of the Nobility brought into question: and notwithstanding they called upon the Tribunes fort to certify them with interpreting their negative, yet there was not one of them would come out and relieve them, the pretended was taken against them, and they indicted. Then the Nobility, I mean not them alone who were in trouble, but generally the whole

G Seney of the City at once pleaded, that they were not the natural and true Noblemen indeed, who were to be condd, and afraid with this crime: who if it were not for simpler and indicr countries, had eaten and open incites unto all honourable places and promotions: but certain new upstarts and Gentlemen of the first head: saying, that it was the very core of the Dictator himself, and his General of Horse, who were rather parties guile, and offenders themselves, thin infinit Inquirors, and competent Judges: and that they were well know and understood: when they were once out of their place and office. This made Tullius to believe himself, who mindful rather of his good name and reputation, than respective of his high place and absolute
absolute government, went up into the common place of audience before all the people, and spake H
to this effect: "My Masters and friends all, Citizens of Rome, well assured I am, that privy are
the whole carriage and course of my former life; and besides that, even this very honour
and dignity which you have bestowed upon me, is able to refine and approve mine innocency,
For, to it upon these inquisitions, there was not to be chosen now for Dictator (as oftentimes
heretofore, according to the dangerous occasions and necessity of the time) a man reputed
the best and most nobled warrior of all other; but such a one, as throughout his whole life,
hath most of all multiled and condemned ambitious concerticles. Howbeit, forasmuch as cer-
tain persons of noble birth, (for what cause, it is more meet for you to decry and judge, than for me
being, a Magnate, to speak without, as they say, and upon no lesser ground) first have en-
davedon with all their might and main to overthrow the procès of the inquisition it fell's and
afterwards, feing they were not able themselves to bring that about (notwithstanding they were
Patriots) have fled to the holes of their very adversaries, even the protection of the Tribunes and
their negative, rather than to justifie themselves and stand to the trial of their cause; and at last
having there also a reputation thinking all means fater than to approve their innocency, have fah
on us, and bathed not (private men, as they are,) to accuse and touch the person of him that is
Dictator; to the end therefore, that both God and man, and all the world may know, that they
have affacified to compalts that which they are not able to bring to pass, namely, to avoid the rend-
ning an account of their life and demeanours; so, I am ready (to set forward their accusations)
to offer my self unto mine adversaries; and giving them means to call me to mine answer, here
I reign up my Dictatorship. And I beseech you, O Conuls, if to be this charge be laid on you
by the Senate, to proceed in examination against me first, and this Gentleman the General of
Horse M. Fellenius: that it may appear, how we, through our own innocency alone, and not by
the countenance and privilege of our dignity and high calling, are protected and safe from their
slanders and intended crimes. Herewith he gave over his place of Dictator; and after him in-
continently, M. Fellenius yielded up his room likewise of General over the Horse. These persons
were the first, who being charged and put to their trial judicially before the Conuls, for to them
by order from the Senate was the commiunion directed notwithstarding all the depositions and
remonstrances of the Patriots, were in every point found unguilty, and acquitt. P. Philo also, albeit he
had so many times attained to the supreme dignities of State, after he had achieved to many wor-
thy deeds, as well in peace as war, yet a man malice, scavenged rather of the Nobility, was put to
plead for himself, and finally absolved. But the inquiry into such men of name and quality,
lifted no longer in force, (as it is usually seen,) than whiles it warreth; and in the first heat thereof,
from them it began to fall to persons of less reckoning and bafer accounts, until such time, as by
the same concerticles and factions against which it was devised, it fell to the ground, and was tro-
den underfoot.

The fruit of these things, and more than that, the hope of the Campsins revolt, wherecero-
certain had compaigned and sworn, (as ye have heard,) recalled the Samnites back again to Caedunium, who
were turned and bent wholly into Apulia; that from thence, being to rest near hand unto Cephas,
they might (if haply any insurrection and trouble preferred the overture and opportunity) seize
upon it, and take it perforce from the Romans. Thither came the Conuls with a strong and
mighty army: and at the first they flasted and lingered about the paffles and landes, having
on the one side and the other an ill way of passage unto the enemies. Afterwards the Samnts
fetching a swift compalts about, came down with their army through the open places into the
plains, I mean the champaign country and fields about Cephas. And that was the first time that
the enemies had a fight one of the others Camp. Whereupon by light skirmishers, on horseback or
rather than on foot, they tried matters on either side: neither were the Romans one jot disconcert-
ted with the issue and event thereof, nor repented of the delay whereby they drew the war-
length. Contrariwise, the Samnit Captains perceived their forces toward by small lodes, and
their courage to cool and decay evidently by that lingering war. Whereupon, they came aboard
into the field and divided their Cavally into wings: with a special charge, to have a more careful
eye backward toward their camp (for fear of any imprestion and assault that way,) than to the main
battel, which would be guarded safe enough by the Infantry. The C definitionall themselves in
this manner: Sulpisius led the right point of the battral, and Petilian the left: the right side (whereas the
Samnts also were arranged in thinner ranks and files, to purpose to compalts and enquir
the enemies, or to not to compalts and enclosed themselves,) the left did more abroad and open.
They on the left hand besides that they stood thicker and more close, were by occasion of a
hidden policy of Petilian the C, further strengthened. For those cohorts and bands which were
referved apart in the rearward for help at any need, and kept fresh against all occurrents and ha-
ards of long fight, he advanced presently to the forefront in the vanguard, and with all his forces at
once charged the enemy at the first encounter & forced him to retreat. When the footmen of the
Samnts were thereby troubled and distracted, the horsemen followed close and entered into the
skirmish. But as they rode crost and overthwart between the two hobs, the Roman horsemen
pricked and galloped their horse to rank them; and disordered and troubled the enigas, cornets,
队长s and troops of foot and horse, fell-mell together, until he had called the whole battral
of that side to turn their backs. In this left point not Petilian alone. But Sulpisius also joyned with
him, and was presen in person to check and encourage the foundiers; for he had transported and
distracted
A distrusted himself from his own men, who as yet were not come to join battle at the cry & shout that arose from the left side: and seeing on that part undoubted victory, he went towards his own charge accompanied with 1200 men: Where he found a change of fortune, namely, the Romans to have retreated and left ground, and the enemy as victor, advancing forward his enmity upon them: so dismayed and daunted, Howeit, the Consul his coming made a present alteration: for both at the sight of their Captain were the soldiers hearts refreshed and comforted: and for to aid them, there came a greater supply indeed than in view of number, of tall and lusty men. So when they heard first, and saw soon after, the victory got of the other party, they renewed the fight. After this on all sides the Romans had the better hand, and the Samnites giving over fight, were either slain or taken prisoners: saving only those, who fled to Maleventum a town now named Beneventum. It is left in record that there were upon 3000 Samnites either left killed in the place, or brought away captive.

The Consuls having obtained this notable victory, forthwith do chance lead their Legions to lay siege unto Bovianum: and there wintered before the Town, until such time as C. Petilius (chosen Dictator together with M. Feltius his General of the Horse, by the new Consuls L. Papirius Cursor for the fifth time, and C. Junius Buthulos the second time) received the Army at their hands. Who hearing, that the Castle of Fregellae was by the Samnites taken, left Bovianum, and went forward to Fregellae which he recovered again without drawing his sword: for that the enemies had quit the place, and were fled by night: and when he had placed a strong garrison there he returned thence into Camponia, of special purpose to regain Nola by force of arms. Thither were retired within the walls, a little before the Dictator his coming, both all the whole multitude of the Samnites, and the rustic peasants about Nola. The Dictator having viewed the situation of the Town, to the end he might have the more open access to the walls, set all the houes on fire that were in the fumbubs along the countercarpe (and there they flood thick and were well inhabited.) And not long after, whether it were by Petilius Dictator (I know not) or C. Junius Consul (for it is reported as well of the one as the other) Nola was forced and won. That which would draw unto the Dictator the honour of winning Nola, add moreover and say, That he won also Atina and Calatia: and that Petilius upon a petition that began was made Dictator, for the letting or falling of a spike or great nail. Two Colonies that year were conducted to Subiaccum and Pontia. Succa belonged to the Aurnia. The Volscians inhabited the Island Pontia situate over against their own shore within a kenning. And a decrea pasted from the Senat, that to Cassia nono a third Colony there should be fent inhabitants; M. Vallerius and P. Decius, the Consuls that next succeeded, ordained three Triunvirs for that purpose, and sent four thousand to people those places.

The war with the Samnites was in a manner now dispatched and brought to an end: but before that the Nobles and Senators of Rome had left the care thereof, a brunt was blown of the Tuscanians war. And there was in those days another nation (letting the Gauls tumults aside) whose forces and hottness they more feared; for that their country was so near a neighbour and so populous withall. Therefore, whilst one of the Consuls was occupied in dispatching the relieves of the war in Samnium, P. Decius who lay at Rome grievously sick, by authority of the Senat, named Dictator C. Junius Buthulos. He according as the important affairs required, caused all the younger forts to take the military oath, and preit them for foulidiers, Armor, and whatsoever requisite besides, with great diligence he prepared. And albeit he was thus furnished and well appointed yet was he nothing bold and for the most part ready to begin war, willing (no doubt) to be quiet and stand upon his guard, unlefs the Tuscanians shewed themselves first in arms. The same purpose had the Tuscanians also, both in preparing for war and in making lay to begin war. So, of neither side they departed out of their own limits.

In that year was there a famous Censorship of App. Claudius, and C. Plinius. But the name of Appius became more memorable of the twin, and of happier renown unto posterity, for that he pawed with his toe the cautery or Post-way (bearing his name) and conveyed a channel of water into the City of Rome. Which works he finished alone for that his Colleague for shame of an infamous and odious choice of certain Senators which he made gave over the office. But Appius having the route fromomacch engrafted in his name and house from the beginning bare the Censorship alone. By the motion and means of the same Appius, the Patris; to whose family properly belonged the Priestly service, at the altar of Hercules called Maxima, had taught certain publicke servants (for that the function might be committed over to them as delegates) the solemn rites and ceremonies of that sacred ministrity, Hereupon is reported a wonder to be spoken and that which might strike a couple of conscience, and make men afraid ever after, to alter anything in religion from the former state and first institution. For whereas at the same time there were twelve houses of the Patris, and in them about thirty that were above fourteen years of age: within one year it is laid, that they died all with their whole issue and offspring. Moreover, that not only the name of the Patris became thus extinct, but that Appius also the Censor, within certain years, such was the ire of the gods mindfull of revenge fell stark blind. Therefore the Consuls that followed in the next year, C. Junius Buthulos the third time, and Q. Emilius Barbo the second time, in the very entrance of their office framed a complaint unto the people: That by the land and corrupt Election of some new Senators that honourable state and order was deformed, and namely, how some were over-diplit, who were of more worth than those that were taken in: And saying pl. only, That
That they would not oblige and have in any regard such a choice, which without respect of good and bad would be made for favour and affection to some and at the pleasure of the Colonels: and immediately they cited the Senate by name in that order and form, as had been used before the Colonels, App.Claudius and C.Plautius.

And in that year there were two places of charge and command, first given by the people, both pertaining to warfare: the one, that sixteen Colonels for fourLegions, should from that time forward by the people be created, which before were in a manner the gists and favours conferred by the Dictators and Consuls; and few or none of the people had any hand or voice therein. This Act and Ordinance was propounded by L.Petillus and C.Martius. Tribunes of the Commons. The other was, That the lame people should have the appointment and ordaining of two Duumvirs at sea, for the rigging, repairing, and trimming of the Navy. The maker of this Act was M. Decius, another Tribune of the Commons.

I would let pass one thing that hapned this year, as of small weight and importance, and not worth the speaking, but that it seemed a matter pertinent to religion. The minstrels that played upon the flute and hautboies, for that they were prohibited and debarred by the last Colonels, having the good cheer any more in the Temple of Jupiter, according to an old custom and tradition, took in such sort, and in a pelting chafe all in one company went their ways to Tyburn: as there was not one of them in the City left to sing and pipe before the pomp of lictories, and on their festal dates, the Senate made some concience hereof, and were troubled in their mind. Whereupon they dispatched messengers to Tyburn, to travel with the townsmen and endeavour all they could, that these good fellows might be restored and sent home again to the Romans. The Tyburnians undertook the matter, and promised right courteously to do their part: and suited them for these minstrels into their Town-Hall, and perfwaded with them to return again to Rome: but when they could not be brought to that, for any thing they could do, then they brought another policy and fear with them, that forsooth and fitted well the humour of such kind of people and of their coat. Upon a festival holyday, under a colour of making merry with minstrels and music about them, some invited one, and some another to give them a fit of mirth accordingly. But they plied them with wine (which all the tort of this profession love but too well) that they drank till they winked, and winked to long till they fell fast asleep. And being found asleep, the Tyburnians brought them gently to their beds in certain waggons, and thus believed, conveyed them to Rome. Neither perceiving that they ought to drink drunken forts they, before that their waggons were left in the market place of Rome. Nay, before they had slept out and concocted their wine that leamed up into their heads, and clouded them there the day-light came upon them and then they awoke. The people came running together from all parts to them, and after they had either got at their hands or charged them to pay, and made no more inch friolks, it was granted unto them, that three days every year being disfigured and dressed in a mask for the purpose they might range and walk about the City, with singing, and sounding their instruments, after this licentious manner and jollity, which now adays is yearly used, and their privilege of eating in the temple was restored to them again, namely, to inch as long and plaid in time of their divine service and lictories and all was well. This ridiculous pageant hapned amidst the care and preparation of two great and dangerous wars.

The Consuls parted their Provinces between them: To Q.Sextius fell by lot the Samnites to Amyntius the new war in Hannia. In Samnium Clodius, a forstree and hold of the Romans being impregnable by an assault, was a long time besieged; and forced by extrem famine, was delivered up to the Samnites. After they were once Masters of the fort, they took the garrison fortresse, and notwithstanding they yeelded themselves yet they whipped and ta' their flesh most beastly, and in the end, without all mercy killed them. Sextius exceding wroth at this cruelty, thinking nothing more needful to be done first than the winning again of Hannia: laid all other matters aside, and the same day that he extoll'd the wars, took it by force, and slew all he could find above fourteen years of age. In this train of victory the Army was brought against Bibractum. This was the chief place of the Pentrians in Samnium, the wealthiest City, the bell provided, and most furnished of all other with men and munition. The soldiers very exager and harlot for hope of a rich pilage, won the Town. But for that they were nothing to angry and hot of revenge as before, they dealt not so cruelly with the enemies: but they got together and carried away more spoil and laccage from thence than they ever had well bear out of all Samnium; and as libellously was it bestowed every whith upon the forstrees. And forasmuch as no pitched battle inplain field, no Camp to well fortified, no Cities and Forts, whosoever fenced, were able to withstand the puissant Romans in force of open arms; and the Princes in Samnium studied and applied their wits to find means of flight and hystil policy; if haply, as they waited and forsook the Territories after a brave and licentious manner, the Army disbursed once, might be entraped and encompassed within some ambush. It fell out so, that certain fugitives from the Country, and Captives, some by chance and others of purpose, being in their way, made relation of tidings to the Consuls, well agreeing all in one tale, and the same sounding of a truth indeed; namely, that a great sort of stroke and other cattell were driven together into a by-forstree out of the way: and so induced them to lead thither the Legions lightly armed, and to fit their hands with a far booty. Now the Samnites had privity forelaid all the high wails with a mighty army. and after that they saw the Romans to have entered & engaged themselves within the chafe of or forstree aforesaid, all of a sudden...
A sudden they rose up and with a great cry and shout ran upon them to charge them when they least thought of any such thing. At the first this strange and unexpected occurrence made them afraid while they took them to their weapons, and laid their lardels and bagget together on a heap in the midst. But after that every man was eated of his load, and had put on his armor, they rallied on all sides to their enligns; and without the commandment or direction of any man, they of themselves put the battel in array, each one knowing his rank and place according to the accustomed order of the ancient Military discipline. The Consul perceiving that he was brought to a most doubtful and dangerous battel, got from his horse; and protested before Fabius and Mars, and the other gods whom he called all to witness: 'That he came not into that place to get glory to himself by any enterprise, but only a booty for his soldiers; and that no fault else could be imputed unto him but an overmuch desire and affection of his, to enrich his soldiers by the spoil of the enemy. From which blame and shame both, nothing could free and excuse him else, but the manhood and prowess of his soldiery: exhibiting them with one accord to today themselves and endeavour all together to set upon their enemy, defeated and vanquished in battle, driven out of Camp and field, bereaved of his Towns and strongholds, and come now to attempt his left and utmost hope of privacy and their wilds of foraying, trusting upon the vantage of the ground and not pure force of arms. But what place is there now insupportable or unpregnable to the valiant Romans? Herewith he named the Cattle of Etruria and Sardin, and what place of disadvantage and hard access ever they had won by force. With these words the soldiers encouraged and enlamed, forgeting all difficulties and dangers, marched space and advanced forward up to the army of the enemies that now approached them, and were over their heads, Where the Romans found some difficulty at all, the while they climbed up the cliff or ridge of the hill against them. But after that the formen enlings were mounted up and had gained the plain in the top, and perceived they were embattled upon an even and equal ground, presently the terror turned upon those that lay in wait for them & were disbanding, scattered, and driven to fling away their weapons they fled and trudged as fast as they could to recover again those starting and hurrying holes, wherein before they had hid themselves. But even those difficult places which they had fought of purpose for their enemy, and their own deceit and guile, encompassed themselves. For very few of them could find the way out and escape by flight, insomuch as to the number of 20000 were slain. And then the Romans after this victory ran up and down at their pleasure to that booty of sheep and cattle, which was first presented unto them by the enemy, as a bait to catch them with.

Whiles these things thus went in Samnium, all the people of Heturia by this time, but only the Arethins were up in arms, and entred into a right great war; beginning first with the siege and assault of Sutrium: which City being allied to the Romans, was as a man would say the very Barriers of all Heturia. Thither came the other Conful Aemilius with an army to rescue and deliver their allies, and to raise the siege. Against the Romans coming the Sutrians curiously brought victuals to the Camp, lying before the City. The Tufcans spent the first day in consulting whether they should make a short war of it, by hot assualts, or temporize and protract the time by lingering siege. The morrow after, when as the Captains liked rather of expedition and halfe courstes than of more fage and safe proceedings, at the sun rising they set out a flag of defiance and the signal of battle, and armed they go forth of their Camp into the open field to fight. Which after it was told the Conful, presently he commanded a watch-word to be given, that the soldiery should take their breakfast; and after they had refreshed and strengthened their bodies with food, go straight to arm themselves; which was obeyed accordingly. The Conful seeing them well appointed in readines, commanded the enlings to advance forward out of the rampier, and not far from the enemy marshall his battels, For a good while they stood on both sides, wildly looking, and waiting that the shout and charge should begin from the adverse part. But it was past noon before there was one dart flying or javelin lanced either from the one side or the other. But then, because they should not go away without doing somewhat, the Tufcans began to set up a cry, the trumpeters found the charge, and the standard came forward. Neither were the Romans any joy behind to begin battel: Thus they ran to it, and encountered with exceeding animosity and fury; the enemies more in number, the Romans better in hardines and vertue. The fight was doubtful and dangerous, and oft the lie of many a man on both sides and namely, those that were most forward and valiant: neither began they to shrink on any part, before that the second battailion of the Romans marched and luted, advanced to the forefront of the vanguard, into the place of their wearied fellows. The Tufcans for that their vanguard was not supplied and reenforced by any new succours both before and after all about their enlings were beaten down and slain every man, Never in any one battel had there been lese running away, or more bloodshed, if the night had not protected the Tufcans to recharge were they all to die in the place: insomuch as the winners gave over play before the losers. After the fun fell the retreat was founded: and by night both parties returned into the Camp. After this no exploit was performed before Sutrium that year, but remembrance both for that the forword of the enemies army, was wholly in that one battel defeated and destroyed; and they had none left but the Subsidiary soldiers of the rearward, and those hardly able and insufficient to guard and defend the Camp: and also, the Romans were so hurt and sore wounded that there were more of them died after the battel of their hurts than were slain in the very skirmish outright. Q. Fabius, Conful for the year following, succeed
ed and entered upon this war at 

Sarvium. And for his colleague he had C. Marcius Rufius: and H

like as Fabius brought a new supply from Rome to furnish out the broken bonds, to these came fresh forces also unto the Tullians, levied at home.

For many years there had been no jars and debates between the Magistrates of the Nobility and the Tribunes of the Commons: but now there began a variance and contention one of that family and house, which even then was fatal, (as it were) and born to do mischief to the Tribunes and Commons both. Appius Claudius, the Centor, after eighteen months expired (which by the law 

Emilis was the full term of bearing that Magistracy) notwithstanding that C. Plautius his colleague had given up his office; could by no means possible be forced himself to go out and give over the place. Then rose up one P. Sempronius, a Tribune of the Commons, who took in hand this matter, touching the demolition of the Centorship, within the time prefixed by the law: an action double - s, not more popular than just and rightfull, nor less acceptable to the better fort, then pleating to the very Commons and base people. He having frequently rehearsed and reiterated the law 

Emilis, extolled with praises up to the sky, the author and maker thereof, 

Marcus Emilus a Dictator; who had reduced the Centorship, an office shoretime of five years continuance (a puissance and authority, which by the length thereof of Lordship within the compass of a year and six months, "Come on, quoth he, Appius Claudius, answer and say, 

what you would have done in case you had been Centor, when C. Furius and M. Giranius were 

Centors? App no answered and said, that this demand and question of the Tribune did not greatly touch or concern his cause. For put the case, that the law 

Emilis had obliged them Centors, during whose Magistracy the Act was made, (for that after those Centors created, the people had granted that law, and look what they last allowed and ordained the fame was good, lawfull, and ratified) yet neither he nor any of them, who after that law enacted were created Centors, could be bound by verity of that law. While Appius thus cavilled, and no man there presentfoothed him up, or gave applause and silent unto him: "Behold Quirites,quoth Sempronius, 

again, the progeny and race of that Appius, who being created Decemvir for one year, elected 

himself the second year: and in the third, being chosen neither by himself, nor by any other, in 

quality of a private person, held the sovereign dignity and government, with all the regall 

rights and enclips thereof: and thus continuing hill in rule and dominion, would never give over, 

before that his usurped governments of his ill-gotten, badly born, and naughtily kept and re-

tained, were his final fall and utter overthrow. This is the fame family and house, (my Masters 

and friends, Citizens of Rome) by whose violence, by whose wrongs and opprobrium, ye were 
driven like poor banished persons to forgo your own dear native country, and to feize and 

hold the Mount Sacri; the very fame, against which ye procured and purchased to your selves 

the support and help of Tribunes; the fame, for which with two armies ye were fain to polepole 
your selves of the Aventine hill; the fame that always withfood the Statues devised against 

Hilary; the fame that ever impugned the laws for division of war lands among the people; the 
fame brake for the time, and interrupted the marriages betwixt the Nobles and Commons; 

the fame kept out the Commons long from bearing any dignities of the Chair, and of State: 

finally, this name is much more lightishly and mortalily bent against your freedom, than that 
of the Tarquinii. And is it so indeed, O Appius? Would you have us believe, that be- 
ing now an hundred years since 

Marcus Emilus was Dictator, there have been so many 

Centors most noble and valiant personages, that none of them all ever read the twelve Tables? 

and none of them knew that to law which the people last granted and allowed? Yes Iwis, 

they all with that well enough: and thereupon yielded they, and obeyed rather the law 

Emilis than the old and ancient Statute, (whereby the first Centors were created in the Common-

wealth) even because the people approved it last: and by reason that there are two ordinances 

repugnant and contrary one to the other, there the new alwais repealeth and abrogateth the 

old. And is this your saying, O Appius? That the people are not bound to the law 

Emilis rather that they are tied unto it, but your good self alone is free and exempt therefrom? Was the 

law 

Emilis able to bridge and curb those violent Centors C. Furius, M. Giranius, who shewed 

efficiently what harm and mischief this Magistracy could do in a Common-wealth, when 

for anger & despete that their term was abridged and cut short, they distracted, and deprived 

doctrine of the right of voice and Suffrage yes, and brought within the range of Tributaries, M. Emilis 

the wrought and most excellent provision of his time, both at home in peace, and abroad in 

war? This law took hold of all the Centors, one after another in order, for the space of an hun-
dred years after; and bindeth now C. Plautius your Colleague, created with the same Appiices, 

and in equal authority with you. Tellme (I pray you) did not the people elect and make him 

with as good right and authority as any Centor might be? Are you the only and special man a-

mong it all others to have this prerogative, this privilege and singular precedence by your self? O 

Suppose a man should create the King Sacrificer, should he, having once got the name and title 
of a King, give out and avouch, that he was King indeed, of as great a prerogative as any King 
of Rome? Who, think you, will be content with a Dictatorship of six months, or with an In-
terregne for five daies and no more? Whom may a man boldly and confidently create Dictator 
either to taffen a spike or great nail? Or for the flately plateis and games, or horse-running, and 
inclike? How foolish, think ye my Masters, how base-minded and simple were they in this 
man his conceit, who within twenty daies after notable exploits done and archived, gave over 

their
their Dictatorship? or that they that being created with some error and default, went out of their place? But what need I to rehearse examples of old date? Of late, even within their ten years,

C. Menius Dictator, for enforcing a commotion more severely than flood with the blood of some great & wealthy persons, was charged by them with the guiltiness of the same crime, whereas upon the late and made inquisition; who, to the end, that being a privy percon he might answer the accusation of his adversaries, and justify himself resigned up his Dictatorship. But I would not that you in any hand were to model: no, no degenerate not a jot from that most impious flock and proud race: go not you forth of your office, howsoever you do, a day no, nor an hour sooner than you need must: but see then within, that you exceed not the ordinary time limited and let down. At leafwise, it might concern you to draw out your Censorship a day longer, or to finish it farther by a month. A month? what tell you me of a month? I will excuse my Censorship (quoth he) three years and six months, more than may be by the law. *Enfylia*; yes and by my self alone will I execute it. Yea many for this is somewhat like indeed, and spoken like a King. What, will you subluniate unto you a College in the room of the other? will you so? Whom lawfully is not to be subrogated and chosen not in the dead his place? For you think it not enough, belike, that you (religious holy Censor that you be) have translated and transmitted, that most ancient solemnity, and only instituted by that good *Heredita* in whose honour it is celebrated, from the function of most noble Sacrificers and Chaplains, of that divine and sacred service, unto the ministry of base servants, and abject flaves: and that a kindred and lineage of greater antiquity, than the very first foundation of this City, so sanctified by entertainment and lodging of the immortal gods, by your means, and by occasion of your Censorship, within one year's root out and perished every mothers son: unless also by the same means, you hazard the whole Common-wealth, and bring all into the same enormity, and guilt of wickedness, which even to preage and conjecture, my heart doth tremble and quake again. In that *Lentenum* or five years space was the City of Rome taken by the Gauls, wherein L. P. *Pyram* *Censor*, because he might not go out of his Censorship took a College unto him, M. *Curtius* *Malcignus*, in the place of C. *Julius* the Censor late deceased. And yet see how much more seber and moderate was his ambitious humour in that behalf: than this of yours, O *Appius*.

For *L. Popiers* neither alone, nor yet beyond the jull ice time by law administered his Censorship: yet found he never any one person alter him, that would imitate and follow his example. All Censors from that time forward, upon the death of their fellow Censor gave up the office, but as for you, notwithstanding that the date of your Censorship be fully out, and your companions in government departed out of the place; neither law nor fame, is able to rule and restrain. You suppute that virtue consisteth in pride, and inaudious boldness, in contempt both of God and man. For mine own part truly, O *Ap. Claudius*, for the reverence and majesty of this honourable place, which you have born, I would not willingly enter into any such hard course, as to touch your person by violence of hand: no, not so much as to offend your name with any foul or kind language. But as these words that have already passed your own perverseness, your opinionative consumacy, and insolent pride having wrong and forced from me: unless you will obey the law *Enfylia*, by your leave, I will be bold as a command you to ward and prison. And since our forefathers and ancestors have so provided and ordained, that in the Ele-lection of Censors, neither of the twain come short of sufficient voices requisite to choose him the other cannot be admitted and declared Censor; and to they mult proceed again to a new election, and the former Scrutinies are of no effect: shall I suffer you to exercise the Censorship alone, who may not lawfully be created alone? These and such like resumptions after he had alleged, he commanded the Censor to be attached and committed. In these proceedings of his, his of his fellow Tribunes adhered unto him, and three only allied *Appius* who called faithfully upon them for their protection and lawfull licentious; and so with exceeding ill will, and highest dishonourment of all Altars and degrees, he went clear away, and bare the Censorship alone.

These matters thus passed at Rome, and *Saturium* was besieged full by the *Tufcani*: and as the *Consul* was leading about at the foot of the hill certain forces to succour his allies to assail the fortifications of the enemies what way he could, they with an army must steel at amoy with him. Whole great multitude when he might ditoover upon the plains underneath, because he would help out the small number of his men by some advantage of the ground, he wheeled a little about, toward the hill tops; which were rough and craggy places fired all over with fiones and from thence he turned his banners full upon the face of the enemies. The *Tuscani* forgetting all things, and thinking upon nothing but their multitude, whereof on'y they preferred, gave battle so hastily and in such greediness, that casting away their short and darts from them, to the end they might the sooner come to hand-strokes, they drew their swords, as they matched against the enemy. The Romans on the contrary solidly load with shot, and applied them one while with darts, another while with stones which the place plentifully afforded them. Which, as they thumped and clattered, and stuck upon their shields and motions, although they hunt them not much, yet troubled them not a little: neither could the enemies easily come within them to fight near and close, nor any darts or javelins had they to fling and lance afar off, and thereby to annoy their enemy. And whiles they stood still exposed as Bums to receive all
that came, and had nothing now to cover and protect them sufficiently: whiles some of them all at once gave ground and retired, and the whole battal was wavering and unsteady, the Roman 

Habiti

and Principes, came forward with a new shout, and charged them afeh. This violent attack could not be the officer's fault, but turning their ensigns, fled away in divers directions toward their camp. But when the Roman horsemens who were rid over the plains and had gotten before, met them afront in the town, they left their way unto the Camp, and turned toward the mountains: from whence with their whole company in a manner disarmed and fore wounded, they recovered the forrest. 

Ciminius. The Romans having slain many thousands of the Tuscans; gained thirty eight ensigns of the field, and won also their tents with rich pillage: began to conulate about pur- 

suing the enemy. The wood Ciminius was at that time more unpassable and to be feared, than were the

of late, the German forrest: for never to that day had it been travelled and frequented so much as by merchant. And scarcely any one but the Captain himself durst venture to enter into it; for, all the red had not forgot as yet the unhappy luck they had at Cordium. Then the Conful his brother, one that was there, (M. Fabius, as some say, as others, Cato, and as others Clandius, his brother only by the mothers side) promised that he would go as a scout inquisit, to dely the wood and within a while bring certain news. He had in his tender years been brought up at Core, among the ancient friends of his houle and family, where afterwards he was taught the Tuscans learning and knowledge, and thereby was perfect in their tongue and language. And I find some authors of credit that write, how in those days the Romans young children went to school for to learn to parle Tucan, as now they do to speak Greek. But it (standeth more like a truth, that there was some special matter in this man, who with so bold semblance and dissimulation, durst intrude and influence himself among the enemies. It is said, that one only servitor accompanied him, one who had been brought up and marred together with him, and therupon not ignorant of the same language. And all the way as they went they did nothing else, but superliciously and after a general for, in the manner and wise of the quarters which they were to enter into, and the manner of the hill, the chief rulers and principal personages of that country and nation: to the end that in their speech and talk, they might not taller and trip, and be taken tandy in any apparent thing, which might bewray and discover them. They went clad in pastoral weeds like herd-

men, armed like the common people, and Pealans e.a.b of them with a fackilion and two jingles. But neither the familiar flee and commence of the wood, nor the fashion of apparel which they were, or weapons that they carried, did them so much as this one thing. That no man would ever believe, that any forrester and ranger durst enter upon the thick Ciminius forrest. Well, forward they went (by report) as far as to the Cameretins in Umbria, There the Roman venieted to bewray who they were: and when he was brought into their Senat, he treated with them in the Consuls name, about a league and amity. Whereupon, after he had been courteously entertained and friendly intreated he had his dispatch, and was willing to relate unto the Romans, That there should be ready for their army. Insufficient visuals for one whole month. If they would come into those parts: Also, that the youth of the Cameretins in Umbria should be at their command, prett in arms at all times. These tidings being reported to the Conful, after he saw before his carriage at the hill watch of the night and commanded the legions to go after, himself flaid still with the horsemens: and the morning morning by day-light he began to skirmish with the cons of his enemies, which were quartered without the forrest, and when he had long enough kept them fly and amused them at his pleasure, he retired into his Camp from whence he went forth at another gate, and before night overtook the main army. The morning after, at the point of day-break he was got up to the crest of the hill Ciminius: from whence, after he had beheld and viewed the goodly prospect of the rich grounds and fields of Hortiuria, he tendered his sollidiers abroad to forrage and fetch in prizes, and by that time they had got, and were driving a fast bozy certain tumbilary bands of the rural Pealans of Hortiuria, gathered together in great haste, and of a sudden, by the States of that country met with the Romans; but to out of order were they, that being come to refuse a prey, they had like to have been a prey themselves. A number of them were slain or put to flight, and the Romans, having waffled and made spoil all o- 

ver the country, enriched with more of all things, returned victorious into their Camp. Thither were arrived (as it fell out) five messengers or pursuants with the Tribune of the Commons to warm and command Fabius in the name of the Senat, not to pass through the forrest Ciminius, for these messengers being glad that they came too late for to hinder and interrupt their enter-

nises, returned home again to Rome with news of the victor.

By this expedition and journey made by the Col, the war father encreased and spread farther, than was dispatched by to an end. For all that tract lying along the bottom & foot of the mountain Ciminius, left the imitate of this ridge: and provoked to anger & desire of revenge, not only the State of Hortiuria, but also the borders and marches of Umbria. Whereupon there came to

Surruria. A greater power than ever afore: for not only they removed their Camp forward out of the woods; but also for the eager desire of fight withal speed, they came abroad into the plain field. Afterwards, they did first embattel in a plot, by them chiefly chosen, leaving over against them a space of ground for the enemies to set themselves in order of battle: but perceiving the enemies to fall off & loath to fight, they approached the very trench and rampiess: but finding there, that the guards were retired within their hold all at once they began to cry with one voice to their captains, for to give order, that the ret of their allowance of visuals for that day should be brought to
The ninth Book of T. Livius.

A them thither out of the camp; for they would lay in their armor and harness, as they were, and either in the night, or else in the morning betimes by day-light, give the assault upon their enemies' camp. The Roman army was no more quiet then they, yet at their Generals commandment kept in Now it was, he went the * tenth hour of the day; When as the Consul willed his soldiery to take their situation, and warned them to be ready in arms at what hour four was by day or by night he should give them the signal of battle. And in the mean time made a short speech unto them, praising highly, and italicting out of the Samnites wars, debating the Tuscans, saying, that there was no comparison between either enemy to enemy, or number for number: over and besides, he said that he had another test and secret devise in store for them, which they should know when time served; in the mean while they must keep silence of necessity, and hold their peace. By these dark speeches and hidden mysteries, he made semblance, as though he had some privy intelligence, that one part of the enemies would betray the rest when time came: this did he, to the end, that the heart of his soldiers (which haply were dismayed and discouraged at their great multitudes) might be comforted and refreshed: and for that the enemies lay abroad in field without any hold and fort, it was more likely, and probable, which he pretended. The soldiers having taken their repast, they laid their bodies to repose and sleep, and somewhat before the relief of the *fourth watch, they were raised without noise, and armed themselves. The soldiers suits and lackies, as also followed the camp, had mattocks and spades divided amongst them, to call down the rampire, and to fill up the ditches with the bank, whilest that within the compasse and circuit of the camp, they were marshalled in battle array. The chosen * cohorts or bands were placed at the gates and pallisades forth. Then at the sound of trumpet, a little before day (which in summer nights is the time of the deepest and soundest sleep) the whole army, when the rampire was laid along and level, filled forth at once, and charged the enemies on all sides lying here and there scattered on the ground. Some before they were fitting, others half asleep and half awake in their couches; but the greatest part, making hail in that hushed fright to take arms, were slain and cut in pieces. Few had time to put themselves in array, and they having no enuious, no colours to follow, and no captains to direct them, were by the Romans soon discomfited, put to flight, and pursued in chase. Some made halt to the camp, other to the woods, sundry twice one from another. But the woods were the last place of refuge. For their camp pitched in a plain, was the same day taken, and won. All the gold and silver there found, was by express commandment brought unto the Consul his pavilion; the rest of the palisage, was the soldiers share. Slain and taken prisoners that day, there were of the enemies to the number of 6000. This is a noble battle (some writers say) was fought on the other side of the wood Cuminea, before Perusia: who also report, that the City of Rome was in great fear, lest that the army being inclosed within so dangerous a wood, should have been surprized and delivered by the Tuscans and Umbrians, who were then up in arms together from all parts. But wherefore it was fought, the Romans had the day. Whereupon there came Envoys from Perusia, *Corona, and *Artenium, Where were in matter the chief and principal, all Cities at that time of all Tuscans, treating and suing to the Romans for peace; and a league; but they obtained truce only for thirty years.

During these affairs in Historia, the other Consul, C. Marius Rustilius, went from the Samnites the town *Alfium. Many other villages and castles were either utterly demolished and deftroyed by way of extreme hostility, or yeilded just and whole unto their subjection: At the same time the Roman navy also, under the Conduct of P. Cornelius, whom the Senate ordained Admiral of the sea-coast, set sail for Campania; and being arrived at *Pompeii, the mariners and sea-letters went on land to wait and forsake the territories about *Nuceria: and after they had made spoil, and pillared by matches the parts lying near unto the sea, from whence they might safely again return to their ships; they adventured farther for sweetly of gain and booty (as usually it fell out) and gave the alarm to the enemies for to rife. As they thrashed all over the fields, no man made head against them at what time, as they might have been found many one: but as they were returning with a disordered march, and flood not upon their guards, a troop of the peasants of the country overtook them, not far from the Ships, and called them of their spoil and pillage; and from them the rest of the multitude, as many as escaped the sword, were chased to their fleet.

The journey of Q. Fabius beyond the forrest Cuminea, as it caused great fear in Rome, fo it gave occasion of so joyful news in Samnium. For the rumor ran, that the Roman army was must up and besieged. And hereupon they called to remembrance, and alledged the like example of a former and shameful disgrace: *Chiusium: reporting and giving forth, that these Romans being a nation greedy addwise of increasing farther, and winning more ground, were through the same rashness now run head along into the blind forrests impassable, and invironed not to much with the power and force of enemies, as the dangerous difficulties of those pallisages. In such fort as said this joy of theirs, they cried out also that fortune had turned the glorious honour of the conquest over the

G Romans, from the Samnites, to the Tuscans. And therefore being well appointed with men and armours, they ran out from all parts, to tread down and confound C. Marius the Consul let were marching from thence, in cite Marius would not abide a battle, to go into Historia through the Manti and Sabins: And the Consul met with them by the way: where was fought a sharp and cruel battle with churchful event, and much effusion of blood on both sides. And as uncertain as it was, whether part lost more blood, yet the rumour went, that the Romans had the
worse, by reason of the loss of certain knights and gentlemen of Rome, and Colonels; and one lieutenant, and that which made most, for that the Consul himself was hurt. Hereupon the brute (as commonly is seen) got more feathers still as it flew, and made every thing greater: so as the L. of the Senat in Rome, were in great fear and perplexity, and agreed to create a Dictator. Neither was there any doubt at all, but that Papirius Cursor should be the man, who in those days was reputed the only warrior above all others. But neither could they be satisfied of sending a messenger safe into Samnium (considering all the country was up in arms) nor that the Consul was for certain alive. And as for the other Consul Fabius, upon an old secret and private grudge, he maligned Papirius: which quailled, left it might hinder the service of the Commonwealth, the Senat thought good to send unto him certain Embassadors (as it were) even such as had been Consuls; who of their own authority, as well as by virtue of publick commission from the State, should admonish and counsel him to remit and forget all old displeasures and rancours, for his country's sake. When these perjuries were come to Fabius the Consul, and had delivered unto him the decree of the Senat, and used withal such speech and reasons of their own, as sated well to the errand they had in charge: the Conf. calling his sies down toward the ground, departed from the Embassadors without giving ever a word, and left them doubtfull what he would do. But the night following, in the dead time (as the manner is) he nominated L. Papirius for Dictator. And when these messengers or Embassadors gave him great thanks for mastering and ruling his affections to exceeding well, he held his resolution still of silence, and without any answer given, or mention made of himself, dismissd them; that it might appear, how upon an high mind and haughty flamock, he bridled and kept in that grief of heart and spiteful anger of his. Papirius named C. Junius Bubulcus commander of the borde. And whiles he proposed an act concerning the regiment and command of his army, before the people assembled by the Curie or wards, there hisped a matter of ominous presage, which caused that busineffe to be put off until the next day: for that the ward Fauicia, which by lot had the prerogative now to give the first voices, was noted already for infamous and unhappy, in regard that two calamities which happened in both years, wherein the late Curie likewise began the suffriges first; namely, the taking of the City of Rome, and the Caudine peace. Macer Licinius making that ward ominous and unlucky, for the third lofe and calamy received at Cremen: But the next morrow, the Dictator, after he had taken new Apiances, went through with the act, and obtained his commission, and set forward with the legions lately mulled and enrolled upon the feastful alarm given, that the Roman army was passed the wood Cyninia, until he arrived at Longula: where, after he had received of the Consul Marius, the old bands of fouldiers, he brought his forces into the field to give battell. The enemies for their part seemed not to refuse fight: howbeit, as they stood armed and stangled, and neither the one side nor the other would begin to charge, the night came upon them, and forced them to retreat. Then they abode encamped near together in rest and quiet for certain days, neither diluting their own puissance, nor yet disdaining and delisting their enemies. In this mean time there was doings and war in Etruria: for both there was a battell fought with the army of the Umbrians: howbeit, the enemies were rather disconcerted and put to flight than slain, for that they were not able to hold out and maintain fight long with such courage and animosity as they began: and also near the lake and Mear Vedunus, the Tuscanians had levied a new army, according to a facedit law, whereby one man had chosen another (who as worn brethren were to live and die together) where they fought a field, not only with greater number, but also with more courage than ever at any time before: and with such heat of anger and malice one against the other they encountered, that of neither side they thought of discharging shot and dashing darts, but began at the very first with their swords to go hand to hand: and the conflict being right fiercely begun, increased still, and waxed hotter in the very skirmish, and continued for a good while to doubtfull, that the Romans thought they dealt not with Tuscanians so often by them defeated and vanquished, but with some new nation more warlike than they. No shew of flight on neither side: down go the formost, and lay by before their Standards: and left that the enignes should be left naked and bare, and without the defendants, the second range and ward of the battalions came in place to supply the first: and so still new succours and fresh were set even as far as from the rewerward behind, defined for the last help and utmost refuge. And to that extremity of travel and peril they proceeded, that the Roman horsemans abandoning their horses alighted on foot, and were fain to go to the footmen in the forefront of the vanguard, over armor, and over dead bodies, lying all spread upon the ground; which new troop and battalions risen and sprung (as it were) a fresh, to reinforce and strengthen their disfitted fellows, dislodged the squadrions and enignes of the Tuscanians. The other legiounary fouldiers, wearied (as they were) followed hard and fecured their violence and forceable charge, and at length brake through the ranks of their enemies. Then the Tuscanians as ifflfe as they stood once, began to have the worse, and certain bands gave way and retreated: and when they once turned back, they fell plainly to take their heels and run away. This was the first day, that overthrew and laid along the pucance of the Tuscanians, who abounded so long in wealth and fortunate prosperity, their whole flour and strength which they had, was in this battell lain, and at the same time their camp won and ranlacked.

With like hazard and glorious success of the end, was the war managed with the Samnites soon after: who besides all other preparations and ordinary furnitures of war, gave order that
their army should glister and shine aganise with a new kind of garnishing their haorne and armes. For having divided their forces into two armies, the one had laid their shields with gold, the other with silver. The form and fashion whereof was this, that upper part whereof with the brest and shoulders are covered was broader, and the head of it of even height; but the other end growing downward to the bottom was more pointed wedgeshie, so that it held out more nimly;

Their breast and haorne was fenced with emblems, the left leg armed with a good greave, their motions with high crests made a show of tall stature. The fouldiers aforesaid with gilded shields wore coats of sundry colours; the other with silvered, white linnen; and they had the leading of the right wing, or point of the battell; but they of the left. The Roman had notice and knowledge already what preparation there was of brave and goodly armes: and their Captains had taught them afore, that a fouldier ought to be dreadful and terrible, not dight and decked in his damasked gold and silver, but trustful in the flarpedge of iron and steel, and a good heart and courage withall: and so for that other furniture, it was rather a good booty than a mark of proof; fair and rependent, before men came to the sharp, but foul and unleenly amongst bloody wounds. The true ornament and beauty of a fouldier, is valor and hardiness; so as for all those bravesies, they went commonly with victory: and to conclude, that rich enemies would serve well for a good prize to the conqueror, were he never to poor and needy. With these speeches after that Carfor had animad his fouldiers, he led them into the field; himselfe put in the right wing; the left he committed to the condict of the General of horle. So soon as they charged one another and buckled together, a great conflict and hardly they had with the enemy, and no lefe emulation there was between the Dictator and him; striving much whither of them twain should begin the victory. But as hap was, first Junius disorderd the enemy, and from the left point which he commanded, he charged right lustily the right wing of the enemies: laying ever and anon, that he offered and sacrificed unto the Devil and infernal spirits, those fouldiers of theirs, consecrated already unto them after the manner of the Samnites, and decked accordingly in white linny, and bright silvered armours, putting in colour thereunto: and whilst advanced forward his standards, brake their arras, and made the battell to shiver evidently and give ground. Which when the Dictator perceived, how now quoth he, shall the victory begin at the left wing, and shall the right, wherein the Dictator fighteth in person, come behind and follow the battel of another, and not carry away within the greatelest part of the victory? Herewith he lette them on his fouldiers, yet gave the horsemens no place in midsthood to the footmen, or the service of the Lieutenants was inferior to the Captaines themselves and chief commanders: M. P. Decius on the right point, P. Decius on the left, both Conial men, put them selves forward, and rode out to the horsemens amongst in the wings, exhorting them to take part with them in honor, and charged a crose upon the sides and flanks of the enemies. Whilst this new terror upon the former, had on every side entered the bated of the enemies; and the Roman legions to terrify them the more, had redoubled a fresh honer, & charged them with greater fury, then began the Samnites to flee again. Now the fields were overspread with the bodies of dead men, and streued thick with armor, erewhile so brave and glorious, and at the first, the Samnites in great affliction recovered their tents; but being there, were not able to much as to keep them, for they were won and riled before night, and fire upon them. The Dictator by a decree of the Senat triumphed: and the said armor which was taken from the enemy, made the greatlest pageant of all other, in the pomp of triumph: which carried so lately a swish and magnificent, that the gielded shields were divided amongst the warrers of the company of Bankers and Goldsmithes, to the beautifying of their Hal and Market place. And hereof began first the careme of the Ailites, to adorn and let out the common place of the City in their solemn procesions, when the gilded images of the gods and holy reliques were carried about for pomp in silver chariots. And the Romans verily for their part put this goudly trim armor of their enemies to this use, namely, to honor their gods withall. But the Campanians upon a pride and inveigate hatred that they bare against the Samnites, used to set on their sword-players and fencers at the sharp (which was a column fight and paltime they had at their great feats) with this same fainbine, and termed them in mockery, by the name of Samnites.

The same ear Fabius the Conful fought with the rest of the Tucans at Perusia (which City) also had the covenant of truce) where neither doubtful nor hardly he obtained victory. And the very town itself he had forced & won (for in the same train of his conquest he approached the walls) but that their Embassadors came forth and yielded the City. When he had placed a good garrison at Perusia and sent before him to Rome unto the Senat, the Embassadors of Hierus in, who treated for peace: he being but Conful, made his triumphant entry into the City for a more magnificent victory, then the Dictator. And that for a good part of the honor of subduing the Samnites, was aceribed to the Lieutenants P. Decius, and M. Valerius, therefore at the next election, the people with general arent declared the one Conful, and the other Pretour. Fabius for taking Hierus in to bravely and valiantly, continued Coniull fyll; and had for his Colleague P. Decius Valerius created Pretor the fourth time. The Confils parted between them the provinces, Hierus in told to Decius, Samnium to Fabius. Whotaking his voyage to Nuceria, laid siege to the City of the Allies, and won it by assault; and notwithstanding they made suit for peace, he rejected and depilshed them, for that when it was offered, they would not accept it. With the Samnites he fought a battell; but without any great conflict, the enemies were

vanquished
vanquished. Neither had the remembrance of that field been left in record, but that the Marians first took arms and marched with the Romans. After the Marians were revolted, the * Pelignians did the semblable, and speed alike. Decius also the other Conful had good success in his wars. He drove the Taquinians for ever, to find the army corn, and to sue for a truce of forty years. Certain captives and holds of the Volscians, he forcibly won: some of them better rated, for that they should not be any receptacle or harbour for the enemies. And with warring round about every where, he became so terrible, that the whole Tuscan nation made fate to the Conful for peace and concord. It they could not obtain, but truce for a year was granted. In regard witerof, for that year they satisfied the whole pay for the army, and a double livery for every souldier was exacted and taken of them. This was the penion and fine that their truce cost them.

But now when all was quiet among the Tufcans, the sudden revolting of the Umbrians, a nation free, and saved hitherto from the calamities of war, but only, that the Roman army passing through their territories troubled all anew: for they having raised the strength and flower of their youth and collected also a great part of the Tuscan to rebel, levied sorgecast-power that making no accoempt of Decius, whom they left behind them in Herrera, they gave out proud words of themselves, and spake basely of the Romans, vaunting and boasting that they would march right forth to assault Rome. Which designe of theirs, to soon as it was reported to Decius the Con. he made speed, and by long journeys departed out of Herrera toward the City, and in the Country of the Paphitians, encamped himself; lifting ever after the enemies, what they meant to do. Neither at Rome was the Umbrians war neglected and set light by; for their very threats and menacees feared them, as who already had seen by experience, by the fort they had at the Gauls hands how untrust City they inhabited and not unprotected. Therupon meddengers were dispatched to the Col. Fabius. That if he had any breathing time, and rest from the Samnites war, he should with all speed lead his army into Umbria. The Col. obeyed, and by great journeys went forward to * Met- vania, where at that time the other of the Umbrians lay. This sudden and unexpected coming of the Col. whom they thought very occupied in Samnian enough off from Umbria, so terrified the Umbrians, that some gave advice to retire back to their walled towns, others to relinquish the war altogether. One Canton or tract of their country (which they themselves call Matlalnata not only kept the rest in arms, but also let them on to fight immediately, so as they charged upon Fabius, as he was trenching and fortifying. Whom when the Col. saw rushing upon his rampiers in such heaps, he called his men from their toil, and as the ground & time would give leave, he marshalled them in order of battle: and after he had encouraged his souldiers with a true report & discource of many glorious and honourable journeys achieved as well in Thesalia as also in Samnium, he will to them to dispatch this final residue of the Tufcan war, that hung by and remained behind, and to be revenged of that accursed and immodest speech, whereby they threatened to affail the City of Rome. These words of his were heard by the souldiers with such alacrity and unexpectedness of heart, that before their General had made an end of his speech, they set up a shout of themselves and interrupted him: and thus before commandment and signal given by sound of trumpets and cornets, they ran amain upon the enemies, and charged them as if they had not been men, and those also armed. For (a wonderful thing to be spoken) at the very first they began to pluck the banners and streamers out of the enemies hands, after that, the sedge-beaters themselves were led to the Conuls, and the souldiers armed as they were, transpohted out of one battalion into another, and where there was any scuffling they fought not to much with sword as buckler and what with their boles and iron pikes, and what with jutting, shoudering, and striking the enemies about the arms-pits, they were overthrown and fell. In which skirmish, more men were taken then slain: and no other cry was heard throughout the field, but down with weapon, down with weapon. So that in the very conflict, the principal authors of the war rendered themselves: and the morrow after, and other cities following, the rest of the people of the briallike yeelded. The Orculians by liquituation only and pledges given, were received in amity. And Fabius having thus got the victory in that war, which fell to another mans lot and charge, led back his army again into his own province. And in regard of his prosperous and happy exploits, like as the people the year past, continued his Conulsipio to the Senat against the year following, when Ap. Claudius, and L.Polumnius were Conuls:proposed his martial rule still, made the heart of Appius, who was greatly against it. In some Chronicles I find, that Appius, whiles he was Confur fued to be Conul. and that his Election was crost and staid by L.Ponunus, a Tribune of Comuntill he had resigned up the Censorship. Being created Conul. and the war with the Samitens (declared new enemies) allotted unto his Colleague, he remained at Rome: that by civil policy, and managing home affairs, he might augment his own state and authority, since that the honour of war-service reited in the hands and conduct of another. Polumnius had no cause to repent of his charge and province for many fortunate battles he fought, and some towns of the enemies by force he won. He was a bountiful giver of the spoil away unto his souldiers: and this bounty in it fell alone acceptable, he helped much with great cointrode and gentleness, by which venitures and artificial means, he made the souldiers both venturous in perils and hardly in travel.

Q. Fabius on the other part, in quality of pro-Conul, gave battle to the Samnites near the City Alba, where the day was nothing doublen. The enemies were discomfited and beaten into their camp: neither did they be able to have kept the field, but that there was but a lit-
The day left behind ; and yet before night, they were before round about in their hold, eyes and watched with good guards all night long, that none should make escape. The morrow morning ere it was well day light, they began to yield themselves, and to capitulate, that as many Samnites as there were among them, should be sent forth in their single garments, and they all went under the gallows. As for their confederates and allies, there was no such proviso nor composition made; but they all, to the number of seven thousand, were told as slaves, and were a garland. As many as advow'd themselves to be Hernicks, were kept apart by themselves to be forthcoming. All those Fabius sent to Rome to the Senate, and until such time as enquiry was made, whether in a public matter they were prefixed fouldiers or voluntarily served under the Samnites against the Romans, they were committed to be kept in ward among landy nations of the Latins: during which time, the new Consuls, Publilius Cornelius Aruns, and Quintus Martius Trimalius (for those were now created) had in charge to propose that matter anew unto the Senate. The Hernicks took that ill. Whereupon the Anagnins held a Diet of General Council in the round Circque, which they call Maritimus, of all the Cities of that Nation: except the Altarins, Perentins, and the Vernians. Where the whole State of Hernicks proclaimed war against the people of Rome. In Samnium also, for that Fabius was departed thence, there arose new troubles and rebellions, Calatia and Sorana were forced, and the Roman garrisons that there lay, were put to the sword, and upon the bodies of as many as they took alive, they exercised much torture and cruelty. Whereupon Publius Cornelius the Consul was thither sent. And to Martius were the new enemies appointed (for by this time decreed it was), That was should be made upon the Anagnins and the other Hernicks. At first the enemies had foretold all the convenient places and ways between both the Consuls camps, that there could not readily pala a larky or carrier between, in so much, as for certain dais both Consuls abide double full how the world went, and uncertain one of the others state. The fear whereof, sped to Rome, for all the younger fort [from seventeen years of age to even and forty] were to serve and against all sudden occasions, and occurrents whatsoever, two full and compleat armies were levied and enrolled. But the Hernick war was nothing correspondent either to the present menaces, or to the ancient glory and reputation of that nation: for having done no worthy adventures, and within few dais left their camp thence, they covenanted for to have thirty dais since; during which time, they might send Embassadors to the Senate of Rome: and in confirmation hereof, they promised to lay down two months pay, and to find corn for the army, and allow every fouldier one coat. But from the Senate they were put off and referred to Martius: unto whom by order from the Senate, a large commission was granted, to dispose of the Hernicks as he thought good, and to he whole nation as yeelded to his devotion. The other Consul in Samnium being in forces more puiffant then the enemy, was not witholding encumbered much with the dificul-
ty of the ground. All the passages had the enemy stopp'd, and poscided himself of the forrests and woods which were thorough faires, that no way visually might be conveyed to him. Neither could the Consul, for that all daily he deploy'd banner in field, train them forth to fight so as it was well seen, that neither the Samnits could abide present battle, nor the Romans long delay of war. But the arrival of Martius who upon the subduing of the Hernicks, made haste to aid his Colleagues, cau't the enemy to defer no longer the trial of the field. For, they, who thought themselves not good enough to match so much as the one army, knew full well that if they opposed two Consuls armies to join together, there had been no hope left. They therefore fet upon Martius as he marched without order of battle. Hereupon in all their trusses and gardles were brought together and laid in the middle; and as the time would permit, he set his fouldiers in array. At the first encounter, the shout was hard into the camp of the other Consul. Afterwards the dust descried afar off, gave an alarm, and made a trouble and tumult there. Then the Consul full presently commanded to arm; and hastily bringing his fouldiers forth into the field, entred upon the battall of the enemies in the flank, whilsts they were bus'd in another skirmish. He cried aloud to his men, that it were exceeding great shame, to suffer the other army to carry away double victory, and not themselves win the honour of that war, which was their proper charge. Whence, wherefoever he charged, he brake in and made entrance, and having pierced and made a great lane through the midst of the enemies battle, he pulled on towards their camp; which finding void of defiants, he took and set fire. Whose when the fouldiers of Martius saw burning before their faces, and the enemy likewise, as they looked behind: then began the Samnits on all hands to file; but killed they were every where down right: all places fell murder and slaughter; so in no part could they find means to escape and save themselves. Now when there were thirty thousand of the enemies slain, the Consuls founded the retreat, and gathered both their armies together, with great congratulation one to the other: by which time behinde there were defec'd far off, certain new bands of enemies, enrolled for a supply; and they gave occasion of a new and fresh slaughter. Against whom without commandment of Consul, or any signal received from their leas they, the Romans advanced tardily, crying aloud, that these homines were to be welcomed with an ill blast, and this their first training should cost them dear. The Consuls let the legions alone in this their furious heat, as who knew well enough, that these new coming fathered the old beaten fouldiers so slain already and flying away, we did soon have enough off it, and not once adventure fight. And they were not deceived in their opinion; for the whole forces of the Samnits as well old and new, fled space unto the next mountains: and thither the Romans
Romans also make as great speed. But no safe place could those vanquished enemies find; for even H from the very hill tops which they held, they were beaten down, so that with one voice they all cra- ped peace. Then after the Consuls had imposed upon them corn for three months, and a year's pay, and for every fodder a lively besides, they were permitted to send Embassadors to the Senate to treat and capitulate thereof. During which time, Cornelius was left in Samnium, and Martianis returned into the City, with triumph over the Hernicks. Moreover a decree passed, that his flame riding on horseback should remain in the common place of assemblies, which was erected accordingly even before the Temple of Castor. To three States of the Hernicks, to wit, the Alatri- nats, the Venalians and Ferentinians, their own laws, and ancient liberties were restored again, because they made choice thereof, rather than to be enfranchised Citizens of Rome; and permitted they were to marry amongst the Romans, which liberty only of the Hernicks for good I white enjoined. The Anagnins, and those that had born arms against the Romans were incor- porate free denizens of Rome, but without the privilege of giving voices and suffrages: debarred they were of holding any Councils and making marriages with them; and, denied at all to elect any magistracy, but only the function and ministry of divine service and sacrific- es.

The same year the Chappell of flame Salus was by C. Junius Babuleus now Confer, set out at a price to be built, which he in his Contufhip had vowed, in the Samnits war. By his direc- tion and appointment, together with his colleague M. Valerius Maximus, were the great high waxes and cauleys made, of all fides of the City, through the fields, at the common charge and expense. The same year also, was the league renewed the morth time with the Carthaginians: and their Embassadors who came for that purpose, were courteously entertained, and rewarded liberally with rich gifts. In that year there was a Dictator P. Cornelius Scrba, with P. Decius General of the force: and there were Presidents at the Election of Consuls, for to that purpose they were created, because neither of the two Consuls could be spared from the wars, Consuls were created L. Polliam, and T. Minnius. But Piso layeth, that these Consuls immediately succeeded Q. Fabius and P. Decius: leaving out those two years, wherein he hath written that Claudius with Volumnius, and Corneilius with Martius were Consuls. Whether he forgot himself in digressing his Annals and yearly records, or of let purpose overhilt two couple of Consuls, thinking that they were not in truth Consuls, I wit not.

The same year the Samnits made rodes into the territories of Stella, within the liberties and ap- L purtences of the Campains, and therefore both Consuls were sent into Samnium: who when they were parted into divers wayes, for Polliam it took his journey to Tiferum, and Minnius to Bo- vianum: first there was batell fought at Tiferum, under the leading of Polliam. Some make no doubt, but write, that the Samnits were discomfited, and put to the worste, and thirty thou- sand of them taken prisoners: others say, that the conflict was equal, and that they departed on even hand: also that Polliam making semblance of feare, journeyed by night, & closely retired unto the hills adjoining; the enemies followed after them, two miles, and from thence encamped, and fortified alo themselves in strong places of advantage. The Conful, because he would be thought to have fought and chose a safe place, and plentifully flored with all necessaries (as it was no lefe indeed) where he might keep a standing camp; after he had fortified the same, and fur- nished it with all kind of provition, leaving behind him a strong garrision for defence; at the relief of the third watch, leadeth the neerest way, his legions not encumbered with carriages, to his Col- league, who alo himself lay in camp over against another army. There, by the persuasion & advice of Polliam, Minnius gave battell; and when as the conflict continued doubltfull until it was far on the day; then Polliam with his fresh legions, upon a sudden charged the battellions of the enemies, now already overjoyed; and partly for want of arms, and partly for wounds, they being disabled for to flee away, were out of all measure thin ever one, and with banners were taken: and to from thence they went forward to the camp of Polliam. Where theetwo victorious armies finding the enemy discouraged and amazed at the tidings of this overthrow, set upon them, discomfited, and put them to flight; and wan from them xxxi. enignes: where the General of the Samnits Statius Celius, with many a man besides, was taken prisoner, and both their camps won. Bovianum also, which the mowor after began to be assaulted, was shortly after forced; and finally with great glory of no noble acts achieved, both Consuls triumphed. Some write that the Conful Minnius, being grievously hurt, was brought back into the camp, and there dyed: and that M. Fulvius was substituted Conful in his room: and that it was he, who being fent unto the army of Minnius, was Bovianum. The same year Soris, Arpinum, and Consecta were recovered from the Samnits: and the great Image of Hercules was in the Capitol set up and dedicated.

When as P. Sulpicius Caesar, and P. Sempronius Sosips were Coll. the Samnits defiring e- ther to see an end of war, or else to delay it, sent Embassadors to Rome pretending peace. To whom "as they pleaded and intreated most humbly, this answer was given: That if the Samnits had not "so often treated for peace, when they intended and prepared war they might after certain en- "tratives, and conferences passed between, obtain their suit: but since that evermore until that "time, their words were but wind; now they would truft to their deeds, and nothing else. P. "Sempronius the Conful, shall shortly be in Samnium with an army: who would not be abused, "but soon see, whether their minds be inclined to war or peace: and as he found and saw every "thing, so would he bring word and make relation and therefore their Embassadors were to attend upon
Upon the Consul when he departed out of Samnium. The same year after that the Romans army had pailed peaceably to and fro, and visited all Samnium, having victuals by the country courteously allowed, the ancient league was granted again to the Samnites. From thence turned the Romans their forces against the Equians, their old enemies: but for many years making semblance of quietness, where as indeed their peace was little to be trusted: for that the Hernicks nation was at ease and on foot, they with them, had used oftentimes under hand to send aid unto the Samnites: and after the subduing of the Hernicks, the whole nation in a manner without dissembling, and averring all they did by publick counsell and authority, had fallen away unto the enemy: and after that the Romans had made league with the Samnites, and their heralds came to make claim for their goods took from them by way of hostility, they said, It was but a tempering of them, to see, whether upon fear of war they would suffer themselves to become Romans. Which, say they, how greatly it were to be with'd, the Hernicks was able to teach them; for they, as many of them as had liberty to do what they would, chose rather to live under their own laws, then to be enthranched citizens of Romans: but others, who had not the same scope to choose to their liking, they were constrained to accept of the Burgeoise of their City, by way of punishment. Upon these speeches and arguments commonly toiled in their assemblies and Councils, the people of Rome decreed war against the Equians: to which both the Consuls went, and encamped four miles from their enemies camp. The Equians (who in their own behalf, and for any quarrell of theirs, had many years sat still and made no war) like as if their army had been levied of a sudden and in haste, without certain Captains appointed, and without any General to command, were afraid. Some thought good to go forth into the field, others to defend themselves, and keep within their camp: most of them were moved to think aforesaid upon the wasting of their country afterwards, and consequently the destruction of their cities left but with slender garrisons. Therefore after that, as amongst many opinions, this only had audience, namely, to abandon the care of publick west and every man to regard his own private state, and at the first watch to depart divers waies one from the other, and the quit, the cam, and convey away all their bag and baggage, and to defend their Cities within the walls: they all with one accord accepted thereof, and embraced it. Now when the enemies were thus scatter'd abroad about the country, the Romans by day-light, with banner displayed went forth into the field: and when they saw no man come abroad to meet them, they marched in warlike order space towards the enemies camp. But when they could perceive there, neither warders before the gates, nor any man upon the trench & rampiers, nor so much as the usual noise of a garrison, being moved with this unaccustomed silence, for fear of Forlaying and treachery, they stood still: but being got over the rampier, and finding the tents void and empty, they set forward to pursue the enemy by his trace. But when they found their foot-tracks, leading to all parts of the Country alike: as being flipt here and there, funday and divers waies; at the first they wandered out of the way, and misseth of them; but afterwards knowing by their eipials the purpose and intent of their enemies, they went round about and besieged every City, and in three or four days won forty towns: all by assault: most part whereof were razed even with the ground, and consumed into ashes, and the nation of the Equians utterly in a manner despoiled. Over the Equians there was triumph; Whole calamity and desolation was to fearfull an example, to the Marrucins, Marfi, Peligni, and Ferentins, that they sent Orators to Rome to treat for peace and amity: and to all those nations at their request, a league was granted. The same year, C. Flavius; a Notary or Register by profession, whose father Cneus was no better than of a slave made free, a man thus descened of bale and low parentage, howbeit otherwise crafty and eloquent withal, arose to be an Aedile Curule. I find in some records, that when he gave attendance in his calling to the Aediles, and law that his own Tribe were willing to give him their voices and elect him Aedile, but his name not accepted of among other competitors, for that he got his living by his pen, he caste aside his books and papers, and ware an oath, that he would no longer be a Notary and use pencraft. But Maecii Licinius avoucheth, that a good while before, that he gave over his writing, namely, after he had been Tribune, and borne two Triumphs, the one for the night miracles, the other for the placing and transporting of a Colony. But they all agree upon this, that he became very froward, and in great contumacy opposed himself and made head against the Nobles that constrained his safe birth. The civil law which before time was laid up in great secret by the Priests, and Prelats in their Arches, he published abroad: and set up a table in the great common place, in manner of a Calendar, wherein all men might know worke-dates from holy-days: when it was lawfull to plead, and when not. Alfo in despite, and to the great heart burning of the Patritii, he dedicated the temple of the goddeffe Concord upon the Court of Vulsos: and by the general consent of the people, Cornelius Barbaqui the high Priest was compelled to endure and pronounce the certain form of words thereto belonging; notwithstanding he condescended and denied, that by the custome of their forefathers any could dedicate a Temple, unlefe he were either Consul or General of an army. And therefore by the authority of the Senate, a law was preferred to the people, That no man might dedicate a Temple or Altar, without permission and consent of the Consul, or the more part of the Tribuns of Commons. I will report in this place a thing, of itself not worthy of remembrance, but only for a proof and example of the liberty of the Commons against the pride and inofencie of the Nobles. This Flavius, coming upon a time to visit his Colleague lying sick, by a complot afore hand of certain young gentle-
gentleman of the Patricians that sat by his bed side, had no reverence done unto him, nor any one to much as role up at entrance into the chamber: whereupon, he commanded his ivory chair of state to be brought unto him and let him tell upon it; and he exposed his adversaries, that were too vexed to the heart with envy of his dignity, This Flaminus was nominated & chosen Edile, by the bale faction of the commoners, banding together in the place of assemblies; who first took heart by the Censorship of Appius Claudius the first that ever distained and polluted the Senate, by bringing in the Sons of Libertins: and when he saw that no man accounted that Election of Senators good and lawful, and perceived with all, that in the Court he had not that backing of Citizens which he sought for; he intermingled in every Tribe certain of the most base portion of the Commons: and if he corrupted both the common place and Mars field also. In to much as the Election of Flaminus was reputed to unworthy an indignity, that molt of the gentlemen of Rome laid away their gold rings and rich trapping of their horses which were the ornaments and ensigns of their calling. And from the time forward the City was divided into two parts. One side was maintained and upheld by the true hearted people, such as favoured and loved good things; the other by the faction of ruffe-raife and licen of the City; until the time that Q. Fabius and P. Decius were created Seniors, Fabius to bring the City unto an uniform accord, and to withstand this inconvenience, that the Elections of Magistrates should not be carried away by the strong hand of the vilest and molt abject petition, made a separation of all that base rabble; and cast them into four Tribes, and called them Virtutes, Which action of his men lay was accepted with great concurrence and thankfulness; that upon the good temperature of degrees, he purchased the surname of Maximus, which in so many victories he had not acquired and obtained. By him also (by report) it was ordained and instituted, that on the Ides of July, the horsemen rode, as it were, in a solemn muster, and throwing their great horsethorns to the Centaur.

The Tenth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breaviary of L. Flaminus upon the Tenth Book.

Two Colonies were planted in Sora and Alba. The mansions of Carcoca, were reduced under obedience. The dominion of the Angerus was augmented to the number of nine, whereas before they were wont to be but four. The law or edict as touching the appealing to the people, was now the third time proposed by Valerius the Consul. Two Tribes more were added to the ruffe, of Aniens and Terentins. War was denounced against the Samnites, and formally fought with them. What time as there was a battle given to the Taenians, Undrivers, Samnites and Gauls, under the conduct of P. Decius, and Qninius Fabius, and the Roman army was in great extremity of danger. P. Decius following the example of his father,.devoted and exposed himself to die voluntarily, for to save the loft: and by his death obtained the victory of that journey, to his countrmen and fellow Citizens. Papirius Curcius put to flight an army of the Samnites, who were bound by a solemn oath not to depart out of the battle without victory, to the end that with more magnanimity and resolution, they should enter into the field. The Consul was held, and the number taken of the Citizens, with the solemn purging and Infratation of the City. And asscssed there were 26554 als.

The Tenth Book of T. Livius.

Hen L. Geminius and Ser. Cornelius were Consuls, there was rest in a manner from all wars abroad; in such sort, as they had leisure to place certaine Colonies at Sora and Alba: And for Alba there were enrolled 6000 inhabitants, to affort the Aquarions. As for Sora, it had sometimes belonged to the Volcellians territory; but the Samnites usurped the possession of it, and thither four thousand were sent to inhabit. The same year, the Arpinians and Tebulians were infranchisled denizens at Rome. The Frusines were fined with the lofe of one third part of their lands: for they were evidently detected to have collitectd the Herricks or rebellions, and after that the Consul Commission from the Senat, had made due inquisition; the principal heads of that conspiracy, were couraged and becheад, yet because there should not pass a year clean without war, a journey was made (such a one as it was) into Umbria; upon news, that there used to issue forth day by day, certain men in arms out of a cave, and to make rodes into the country about. Into this cave or peak, the Romans entred with their eninges dispayed: where by reason that it was a blind corner, they received many a wound, and specially by throwing of stones.
A stones; until such time as they found the other mouth of the cave (for it was a thorough-fare.) So they piled a deal of wood together at both ends, and lit it on fire: with the smoke and vapour whereof, there were about 2000 armed men driven out of their hole, who rushing at last into the flame destrous to escape, were smothered and burnt to ashes.

When as M. Livius Dentor, and C. Asinius, were Consuls, the Equians began to war again: for they hardly could abide and endure, that a Colony should be planted upon their borders, as a frontier-forbes to bridile them, and affaid by all kind of force to win the same: but they were lultly repulsed by the Inhabitants only within the towne. Howebeit, a year they made at Rome, because it was not thought credible, that the Equians alone of themselves, to dispossed as they were, would be so hardy as to take arms, that in regard of that trouble, a Dictator was named to wit C. Furius Babuleus, with T. Titinius General of the horse. Who at the first conflict subdued the Equians, and upon the eighth day of his government returned into the City in triumph: and now the Dictator, dedicated the Temple of Salus, which he had vowed being Consul, and had put to workmen for to be builded, while he was Censor.

The same year a fleet of Greeks under the conduct of Cleonymus a Macedonian, arrived upon the coast of Italy, and won Thorius, a City of the Salencins. Against this enemy was the Conful Asinius sent, who in one battle dicommitted him, and drove him aboord. Thus Thorius was rendred again to the former Inhabitants, and the Salentine Country obtained peace and quietness.

I find in some Records, that it was Junius Brutus the Dictator who was sent to the Salencins: and that Cleonymus before he was to encounter with the Romans, departed out of Italy. From whence he fetched a compas, and doubled the point of Brundisium, and sailed with a forewind through the midst of Venus gulph: for that on the left hand the Havens and harbours coasts of Italy, and on the right, the Illyrians, Liburnians, and Ilarians, fierce nations, and for them most part, reputed infamous; for roving and robbing by the sea-side, put him in exceeding fear. So he arrived at length upon the river of Venus, lying far within the threes, and there he landed a few to discover the Coasts: but hearing that the frond that lay out against them was not broad and spacious, and when they were past over it, there were behind them the plashies (as it were) overflowed with the sea-tides, and that not far off might be seen the champaign fields near hand, and hills beyond; and disovering by this means the mouth of a very deep river, into which he law, that the ships might be brought about as into a lure harbour (now that rivers name was Medeum) thither he commanded, that the Armada should put in, and to make full up against the stream. The heaviest vessels, the chanal of the river would not bear; but the lighters were transported in lighter barks and small pinaces, and so fell at length with the levell and the plain Country, frequented with much people, by reason that three sea towns of the Patavins, inhabited that Territory. Being once landed, and having left a stender guard for their ships, they take Towns by assault, burn houses, plunder and drive away prizes both of men and cattle: and when they had once taint of the sweetness of booty and pilage, they went far from their ships. The alarm thereof was given at Patavinia (now the Patavins were always in arms, because of the Gauls their borderers.) Whereupon they divided their fighting youth into two regiments: the one was led into thole quarters whereas the report went, that the Greeks forraged here and there all abroad: the other, because they would these meet with the robbers and rovers, was conducted another way to the harbour, where the first wind (about fourtene miles from the Town, and after they had flain the warders, they charged upon the small barks. Whereupon the mariners were afraid, and were forced to retire their vessels to the other bank-side. Likewise upon the main they sped as well in fight against those draglings rovers: for when as the Greeks fled back to recover the harbour, the Venetians encountered them afoot, and made head against them. So the enemies were environed in the midle, and most of them slain: some that were taken prisoners, bewrayed what their fleet was, and that King Cleonymus was three miles off. There, when they had followed the prisoners lure enough in ward within the next village; some man with foulords their river-vessels, made fetty and framed with flat bottoms, for to pass over the meers and shallow waters: others embark armed men in the small gallions taken from the enemies, and made way space to give an assault upon the main fleet, and beleit those ships which fled at anchor, and durst not weigh and remove, fearing not the enemy, so much as the unknown coasts. Thele, I say, they environed, and charged upon them: and when they made halfe to gain the deep and open sea, without any resistance at all, they were purrined and chasped into the mouth of the river. Thus when they had taken the enemies ships, and fired others, namely, such as for fear and haste were driven upon the shelve, and run a-ground, then they returned with victory. Cleonymus hardly laved the fifth part of his fleet, and thus having had no good luck in attempting to land in any coast of the Adriatic sea, he departed. The items of the ships, with their beak-heads, and brazen pikes, together with the spoils of the Macedonians, were set up in the old Temple of Juno, and there be many at this day alive, which have seen them. The memorial of this sea-fight, is celebrated yearly (upon the very same day that it was fought) at Patavinia, with a solemn skrimish and combate of ships represented upon the river, within the midde of the City.

The same year was a League made at Rome with the Vellins, who came to sue for peace and amity. But from that time, there arose many and divers fearful occurrences. For news came, that
that Haterius rebelled, which troubles took their beginning by occasion of the civil dissension and discord of the Aretins: who began to expel by force of arms the house and family of the Licinius (mighty and puissant above the rest) for very envy and repine of their wealth and riches. Over and besides, the Maritans stood out, and by arms maintained their title to that part of their territory, into which there had been a Colony of Carieolans brought to the number of four thousand men, enrolled there to inhabit. Against which fits and tumults, Marcus Vatellus Maximus was created Dictator, who made choice of M. Amylius Paulus to be the Commander of the Horse. Which I rather believe to be true, than that Q. Fabius, a man of those years and that worth, after so many honourable dignities, should be under V.terius. But I would not deny, that the error might grow by reason of the surname of Maximus. The Dictator having taken the field with his Army, in one battell discomfited the Maritans: and after he had driven them into their walled and fenced Towns, Milesiuns, Pleziuns, and Frebius within few daies, he won them all over their heads: and having fined the Maritans with the lots of some part of their Territory, he received them into their ancient League again. Then all the forces were employed against the Tuscans: and whilsts the Dictator was departed to Rome to take his Aupices anew, the General of Horse, being gone out a foraying, was by a secret ambush entrapped. And having lost certain enigns, he was forced into the Camp, after a foul slaughter and shamefull flight of his men. Which fearfull cowardice is not like to have been in Fabius, not only, because if ever he desired his surname of Maximus by any commendable parts, it was especially for his prowess in war: but also, for that in remembrance of Papirius K his cruelty toward him, he never could have been brought to fight, without the commandment or permission of the Dictator. This discomfiture and loss being reported at Rome, caused a greater terror than there was content. For no less than if the Army had been utterly defeated, there was published and proclaimed a lay and cession of all law, matters, wardersbeing allowed at the gates, order taken for standing watches in every street, and armour and darts carried up to the walls. And after that all the younger sort were sworn and prifon to serve the Dictator was sent again to the Army. Where, he found all more quiet than he looked for, through the careful diligence of the Generall of Horse. The Camp was removed to a place of more strength and safety, the bands and companies which had lost their enigns, left on the bare earth without the rampiers, defitute of tents and covert; and the army eager and desirous of fight, to do away and root out the former ignominie and shame. Preffently therefore, he raised his Camp, and removed forward into the Country of Rufella. Thither followed the enemies also hard at heels: Who albeit upon their late good speed they were in right great hope and affiance, to be strong enough even in open fight and plain field; yet they assailed the enemy also by the fame fleights and trains which they had already fortunately tried. There founded to be in the country thereabout, not far from the Romans Camp, certain hovels half pulled down and ruinous, belonging to a village which was burned when the country was over-run: where, after they had betolowed dolefully certain men in arms, they drave their beasts and carret in the very fight of the Roman corps de guer, commanded by C. Fulvius, a Lieutenant: at which bate, when as there slipt no man from the Roman wards, one of the Headsman advanced even under the M very trench and fortifications of the Romans, and called aloud to the Dictator (that seemed for fear to drive out slowly from the ruins of the village aforesaid) asking why they stayed behind, seeing they might safely march and pass forward still (as it were) through the middle of the Roman Camp? These words certain Caritis interpreted to the Lieutenant Fulvius. Whereat, every band or company of soldiers took great indignation, but durft not stir a foot without a warrant. Then he commanded those that were skillful in the tongue to mark whether their language sounded nearer to the speech of peafants or to Citizens: Who brought word, that both their voice, and the habit and fresh hue of their bodies, was more elegant and civil than for country shepherds. Go your wales then quoth he unto them and bid them beware and discover their ambush, which in vain they seem to hide: for that the Romans were cunning in all things, and advertised of their designs, and could no more now be overtaken with wiles, than overcome by arms. Wherefore these words were once heard and carried to those that lay in wait, presently they started up out of their lurking holes, and brought forth their enigns all abroad into the open field. The Lieutenant imposing they were a greater troop than might be dealt withall and matched by his corps de guer, with all speed for aid to the Dictator: and in the mean while himself received and bare off the brunt and forcible charge of his enemies. This message was no sooner brought, but the Dictator commanded the standards to be advanced, and the soldiers to arm and follow: but every thing was done sooner almost than it could be commanded: forthwith they caught up the enigns and took weapon in hand: and fiercely could they be held in, but that they would run away. For not only the piteful anger of the late received losses pricked them on, but also the loude of their fellows, which they might hear more loud, and to be redoubled thicker according as the skirmish grew hotter and hotter. The greater haste therefore they made, whiles one puttheth forward another, and richeth to the port-enigns to go faster and mend their pace. But the more haste the Dictator feeth them to make, the more earnest was he to keep them back in their march, and to hold them in: willing them to go fair and softly. Contrariwise the Tuscan, who rose up at the beginning of the battle, were there ready with their whole forces to give the charge. Whereupon there came messenger after messenger to the Dictator, bringing word that all the legions
Legions of the Tuscans were entred into the fight, and that his men already were not able to refitt any longer. Nay himself also, from the higher ground, might fee in what danger the corps de guard was. But preluming and refitting upon this conceit, that the Lieutenant was able yet to maintain fight, considering that he was not far off himself to help and save him out of peril, he was deuisous that the enemies might be weased and tired amuch as was possible, and that his own or es at breath and in heart, should gent upon them overtoile, and albeit they went softly forward, yet by this time had the Horflemen but a very small ground to take their run with full career. For nothing marred the enigns of his legions, that the enemy should notice any covers and privy forftrumg, but leave good spaces and distances between the files of their footmen, through which the Horfes

B might have room and liberty enough to gallop with ease. Then all the battalion of the Infantry set up a cry and shout when they charged, and withal, the Cavalry, with reins at large entred within the ranks of the enemies, who being not marshalled and set in order against such a bluffling form of Horfemen, were with a sudden fear affonied. Whereupon, the troop of Praetorians which were in manner environed and compassed about, and had help and refuge almost too late, now all in general breathed themselves at ease, and were put to nothing. For these that came fresh and liuely took the whole weight of the conflict: which was neither long nor doubtful. The enemies were put to flight, and in diurnal made haste to recover their camp. And when as the Romans advanced against them with banner displayed, they quit their place and retreated, gathering themselves round into heaps in the fairest part of the camp: and as they C would have fell out, they fiek fai in the narrow gaps and passages of the gates: a great part of them leapt upon the back, to climb the rampier, if haply either from the higher ground they might defend themselves, or get over any where and escape. By chance in one place where the back was not well rammed, the rampier was forcharged with the weight of so many standing upon it, and so tumbled down into the trench. Whereupon, they set up a cry all together, That the Gods had made them way to escape, and by that means indeed they saved themselves, but more of them unarmed than armed. In this battre, were the forces of the Tuscans once again utterly abated: in so much as, after they had capitulated and promised 3 years pay, and corn for two months, the Dictator permitted them to send Embassadors to Rome for a treaty of peace. Peace was denied, but truce for two years granted: and the Dictator with triumph returned into the

D City, I flnd in some writers: that Heremns was by the Dictator quartered, within without notable baterl only by composing the variance and debate of the Aureins, and reconciling the family of the Lusini with the Commons.

M. Valerius upon his Dictatorship became Conful. Some have believed that he was created without his own fuit, yes, and while he was absent, and that the said Election was held by the Intergent. But howsoever it was, out of all question, he bare the Consilship with Apleius Panis. Whilest MValerius and Q. Apulius were Coft, all was well quieted abroad: for the Tuscas of one side, partly upon their ill success in war and partly by reason of their truce, were forced to be still and in repose. The Samnites also on the other side, being well tamed with the overthrows so many years together, repented not yet and were not weary of their new league. At Rome likewise, the Commons were quiet, and found themselves much eated, and diil barged of a great number of baile and poor people, which were withdrawn and sent away into Colonies. But because their rest should not be everywhere entirely and perpetually, there arose a quarell between the chief and principal men of the City: as well the Nobles as Commons, and that by the ingeuation and infligation of Q. and Cu. Opulli, Tribunes of the Cm. Who having fought occasion and matter every where to accuse and blame the Nobility into the Commons; when they law all means afayed in vain, at length entered into an action, whereby they kindled and set on fire not only the meanest, but even the chiefheads of the Commons such as had been Confuls, and triumphed: who wanted no promotions and honors, but only Sacerdotal dignities and Prelacies: which as yet were not in differentely common to both states. They proposed therefore a Law, That whereas at that time F there were but 4 Augurs and as many Prelats or Bishops, and forasmuch as they thought it good, that the number of Priests should be in ceated, there might be chote to the refi, 4, Bishops, and 5, Augurs, all out of the body of the Commons. But how this Colledge or Fellowship of Augurs, was reduced to the number of four, but by the death of two, I can not find: for since this is certain, that among the Augurs the number must be odd: namely that the three ancient tribes, Romanes, Sutriens, and Lucceres, should have each one their Augur: or if they needed more, they shouid with equal number increase three Priests: like as they were augmented and multiplied, when as five being put to four, made up the number of nine: that is to say, for every tribe three. Howbeit, because they were chote out of the Commons who should supply, and make up the number: the Nobles took it as grievously to the heart, as when they law the Consilship parted equally in G common: but they made rethance as though this indignity pertained to the Gods more than to them: who would themselves see, that their holy service and sacred mysteries should not be pollut. And as for them, this only they could do, namely pray and with, that no calamity thereby should light upon the common-wel. But let's earnest were they in opposing themselves and making resianlce, for that they were ned already in all such broils and contentions to have the worst and they law besides, that their adversarys that not at that (which in time pit they could scarce hope for) namely, the greatest honours and dignities: but that they had already obtained all, for which they had strive so long: in doubtful terms of hope, to wit, manifold Confulats.
Cenforships, and Triumphs. Howbeit, the contention and dispute in debating and arguing to
and from the law propounded, was maintaine (as men say) between Ap. Claudius especially, and P.
Decius Mus; and after they had contended and discoursed in their Orations pro & contra, the
same reasons in manner, touching the rights and liberties pretended by the Nobles and Com-
mons, which sometimes had been alienated, both for, and against the law Lexinter, at what time as
it was last on foot for the Commons to be Confuls; Decius (as it is said) represented in open
audience the very semblance and flow of his father's, in such manner, as many of them who
were then present at this solemn, had seen him; to wit, gilded and apparelled in Gabinie robe,
standing over his pulvin, in which gesture, habit, and fashion, he offered himself to voluntary
death, for to save the people and legions of the Romans; * Seemed (quoth he) P. Decius, that I
then was Coh, as pure and religious in the sight of the immortal Gods, as if T. Manlius his col-
league had been likewise so, and offered it, and might not the same? P. Decius have rightly
been chosen, to execute the publique divine rites and sacrifices of the people of Rome? or is this
all the fear and doubt, that the Gods would give leis ear to his prayers, than to Ap. Claudius or
doth Ap. Claudius with more devotion serve God privately, and worship the Gods more re-
ligiously, than himself? Who was there ever that repented or milked of the yows, which fo
many Confuls and Dictators of the Com, either at their first setting forth to their armies, or in
time of war and battle, pronounced for the Common-wealth? Reckon and count the chief
Captains, year by year, since the first time that the Commons began to have the leading and
conduct of the wars: number all the triumphs ever since; it will appear that the Commons are K
no whit abashed, and have no caule to complain of their own nobility, and This I know for
certain, that if any new sudden war should arise, the Senat and people of Rome would repole
no more hope and confidence in the ancient Patritius, than in the Com, for to be the Captains
and Commanders. This being so, quoth he, what God or man can think it an indignity, to
adorn those persons aloof with the titles and ornaments of Bishops and Augurs, whom ye have
honoured with chair of Tribly, with the long robe bordered with purple, with the coat of arms
embroidered and branched with the palm tree, with the gown or mantle of purple; wrought with
divers colours, with the chaplets and coronets of triumph, and with the victorious branch and
garland of laurel; whole houles ye have beautified above the rest, with letting up the piloys of
e enemies? Or who can think much, if he be ridden with a facring cup, or holy-water pot, and with L
a croifor staff, and his head vailed, either to kill a sacrifice, or to take Augury by flight of birds
from the cattle hill, who hath been adorned and decked with the emblems and ornaments of the
great God Jupiter, and hath ridden in a gilded chariot through the City into the Capitol? Or in
whole Title, inscription and title over his image, men shall with content, read Confulship, Cen-
forship and Triumph: will not the same abide to see and read that ye have added thereunto ei-
er Augurship, or Pontifical dignity? I verily for my part hope (without the displeasure, and
with reverence of the Gods beit spoken) that we by the beneficence of the people of Rome are
such, as for our quality and worthines, may and will yeild no less credit and honor to our
Priefh-hoods than we shall receive thereby: and who desire, in regard of the honor and service
of God, more than for our own titles and proper intrinse, to have the means, That whom we M
serve and reverence in private, there we may also worship and honor publickly. But why have
I hitherto to pleaded the causes, if the Purtius were entirely alone intrinse and invested in the
prerogative of Sacerdotal Dignities; and as though we were not already possessed of one right
honorable and principal Priefh-hood? We feate that the Decemvirs for celebration of sacrifices,
and for interpretation of Sibylla her Prophecies, and other the fatal ditines of this people, the
Prelates alio and Ministers of Apis his sacrifice, and other Holy Ceremonies, are of the Com-
mons. Neither was there any injury done unto the Purtius at that time, when for to gratifie the
Commons, the number of the Dumuvis was in creased; thou I mean, who should oversee (as
superintendents) the offering of sacrifices. And now at this present they have no greater cause to
complain, if the Tribun, a stout and brave man hath added five places more of Augurs, and four N
of Bishops, unto which commissioners may be nominated: not to dispossess of your rooms,
or to displace you, O Appius, but that men of the commons might shif you in the Faction and
ministry of divine lercs and Church matters, as like as they do their part, and perform good fer-
hces in their several-quarters. And be not ashamed, O Appius, to have him for your colleague in
the Prieff-hood and their affaires. And be not afraid, O Appius, to have him for your colleague
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A. As is spoken, that the Patres were at first made and created, and not descended from Heaven; but
that they were able to name their father and grandfathers; that is to say, even free men, just, and
no more? What? I say, I can nominate already mine own father to have been a Consul, and
shortly shall my son be able to allude to his grandfathers. There is nothing else. O Varrus, in the
matter whereunto we stand, but that we may obtain all which hath been denied us. For the
Nobles desire only to maintain a title and to contend, and care not greatly what title their
contentions come unto. As for me, I do advise, and this would I have. That (to the good pro-
fit, and happy fate of you all, and the weak publick) this law may pass under your affirmative
vote, [vulgarly.] Then presently the people commanded the Tribes to be called to a trium-
bus: and soon it appeared, that the law would without all doubt be accepted: but that day was
lost, by the opposition and negative of some Tribunes. Howbeit, the morrow after, they were a-
fraid to ratify it: and then with an exceding content of all hands it passed clear. So there were
created Prelats or Bishops; first, P. Diccius Man; himself (that to pleaded for the law) with P. Sem-
pronius Sophus, C. Marius Radnitt, and M. Livius Dexter. Likewise five Augurs of the Commons,
to wit, C. Quirinius, P. Fulvius Flatus, M. Manlius Felix, C. Marius, and T. Publius. So there
were eight Prelats in number, and nine Augurs.

The same year, CM. Varrus the Consul, procured the law of appealing to the people, more
surely to be established and confirmed. This was now the third time after the deposition of
the Kings, that this one Act was revived; and always by the same houfe or family of the Vellers. The
Caius of removing the same too often, was no other I Laplace, than this; for that the mightie
some of some great men of the Patres, was more powuerful then the liberty and freedom of the
Commons. Only the Law Portus, feemeth to have been enacted for to fave the back and sides of
Citizens from whipping because that it was awarded and fet a grievous punishment upon him, that
either had beaten or killed a Citizen of Rome. The Law Vellera, which forbid, to louge or
behold any man whatsoever, that made his appeas bhad this annexed only, that if any one had trel-
passed and proceeded farther, it should be decreed, Lati. cedera. Such was the model
and reverence of men in those days, that this one addition [in my conceit verily] was insp-
ored to be a sufficient bond to strengthen the Law. But now adays, would a man fiercely
threaten his tenant or flave in that manner.

D. The same Consul made war, without any worthy or memorable exploit, against the Equians
that rebelled: who (setting aside their fluent and proud orators) had nothing left of their ancient
fortune and estate. The other Cofl. Apuleius, besieged the Town "Nepetum in Umbritis." The
place was difficult and hard to get up, and on the one side deep down right (whereas now stand-
deth Narvies) so that it was impregnable either by assault, or countermares and fones whatsoever.
Whereupon, the new Consuls, M. Fulvius Flatus, and T. Maccius Torquatus, entered upon
this enterprise, left undone and unfinished by the former. Now when all the Centuries nomi-
inated with one voice Q. Fabius for the Consulship of that year, even without his own suit and lea-
kings, M. Donatus and Tubero do write, that he himself laboured to have that change put off,
and referred unto a year of more war; alledging, that for the present he would serve the Com-
mon-weal in better head, by bearing some civil office in the City: and to no dissembling
what he rather defir'd, nor yet seeking for it, he was made Edile of the Chair, with L. Paprinus
Corfor. But, to let this down for a certain truth I dare not: because that Pius, a more ancient
Writer of Chronicles, faith, that the Edilles Curule of that yeare, were C. Domitius, Ca. Fab-
ius, Sp. Corvelius, and Q. Fabius Maximus. That surname, I Laplace verily, gave occasion of the
error in the Ediles. Whereupon emis a tale (fortoing to that error) mixed and compounded of
the Elections of Ediles and Consuls together. The same yeare was held a solemn survey and pur-
ging of the City by sacrifice, called Lyncrum, by P. Sempronius Sophus, and P. Sempronius
Aventius, and two Tribes more were added to the ten, Aventius, and Tarpeian. And thus much concerning the
affairs at Rome.

F. But now to return to Nepetum: after much time spent in long and lingering siege before the
Town two of the inhabitants, whose houses joyed close to the wall, undermined the ground, and
by a secret way came as far as the corps de garde of the Romans. From whence they were brought
before the Consul, and promised him to let in and receive whatarrison and troop of armed men
he would in the City. This offer was thought neither to be neglected and refused, nor yet
rashly to be credited. So with one of these twain (for the other was kept behind as a hostage)
two other spies were sent by the same mine to discover the train. By whose relation, when it ap-
ppeared sufficiently, that all was false and without danger: by the leading and guiding of the traitor
alreadied, 300 armed men by night entred the City, & feied that gate which was next unto them:
at which, being broken open, the Consul and the Roman army without resistance, made entry and
G. Surprised the City. In this sort Nepetum was reduced to the obedience of the people of Rome,
A Coloney was thither sent to Frontier against the Umbrians, called of the * Rivers name [which
runneth under it: * Narnia, And the army with a rich price was brought again to Rome.

The same year the Ticinians, contrary to the tenure of the truce, made preparation for war.
But whilst they were busily occupied otherwise, it was found, that a pillaring army of Gauls in-
vasion did mix their bess, and for a while altered their dispositions. Afterwards, by the means of
mony, whereof they were full and bare themselves mighty, they fough the make the Gauls, of
countries to become their friends, and followed them to band together, and so jointly to main-

"Nar, now Nen. 
"Nerni"
tain war with the Romans. Their society and friendship the barbarous people refused not only, if they found upon the item what they should have for their hire, Which being agreed upon and received, and all things in a readiness for to go into the field; when the Tuscaniers willed them to follow after, they heartily denied, that they had received any consideration for to make war upon the Romans: but whatsoever they had taken, it was because they should not waste the Tuscan Land, and by way of hostility and force of arms, do any violence upon the inhabitants: howbeit, if the Tuscaniers were so minded to employ them, they would be willing to serve, but for no other reward and remuneration, than to be admitted into parr of their territory; that at the length they might have some certain place of abode, to settle themselves in. Many Diets and conferences hereabout were held by the States of Tuscan, but nothing resolved and concluded: not to much, I for that they feared to part with some of their Lands, as because they were in great need every one and another, to have dwelling by them inch neighbours, detached from so savage a race and cruel Nation. Thus were the Gauls let go and dismissed, having away with them a huge mass of money, which they got without any travail or peril of theirs.

The bruit of the Gauls tumult and insurrection, together with the Tuscan war, caused no little fear at Rome. Whereupon, more haste was made to conclude a league with the *Piceens people. T. Marthinius the Consul had the charge of the Tuscan war allotted unto him. Who lately was entred into the confines of the enemies, but as he was training and exercising amongst the Heremen, he ran his Horse with full career, and suddenly as he turned about, was call'd off, and presently lay for dead: and so the Consul, three days after his fall, ended his life. Which the Tuscaniers, taking hold of, as a good omen token and preface, got heart and were very joyfull; saying, that the Gods had in favour of them, begun this war. This was heavy news at Rome, both for the loss of so brave a personage, and for the time, wherein it unhappily fell out: to as, the stumbles held (by the advice of the chief Peers) for to substitute a Consul in his place that was deceased, frighted the Senators from choosing a Dictator. All their sentences, and all the censure and M. Valerius to be Consull was the man, whom the Senar was about to have picked for Dictator. Then forthwith, they ordered him to go into Tuscan to the army, whose coming improved and kept under the Tuscaniers: so as not a man durst once go out of their trenches and hold. Even their very fear was as good as a siege unto them: for that the new Consul neither by waiting the fields, nor firing their houses in such fort, as every where, not only the small villages, but also the good and well-peopled Towns were seen to smoke and burn again, could draw them forth to fight.

This war continued longer than men thought: but behold, there arose a bruit of another: (which considering the mutiny looses of both sides, was for good causes greatly to be feared) upon intelligence given from the Piceners their new allies, namely, that the Samnits were about to take arms and rebel, and had solicited them also to do the same. The Piceniers were highly thanked for this, and a great part of the Senators care was diverted now from Tuscan to the Samnits. The death besides of corn and victuals troubled the City: and driven they had been to extrem famine, if *Publius Maximus (as they have written, who are of opinion that he was Edile that year) by provident purveying and diligent conveying of corn, had not been as careful and M industrious, in the dispensing of victual now as before, as many times before in war affairs. The fame year there was an Interciefe, but upon what occasion, it is not known. The Intercieferes were *App. Claudius and after him P. Sulpicius, who held an Election of Consules, and created *L. Cornelius Scipio and Os. Fulvius. In the beginning of this year, there came Orators from the Lucians to these new Consules, for to make complaint, That the Samnits, who by no conditions and means could induce them for to band and take arms with them, were entered into their confines, and made wait of the "country, and by very force provoked them to war, saying, That the Lucians had long ago over-thought and pacified themselves that way: but now they were fully resolute, that they could find in their hearts sooner to abide and endure all kind of calamity whatsoever, than ever after N to offend and displease the Roman name. They besought the Senar therefore, to receive the Lucians into their protection, and also to keep and defend them from the violence and injury of the Samnits. And for themselves, albeit entering into war already with the Samnits, they were of necessity obliged to be fait and true unto the Romans: yet for better security they were ready to put in further hostages. The Senar was not long consulting hereabout: but all with one consent were of opinion, to make league with the Lucians, and to summon the Samnits to make amends and restitution. The Lucians, besides a courteous and gracious answer, were accepted into the league. Then were there Ferial Heralds dispatched to the Samnits, to give them warning for to depart the territory of the Roman allies, and to withdraw their forces out of the confines of the Lucians. But the Samnits sent out certain messengers to meet them upon the way, and to pronounce unto them, that if they presented themselves in any Council within Samnium, they should not depart again with the safeguard of their persons. When these news were heard at Rome, both the Senar advised, the people also, to make war upon the Samnits. The Consules passed their Provinces and charges between themselves. To Scipio fell *Heterius, and the Samnits to Fulvius, and so to take their journey divers ways, each one to the war allotted unto him. Scipio looked for no other, but a lingering war at the enemies hands, and like to the defensive service of the former year: but behold, they with an army well appointed and arranged,
A. arranged, encountered him and gave him battle near to *Volterra's, where they fought the better *Volterra, part of the day with much bloodshed on both sides: and whiles they were doubtful which way the victory went, the night came between. But the morning, after bewrayed both who were winners, and who were losers. For the Tuscanes in the still and dead time of the night diffolged. The Roman Conful coming forth into the field, and seeing by the enemies departure, the victory confessed went forward to the camp: which he found empty of men but full of rich pilage, (for they had fearfully and in great haste abandoned their tents) and was matter thereof. From thence he retir'd his forces into the territory of the Fabians: and after he had left at *Faleriius all his bag and baggage with a meetly garrison there; lightly appointed, he marched forward, and with a

B. running camp waited the marches and territories of his enemies. He put all to fire and sword: drove away booties from all parts: and left not the ground only, wall and defiles, but set fire also upon Citties and borrough Towns. Only he forbade the assault and great forrogs Cities, into which fear had driven the Tuscanes for refuge. On *Faleriius the Conful on the other part fought a noble battle in *Sannium, near *Boeazzus, and the victory was not whithout doubtful. After which he assisted *Boeazzus, and not long after *Anlisenus and both Cities he won by force. The same year was there a Colony brought to *Carfles within the territory of the *Aequiulus. And *Faleriius the Conful triumphed over the Sammites.

When now the time of the Conuls Election drew neere; there was a rumour raised, that the Tuscanes and Sammites were levyng and enrolling of great and mighty forces: that openly in all their

C. Assemblies and Dicts, the Princes of the Tuscanes were checked and reproved, for that they had not waged the Gauls to war, whatsoever it had cost them: that the Magistrates of the Sammites were blamed, for exposing that army as it were a prey unto the Romans, which had been provided against their enemies the Lucans. For now seeing that the enemies both with their own power, and allies with the help of their allies, were come to war: they should not be able to match them, having their forces thus redoubled. Now albeit there were other famous and renowned petitions to be Conuls, yet this new fear and affright turned all men to be come favourits of *Fabius in *Maximius: who at the first made no suit, and afterwards, seeing the inclination of their affections, renounced also to be Conul. Demanding what they meant to trouble and molest him, so aged a man as he was, and one, who as he had gone through all labours and travels of this

D. world: so he had passed also the rewards, and recompenses of his travels: alledgeing, that neither strength of body, nor vigor of spirit could always continue the fame and last for ever: and besides, he feared fortune her self, and lest haply the might be thought of any of the Gods too pro-pitious and favorable unto him, and more permanent than the ordinary train and course of this world would permit. Therefore, like as himself had grown up after the glory of his elders, and ascended them; so he law and beheld with joy of heart, others also rising up after him, and to succeed him in the like glory: and as there wanted not at Rome high promotions and advances for hardy and valiant men, so there failed not brave men of worth for to receive those honors and dignities. But this by his favour so just and reasonable he whetted and kindled more and more their earnest affections and favours towards him, which he thinking to

E. dull and quench, with the reverent regard and awe of the Laws, commanded a statute to be read, wherein it was not lawful for one and the same man within ten years to be created Conul twice. But fiercely for the noise that the people made, could this law be heard read: and the Tribunes of the Com, said, that this should be no less: for they would prefer a bill unto the people, that he might be discharged and dispens'd with from the Statutes in that behalf, howbeit he had full

f. in his rebuttal demanding of them what purpose and end were the laws made, if by the very means thereof, they might be thus deluded and made of no force? For to (q'd, he) laws ruled not, but were over-ruled. But nevertheless, the people went to a sitting, and began to give their voyces: and as every Conul was called into the rails, they named and chose *Fabius Conul, without sticking at the matter. Then at last, overcame with this general accord and consent of the whole City: God lay Amen (quoth he) O Quirites, to that you do and are about. But for as

G. much as you will have your will and dispose of me at your pleasure, do me this favour yet, that I may have the chusing of my Colleague, I beleeve you make Conul with me P.Decius, man approved unto me already, with whom, I have forst sett in the fellowship of another Office: a man I say, an icreable otherwise to the greatness of his name, and worthy of his fathers virtue, from whom he is descended. This favour which he requiz'd, seem'd unto them just and reasonable. So all the Centuries behind, created Q.Fabius and P.Decius Conuls.

The same year the Ediles terved proces upon very many Citizens: for holding and poffessing of more Lands, than by Law was limited: and none in a manner was able to acquit himself thereof. Which was a great bridge and restraint to their unmeasurable avarice. As the

H. new Conuls, Q.Fabius in *Maximius the fourth time, and P.Decius *Mars the third time, conferred and laid their heads together about their charges, that the one should take in hand the

I. Sammites, and the other the Tuscanes: and conferred what forces might serve and be sufficient for this or that Province and exploit: and to whether war either of them were the more meet and fittest Leaders; certain Embassadors from *Sarvium, * Nepet, and *Faleriius, advised them. That the States of Tuscane, were now consulting in their Dicts, about a Treaty of peace: which was an occasion, that they turned all their preparations and force into *Sannium. The Conuls being gone forth, to the end they might have the reader provision of grain and

Ce 3 virtuels,
Viduaus, and the enemy be more to seek, which way they would affail them, led their Legions into Samnium, but Furius, through the territory of Sarao and Decius by the way of the Sidinius. When they were come into the confines of their enemies, both of them spred themselves all abroad, and fell to forage and spoil the country: yet so, as they sent out their elpias farther than they waited. Whereupon, they were well aware of their enemies, as they lay in ambush well appointed, within a close and excited valley near Tesenum; what way as they thought to take the vantage of the higher ground, and to set upon the Romans to soon as they were one entred. Furius having removed his carriages into a secure place, and set there a competent guard for defence, fore-told his soldiers that there was a battle towards: and in a four-square battalion marched directly to the fortiérid Embacado, where the enemies lurked and lay in wait. The Samnits then, despairing and I out of all hope to do any great exploit by sudden tumult, considering their forces were discovered; and seeing they must once at the length come to the tryst in open field, were themselves also more willing to put all upon a quick bend. Thereupon they defended into the plain and even ground, and committed themselves to the fortune of fight, with more courage of heart than hope of victory. But were it, that they had assembléd together the whole force and multitude out of all the Nations of the Samnits, or that the hazard of the main chance made them more hardly and take the better heart: surely even in plain field, they held the Romans play and put them to great fear. Furius seeing the enemies no way to retreat and give ground, commanded M. Flavius and M. Valerius, two Colonels, with whom he had set forward and advanced into the foremost, to go to the Horsemen, and to escort them, If ever they remembered and called to mind, that the K. Common-wealth had been helped by the valor of the Gentlemen on horseback: they should that day endeavour to make invincible and eternal the glory of that degree and order of Cavalry. For seeing that the enemies stood immovable against the Infantry, there was no other hope but in the force of Horsemen; and here withal he called upon those two young Gentlemen, and playd both the one and the other with like courtesy, once, twice prasing them, another whiles lobing them with fair and large promises. But when the, as the essay of the force was new, prevailed not thinking where strength would take no place, there craft was to be tried and practised; he caused Scipio his Lieutenant, to withdraw out of the conflict, the javelins of the first legion, and as closely as he could to fetch about with them, toward the next hills: and then, to march up the hill some way from the sight of the enemies; and after he had gained the top, all of a sudden to L. shew himself behind, and charge upon the enemies backs, whiles their faces were turned another way. Now the Horsemen, by the direction of those two Colonels, being ridden of a sudden before the standards, troubled their own fellows almost as much as the enemies. For against these troops and corners of Horse that thus violently put forward, the Samnits battel stood immovable, and on no part could either be forced to retreat, or to break their array. The Horsemen when they saw this attempt to take no effect, retired themselves behind the ensigns, and departed out of the bater. Hereupon took the enemies more heart unto them; neither had the vanguard of the Romans been able to abide so long a conflict, and the violence of the enemies still encroaching, upon their own confidence, but that the second ranges in the middle way, by the Conful his commandment, came forward into the front of the vanguard. Where they with their fresh strength M flayed the Samnits, being now ready to enter forcibly upon them, and to gain the ground; and withal, at the time appointed, the ensigns shewed themselves from the hills, and came down, aware to the enemies; and letting a few, not only daunted the hearts of the Samnits, but al- ternately the Romans. For both Furius cried aloud, that his Colleague Decius approached, and every soldier for his part, what he might, with joyful and cheerful hearts, iterated, that the other Conful was come, and the legions were at hand. Which error and misaking, it turned to the good of the Romans, so it causd the Samnits to flie, and to be surprized with a fright, fearing and doubting nothing so much, as that being now overroiled and wearied, they should be overcharged also with fresh and liable forces. And for that in their running every way, they were shattered slanderly; there was left slaughter than for the preparation of so great a victory. For 3400 men only were slain, and of prisoners were taken, wenee three hundred and thirty; and three and twenty bowders and ensigns were wretched and carried away. The Apulians had joyned with the Samnits before the battle, but that P. Decius the Conful encampd against them at Molendente, and having drawn them forth to fight, discomfitted them. Where also there were more that fled, than died; when the two worlds: for not above 3000 Apulians were slain. And Decius, making no reckoning of that enemy, conducd his legions into Samnium. Where, two Confuls hot, having over-run the country in divers parts within five months space laid all wait and defend. Five and forty places there were in Samnium, where Decius had encampd; and eighty five where the other Conful had pitched. In which, they left behind them not only the marks of takings, ramparts, and ditches; but also many other notable signs and tokens of the country waltled all about, and utterly spoild by them. Furius besides, left behind the City Cameria, where there were taken prisoners two thousand and four hundred armed soldiers, and slain there in fight upon.

From thence he went to Rome against the Election of new Conuls, and made all the haste he could to dispatch that business. And when as all the Centuries first called forth to give their suffrages named Q. Furius for the Conful; then Appius Claudius a Conular man, and one of the Competitors, a grim fir, and ambitious by nature, laboured no more for his own honour and ad-

vancement,
A vancement, than to recover again unto the Parthians, both the rooms of the Consulship, and employed as well his own devoirs, as also all the means and assistance of the Parthians and Nobility, to have himself chosen Consul with Q. Fabius. As for Fabius, at the first, spoke and alledged in his own be half, the same reasons in manner which he had used the former year, and refused to be Consul. The whole body of the Nobility told about his feast, praying industriously, and entreating him to pluck the Consulship out of the more and base degree of their Commons, and to restore the ancient Majesty both to the Magistracy itself, and also to the Parthians and their houses and families. Fabius stirs silence made, framed a middle and moderate kind of speech, whereby he appeased and allayed their hot affection, promising and affurering, that he would willingly accede the names of two of the Nobility, if he might see, that they would create any other Consul but himself: for at this present Election, he would in no wise admit himself, to be eligible and nominated Consul, and give do to have a precedent to prejudice all cousin of law, for the time to come. So I. Volmannus, out of the body of the Commons, was created Consul with App. Claudius, who likewise in the former Consulship had been matched Colleagues together. The Nobility used to object unto Fabius, and reproached him, that avoided App. Claudius to be his companion in government, who for eloquence and other civil parts was no doubt a singular and excellent man. When the Election was ended, the old Consuls were commanded to war in Samnium, having their Government continued, and their commission renewed for six months. And (o the year following likewise, when I. Volmannus and App. Claudius were Consuls, P. Decius, C who being Consul, had been left behind his College in Samnium, ceased not now in quality and name of Proconsul, to wait the country: until at length, when the Samnites would in no place abide barrel, they were by him chalced out of their own borders and limits. And thus driven out of the field, and excluded out of their own country, they went into Hatinus. Where, supposing that with fohuge a multitude of armed men, they should do that more effectually with intrety and prayers mingled with threats among, which by so many Embassages they had so oft attempted in vain; they called for a Diet and general Council of the States and Princes of Hatinus.

Which being assembled, they declared and shewed, for how many years space they had maintained war with the Romans in the right of their freedom; that they had allayed all means, if happily they might have been able by their own puissance alone, to sustain and support the weight.

D of so huge and important a war: that they had besides made proof of the aids of other neighbour nations, but to little effect: that they had bought for peace of the people of Rome, when they were not able to wage war any longer: and because peace was more grievous unto them with that subjection, than war with their liberty, they had rebelled and made war again: and now their only hope they had, remained in the Tuscan: knowing well enough, that for men, munition, and mony, they were the mightiest nation of all Italy; as having to their neighbours the Gauls, a people born and bred up in armor and war: by natural disposition fierce and cruel, but especially in any quarrel against the people of Rome of whom they do (and not untruth report) that they were by them vanquished and constrained to ransom themselves for gold.

Now the Tuscan were of that heart and courage, as Presura sometimes, and other their no progenitors were: there were no doubt, but that they might diffe-re the Romans, and difpofe of them all the ground on this side Tyberius, and make them fight for the defence and preservation of their lives, and not for the intolerable feignory and dominion of Italy. They said moreover, that there was now come unto them an army of Samnites, well appointed and furnished with armour, and stored with pay and mony, who would follow them forthwith, even to the assault of the City of Rome, if they would lead them.

While they were thus braving, and gloriously boasting themselves, and preparing of war in Tuscanie, the Romans war at their own dores, lay lobe upon them, and flung them at the heart. For P. Decius having learned by the epilals, that the Samnites army was gone forth, and had taken their voyage, assembled a Council and said, What mean we thus to range over the fields, warning from village to village? And not rather affall the walled Towns and strong Cities? There is no army now, that defendeth Samnium: gone they are out of their confines, and wrought their own exile and banishment. When they all had allowed of this motion, he led forth his power to assault the strong City Nursantia. And hotly were the soldiers let, both for the love they bare to their Captain, and also for hope of winning a richer pillage thereby, than by driving booties out of the country, that in one day by mere force of arms they won the Town. Where two thousand and one hundred Samnites, fighting men, either fell upon the edge of the sword, or were taken prisoners, with a great and rich booty besides. But for fear that it should surge and encumber the army with heavy carriages, Decius caused his soldiers to be called together unto an audience, and thus to them he said. And will ye stand contented indeed without victory this day, and this prey? Or will ye build your hope still, answerable to your posterity, and valour? All the Cities of the Samnites, all the substanse and riches that it and remaining in their Cities are yours for a much as ye have in so many battels vanquished their nations and at last driven them out of their own country. Sell these prizes, and with hope of gain draw after you chapmen and merchants to follow the army. I will from time to time still help you to wares and commodities for to sell. Let us go from hence to the City Romans, where your toil shall not be so great, but the spoil far greater. So when they had made tale of their pillage, and willingly of themselves called upon and exhorted their Captain to that expedition,
to Rome lest they go. Where likewise, without more and platform, without warlike engines of battery, so soon as they advanced their engines, and approached the walls, they could by no violence be driven from thence but set up ladders in all height, at the next place that every man could find, and so scaled up the walls. Thus the Town was won and ravified. To the number of 3,200 were slain, and 6,000 taken prisoners. The soldiers having got an exceeding booty, were forced to fell it, and make all away, as before: and from thence without any rest at all given unto them they were led to Ferrantum, yet they marched thither with exceeding courage and cheerfulness. Howbeit there they found more difficult and perilous service: for the walls were with all forcible means defended, and the place itself was both by man and hand, and natural situation, fiercely fenced: but yet the soldiers now being felched, and entured to spoil, over-ate all difficulties. Three thousand men about the walls were slain: and the laggage fell to the soldiers share. The greatest part of the honor in slaying and winning of these Cities, is ascribed in some Chronicles to Fabius Maximus. For they write, that Martia was by Decius won, but Ferrantum and Rome, by the conduct of Fabius. But some attribute the glory hereof into the new Colonels. And there are, that give the glory not to both, but to the one of them, to wit, P. Villulano, unto whom befell the Province of Samnium.

Whiles these affairs thus went in Samnium (by whose leading and managing it skills not) in the mean time a mighty war was a preparing in Etruria: and that, of many nations banded together: the principal amongst were was Gabini Equites Samitum. The Tufcans, in manner all, had taken arms and levied their forces, and the near society, called also the people of Umbria and adjoining to take their part: besides, Gauls also were wored for mony to aid: all which multitude assembled together, and met in the Samnite camp. The news of which sudden and unexpected tumult, being brought to Rome; for so much as P. Villulanno the Consul, with the second and third legions, and with 1,000 confederates was gone already into Samnium; it was thought good and determined, that Appius Claudinius with all speed possible, should go into Etruria: and after him, two Roman legions followed, to wit, the first and forthth, with twelve thousand allies: who encompassed not far from the enemy. But more good was done there, in respect that they came thither betimes, (to the end that the fear of the Roman name might keep inawan certain nations in Etruria, which already intended war) than for any exploit performed either skillfully or luckily, under the conduct of the Consul. Many skirmishes there passed in places of disadvantage, and at times unconvinent: in so much, as the enemy took more heart, and conceived greater hope every day more than other: and now it grew welter to this point, that neither soldier could well reckon of the sufficiency of Captain, nor Captain tried upon the loyalty of the foinder. In three several Annals I find, that Appius dispatched his letters to his fellow Consul, and sent for him out of Samnium: howbeit, I am both to let this down, being so uncertain a sit: it seeing that the very Consuls themselves of Rome, who now the second time were coupled together in one government, contented, and openly jarred about this point: whiles Appius denied fairly that he lent any script at all, and Villulannus again avouched, that he was sent for by Appius his letters.

Villulanno this time had won three Castles in Samnium, wherein were slain three thousand enemies, and almost half so many taken prisoners: and composeth besides the seditions and quarrels of the Lucans, which arose from the Commons and needy persons, and that, with the exceeding good contentment of the chief and principal personages of the country, by the means and meditation of Q. Fabius the Proconsul, who was the thirteenth with the old army. This done, he left Decius to wait and pull the country of the enemies, and himself with his forces marched toward his Colleague into Etruria. Who at his first coming, was received generally with all the joy that might be. For mine own part, I suppose verily, that as Appius had good cause to carry an angry formage with him, in case his confidence bare him witness, that he wrote not unto him: so again, if he had need of his Colleagues aid, he shewed an illiberal, unkind, and unhonorable nature of his own, in that he would so illibable, and not be known thereof. For being some forth to meet him, before they had well greeted and saluted one another. How now, quoth he, Villulanno, is all well? How goes the World in Samnium? What hath moved you to abandon and leave your own charge and province, and to depart? Villulanno made answer, that in Samnium all things went well and chieved prosperously, and that himself now was come, as sent for by his letters: which if they were counteracted, and that there were no need of him in Etruria, he would presently turn his engines and be gone. Mary, quoth he, and good leave have you, you may be gone when you will and no man holdeth you: and believe it is, that you who peradventure are not able to wijch and manage your own affairs of war, should glory thus, and make your boast that you are come hither to help others. Hereat Villulanno should reply again and say, It is well, and God send us good luck; I had rather lose my labour, than ought should have happened, whereby one Colleague army were not sufficient to deal with Etruria. Now as the Commons were parting amongst us from the other, the Lictorions and Colonel of Appius his army came and stood round about them both: some requested their own General, that the aid of his Colleague which ought to have been accepted by them if it had been required now that it was so offered so willingly, and of his own accord, should not be refused and rejected. But the more part encouraged Villulanno, as he was ready to go his way, and carnally befought him not for any crowded contention, and debate with his companion, to betray the common weak. For if any overthrow or misadventure should happen the blame would be imputed rather to the for-
A ""taker than the forfaken: and now things were come to this pass, that the honor or dishonor of the war in Hettarea, prove it well or ill, should fall upon L. Voltemanius: for that name would ""enquire of the words and language that Appius gave him, but of the fortune and success of the army: and albeit Appius had given him his farewell and pasport, the west publick and the army held ""him still by the sleeve, and for proof herof, let him but make trial of the foot-soldiers hearts and ""affections. Thus with remonstrances, persuasions, and hearty prayers to the one Consul and the other, they drew them both, in manner against their wills, to part in publish audience before the whole army, where they grew to longer speeches and discourses, but to the same purpose and effect, as before in the hearing and presence of a few. Now when Voltemanius (as having the better B came, seemed to reply, and that with good grace and words enough, against that regular eloquence of his Colleague: and that Appius in triumphing and countenising manner, gave out and said, That they were beholden to him, and might commend him, that of a dumb and conquested Consul they had one, that was so ready and eloquent: and who in his former Consulship, and specially in the first months, could not open his mouth, and speak a word, was now of a sudden become an Orato- rian, and able to make plausible and proper Orations: then replied Voltemanius and said, ""Would ""God, with all my heart, you rather had learned of me to think valiantly, then for you to speak ""finely: and in conclusion he said, he would render him an order, which should determine and put ""out of all doubt, whether of them twain, were, not the better Lawyer and Orator (for at this ""present the Common-wealth stood not in need of such) but the better warrior and Captain General. C ""ral. Whereas therefore, there are but, Provinces, Hettarea and Samnium, it shall be in your choice ""(qd. he) to take one of them, whether you will, and I myself will with my own army make war ""in the other. Then began the foot-soldiers to cry aloud unto them, that they would jointly enter ""both upon the Tuscian war, which con""ent and accord of theirs, when Voltemanius had perceived, ""For almonch (qd. he) as I have once mistaken and misinterpreted the will of my Colleague, I will ""not in any case stand in doubt and be ignorant of your minds too: Let me know therefore by a ""shout of yours, whether you would have me stay or depart? Whereat they set up such a noise, that it gave an alarm to the enemies, and ran them out of their camp; and presently they caught ""their weapons up, and came forth into the field. Voltemanius likewise caused the trumpets to sound, and the standards and ensigns to be brought abroad. Then Appius (as it is reported) being plainly D ""layed, that whether he fought or fell, the victory would be attributed to his Colleague, and fell in a manmecting and tumultuous for a while: but afterwards hearing, let that his own legions also would follow Voltemanius gave likewise unto his men the signal of battle, which they to instantly called for, But neither they, nor the enemies were well arranged and in good order: for both the leader of the Samnites (Gellius Egnatius) was gone a foraging abroad, with some few cohorts and bands with him; whereupon the foot-soldiers rather of their own heads, than by conduct and direction of Cap- tains, began to charge: and all the Roman armies were not been head forth together nor yet had time enough to be marshalled accordingly: for Voltemanius not gave the charge before that Appius could come to encounter the enemies: whereupon, the forefours were not equally matched together: and as if some fortune had exchanged the enemies, that they were wont to fight withal: E the Tuscans presented themselves to Voltemanius, and the Samnites who layed awhile (for that their General was absent) adhered unto Appius. It is reported that Appius in the very heat of the skirmish, was seen in the front of the formost enemys to lift up his hands to Heaven, and pray in this wise, O Lady Bellona, if thou give us victory, and the honor of this day then, be late, I now here unto thee at this hour, a fair Temple. When he had thus prayed, as it the goddess had put life into him, and animated his courage, both himself matched the valor of his Colleague, and his army answered the virtue of their Commander, For he performed the devout and part (indeed) of a brave General. The foot-soldiers likewise, for fear that the other army should begin the victory, endeavored and fenced all that ever they could: Whereby, they difarrayed, discomfited, and put to flight the enemies, who could not eaily abide any extraordinary force and violence, more than F they were wont to meet withall. And so with prizing hard upon them still that retreated, and chastening them bodies that were shattered in flight, they beat them into their camp. There, by the coming in of Gellius and the Sabellian bands, the battle for the time was f efficiently renewed. But when they also, within a while were discomfited, then was the camp affliated by the conquerors. Thus whilsts Voltemanius for his partenred with banner displayed unto the very gate and Appius ever and anon, reiterated the name of Bellona the victrefx and all, to set on fire and inflame the courage of the foot-soldiers: there was neither trench nor rampier that could hold them back, So the camp was won and sacked, and a huge pillage therein found, which was given all to the foot-soldiers. Seven thousand and three hundred enemies were slain, 2100 taken prisoners. During the time that both Consuls, and the whole populace of the Romans, were thus more G bent and employed in the war within Tuscany; there were new forces raised in Samnium, to wait the marches of the Roman Dominion: who taking their way through the Vetulins, into Compe- nius and the country of Faleria, drew huge prizes and booties away. And as Voltemanius by great journies returned into Samnium (for by this time Fabius and Decius were come to an end of their prorogued governments) - the bruit that was blown abroad of the Samnits army and their forraging of the territory of Capua, turned him out of his way, to the defence of his allies and conde- rars. So soon as he was entred into the country Calvium, both he himselfe saw the fresh marks and tokens of great damage and desolation: and also the Calenians advertised him, that the
the enemies carried with them already to execute a prey and booty, that they were scarce able for it to march in good order; and that their Captains began openly to speak and say, that the belt course they could take, was presently to retire Samnium, there to leave their prizes and booties, and so to return each to their rodes and make new expeditions; and not to commit an army, to laden and irriugrished, to the fortune and hazard of a battle. Which words, albeit they found much to a truth, yet he thought it meet to look better into the matter, and to build upon a finer ground, and therefore he lent certain light Horlemen, to intercept some foragers as they thronged and were scattered one from another in the fields. By whom he learned, after much quizzing with them, that the enemies encamped by the river Vulturis, and from there at the third watch, would set forward on their journey directly into Samnium. After he had signified intel-ligences and advertisements concerning these things, he dislodged and put himself upon his way and encamped so far from the enemies, as his approach by being too near could not be known, and yet he might be able to surprize them as they should shine in disorder out of their camp. So a good while before day, he marched towards the enemy: and sent such as were well seen in the Octian tongue, to listen and learn what they did, Who being intermingled with the enemies (which was an easy matter in that night garboil and confusion) they found that the enigns were set forward, not sufficiently accompanied with armed men for defence; and that the whole pillage with the guard and convoy thereof, was now going forth, and marched carelessly like a fort of vile and baile lozells, every man thinking of his own particulars and running on his own head, without consent of others, and with little or no direction and government. This was thought the meetest time to set upon them: and now it drew near. Day whereupon he commanded the trumpets to sound the charge, and set upon the march of the enemies. The Samnites, mumbled as they were, and pressed with their booty, and few of them here and there in armour, began some of them to double their pace and to march faster away, and drive before them their booty: some flood still, and will not whether they were better, to go on forward, or retire again into the camp. But whiles they thus trifled and stayed, they were environed and surprized by the Romans: and by this time they had gotten over their rampier: much killing there was, and confusion in the camp. The Samnites, as they marched, besides that they were troubled with the affanks of their enemies, were also disquieted with the sudden escape and revolt of their prisoners: who being some of them loose, looked allio those that were bound: whilst others of them, caught up their weas-pons which were fastened to the packs, and being confusedly intermingled in the march, made a greater and more fearful garboil and havoc, than the very barrel of the enemies. And more than that, they performed one memorable and notable act above the rest. Foras Statius Eg-natius the General, went about the ranks and files encouraging the soldiery to fight, they set upon him, scattered the Horlemen about, that accompanied him, environed him about, and took him as he sat on Horleback, and haled him to the Roman Conful. Upon which tumult and stir, the foremost enigns of the Samnites were called back, and the barrel which in manner was done, now began aright: yet could not they any long time restit and hold out. Slay there were about six thousand: two thousand and five hundred taken prisoners. Amongst whom, were 4 Colonels and 30 Ensigns: and (that, wherein the victors took contentment) of captives, 7000 M and 400 hundred were again recovered: with an exceeding great booty which they had got from their allies: whereunto, by proclamation were called, all that could lay any claim, or pretend a right, to seize upon their own goods, and to receive the same by a day appointed. And look what parcels could not be owned or challenged by the true owner, was given away to the foouldiers: who were compelled to make sale thereof, to the end, that they should not set their heart upon any thing burwar.

This lackage of the territory of Capua, had raised great trouble and stir in Rome. And at the very same time also, it chanced, that there came news out of Histria, how that upon the with-drawing of Vulturis his forces out of those parts, all that country was up afresh in arms: that Gellius Eg-natius the Samnian Captain, and the Umbrians likewise, were moved to revolt; and the Gauls also solicited with great sums of mony. At this bruit the Senat being afraid, commanded an abstinence or vacation of term, and that all forts of men should be immured: and not only the free born natural citizens, and the flower of the youth were set in fort and sworn, but certain companies also of the elder fort, yeas, and bands of Libertins newly enfranchised, were enrolled by the hundreds. Likewise they sat in Council about devising means for defence of the City: and P. Sempronius the Pretor, had the whole government of the State. But the Senat was partly caiid and discharged of this care, by the letters of L. Vulturis the Conul, which gave intelligence that the foragers of Campania were defeated, slain, and put to flight. Thereupon were decreed in favour of the Conul, for this exploit by him achieved, solemn proceedings, and the abinti-ence of term again was remitted, which had continued for eighteen days since: and the prosecu-tion aforesaid, was right joyfully performed. Then began they to devise about garrisons or de-fence of the country, thus waifed and overrun by the Samnites. And agreed it was, that two Coloni-ies should be sent about the Veltin and Falern coasts, one to the mouth of the river Lipis, which Colony was called Mixtura, the other in the Veillinforsset and lighters, adjoyning to the Falern country: where Synops, a Greek Town sometime flood, and afterwards was called by the Romans there inhabiting, Sinussa. The Tribuns of the Com. had in charge to ordain by an Act of the common people, that P. Sempronius the Pretor should choose certain Trium-
A virs, about the sending and translating of inhabitants into those Colonies. But much ado they had to find those that willingly yeelded to be enrolled Coloners, supposing indeed that they were sent thither, not to inhabit Land and ground for their beat behoof, but to lie in garnison, and to stand upon their guard in those frontiers, which were continually moysted by warlike enemies; From the care of these affairs, the Senat was withdrawn, by occasion of the Tufcan war, whereof the rumour daily encreased: and letters also came thick from Appius, who warned them not to neglect the rising of that countrey: which letters imported, that four nations had united their forces, and banded themselves together; to win, Tuscanis, Samnium, Boetians, and the Gauls: that they were already encamped in two places; for that one was not to able to receive to great a multitude. Upon these occasions, as also for that the time drew neer of Election of Conuls; Lucius Volumnius the Conul was called home to Rome. Who before that he called the Centuries for to give their voices, having assembl'd the people to an audience, discoursed before them at large, concerning the greatnes of the Tufcan war. "How that afore time, when he himself and his brother Conuls warfed there together, it was of so great importance, that neither one leader, or yet one army was sufficient: and by reports, the Embrrians, and a mighty power of Gauls were afterward combined upon them. So that they should remember, that they were tochieve that day two Conuls, against four Nations. As for himself, but that he was certainly invaived and confirmed, that the people of Rome would with a general consent declare him Conul, who at that time, without all controversy was counted the principal Captain and best leader of all others, he would forthwith nominat a Dictator. No man doubted, but the Q Fabius was the man, who by the silent of all, was meant and destined to this charge: and him together with Volumnius, both the prorogative tribe, and all those that were called first, every one, nominated to be Conul, Fabius made a speech by way of excuses, in habitude, like as he had done before, two years together: but afterwards seeing he was overcome with the general agreement of the people, he framed it so in the end, that he required P. Decius to be his collegue: "Alleging, that he would be in stead of a good prop and stay to him in his old age: how he had found by experience in one Conulschip and two Conulshipps, born jointly together with him, that there was no jury and defence of the Common-weal, to the concord and agreement of those that are companions in government. And to any other new Conulee besides him, hardly could an old mans mind and frame. Alto that he would and could more easily impart his mind and purpoe to one, whose humor, condition, and behavior, he had been already acquainted with. The Conul, himself confirmed his Oration, and accorded them unto as well, in regard of the commendable parts and defects of P. Decius, as also of the good that proceeded and ensued upon the mangnifice of war-affairs, by the concord and unity of the Conuls; and of the hurt which hapned and followed upon their disagreement and dissention: "and therewith he shewed how near they were of late to utter perill and destruction, through quarrels between him and his brother Appius: admonishing Decius and Fabius both to live so, as with one mind and heart they should be for the same things. He added moreover and said, they were men of Action both, born for war and to be soldiers: for martial feats renowned already: but for to maintain contencions of words and quarrells of the tongue, altogether rude and unskilful, and such natures, (said he) were fittst to make Conuls. As for nimble heads and fine wits, deeply seen in points and quicke of law, fail of their eloquent terms, such as Ap. Claudius was: those were meet to be made Lord Presidents of the City and chief Judges in the common place, for to sit in judgment of causes, and see the execution of laws. Thus in handling of these matters was that day spent. The morrow after, according to the Conuls appointment, was the Election held, both of new Conuls, and also of Pretors. Q. Fabius and P. Decius were created Conuls, and App. Claudius Pretor, all absent. And Volumnius by Act of the Senate, and grant of the Commons, had his government prorogued, and continued in his charge one year longer.

The same year were many strange fights and prodigious monsters seen: for the turning away of the dangers foreignsigned and menacing thereby, the Senat decreed supplications and Letters for two daies together. Wine and incende for the sacrificies, was allowed at the publick charges of the City, and in procession went both men and women in great number, with much reverence, to visit the Holy shrines, and there to do their devotions. Those solemn supplications were more renowned and memorable, by reason of a contention that arose among the dames of the City, in the Chappel of Lady Pudicitia Patritia, which handeth in the beat-market, by the round Church of Hercules. The Noblemens wives would not admit into that Chappel Virginia the daughter of Aulus, who, notwithstanding she was nobly descended from the race of the Patritiis;gave espousals Volumnius the Conul, a Commoner, and was married (forsooth) out of the family and rank of the Purtiiis. Whereupon, there began some short and cutted threow G words to be dealt between: and so (as women commonly are soon angry and let on fire) there grew to heart-burning and hot contention. Whiles Virginia allledged and said, that the being a Gentlewoman and Patritia born, and a chaste and honest Dame, was enetered in the Chappel of Patritis Chaftitie over and besides, she had not been noted for Bigamy: but was the wife of one only husband, unto whom she was given and brought a pure maid: and as forther husband, and his dignities which he had born, his noble acts that he had achivied, she had no cause to complain, or be ashamed, nay rather, she gloried therein right greatly. After this, she accumulated these magnificent and glorious words, with a generous and brave deed. For in the
The tomb Book of T. Livius.

long street where the dwelt, the set by and cut off a part of her dwelling house, as much as would serve for an Oratory or ory Chappel, and there erected an Altar. And when she had assembled the wives of the Commoners together, and had complained of the injurious dealing of the Patriarchal dames: "This altar (quoth she) do I dedicate unto Fadieisa Plebeia: and all you here I exhort, that with what emulation, the men our husbands; in this City contend about fees of valour and arms, who may do best; so likewise the Matrons and wives strive and excel in continence and chastity; and that ye will labour and endeavour, that this altar may have the name to be frequented, and revered unto, with more reverence and devotion, yea, and if (it be possible) of more chat women, than that other of the Nobility. And so it fell out indeed, that from that time, this altar also had the same rites (in a manner) and ceremonies as the other, which was more ancient: in such sort, as to wife, but of approved honesty and chastity, and wedded but to one husband during her life, might be allowed there to sacrifice and offer oblations. But this religious order and institution, in lapse and process of time was prophaned afterwards and divulged, and the altar frequented by them that were stained and infamous, and not only by matrons of name and quality but also by women of all sorts and degrees, until at last through diisuse it grew to be utterly forgotten, and came to nothing.

The fame year the Ediles Curtule, Cn., and Q. Oenetus accused certain Ufurers, who were convicted, and their goods forfeit and confiscate. And of that which came into the common chest, they caused to be made a brazen portal in the Capitol, and silver vessels for to furnish out three tables in Jupiter's Chappel: also the image of Jupiter himself in the Lantern or frontispice of the Capitol, being in his chariot drawn with four steeds. Moreover, at the Fig-tree Raiminades, they erected and set up the images of the foundling babies, the first founders of the City, pendant at the ears of a thee-wolf. They paved also with square stone, the cauley and high way from the gate Capena, unto the Temple of Mars. The Ediles likewise Commoners, L. Aelius Patris, and C. Fulvius Curvus, of the forfeited mony which they levied of the grasers or farmers of the City paffures, who were condemned and fined, exhibited certain pages and players, and let up golden bolles in the Temple of Ceres.

After this, Q. Fabius the sitt time Consul, and P. Decius the fourth, entered their government, who now had been companions together in three Consulats, and in one Censorship, men renowned, not more for the honor of their noble exploits in war, which was right great, than for their loving agreement and concord. Which unity of theirs was not perpetual to the end; by occasion, I suppose, of the contention of the States that came between, rather than of any difference betwixt themselves. For the Patriarch labour, that Fabius should have the Province of Tuscan extraordinarily; and the Commons were as earnest with Decius to put the matter to a Lottery. Certain it is, that a great contention there was in the Senat. But afterwards, seeing that Fabius was able to do more and make a greater side than his Colleague, the matter was brought again before the people. In which assembly, few words passed between the parties themselves, being martial men both, flaunting more upon deeds than words. Fabius gave out and said: that it was an indignity, that another should gather fruit under the Tree that he had planted, also, that himself as the man, who had opened the way through the wood Ciminia, and had given entrance and passage for the Roman war, through defart and wild forests, What meant they then to trouble him, a man of those years, with this place of charge, in case, they minded to give the conduct of this to any other General but himself? No doubt, but by little and little he upbraided them covertly and cal in their teeth, for chusing unto him an adversary, and not a companion in government: ye, and charged Decius, that he repented and envied the good concord, wherein they had lived together, during the time of these Magistracies already. Finally, he aimed and reached at no farther matter than this, but if so be, they thought him worthy of the Province, thither to send him. For as he had been at the appointment and pleasure of the Senate, so would he be at the ordering and direction of the people. On the other side, P. Decius complained of the injury offered by the Senat: for that the Nobles had endeavoured to restore to their power, and done their best that no Commons might have access to honours and places and dignities: and after that prows and valour had got the upperhand, and prevailed so, as even in those kind of men vertue wanted not her due reward and honour; there were means sought, that not only the voices of the people were deluded and made vain: but also the very awards and arbitrements of fortune, were transferred to the wills and pleasures of some few. All Consuls before him had their provinces by lot: and now the Senat by their absolute authority, without casting lots, gave unto Fabius the charge of his province. If it be (faith he) to honour the man: verily, he hath so well delivered both of my self and of the Commonwealth, that I favour highly and render the glory of Q. Fabius: provided always, that it get not a thinning litle, by a foil of my disgrace and disfavour. And who will ever doubt, where Q there is one difficult and dangerous war, and the same precisely and absolutely charged upon one Consul, without ordinary and lawful calling: but that the other Consul had met a Cipher, and is reputed either needless, or good for nothing? As for Fabius, like as he gloried in his service and noble Acts achieved in Tuscan, even so would Pulibus Decius also full lain do the semblable: and peradventure, he should be able to put out and quench that fire once for all, which Fabius left behind him, so covered and raked up, as that oftentimes it suddenly brake out again, and yielded forth new flames and bazes. In conclusion, he could be content to yield.
The Tenth Book of T. Livius.

A yeild the titles of honour and all rewards of vertue unto his Colleague, in the reverenc\_ regard of his old age, and majesty of his person: but too many hazard or jeopardy that might be prem\_ fented unto them. he neither at this time gave place, nor ever would (with his good will) to him or any man else whatsoever: and the gr\_ no other good by this contencion, yet would he obtain this much at the lea\_f, that the people should hold their own, and dispose of that abso\_ lutely at their discretion, which was in their power: rather then permit the Nobles to gratifie any one therewith at their pleasure. And herewith he prayed sup, Opt. Max, and all the im\_ mortal gods, that even as they vouchsafed to bestow upon him and his Colleague equal valour and happiness in the conduct of their war, so they would afford them one and the same right of authority and rule. For, surely it was in nature meet and reason, for example good and profitable, and for the credit and fame of the people of Rome much material, that this should be Confuls, as by either of their guidance and conduct, without exceptions: the war with the Tuscan might be administrated as it ought to be. Fabius then, having begotit the people naught else, but that before the Tribes were called in to give their suffrages, they would hear the letters of App. Claudius Pretor read, which were brought out of Tuscany, departed out of the assembly. So the Province of Tuscany, without calling lots, was awarded unto Fabius, with no lea\_ consent of the people, then of the Senat. Hereupon, all the younger fort (in manner) ran to the Conful, and offered their service of themselves, and gave their names to be enrolled, so defers were they to serve under that Capital. Which multitude being thus flocked about him round: Four thousand footmen (quot\_ he) and fix hundred horse, and no more, as I minded to take up and levy. As many therefore, as to day and to morrow, will present themselves and give their names, will I accept of, and take with me: more care have I to bring you all home rich and wealthy, then to have numbers of soldiery to fight my battles. Thus he for\_th with a competent Army well appointed, and so much more confident, and in hope of good success, by how much less he stood upon the great number: and directed his journey to the Town Abancu, where Appius the Pretor encamped, and from whence the enemy was not far distant. A few miles on this side, the jewellers or wood-purcers, accompanied with a good guard of soldiery for their convey, met him: who seeing the Senatours going before, and understanding that it was Fabius the Conful, with joy and cheerful hearts, thanked God and the people of Rome, for sending unto them such a General. After this, when they came all about the Conful to salute and welcome him, Fabius demanded whither they went? who answered, to purvey wood and jewel, Say ye so? (quot\_ he) and have ye not your camp encaped and for\_ tined? Yes, cried they all, and that with a double rampart and ditch, but yet are we in exceeding fear. Then (quot\_ he) ye have wood and timber enough, Go ye back again, and down with the trench and palliade. Who returned into the camp, and as they were plucking up the rampart, they gave the alarm both to the soldiery that tarried behind in the camp, and to Appius himself, and made them afraid. Then every man laid to one or other as they came, that it was by the ex\_ press commandment of Q. Fabius the Conful that they did so. The morrow after they removed the camp: and Appius the Pretor was dismissed and sent away to Rome. After which time, the Romans abode no where in standing camp: for he said, it was not good and commodious for an army to make abode in any one place: but that it was better and more wholesome both for the a\_ gility and health of their bodies, to have a running camp, to be ever marching, and changing the air and the soil. But their journeys were no other, then the winter would permit, which was not yet past.

In the beginning of the Spring, Fabius having left the second legion at Clusium, which in old time was called Camara, and appointed Scipio Pro-pretor to begovernor of the camp he returned himself to Rome for to consult about the war: were it of his own accord and motion, because it appeared evidently in view of eye much greater then it was reputed before: or that he was sent for by order from the Senat: for there be writers that affirm both the one and the other. Some would have it thought, that he was called back again by Appius Claudius Pretor, who both at the Council Table in the Senat Houfe, and also before the body of the people (like as he had continually done by letters) enforced the fear and terror of the Tuscan war, saying, that one General and one Army, were not sufficient to make head against four Nations: that it would be dangerous and doubtful, whether they jointly in one body gave battle unto one, or maintained war apart in divers quarters: that one man was not able to perform and manage all at once. As for himself, he had left behind him two Roman Legions and no more: and with Fabius there were come not full five thousand in all, of horse and foot together. His opinion therefore was, that with all speed P. Decius the Conful, should go to his Colleague into Tuscany, and L. Valen\_ timius have the charge of Samnium in the meantime. But in case the Conful had rather go into his own Province, then he advised, that Volumnius took his way directly with a full and com\_ plet Confular army into Tuscany, to the Conful. When this dispatch of the Pretor had moved a great part of the Hors, then P. Decius spake (by report) to this effect: That all should be left entire and free to the disposition of Q. Fabius, until such time as either himself in person (if it might stand with the will-publickly) were come to Rome: or lest one of his Lieu-repres by whom the Senat might be informed, and truly understand the poyle and importance of the war in Tus\_ cany: what forces were requisite, and how many Leaders and Captains were expedient and need\_ ful. Fabius, so soon as he was returned to Rome, both in the Senat-House, and also in the audience.
of the people, held a middle course in all his speech; that he might seem neither to encrease, nor yet to diminish the rumor of the war: and in assuming to himself another Captain, he pretended, that he condescended the more, in regard to other men's fear, more than for his own safety, or for any danger that the State was like to incur. Howbeit, if they would allow him a conductor and companion in war, how might he forget Peter Decius the Conful of them whom he had to good purpose and experience in many Magistrates which they had born and administrated together, of all men in the world he loved none better, and would make choice of no one sooner: and having Peter Decius with him, he would never think his forces too few about him, nor his enemies too many before him. But if peradventure the mind and heart of his Colleague Hord otherwise, his request was, that they should give him L. Volturnius to be his assistant. The determination of all was referred over to Fabius, both by the people and Senate, and also by the Conful himself. And when, as Decius showed and testified, that he was ready to take a journey either into Samnium or Tuscany, there followed such a joy and gratulation of all men, as if they had conceived in their spirit a victory afore-hand, and even now, had decreed for the Conuls, not a doubtful war, but a glorious triumph. I find in some writers, that Fabius and Decius, presently upon the entrance into their Magistracy, went into Tuscany, without any mention of calling lots for their charges and provinces, or of the contention between the two Colleges, which I have before. Thence some again, having laid abroad these debates, stayed not there, but over and besides have added a large tale of matter, touching the inventives of Appius before the people, against Fabius in his absence; as also the obstinate stubbornness of him being Pretor, against the Conuls, to his very face: moreover, another contention and variance between the two Conuls; whiles Decius endeavored to bring about, and was instant that each one should keep him to his own Province allotted unto him, and hold it. But all writers agree in the course of the history, from the time that both Conuls went out to war, and to forward.

But before that the Conuls arrived in Tuscany, certain Gauls called Senones, came with a great power before Clusium, ready to give assault unto the Roman Legion and the camp. But Scipio, who was left Governor thereof, thinking it necessary to help out the small number of his men, by advantage of the ground, led his army up to the hill between the town and the camp. But (as it falleth out in such sudden cases) he had not discovered beforehand the wayes and passages about; but inconsiderably went forward, and engaged himself up to the top and pitch of the hill, which the enemy was master of already, by another side. Thus was the legion afflied on the back and beat down, and thus was it enclosed and environed round, by a multitude of enemies, and put to the word. Some writers there be who report, that the whole legion perished there, so as not one escaped alive to carry tidings, Also, that the Conuls who now were not far from Clusium, had no news brought them of this overthrow, before the horsemen of the Gauls were in sight, who carrying the heads of them that were slain, some hanging before at their horsepoirets, others flit king aloft upon their lances, braved and triumphed singing and chanting songs of joy, after their manner. Some write, that they were the Umbri and not the Gauls, and that the defeat and miscarree was not so great: also, that when the foragers for the camp under the leading of L. Milculus Torgatus a Lieutenant, were compell'd against by the enemy; then Scipio the Pre-potent came forth of the camp to succour and rescue them and that the Umbrians who first had the better, afterwards when the battle was renewed, suffered the foil and were overcome, and that as well their prisoners as their booty was taken from them. But more probable it is, that this overthrow was given by the Gauls, then the Umbrians; for that as divers times afore, so that year especially the City was frighted with the tumults and risings of the Gauls. Upon this defeat, over and besides, that both the Conuls were gone to war with four legions and a great power of Cavalry of natural Romans, and a thousand horsemen of Capua, chosen out of purpose for that war, and lent unto them, with a greater power also of Allies, and of Latins then of Romans: there were two other armies not far from the City of Rome, opposed to frontier and made head against Tuscany: the one in the Faliscian territory, the other in the Vatican, Ce. Fulvia and L. Paullinius Mecuvius, both Pre-potents, were commanded to keep a standing camp in those parts. But the Conuls by this time, having passed over the mountain Apennines, were come to the enemies within the country of the Sentinats, And there about four miles off, they let them down and encamped. Then the enemies, after much contention, resolved in the end upon this point; not to be intermengled all in one camp, nor come into the field and hazzard all their forces at once in one battle. But that the Gauls should take the Samnites unto them, and the Umbrians join with the Tufcans. The day of the battle was appointed. The Gauls and Samnites had the charge to maintain the fight: and in the time of battle the Tufcans and Umbrians were commanded to assist the camp of the Romans. But the their designs and purpoises were altered by reason of three Chuni fugitive traitors, who by night flee away privily into the Conul Fulvia, and disclosed the intents and enterprize of the enemies: who were sent away with rich rewards, to the end that every hour, upon new plots and devices that should be determined by the enemies, they would give them an inkling and certain intelligence. The Conuls write unto Fulvia and Paullinius, that the one should advance and come forward with his army, out of the Faliscian country: and the other out of the Vatican directly unto Clusium: and that with all their forces, they should overrun and destroy the enemies country. The rumor of these roads & invasions, caused the Tufcans to remove out of the
Seminar territory, to the defence of their own frontiers. Hereupon the Consuls made speed to strike a battle in their absence. And for two days space they skirmished continually with the enemy, and challenged him to the field but for those two days, no worthy deed of importan en was achieved. A few on both sides were slain, and thereby were their contiguities rather provoked, and their biomacks whet to a full feat battle then any trial or hazard made of the main chance. Upon the third day into plain field they come with all their power. When both armies stood ranged in battale array, there returned a Hind to be cheated out of the mountains, and to run away before a Wolf, even through the midst of the plains between both armies: then, parted both their wild beasts against, the Hind took her way to the Gauls, and the Wolf his course to the Romans, The Wolf had way given him through all the ranks and files but the Hind was killed among the Gauls.

Then a Roman found one on the foremost, who was to fight before the enemies: There will be the fight (quothehe) will the slaughter be, wherefore the beast faced and dedicated to Diana die d, but here on this part, the martial Wolf, confronted to Mars, having with victory gone clear away alive and unwounded hast put us in mind of our martial Nation and of our first founder, the to of Mars. The Gauls put themselves in the right wing, the Samnites in the left, Against the Samnites, Fabius marshaled the first and third legions, in the right point: and Decius, the fifth and sixth in the left, against the Gauls. For the second and fourth seated in Samnium under I. Volumnius Proconsul. At the first shock and encounter, the battle was to indifferently fought, and to equal force, that if the Tuscanians and Umbrians had either shewed themselves in the field, or affrighted the camp, the loss and overthrow must needs have light in either places whereas they had bent their forces. Howebeit, although hitherto the conflict of battle went equal and indifferent, and that yet fortune had not determined, which way the would enline and give the victory yet they fought not alike, in the right and left wings. For the Romans under the conduct of Fabius, rather warded the enemy warily, and stood upon their guard, then offered to charge lutilly: so as they maintained fight, and drew it at length until it was very late in the evening, because the Captain was enformed and periwaded of the Samnites and Gauls both, that being as they were in the first skirmish very hot and furious, it was sufficient to keep off at length and at offices end. As for the Samnites, their courage would have bet and fail by any long conflict and the bodies of the Gauls, (who of all others can least away with travel, & heat especially) would turn all to freeze, & mix it away, who at the beginning fight more fiercely then men, but in the end more fainly then women. Against that time, therefore, when the enemy used to fall & give over, Fabius had kept his soldiers in breath & reserved their strength fresh & lusty. But Decius being very eager & hot by reason of his youth and courage of heart, lain on lutilly at the first, and spent upon the enemies all the force & vigor he had: and for that the infantry seemed to fight but coldly, he let the Cavalry work: and himself personally in the thickest throng & troop of most valiant and hardy Knights, exhorted and begot; the foremost gallants of those lusty youths, to join with him & to charge upon the enemy saying that they should carry away a double honor if by the means of the men of the armies, the victory began at the left wing. Twice they forced the Gauls horsemen to turn aside and back, but when as they were engaged together within, and now fighting hard fell pellic all among the quadrupeds of the horsemen, they beheld a new and strange kind of fight, which troubled and terrified them. For the enemies standing all armed upon chariots & wagons, with a great noise of their tents, and rumbling of the wheels, could fell upon them & mightily frighted the horses of the Romans, which had not been acquainted with such unheard & strange noises. So the horsemen who had the upper hand before, & were at point, were now with a foul fear discomfited and scattered, as if the hideous furies of hell, & the devil himself had been amongst them, Whereupon they fled suddenly & not looking before them were overthrown both men & horse. By this occasion the enigns of footmen were disordered & disordered, and many of those that were ranged in the front before the enigns, were by force of horse & wagons driven through the tailtions, trodden under foot, and their guns smashed out. Hereafter the batalions of the Gauls footmen, seeing their enemies thus scared, followed them on space, & gave them no time of breathing. Decius cried out aloud to his men, Whither flee ye? Or what hope have ye to save yourselves by flight? Decius opposed himself against them that retreated and fled; Decius talked thole that were disband and it attered but seeing that by no force or means he could slay them, thus amazed & astonin as they were, he called upon his father P. Decius by name, and said: Why do I stay any longer the fatal death that is defined to my house & name? It is given to our race & family to be faclified in lieu of propitiatory sacrifices for to afoil & save the publick weal from dangers menaced & threatened unto it. Even now therefore, will I offer the legions of the enemies to be faclified & with my fell to Dame Tellus and other infernal gods. When he had spoken these words, he commanded M. Livius the high Priest (whom as he marched into the field, he straightly had charged not to depart from him) to pronounce and say that form of words, whereby he should devote, offer, and take himself to death, together with the legions of the enemies, for to save the army of the Quirites and people of Rome, Which when he had done by the same form of prayer and in the same habit wherein his father P. Decius at the river Tiberius, in the war against the Latins caused himself to be offered to death & besides their solemn prayers, added moreover these words: That he drave before him Fright, Flight, Murder, Murther, Bloodshed, Ire and Wrath of gods in Heaven & fiends in Hell: and that he would with deadly malpractices and execrable curses invite the enigns, weapons, and armors of his enemies; and that one and the same place, should give both
both himself, and also the Gauls and Samnites together with him, plague, perdition, and death. But after these cursed, horrible, and detestable speeches against his own people and his enemies: look where he saw the thickest ranks of the Gauls, thither he spurred his horse, and rode in amongst them: where amidst the pikes, javelins, and swords, he was presently slain. Then could it hardly be seen, that the battle was any longer fought by power and help of man. But the Romans so soon as they had lost their captain, (which at all other times is wont to strike a terror into them) stayed their flight, and were willing and contented to renew the battle afresh. The Gauls, and especially that troop which flouid about the Cof, his body, liaded as though they had been out of their wits, flung their darts from them (I know not how) to no purpose, and in vain: some of them fiiood fiill, as it were benumbed, forgetting both to run away, and to fight still. But on the other side the high Priet Livius, with whom Decius had left the reins, and whom before his death he nominated and ordained to be Proprietor, cried out, as loud as he could, that the Romans had the victory, and by the death of the Cof, were acuit and excused from all other fatal danger: but as for the Gauls and the Samnites, they were defined and forfeited (as it were) to mother Telus and the infernal spirits. And now Decius (quoth he) hailed after him and calleth to follow him, the army that with him was devowed, cursed, and offered: now all the enemies are full of turies and fearful fright. Then, as these aforesaid began the skirmish again, behold there came unto them, Cornelius Scipio, and C. Martius with a troop of succours from the next race; who by commandment of Q. Fabius the Consul, were sent to aid and refuce his College. Where they heard the worthy end of P. Decius, a noble example to encourage them to adventure all kinds of hazards in the service of their country and Common-weal. Therefore, when as the Gauls flouid close and thick together, opposing their targets before them, ranged and joined one another feather with feather, fo, as to deal with them afront, and to cope together at hand froaks, was thought a difficult and dangerous matter: then, by the commandment of those two Lieutenants, the darts and lances which lay fired upon the ground, between the two armies, were gathered up, and flung against the pavis and tortoise-like of the enemies targets aforesaid. And by reason that these javelins and spears light and fluck fast, some in their targets, and some in their very bodies, it hapned that their knot was broken, and the baillimon (as huge and cloie as it was) disband'd, in such form, as many of them, notwithstanding their bodies were unmouched and maimed, fell down altoned one upon another. Lo how fortune alter'd the case, and changed all in the left wing of the Romans. But in the right, Fabius (as is beforefaid) at the first, lingered and drew on the day: but afterwards, when he perceived, that neither the enemies fhouts, nor their manner of giving charge, nor yet the darts and javelins which they lanzed, had the fame vigor and force, as before the commanded the Captains of the horsemen to wheel about, with their Cornets, and to flank the Samnites, that upon a signal given, they might charge them overthrow with all the violence they could, whiles his own Legionary footmen by little and little advanced forward, and brake the ranks and disordered the enemy. When he saw once, no resistance made, and that without all doubt, they were wearied and out of breath: then he gathered together all his subsidy companies of the reeguard, which he had reserved until that time and busines, fireth and in heart: and at once, both led forward the Legions, and gave the horsemen also a signal to let upon the enemies, But the Samnites could not endure this violent charge, but ran as fast as ever they could to recover the camp falt by the baillimon of the Gauls, leaving their fellows behind them in fight to pay the reckoning. The Gauls having likewise made a target-like, flood thick and cloie together under it. Then Fabius advartised of the death of his brother Conulf, commanded a wing or Cornet, to the number almost of 500, horsemen of Capua, to withdraw themselves out of the conflict, to caft about and to play upon the backs of the Gauls: after whom, he caufed the Princeps of the third Legion to follow: and whereever they elipted the ranks of the enemies by force of horsemen disorder'd and broken there, to second them, and press on, and kill them while they were in disarray, and afraid. Himself vowed a temple to Jupiter Victor, together with the spoils of his enemies. Which done, he advanced straight forward to the camp of the Samnitis. Thither all the multitude of them were driven in great fright and disarray, and for that the gates were not able to receive so great a multitude, crowding together, that they were kept out, and could not get in, by reason of the throng of their fellows, began again to fight under the rampart. Where Collins Egnatius, the General of the Samnits was stucken down and slain: after this, the Samnites within their rampart, were killed every one, and their camp after small resistance won. The Gauls behind their back were environed and cut in pieces. That day were slain of enemies five and twenty thousand, and 8000 taken prisoners. Howbeit, this victory cost the Romans blood: for of P. Decius his army, there died 7000, and of Fabius, 1200. Fabius then having lent out to seek out the body of his Collegue, gathered up all the spoils of the enemies into an heap, and burned them, to the honor of Jupiter Victor. But that day could not the Consul his body be seen, by reason it was covered and hidden under heaps of the Gauls that lay there dead. The morrow after it was found and brought again with many a tear of all his followers. Then Fabius letting all other matters for the time aside, solemnized the burial and funeral obsequies of his fellow Consul, with due commendation and condigne prases, and with all honor that could be devis'd.

In Tuscany also about the same time, Q. Fabius Propror, had fortune sufficient to his hearts desire: besides great damage done to the enemy, by invasions & rodes into the country, he fought also
A notable battle: wherein of Perusins and Cinfrns were slain above 5000, and twenty en
signs won. The Samnits, as they fled through the territory of the Pelignians, were by them inter-
cepted and encloset and of five thousand, they were left but one thousand. Great is the fame
of that day, and of the battle that was fought in the Sinisinate territory, if a man hold him only
to the truth, and make no more of it than it was. But some have overreached a little, and written,
that the enemies were 40000 foot and 4000 horse strong: also, that they had a thousand char-
iots or waggons, reckoning and comprising the Umbrians and Tuscans withall: who also (as they
say) were at the battle. And to encrease also the power and forces of the Romans, they report,
that L. Valerius Propertor, was a Commander, together with the Consuls, and that his army
was joined with the Legions of the Consuls; but I find in most Chronicles that this victory was
achieved by the two Consuls only. Valeriusinus in the meantime warred in Samnium; and having
forced and driven the army of the Samnits, to take the hill Tiferinus, nothing afraid for the disad-
vantage of the place, did confine them, and put them to flight. Q. Fabius, having left the army
of Decius behind him in Tuscany, reduced his own legions into the City, and triumphed over the
Gauls, Tuscans, and Samnits. His footdiers followed him in his triumph, who, in their rude
military times and longs, celebrated no less the brave and noble death of P. Decius, than the
worthy victory of Quintus Fabius. And they revived the memorial of his father late deceased,
comparing him in equal degree, for the issue and event, as well publick as private, with the prai-
ses of his son. Of the booty and pillage gained from the enemies, the footdiers had given unto
them: As Ailes appeare, with a liberty cloak, and cost a good reward for a footdiers service in those
days.

For all these notable victories achieved, yet neither the Samnits nor the Tuscans were at en-
cer. For both the Perusins began to rebel, so soon as the Consul had away his army: and also the
Samnits came down to forrage and spoil into the territory of Perusinum and Forminum, and another
way into Ferentinum, which lie along the river Valderus. Against them was Appius Claudius the
Preator, sent with Decius his army, and Fabius in Tuscany, which began new war, and drew four thou-
sand and five hundred Perusins, took prisoners 1749, who were confined for: 3 s. 6 d. Ailes a piece.
The rest of the pillage was all belotted upon the footdiers. The Legions of the Samnits being puri-
fied hard at heels, partly by Appius Claudius Preator, and partly by L. Valerius Proconcinus, met
all together in the territory of Stills. Where both the Samnits legions abode, and also Appi-
us and Valerius joined and encamped together. There was a sharp and cruel battle fought on
both sides. The Romans were incensed with anger and choler against those that had so often re-
belled: the other, upon a desperate mind were resolute to hazard the utmost. So there were
slain of the Samnits, 16500; 2700, taken prisoners, and of the Romans there died two thousand
seven hundred.

This year to fortunate in war, was by reason of pelissence much afflicted; and for certain pro-
digions tokens, full of care and perplexed. For it was reported, that in divers places it rained earth
and that in the army of Appius Claudius, there were many smitten & blessed with lightning. In
regard hereto, the books of Sibyls were perused and fought into. The same year Q. Fabius Garber,
the Consul his son, fined and punished by the peace, certain wives who had been convicted and
condemned before the people, of Adultery: of which money he raiful by their fines, he caused
to be built the Temple of Venus, which handeth near the Circius or Race.

There remain yet behind certain wars of the Samnits, whereof we have now continued our bi-
ography in these four books, for the space of six and forty years, ever since that M. Valerius, and A.
Cornelius were Consuls, who were the first that warred in Samnium. To let past therefore, and
not to trouble the reader, with a prolix narration of the alternative overthrows given and recei-
ved between both nations so many years one after another, for all which calamities and los
ses their hearts and courage could not be daunted or conquered: the very last year, the Samnits, in
the Sinentian country, in the Pelignian territory, at Tiferinus, and in the territory of Stills, were de-
fested both by themselves, with their own legions, and also mingled with others; and that, by
four armies, and four Roman Captains: loft the bravest and most noble General of all their nati-
on; saw their conquerors and allies in war. the Tuscans. Umbrians, and Gauls, in the fame
principle as themselves, not able to stand and maintain their estate any longer, either by their
own power, or with help of foreign forces; yet for all this, would they not abate from war, to
little weary were they of defending their liberty although it was unfortunately: choosing rather,
to be vanquished, than not to attempt the winning of victory. Who is he, that would not think
it irksome, and tedious, either to write or read this long suits and train of wars, which they in figh-
ting were never wearied?

After Q. Fabius and P. Decius, succeeded Conuls L. Poetlminius Merullus and M. Atti
cius Regu. To them both, was committed charge of Samnium, for that the bruit went, that the en-
nemies had prepared three full armies, the one to go again into Tuscany, the second to invade
and over-run the territory of Capua, and the third to defend their own frontiers. Pothirius
by reason of tickts remained at Rome, but Attius were plenty with an army forth to the
end that he might pursuie the enemies on a sudden in Samnium, before they had taken the
field sot to the Senate had given direction: and he found the enemy in the way to meet him, as
if it had been fo of purpose before by them determined, ready there to keep him from entrance
and so far off were they from wailing the lands of the Samnits, that they could not on enter into

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their
their confines: nay, the Samnits debauched them from departure thence, into the peaceable parts and territories of their allies. Now when as they were encamped afofrone against another: that, which the Romans being to often conquerors, would hardly have adventured, (see how utter delight driveth men to rash projects and extremities) the Samnits attempted: even to give assault upon the Romans camp. And albeit this to venturous enterprise sped not well in the final effect, yet was it not altogether in vain attempted. There chance to be a Peggy mit, which continued a good part of the day, so thick and palatable, as men could not see before them, I fly not, so far as without the trench, but not so much as thole that came close to speak one to another. The Samnits hereupon taking the advantage fit for an ambushment, before it was feft day light, and the same much overcast and dim with the mist, came as far as the Corps de guard of the Romans, who in the gates and entrance of the camp warned but negligently: being thus taken on a sudden, they had neither courage nor strength enough to resist. At the back-side of the camp, they assaulted the great gate Decumana, seized the Quellors pavilion, and that quarter about it: where the Quellor himself (L. Opimius Pansa) was slain, and thereupon the alarm was given, The Coh, being with this tumult raised, commanded two bands or cohorts of allies: to wit the one of Lucianians, and the other of Suefians, which haply were next hand; to defend and guard the Pretors pavilion, and that quarter, In the mean while he marched with the legionary bands along the high broad street in the camp, called Principalis, and before they had buckled and fitted their armor about them, they were ranged in battle array; and had knowledge of the enemy, by the ear and eye. rather than by the sight of the eye: neither could they give an estimate what K number they were. At the first, as doubtful of the event, and mistrustful, their fortune, they retreated, and received their enemies in, and let them come even into the midst of the camp: but then the Conful cried out, and asked, Whether they meant to be turned out of their own ramparts and holds fast, and alter have a new piece of work to affair and win them again? So they left a shout, and put all their might together, and still made resistance only and kept their ground: but afterwards they let forward, and prefled upon them: and having once beat them back, they drive them along them: with the same fear, that they themselves began, yet, and chafed them out of the gate and the trench: but to proceed further, for to pursue the chafe, they durst not, for fear of some ambushment, by reason of the misty and troubled weather, containing themselves with the saving of their ramp and no more: and so they retired within their ramparts having slain to the number we near of, three hundred enemies. Of Romans, as well their that were in the first Corps de guard and Sentinels, who kept the watch, as of those that were surprised about the Quellors lodging, were killed 230. This bold adventure of the Samnites speeding so well, made them take better heart; so as they would not permit the Romans to encamp further into the Country, no, nor so much, as to go a foraging into their territory: whereupon they were compelled to retire again, and to purvey forage in the quiet and peaceable quarters of their friends about Sora.

The bruit of all these occurrences more troublesome and fearful then truth was, being come to Rome, sanctified L. Pefhoniuns the Conful, before he was well recovered of his sickness, to take the field: but ere he departed the City, he proclaimed the Rendezvous at Sora, for his soldiers there to meet. Himilici: now dedicated unto the goddess Victoria, the Temple, which in the time of his Conule Edichilp he took order to be built, with the money raised of certain fines taken of persons condemned. Then took he his journey to the army, and so went forward from Sora directly into Samnium, to the camp of his brother Conful, But the Samnits distilling themselves, as not able to withstand two armies, were dillufed, and departed back: and the Conuls also parted one from another, holyday ways, to wallace the country, and assault the towns. Pefhoniuns acting first coming, alloyed by meer force to saif the town Milhonias, and leaping he could do small good that way, at length by rolling trenches and platforms, he approached close to the walls, and wanit: and abstr the town was thus forced, yet there continued a sharp and long fight in all streets and parts there: of the four hundred of the day until the eighth, with N doubtful and variable events for a good while; but in the end the Romans became masters of the town. Of Samnits were slain 3200 and 4100, were taken prisoners: besides the gaining of other boory and plage, From thence, he led forth the legions to Perennium, but the inhabitants with their bag and baggage, and all that they could drive or carry, had quit the town in the full night, fatten and departed in great silence at a contrary poltern gate, which opened from the camp of the enemy. The Conful so soon as he was come, at the first approached the walls, as well appointed and provided of all things, as if he should have found as much to do, as at Milhonias: but afterwards, perceiving all silent and defolate throughout the City, facing neither men nor ammunition within the towers and upon the walls; he held back his soldiery. deatious and greedy to enter upon the bare walls, so abandoned and distinguished of defence: and doubting to off he didlongere he were aware, into the trains of some hidden and priFFy ambusc, he command ed two Co's of the Cavalry of Latine confederates, to ride about the walls about the countercarr, and well to view and consider all places. The horns men finding one or two gates near together standing wide open, and in the very same ways that led from thence, the fresh tracks and footing of the enemies as they fled by night; rode foltly nearer and nearer to the gates: and there they might see straight above them the entrance, and the City lying open even from one end to the other: whereupon they brought word back to the Conful, that the City was abandoned, and the enemies
A enemies gone: which was very evident and apparent, as well by the very foltitude thereof, as the new and fresh marks and traces of their dislodging and departure: as also by the stuff and goods that lay here and there. I steered all abroad, whilst they halted fearfully in the dark, to take their flight, The Conful upon this report, with his host drew to that side of the town, which the horsemen were at: and pitching down his enigns not far from the gate, commanded five other horsemen to enter into the City; giving order, that when they had gone forward a pretty way, three of them should stay behind in the same place if they saw all safe and out of danger; and the other two, bring him what they had seen and found. Who being returned, made relation that they were gone so far as they might see about them every way into all parts, & could perceive nothing but silence and vast desolation all about, both far and near: then forthwith, the Conful entered the City, with certain cohorts lightly appointed, and charged the rest in the mean while to fortify the camp. The soldiers being once enticed, fell to break open the doors where they found a few silly old folk, and some feeble and diseased persons, with such movables as were hard to be conveyed and transported: those they killed, and ranfaked: and by certain captives they understood, that divers other towns thereabout, were all with one accord fled and gone: and as for their own countrymen, they departed at the first watch of the night, and they thought no other verily but that in the rest of the Cities, they shou'd find the like emptines and solitude. And as the prisoners said, so proved indeed: and the Conful postified himself of those forlorn and abandoned towns.

C The other Conful M. Attillns, had to sene war for his part: who as he was marching with his Legions toward Ltercia, which he heard was besieged by the Samnites: the enemy encountered and met him in the very entry of the frontiers, and gave him battle: and the anger and indignation upon both parts, but the end and fill he more heavy and dolorous on the Romans side: both because they were not used to be vanquished: and also for that in the very looke and retreat, rather then in combat and skirmish, they found that many more were hurt and slain of their part. Which feartful flight and terror, as it began in the camp, if it had surprized them in the conflict, it would have been an heavy day with them: & no doubt they had received a notable overthrow. And even then being as it was, they had a careful night, and full of anguish; thinking truly that the Samnites would presently assault their camp, or at least wise in that in the morning betimes they would have necessity flight with the conquerors. But the enemies, as their loss was left, to their heart and courage was never the more: For so soon as the day brake, deforins were too they be gone without any bate, Howbeit there was but one way, & that lay close and near to their enemies: which they were not so soon enticed into: but they made them a far off, as if they marched straight to the assault of the camp, The Conful commanded his men to arm, and to follow after him without the ramparts. To his Lieutenants, Colonels and Captains of the Allies, he gave several charges to do as he thought needful and requisite. They all promised to execute any direction whatsoever: but they said within, that their soldiers hearts were done, that they had watched and fit up all night, amongst the griefvous and uncomfortable groans of them that lay a dying: and no doubt if the enemy had come before day against the camp, so daunted were they, that they would have abandonne their colours: and even now for very shame and nothing else, they forbore indeed to run away, but otherwise their hearts were gone, and they clean spent. The Conful hearing this, thought good to go about him elin person, into every one of his soldiers, and to speak unto them: and even as he met with any of them, and saw them in backward, and going about to coldly to take arms and weapon in hand: he checked and rebuked them: crying aloud, and asking why they sat still? why they loitered and made such delay? saying, that the enemies would come to them within the very camp, and cut their throats, unless they made more haste to sally forth:yes, and forced they should be to fight before their tent doors if they would not give battle with the trench and ramparts. They that are armed (faith he) and will fight manfully, shall obtain undoubted victory: but the unarmed and naked man that attendeth the enemies coming, Maist rather die for it, or endure captivity. As he rated and rebuked them in these terms, they answered flatly against that they had enough of yesterdays work, and were utterly done and had neither strength nor blood left them in their bodies: and now the enemies (say they) seemed more in number then they were the day before. Amid these speeches the army approached and being now but a little way off they might take a full view of them more certainly, and see everything. Whereupon they said confidently, that they saw the Samnits to bring with them their stakes and pales to call a palisado, no doubt, round about their whole camp. At this the Conful cried out upon them for very shame to suffer a reproach and disgrace of a most bitterly enemy. And that we be (nomine be) belter and emmated within our own camp, there to die for hunger and famine with shame, rather then by edge of sword (if there be no other remedy) with honor, like men? The gods speed as well (nomine be) and their will be done: and do every man as he thinks best. So M. Attillns the Conful, being rebuked even himself alone (no man else will follow) to meet the enemy in the face, and rather be beaten down and dier amongst the Samnites enigns, than face the Roman camp beleighted with stern fight, and rampart raised about it. The Lieutenants, Colonels, and all the bands and Coronets of the Cavalry, ye, and the principal Centurions of the forrorn companies liked well of this, and accepted the Conful hit words. Then the soldiers for their part, flainly take weapon in hand and as joyfully, God wot, goth forth of camp. And thus in long ranks and files: nor close united together but broken here and there, with hea-
The Tenth Book of T. Livius.

...very cheer, and as men half vanquished already, they marched after a fort toward the enemy, who was neither in hope nor in heart better resolved and fared then they. For to soon as the Samnites discovered the Roman Standards, suddenly from the vanguard to the rearguard, there went a muttering and bust from one to another, that the Romans were come forth (the only thing they always feared) to embrace and drop their passage, so as now there was no way for them to fly and escape from them, and save themselves, but must either die in the place, or play their enemies and make a land even over their bodies. All their packs and fardeis, they call together upon an heap in the midst: and being armed as they were, every man ranged and marshalled themselves in their own array. Now was there a very little space between the two armies, and they stood looking one upon another, waiting when their enemies would begin to give the first charge and set up the first shout. But neither of both had any reason to fight. And furely on both sides they had gone sundry ways untouched, and without any blows given or taken but that they feared both, lest if they had skirmished of one part first, the other would have come upon them. Thus of themselves they began a faint fight, as unwilling and lost thereto, with an uncertain and unequal show; neither stirred any man one foot. Then the Roman Consil, to begin the skirmish, sent out some few Cornets of horsemen from a side, without the battalions whereof the most part fled from their horses, and others were disarrayed and put out of order: whereupon both Samnites ran out to kill those that were fallen, and Romans also to refuse their fellows. Then the skirmish began a little to wax hot: but the Samnites advanced forward in greater number far, and belittled themselves (as it seemed) more lustily: and withal, the Roman horsemen being disordered and in confusion, with their horses affrighted trod under their feet the footmen that came to refuse. Who beginning once to fly, caused the whole Roman army also to turn their backs. And now the Samnites played upon the backs of the Romans, as they fled: whereat the Consil rode before a gallop to the camp gate, where he bestowed a good corps de guard of horsemen, opposite in the way: and made proclamation, that whoever came toward the camp, were he Samnites or he Romans, should be taken and used as an enemy. With these and such like threats, he put himsefl against the footmen, that marched so fast in heaps to the camp, Whither away they, (quoth he to every footman that he met) here where shall thou find men in a ms to fight within? here shall thou meet with thine enemy, as well as in the field before: no entering here into the camp without victory, so long as thy Consil liveth: chace therefore whether thou hadst rather fight with thy own countrmen or thine enemies. Whilesthe Consil entertained them with this welcome, the horsemen also with spear in reft, and bent bull against them, came about, charging the footmen upon their peril to turn again to battle. Thus not only the Consil his virtue and prowess served in good stead, but fortune also went on their side: for the Samnites followed not the chase so far, but that the Romans had both time and ground enough to turn about their enemies, and to direct their battalions from their camp against the enemy. Then one encouraged another to go to battle again. The Centurions matched the banners out of the bearers hands, and advanced them forward: declaring to their foeldiers, how few the enemies were in number, and how disorderly and out of all array they came against them. In this while the Consil lift up his hands to heaven, and with a clear and audible voice, vowed a Temple to Jupiter Status, it to be the Roman M army stayed their flight, and by running the consil should kill and vanquish the Samnites Legions. Hereupon endeavoured they on all hands, the Captain and foeldier, both horsemen and footmen, to re-enforce the battle. And even the very gods from heaven seemed to have a special regard of the Romans at that time, so quickly the dice turned, and the enemies were repulsed from the rampants: and within a small while forced again to the very place where the battle began. Where by reason of their fardeis and packs which they had heaped together in the midst, and now by in their very ways, they were stopped in their very passage, and for fear left their goods should be rifled and spoild, they call a ring round about their bag and baggage. Then the Roman Infantry afront, and the Cavalry behind, compassed them, and charged upon them right fiercely: where in the midst between, they were either slain or taken. The prisoners were N in number 7500, who were all put naked under the yoke, and told: the number of them that were slain was about 4500. The Romans for all this had no great lift to boast and brag of their victory, for the Consil taking view and account of his loss there two days, found by computation, that he missed 7500.

Whilesthesethings thus passed in Apollo the Samnites with another power, asayed to surprize and get again interrimis, a Colony of the Romans: surnamed upon the Latine high-way: but when they could not be matters of the town, they overtread and plundered the territory: and having got a good booty of men, women, and cattel, one with another: whiles they were driving the same before them, together with certain Coloners whom they had taken prisoners, they light upon Consil as he returned with victory from Luceria: where they not only lost their spoil, but were of themselves slain as they marched disorderly in long files. The Consil made proclamation, That every man should repair to Interrimis, for to own and challenge his own goods, and to receive the same again: and therefore leaving his army, went to Rome against the Election of new Magistrates. When he laboured instantly for a triumph, he was denied that honor; both for that he had loft so many thousands, and also because he had put his captives under the gallowes, and sold them, without further imposition.

The other Col. Posthumius, wanting subject matter of war to work upon among the Samnites, passed.
A passed with his army into Tuscany: and after he had first pillaged and spoilt the Volscians territory, he gave them battle not far from their walls, who stood forth to defend their frontier; where there were 2200, Tuscanians slain: the rest, by reason that the City was so near, eschewed and saved themselves. Then led he his army into the territory of Rofulum, where he not only laid the fields waste, but won the town also: took prisoners above two thousand and flew under two thousand before their walls. Howbeit, in that year, the peace obtained in Hannia, was more honorable and renowned then the war had been. For three of the strongest and most puffed States, even the very Capital Cities of Tuscany, to wit, Volsci, Perusia, and Areurium, desired accord, and having conditioned with the Conuls and promised, to find his foundries clothing and corn, so they might

B have leave to send Orators to Rome to treat for peace, obtained at length a truce of forty years. And for that present, each City was fined to pay * 50000 Ares. For these acts done, the Conful having requelled triumph of the Senat, for manner and fashion, rather then upon any hope to speed: and receiving some of them to deny him flatly, as pretending that it was too late ere he departed the City: and other some, for that without order and direction of the Senat, he passed out of Samnium into Tuscany and that partly his adversaries, & partly the friends of his Colleague, who might take some comfort and contentment, that he also had the repulse with them, were against his triumph: My Masters (quoth he) you that are Senators of Rome, I will not be far mindful of your honor and majesty, as that I will forget my self to be a Conul: and by virtue of the fame authority of commission, wherewith I have conducted and managed these wars for so much

C as, I have happily brought them to end, and subdued Samnium and Tusca, achieved victory, and obtained peace: triumph I will, and ask you no leave. And with that he departed out of the Senat. After this, there arose a debate and disputation among the Tribuns of the Commons. Some of them laid, they would enquire their negative that he should not in this manner triumph, and give so ill a precedent. Others gave out, that they would affliat him in his triumph, marre the heads of all their Concolleges. After much ado, the matter was referred unto the people, and the Conul being thither called, alledged, that L Horatius, and Mer. Valerius Conuls, also Caes Mar-

D centus Roscius of late days, even the father of them, who then was Censor, triumphed without the authority and approbation of Senat, only by the ordinance of the people. Over and besides, he added and said, that himself also would have moved the people therein, but that he knew that the

E Tribuns of the Commons, who were become vaflals and slaves to the Nobles, would have nipped and crossed the bill. As for himself, he protested, that he did and would account of the will and favour of the people, agreeing together, as well as of all their Acts and Decrees whatsoever. So the matter after, by the assistance of three Trib. banded against the opposition and negative voices of seven yeas, and against the general resolution of the Senat, he triumphed: and all the people with great joy solemnized and celebrated the honor of that day. But the records do very much about the acts and affairs of this year also, Claudius writeth. That Pothinus having won certain towns in Samnium, was after in Apulia discomfited and put to flight: and that himself in person being hurt, was with some few besides, driven to take Laceria for refuge: and that it was Art-ilius, that fought in Tuscany, and triumphed. Fabius contrariety reporteth, That both Conuls E warred in Samnium and at Laceria: and that one of the armies was transported into Tuscany: but which of the Conuls had the conduct thereof, he hath not set down within: also that before Laceria, there were on both parts many slain: and how in that battle, there was a Temple vowed to Jupiter Stator, like as Romulus had done before in times past: howbeit, before this time, there was no Temple erected; but only a Jorum, [i. a place pronounced, declin'd, and consecrated before to build a Temple on.] But in this year at last, the City being now twice bound and obliged to perform one and the same vow, made a concurrence of it, and moved the Senate to decree and take order, that the house and temple aforesaid should be erected accordingly.

After this year, there succeeded a brave and noble Conul, L. Papius Curfor, as well in regard of his fathers glory, as his own reputation. Allo a mighty war, and euch a victory as never any General wann the like at the Samnits hands before that day, but L. Papius Curfor in the Conuls father. And as it fell out, they made the like preparation for war, with the same endeavor and furniture of all costly and brave armor, as before time. Moreover, they nourished and favored of the gods before, by a strange kind of induction and inspiration of the loudiers, binding them to take their oaths, after an old ceremonial custom, as if they were to take orders in some holy mysteries; yea, and levied multitudes throughout all Samnium, after a new form of a law and edict: That whoever of the younger fort and serviceable men, fit to bear arms, shewed not themselves, and gave attendance at the Generals appointment and proclamation, and whoever departed without his leave and licence, his head should be forfeit unto Jupiter as accursed and damned. When there G gathered together, to the number of forty thousand fighting men, even the whole flower and manhood of Samnium. There, about the midst of the camp, was a plot of ground set out, well fenced and enclosed all about with hurdles and boards, and the same covered all over with linnen cloaths: the place was two hundred foot square, every way. Then there was a solemn sacrifice celebrated and divine service laid, according to an order read out of an old book made of linnen, and the same by a certain Priest. One Osiris Paccius, a very aged man: who avouched, that he set these sacred and holy ceremonies from the old ancient Religion of the Samnits, according to the manner and custom, which in times past their ancestors had used, at what time as they completed
the sacrifice H was done, the General of the army by his Prefevant at arms commanded to cite and call forth by name, the noblest persons, either for parentage, or acts achieved: who were brought into the place aforesaid, one by one. Amongst other preparations of this sacred solemnity (which were able to strike a religious fear and devotion in a mans mind) there were certain altars erected in the midst of this place closely covered in all parts, and sacrifices lying plain all about, and the Centurions standing round with their swords ready drawn. Then the loutier was causd to approach near the altars (like a sacrifice himself, rather then one that should have his part of the sacrifice) and urged by virtue of an oath, to promise, that he would never utter abroad and reveal, whatsoever he there should see or hear. Afterward he was put to wear, after an horrible and dreadful form of words, framed and tending expressly to the curing of his own person, his house and all his race and lineage, in case, he were not into any barril, whereover the Generals should lead him, and if either himself fled out of the field, or saw any one to run away, and flew him not outright in the place. At the first verily, some there were that refused to take such an oath, and presently were massacred by the Altars side. And lying there along together with the feats, which had their throats cut for sacrifices, they laboured for a warning, to teach all the rest how they made refusal. When the chief of the Samnitis had taken this abominable and cursed oath, ten of them were elected and nominated by the foreign Captain, who every one had in charge to chuse himself a fellow, and they likewise incalculably to take other to them, man by man, until they had made up the number of 1600. And these were called Lictoris Legio [i.e. the linnen Legion]. Taking K the name of the covering of that indole wherein the Nobility of the Samnitis were wont. These had given into them brave and glorious armor, with helmets plumed and plumed, because they should seem taller then the rest. Another army there was, consisting of twenty thousand and better, who neither in goodly and tall perspence, nor in martial prowess and reputation, nor yet in furniture and letting out were inferior to the linnen Legion aforesaid. Lo, what a number there was of fighting men, even the whole strength and manhood of all Samnitis, assembled and encamped in Agidius.

The Roman Consuls took their journey from the City of Rome, and C. Catulnus first unto whom were appointed the old Legions, which M. Attulus the Consul of the former year, had left in the territory of Interamnus. And with them he marched into Samnium. And, mean while that the enemies were over much busied and amused with their superfluous accommodations, and held their feeter and mystical councils, he won by force on the Samnitis, the town Alfredum. Where almost 2500 men were slain, and 4270 taken prisoners. But Poppus, having by direction from the Senate enrolled a new army, forced the town Dardania; took fewer prisoners then his Colleague, but in that thereof, put many more to the word. A rich booty there was got, both in the one place and the other. Afterwards the Consuls overran the whole country of Samnium, but they spoild and wathet especially the lands about Atinum. Carinus marched as far as Commumus, and Poppus to Aquilina, where the whole power of the Samnitis lay encamped. There, for a good while they neither far still, and were altogether idle in the camp, nor yet was there any hot fire in the field. They spent the time in provoking them to fight, that gladly they would have taken still for in lying off and giving ground, to thole that affulled them: and thus, I lay with threatening, rather then offering battle, they parled the day. For whiles they began ever and anon, and gave over as quickly, there was no occasion of any skirmishes, & the decision even of small matters and occurrences were prolonged and put off from day to day. The other camp of the Romans lay twenty miles off: and all the other Consul was abstant, yet his hand and counsel was in every enterprise and exploit. For so there lay a greater weight and charge at Aquilina, than at Commumus: for Carinus had a more careful eye that way, then to the place which himself beteaged. L. Papirus being now at all points provided to fight, dispatched a messenger to his Colleague, to signifie unto him: that he minded the next day, if he were not checked by the Auspices to give the enemy battle: and withal, that it was expedient and needful that he likewise should with all his forces assaile Commumus: that the Samnitis within, might have neither means nor force to lend any succour to Aquilina. This post had that one day allowed him to doe his meisage, and attend his dispatch; and by night he made return, and brought word unto the Consul from his Colleague, that he liked well of his purpose and advice, Poppus then immediatly dismissed and sent away the courrier aforesaid, and assembled his fondiers to an audience, where he discoursed at large concerning war in general. Much he spake also as touching the present preparation and magnificent situation of the enemies, more brave and good in those and of importance in the end: for they are not the plumed crets (quoth he) that give the deadly wounds, but the Romans speer and lance it is, that is able to pierce their guided and damasked shields: yea, and that other glittering array with milch white diaper coats must be died red in blood, when they come to stroaks, and to try it out by dint of word. The golden and silvered armies of the Samnitis, were sometimes by my father put to the sword, and killed to the last man: and they served rather for rich spoils to honoure the victorious enemy, then for armor of proof, to defend and save themselves. This is a fatal gift, and defined to our name and family, for to be chosen Generals, and to be oppossed against the greatest munificence and attempts of the Samnitis, and to bring away with them, those spoils which might be ornaments to beautifie the publick places of the City. And the immortal gods no
A "no doubt are present to defend and still us in our quarrel, against those that to oft have fought for peace and alliance, and as often broke the same themselves. And it a man may conjecture and guess of the will and providence of the Gods, they never were to any army more adva- and full of indignity, then to that, which being stained and polluted with the blood of beasts and men, maelstrack and mingled together in an horrible and execrable kind effaccular; and de- rived to a wound of the anger of the gods, having in dread and horror of one side, the vengeance of the same gods, witnesseth their breach of covenants with the Romans; and on the other side the detestable and abominable curies, comprised in an oath, taken against all covenant and promise, hathkorn by constraint and perfec; hattle and detesteth the oath whereby they B are persued, and one time, is in fear of the gods, of their own selves, and their enemies. Thus having flewed unto his fouldiers (who were already of themselves badly and mulitionly en- nongkent against the enemies) that he had certain intelligence of all these things, by the con- fimation avered by certain fugitives that were fled from them unto him; they all being now full of allured hope of Gods help and mans, with one uniform cryed for battle: and nothing grieved them more then this. That it was put to end until the morrow; having in their hearts the rest of that day behind, and that one night for being so long. About mid-night, Papryus hav- ing received letters back from his Colleague, got him up, and when all were fast asleep, and sent the chiet-matter to take token; & observe the prelim of the pullers. There was not one throughout the whole camp, of what quality or degree ever but had a desire to fight. The highest as well as the lowest were earnest and eager: the Captains might behold and see the fouldiers affec- 

tion and courage that way; and the fouldier likewise the Captains: in so much that the same ardent desire of battle which was in all the rest, reached also even to those that had the charge of the Aupiceps. For when as the chickens would not peck, the chiet-matter adventured to lye and fullike the token, and made report to the Confid, that it was * Trippidum fulf111urn. Wherea- the Conif right glad and joyous pronounced that the token was lucky, and that they to fight under the favour and conduct of the gods; and hencupon he put forth the signal or bloody banner of battle. As he was now marching forth to the field with his army, behold a fugitive out of the enemies camp, brought word, that twenty cohorts or companies of Sannites, and those were about 4000 in an cohont, were gone to Commime. And became his Colleague Cur lulium should not be ignorant hereof; he presently dispatched a carrier in post unto him, and himself commanded the Ensigns and Standards to be advanced and set forward with speed, ordaining the bands in the removal for articles, and disposing them in divers places, with Captains over the same, accordingly, he appointed L. Volturnius to lead the right wing, and L. Serpe the left, and the horesmen he committed to the conduct of two Lieutenant, C. Cederrius and Trebbonius. As for S. Mantius, he charged him in all haste to take off the pack-fuddles from the Mules, and to mount the cohorts of the light armed footmen that lere in the wings, upon their backs, and with them to fetch a compass, and to seizing upon an ill here in sight, and in the heat of the confid, to shew himself from thence and to raise as great a cloud of dust as possibly he could. Whilest the General was occupied hereabout, there arose some warbling amongst the chicken-mallets touching the Aupiceps or prelidge of that day; inso much as they were over heard of the Romans horsemens; who supposing it a matter of good consequence and to be regarded, advertised Sp. Pa- pyrus (the Colius Nephew, or Brothers son) that there was some doubt and question about the Aupiceps. The youth born in those days when there were no Atheists, nor Lectures read of deporting God and Religion: enquired farther into the matter, because he would not certify any thing whereof he was not sure: and when he had found out the truth, gave knowledge thereof to the Conif; who said thus unto him, "God bleis the my ion, and be not thon dissayed there, but fight hardly more valiantly, and do thy best endeavour. As for him that has the charge and oversight of the Birds and Aupiceps, if he have made them no report, and given up a contrary prelidge or false sign, all the mischief and peril light upon his own head for his unwrthy. As for me I was told of a Trippidum, and that the birds fell heartily to their meal: and I hold it for slyly Anpice and token of good succcss unto the people of Rome and the army, and for no other. This said, he commanded the Centurions to set those pullers, in the forefront of the battel. The Sam- nites also for their part set forward their Ensigns, and their battelion: then after gallantly set on in gorgeous armor and brave apparell, in such for, as the very sight of the enemies represented a magnificent and farly strew to the beholders, But see what hapned: before the first shot given, before the first volley of shot and encounter, the principal Pullicer chance to be stricken with a javelin, lanced at adventure and at random, and fell down dead even before the Ensigns, Which being reported unto the Confid, "Behold the handy work of God (noth he) the gods are present in this battel, the guilty person hath his due reward. And as the Conif was a speaking these C words loquall before him a Raven set on a wide clear throat, and cried with a lord notest which Augury. the Col, rejoiced, and avowed, that the gods appeared never in mens affairs more evi- dently. And herewith he commanded the trumpeters to sound, and set up a lively shout: then followed a cruel and terrible fight on both siders, but with hearts and courages far unlike. The Ro- mans were ravished and carried on end to the battel, with anger and hope and heat of conflict greedy of bathing their swords, and embrazing their hands in the enemies bloodshed, But the Sannites many of them by force of necessity and constraint of a blind and impertinent religion, even a- gainst their wills, were forced to make resistance, and defend themselves rather then to fight and
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and offend the enemy. Neither had they sustained and held out the first stout, charge and

shot of the Romans (as having now for certain years past been used ever more to go away defea-
ted and vanquished) but that a mightier fear imprinted and settled in their heart roots, had them

perseve from running away: for they ever had continually represented in their eye, the whole

turmuire of that secret facrifice: of those armed sacrificers and Priests with naked swords; of that

hideous but bery of men and of brute beasts, lying slain one with another in their blood inter-

mingled together: of the Altars bespinkled and stained with the lawful shedding of the one;

and the detestable effuion of the other; of the dreadful and horrible executions: and to conclude,

of that frantic, furious, and detestable form of words, composed and devised to the detestation

and maledeion of their line and race. Being fall bound, I say, with these bonds for fleeing a-

way, they stood to it, and stiered not back, fearing their own countrymen more then the en-

emies. The Romans from both points, and from the middle and main battalion charged hot-

ly, beat them down, killed and cut them in pieces, thus amazed and astonied: as they were with

dread of gods and awe of man. Small refilience made they, as who only leared to flie and run a-

way: so by this time, there was execution and havoc made of them almost to the very Stan-

ards. At which very instant, there appeared overwhast from the one fide a dust, as if a mighty

army had raised it to their march: namely, Sp. Nausius (or as some say, Odccus Metius)

who had the leading of certain Cohorts called Alciris, mounted upon Mules, which on purpose

made a dust greater, then for that number they were. For those valents and new horsemens,

as they fat on their Mules and Sampter-beats, drew after them trailing on the ground, boughs of

trees full of branches and leaves: and first, there appeared in the fore-front (as it were, through

a dusky and dim light) their armour and gindons: but the dust behind them, rising higher

and thicker, made shew of a troop of horsemens flanked an army of footmen: whereby not

only the Samnits but Romans also were deceivd, and the Consul himself, to avoid the error

and beat them down: was to: cried aloud amongst the Ensigns, so as his voice reached

unto his enemies, That Continuum was won, and his Brother Consul was come with victo-
y; and therefore, they should endeavour and envoice themselves to get the day, before that

another army shoult win the honour out of their hands. Thus cried he out on horseback gallop-

ing among the ranks to and fro. Then he commanded the Colonels and Centurions, to make

a way for the men of arms. Himself afore, had willed that cavalry and Ciditius, that when they

elpied him to bear his speare upright and to shake it, then they should with all the mightly they had,

put forth the Cavalty and charge the enemies. Every thing was done at a beck, according as

they were directed and instituted before hand. The wayes were made wide between the files.

The horsemens fling out, and with spear in rest charge upon the middle battallion of the en-

emies, and brake their arrayes whereverover they charged. Volusianus and Secpio seconded them

with the Infantry: and while they were disarrayed overthrew them, and bare to them the ground.

Down went these linnen Cohorts now, when God and man fought against them, and were dis-

comfired: and as well those that took the oath, and the other that were unsworn, fled amain;

and without respect of one thing or other, feared none but their enemies. All the footmen that

espied the bastard, were beaten into their camp at Aquae.. The Gentlemen and the men of

arms fled toward Benabrestum. The Cavality of the Romans pursuied the horsemens, and the In-

fantry chaied the footmen. The wings took diversways, the right toward the camp of the

Samnits, the left unto the Town, Volusianus was somewhate before, and got the Camp. Secpi-

o found more resistence in the City: not for that vanquished men, as they were, had more con-

tagious and revolution, but because that walls are stronger to endure an assault, and better to keep

out armed men then a plain trench and rampart. For, from the Courtise, with stones they

beat and repelled the enemy. Secpio foreseeing well enough that they should be longer about

the assault of a strong and fenced town unless he dispatched the matter quickly and went through

with it, in their first affright and confusion, before they took heart again: demanded of his

foulders, They would take it well and abide to see the camp won by the other point of the

battal, and themselves (being likewise Conquerers) to be repelled from the City Gates? When

they allned, No; and said they would never endure that disgrace: himself with his tar-

get over his head, approached the gate, the others following after under a target-tenne, run into

the City, thrust down the Samnits about the Gate, and got to the Walls: but to engage them-

selves farther into the City, they durst not, being so few as they were. The Consul himselfe at

the first knew nothing of all this, but was occupied about the retreat, and rallying of his men:

for now the fun was well near down, and the night comming on apace, causd every thing even

to the very victors to seem dangers and luficious. But when he was advanced farther, he

saw on the right hand the camp taken; and on the left, he heard a confused cry and tumult in

the City, compounded of the noise of fighting men and frighted persons: and ever after that in-

stant, it fortune that they skirmished at the gate. Then he rode on, neere and nearer, and saw

his owmen upon the Walls, how he not nothing yett but performed; so through the raft adven-
ture and foot-hardnes of some few, an over turn was made, and some advantage got of perform-
ing great piece of service and worthy exploit, Whereupon, he commanded the forces that

were retired to be called, and with banner displayed to enter the City. So soon as they were

in, they took the next quarter to the Gates, and for that the night approached, there they re-

fited, and went no farther. But even in that very night, the enemies abandoned the Town. There
There were slain that day before Aquilonia 30,400 Samnites, and 870 taken prisoners: and of field enmies they went away with 90. Moreover, this is reported and recorded of Pappius, that there had not been lightly seen a General in any battle more sightsome, cheerful, and merry; were it of his own natural disposition, or upon aspired confidence of victory. Upon which courage and resolution, he could not be revoked from battle, albeit there was some question and tempest at the Anuipice: and even in the hottest time and dangerous point of the conflict, at what time as the manner is to vow temples to the immortal gods: he vowed unto Jupiter Venus, if he that he defeated the Legions of the enemies, to present him with a cup of a sweet and pleasant mead, before he drank any strong and heady wine of the grape: which vow the gods accepted and liked of, and turned the ill preluge of the Anuipices to good.

The other Consull had as good speed at Continus: For at the break of day he approached with all his forces to the walls of the town, and invested it round about: and let strong guards at the gates, for fear they should inflame, or fallily forth. And even as he was about to give the signal of assault, there came a messenger post from his fellow Consul, who in great affright brought word of the coming of twenty cohorts to the incontinent of them within the City: which both kept him short from giving the assault, and caused him to call back again part of his forces, which were arranged and ready under the counter-Carp to affright the defendants. Then he gave charge to Divitis Decius Scans, one of the Lieutenants, to take the first legion and twenty cohorts of the wings, and other horsemen, to make head against the reigne of the enemies store-sold; and wherefore he met them, there to impeach them, yes, and at occasion served, to give them battle: and in no cause to fuffer that power to come to Continus. Himself commanded that ladders should be erected on every side of the town, and under a lance of targets approached the gates. So that in an instant the gates were burnt open, and the walls scaled on every part. The Samnites, as their hearts failed them well enough to keep the enemies from entrance, before they saw any armed man upon the walls: so after, they perceived, that they were assailed not aloof with stones and darts, but fall by and with hand-strokes; and how that they, who hardly and with great difficulty, from the plain got up the walls, having now gained and truncated the place (which they most feared before) could fight at ease from aloft with their enemy, who was not able to match them in the even ground; that the towers and walls, and gathered all together in the market-place, and there for the gate.

Dum while tried the utmost hazard of battle, But afterwards throwing down their weapons, 15,400 of them yielded themselves to the Consul his mercy. There were slain 4380. Thus went the game at Continus, and thus at Aquilonia.

In the mid way between these two Cities, where a third battle was looked for, the enemies were not to be found. And when they were seven miles off from Continus, they had a countermand from their own country-men, and were called away, and so came not to the reigne, neither in the one battell nor the other. In the shuffling of the evening, when it began to be dark, being within the light of the Camp of one hand, and Aquilonia on the other: they might hear a like noise and cry from both parts, which caused them to pause. But afterwards, when they were over-against the Camp which was fired by the Romans; the flame spreading far abroad declared the defeat of the Samnites more evidently, and flasted them there for going farther. In which very place they laid down here and there in their armour; (as they were) and passed a restfull and inequit long night, expecting (and yet fearing) the light of the day. At the dawning whereof, and so soon as it began to be peep, while they were uncertain and doubtful what to take they happened to be discovered by the cavalry of the enemies: and suddenly in a fearfull amaze and affright, they took them to their heels and fled in great disorder. Those horsemen having pursur'd the Samnites, who in the night leasonekaped out of the town, chance to copy this foresaid multitude, and perceived they were neither entrenched, nor defended with a good corps de guard. This company was defeitd alio even from the walls of Aquilonia: whereupon, by this time the legionary footmen likewise made after them; but they could not overtake them in the chase, to fuit they fled: howbeit the horsemen cut off some, and flew two hundred and fourscore in the tail of the rearguard. In this affright they left much armure behind them, and eighteen ensigns, and to the left of the army faced themselves, and as well as they might in to tears of their salvation. The joy of these two Romans armies was wonderfully encreased. To see one another have so good and fortunate losses in their enterprises, Both the Consuls, by each others advice and consenc, gave their towns thus won unto the footiers to be fackled and rilled: and after the goods were out, to let fire on the empty houses; inibus a wife, that in one and the same day both Aquilonia and Continus were burnt to ashes; and the Consuls, with muchal congratulation and joy, as well between their Legions as themselves, relating one another joyed both their Camps in one, Afterwards in the light of both Armies,rdis highly commended and praised his footders every one as he desired, and rewarded them with gits according. Pappius also for his part, who had performed many and laudable skirmishes as well in the field, and battell, as about the winning of the Camp and forcing the City, betowed by way of honour upon Sp, Namus, and Sp, Papppius his brotherston, as also upon four Centurions and the band of the Hadriati or Ialclines, bracelets a Coronets of gold; and Namus for that he bare himself most worthily in that journey and expedition, wherein with his constient troop of horsemen upon Mules, he did terrify the enemy, as if he had conducted them to a main army of men at arms: and young Pappius for his good service with his cavalry as well in the battle and constant.
fliet, as also in that night wherein he forced the Samnites to fly secretly, and quit the City Aquinio:— the Centurions and foildiers, in this regard, that they were the first who seiz'd the gates and walls of that town: as for all the foremen, in consideration of their manifold travels and brave exploits shewed in orderly places, he gave them bracelets and little horns of fliver. This done, forasmuch as it was time now to draw forth their army from out of Samnmum, either both together, or one of them alone; they came to Consil and confultation thereupon, and thought it was the better course to the end that the Samnites might be brought lower, and their flate more febenably decayed, to go forward still, and charge them with greater force and resOLUTION, and to purifie the reliet that was behind; that Samnmum might be deliver'd up to the Consuls their succedors, utterly subdued and subdu'd: since the enemies now had no army abroad in field, like either to give or abide another battle; and these remained but one manner of making war, even to besiege and affait their Cities and strong Towns; by the winning and subversion whereof, they might with the piggish emin and make their own foildiers for ever, and withal impoverish their enemies and make a hand of them quite now at the last call'd forward to fight for Church and Home. Hereupon the Consuls dispatched their letters to the Senate and people of Rome, containing the effect at large of all these exploits; and then divided themselves, and took two severall wai'es: *Papirius,* Marched with his legions to the siege of Sepumnum and *Carullis* with his to besiege Volatium.

The Consuls letters were read and heard with exceeding joy, as well in the court of the Council of the City, as in Common Hall of assemblies; and this publick consent and rejoicings were dynamically with general proceedings, for the space of four days, and with marvellous zeal, affecion, and devotion of private persons in particular. And to lay a truth, this victory was to the flate of Rome not only great and honourable, but also of great consequence, in regard that it fell out in so good and commodious a time. For even then, news came that Tufcany was revolted and rebelled, and men began to call in their minds, and discomposc how they should do in case ought should hap but well in Samnmum to withstand the fors and invasion of the Tuscan: who taking heart, and presuming upon the Samnites, and their cursed and execrable oath, by ventur whereby they were oblig'd to fight to the utmost extremity, embraced the occasion and opportunity of taking arms again, whilst both the Consuls and the whole forces of Rome were diverted and withdrawn into Samnmum and there employed. The Embassadors of their allies and confederates were by M. Attulis the Praetor brought into the Senate, and had audience given them; where they complained, that their territories were over-run, burnt, and spoil'd by the Tufcans their next neighbours; and all becase they were unwilling to relit from the people of Rome: humbly beseeching the LL. of the Senate, to defend and protect them against the violence, wrong, and outrage of common enemies. Antver was returned unto the Embassadors: That the Senate would have regard that their allies should have no caes to repent of their faithfulness, and constant loyalty; and that men many days went over their heads, the Tuscan should taste of the same cup that the Samnites had begun unto them. Howbeit, they would have been slack and cold enough in dealing with the Tufcans, had not fresh news come, that the Fastesello, who had for many years continued in amity and friendship with the people of Rome, were combined with the Tuscan and entered into arms, as well they. The near neighbour-ship of this nation, gave an edge to the Senators, and what them on, to take care and ordain, that their Pecull Herals should be addrest thereto demand restitution and amends for harms done: which being denied, and no goods restored by the advice and authority of the Senate, together with the grant of the people, war was proclaimed against the Tufcans: and the Consuls were commanded to call lots, whether of them should pass out of Samnmum with his forces, into Tufcany.

By this time now Carullus had won Volatium, Palambinum, and Herculanenum, towms appertainning to the Samnites. Volatium was forced within few days: Palambinum, the same day that he came before the walls: but at Herculanenum, he fought two severall battels, with doubtfull and uncertain battle yet and with more loss of his own part than of the enemies. But afterwars, he pitched his camp before the town beleaguered the enemies, and kept them within their walls, gave the assault, and won it in the end. In their three towns there were either taken prisoners or slain in all, to the number of ten thousand: but so as through fear the greater part by far, suffered themselves to be captives, rather than to dye on the edge of the sword.

The Consuls call lots for their Provinces: and it fell unto Carullus to go into Tuscany, as the foildiers wifhed and desired who could no longer away with the rigour of cold weather in Samnmum. As for Papirius, he found a greater power of enemies, and more resistance, before Sepumnum. Many a time he was fought with all in battelle arranged: so skirmished with in his march: yet, and oftentimes under the very walls, the enemies flied out against him from the Town, in such force as he could not tell what to make of it; for neither was it to be called properly a flock alone, nor yet altogether a battelle fight; considering that the enemies were no more protected and covered themselves, by the strength of their walls, than the walls were defended by forces of arms, and men of war: howbeit in the end what with fighting and what with skirmishing, he lodged them within the City so as they durst come abroad no more, but kept themselves close: and were beleaguered indeed: and after long siege, as well with forcible assailants, as by trenches, bastils, and rampiers, he was master of the town: and therefore after he was possed of it, upon anger and choler
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A cholera that they had so long stood out and put him to so much trouble, that there was more blood-thes; and seven thousand died by the sword, whereas under three thousand were taken prisoners. The spoil and pillage, which was exceeding great, considering that the Samnits had laid up all their gods and some few cities, was given to the soldiers. And now by the snow thick all upon the ground: neither could men endure abroad in the field without home and harbor: and thereupon the Conful restored his Army out of Samnium. Against his comming to Rome, it was decreed by the general voice of all men, that he should triumph: and he triumphed whiles he was in his Magistracy, with great magnificence, and amptuous pomp, as those dates would afford. For as well his footmen as horsemen marched by and by in a show, adorned with their gift and prizes of honour. Many a civick valiant and mortal garland was worn that day. Much looking and wondering there was at the spoliis also of the Samnits armour and apparel: for with their goodly beauty and glorious hue were they comparable to those that his father had won before him, which were commonly seen and well known in the public places of the City, adorned and beautified therewith. Moreover, there were led before him in this triumph and pompous entrance of his into the City, certain captives and prisoners of noble blood defended, men of great worth sometime, and name as well for their own deeds, as their fathers' acts. Great store of Brass Balion in Ingories, and not coined, was carried in new, amounting to the weight of 3000 pounds: which mass of brass or copper was sold of the ransom of prisoners. But this which was got in the faggage of the towns came to 3300 pounds weight and above. All the brass and silver was laid up in the common Treasury of the City, and nothing at all of the whole booty given to the foellidors: and the discontentment and heart-burning that grew thereby, was so much the greater in the common people, by reason they were charged besides with an excation and contribution for foellidors pay; whereas if the Conful had not upon a vain-glorious humour brought into the City Chamber, such sums which he had gained from the enemy there might aught thereof have been belowered freely amongst the foellidors, & of the impuflage their due wages paid and dispatched. Moreover, whiles he was Conful, he dedicated the Temple of Quirinus, which his father, being Dictator, had vowed: for, that himself owed it in the very time of the battle. I find not in any ancient writer; and certainly in so short a space, he could not possibly have built and finished it. He trimmed it besides, and garnished it with the spoils of the enemies, whereof there was in abundance and store, that not only the foent Temple and the market-place were therefor set out and bravely decked, but they were distributed abroad to their allies also and Colonies, near inhabitants, for the decoration and beautifying of their Churches and public places. After the triumph ended, he brought his Army to winter in the Territory of the Vettii, because those quarters were distrest and annoyed by the Samnits.

In this mean while, Carusillus the Conful, having at his first coming given the assault unto Trassium, a City in Tuscany, granted licence to 470 of the richest Citizens, to depart thence and by composition, to pay a great sum of money unto him. The rest of the multitude fell into his hands, after he had won the town by mere force. This done, he ordered five Colonells, to place in places of great strength: where were then of enemies 2400, and not all out 2600 taken prisoners. He granted to the F. Iesu (who lived for peace, and by) a trace for one year, and yet to make present payment of 100000 Asles and to discharge the foellidors wages for that year. After these exploits achieved, he departed to his triumph; which as it was lesse honourable and glorious than that of his companion in government, in regard of the service performed against the Samnits: so, if we consider withal, the Tuscian war it was equal and comparable unto every war. Of brass money he brought into the common Chett 50000 pounds; of the impuflage of the pillage and other spoils, he caused the Chappel of Fortunatus to be built, near unto the Temple of the same goddesses, dedicated by King Servius Tullius. To the foellidors that served on foot, he gave of his booty 150 Asles a piece, and twice as much to every Centurion and horsemann. Which reward they accepted more thankfully at his hands, by reason of the rigour and militie of his Colleague before him. And so gracious was this Conful, that he protected and faved L. Volumnius, one of his Lieutenant's, against the people: who being arrested and called to his answer by M. Carusillus, a Tribune of the Commons, fled for his life to his Lieutenantship (as they say) and avoided thereby the danger of his judgement; so that during his absence in that charge his acquittal might well be set on foot and followed, but brought to a final end and definitive sentence, it could not be.

After this year expired, the new Tribunes of the Commons entered their offices: and for that there was suppos'd some errour in their creation, the fifth day after were other chosen in their stead. The same year there was a Lustrum or solemn fancy of the City, held by P. Cornelius Arvicius, and C. Marius Rutius Centor. In which were numbered and attested 262222 polls of Roman Citizens. These were in order the fix and twenty Chentors from the beginning: and this was reckoned the fifteenth Lustrum after the first institution. In this year, and never before, the spectacles of the Roman Games and Places, in regard of their happy inlets in wars, upon the adorning with wreaths and garlands of flowers upon their heads: and then came up the Jaffon at Rome, borrowed from the manner and costume of Greece, to honour those with branches of the date tree, who won the prices, and were victors in those games.

The same year the Achiles Carusillus, who exhibited the said-palattines and exercises of activity,
paved the causey or high-way with flint or pibble stone, from the Temple of Mars unto Boullis H and the fines of certain Publicans or farmers of the City, that were gravers and condemned, paid the charges. Then Poppadins held the great Assembly for election of new Conuls, and created Q. Fabius Gures the son of Maximus, and D. Junius Brutus Secund, Conuls. Poppadins himself was chosen Praetor. This year, so joyful and fortunate in many respects, could hardly countenance and recom pense with all other comforts, one only calamity, namely, a pestilence and mortality, which consumed and devoured both town and country. Infomuch as for the negligent and extremity thereof, it was held for a prodigious and portentous sign beyond all course of nature, and reach of reason. Whereupon, the books of Sibylla were perused, to know out of them, what issue and remedy the gods would vouchsafe to shew of this malady and misery. Wherein they found, I that the image of Asculapius must be lent for, from as far as Epidaurus to Rome. But for that by year, reason that the Conuls were buffeted in the wars, nothing was done, but only one day bestowed wholly in supplications and deviset Letanies to the honour of the said god Asculapius.

The ten Books next following of T. Livius (usually called the second Decade) are loft: The Arguments whereof remain yet extant in the Abridgments or Breviaries of L. Florus, which instead of the History it self, are set down in this place.

The Breviary of L. Florus to the Eleventh Book.
The Breviaries of L. Florus.

The Breviary of L. Florus to the twelfth Book.

The Roman Embassadors being murder'd by the Senonoi in Gaul, and war thereupon denounced and proclaimed against them, Lucius Cæcilius the Praetor, fortified with his whole army to be defeated by them, and put to the sword. When the Roman fleet was spoiled and raufacked by the Tarentines, and their Admiral killed, the Senate dispatched their Embassadors unto them to make complaint of these wrongs and outrages; but they were civil treated and sent away with great abuse, whereupon defiance was [here] given unto them, and war proclaimed. The Summits revolted, Against whom together with the Lucians, Bruttians, and Tusculans, sundry battles were fortunately fought by divers Roman Captains. Pyrrhus the King of the Epirites [or the Albanians] passed over into Italy for to aide the Tarentines. When a Legion of the Campan was sent under the conduct of Decius Jubellius to Rhegium, there to be in garrison, they treacherously slew the natural inhabitants, and seized the City of Rhegium to their own behoof.

The Breviary of L. Florus for the thirteenth Book.

V Alcarius Levinus the Consul left the field against Pyrrhus: by occasion principally that his soldiers were terrrified and amazed at the unexpect'd sight of the Elephants. After that battle, when Pyrrhus viewed and beheld the dead bodies of the Romans, lying slain on the ground, he offered and bade, that all their faces were turned toward the enemy array. From hence he went forward spoiling and robbing all the way to Rome. C. Fabricius was sent unto him for to treat about the redemption and ransom of the prisoners; and was solicited by the King (but in vain) to abandon the service of his own country. The foresaid prisoners were enlarged and sent home without paying any ransom at all. Cynes was sent as Embassador from the King unto the Senat: who required, that the King his Master for to end and compound all quarrels, might be received into the City and amity of the people of Rome. But when it was thought best to debate and consult of this important matter, in a more frequent assembly of the Senators, Appius Claudius, who many a day had not intermeddled with the affairs of State and Council, presented himself in the Court among the Senators: where his opinion carried the matter clear away.

D It was proposed that No. Domitius, the first Consul of the Commoners, held a Livistram or survey of the City, in which were found 27,822 Roman Citizens by the poll. A second field was fought against Pyrrhus, but with doubtful event and issue. With the Carthaginians, the alliance was renewed from the fourth time. When a certain fugitive traitor that ran from Pyrrhus, offered to C. Fabricius the Consul for to passon the King, he was sent back again, and the treason was discovered to the King. Over and besides, this book containeth the prosperous affairs in war against the Tusculans, Lucaniats, Bruttians, and Samnites.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the fourteenth Book.

E Pyrrhus passed the seas into Sicily. When among other prodigies and terrible tokens the image of Jupiter in the Capitol was overthrown and quenched down with lightning, he thought therof was recovered and found again by the foot-soldiers. Carius Dentaltus, as he was taking waters, fell in port-side the goods of one that would not answer to his name when he was called. He perceived Pyrrhus after his return again out of Sicily into Italy: and forced him to avoid and depart once for all. Fabricius a Consul, caffed and displaced one of his Senators. C. Cornelius Rufinus, one that had been Consul, for that he had in silver plate the weight of ten pounds. There was a Livistram held by the Consuls, and there in were found 27,124 Citizens. A society and alliance was concluded with Ptolomy King of Egypt. Sextilia a professed virgin was consecrated of uncensured and fornication, and buried Quicke. Two new Colonies were created without, Poseidonia and Conia. A fleet of Carthaginians arrived to aid the Messenians by occasion whereof the league was broken. This book compriseth also the happy exploits against the Lucaniats, Samnites, and Bruttians together with the death of King Pyrrhus.

The Breviary of L. Florus to the fifteenth Book.

F The Tarantoins being vanquished both peace granted, and liberty also restored unto them. The soldiers of the Campan legion aforesaid which had possession of Rhegium, were besieged; and after they had absolutely yielded, were every one made slayer by the head. Certain left youths of Rome, who had missed and beaten the Embassadors of the Apollonians, sent unto the Senat, were delivered unto the hands to be included according to their discretion. The Picentes were overcome in battell, and obtained peace. Two Colonies were sent the one to Ariminum within the marches of Picenum (i.e. Ancona) the other to Beneventum. In Samnium, now and never before began the Romans to issue silver coin for their money. The Umbrians and Sabellians were vanquished, and their submissory of obedience received. The number of the Quinlbers was augmented to be eight.

Ec 3 The
The Breviary of *L. Florus* to the sixteenth Book.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* for the seventeenth Book.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the eighteenth Book.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* to the nineteenth Book.
The Breviaries of L. Florus.

A. the territory of the Salentins, Another Luturna was taken by the Consors, whereas in consequence of Roman Citizens 251,222, Claudius, the father of that V. Claudius, who in contempt and despite of the Apostles fought a battle to great leaps, sustained upon a time as he came from the great Places to be crowned in the midst and press of people; whereas you like credulous  with a loud voice, Would God my brother were alive again, and had the charge of another Armodo: for which words she had a good face set on her head, and paid it. Two Pretors were now created, the first that ever were at Rome. Cæcilius Metellus the High Priest kept posture within the City A. Potheumius the Consul, because he was besides the Flamin into Mars; and would not suffer him to be Non-resident, and absent himself from his charge. After sundry battles and conflicts that many Roman Captains had against the Carthaginians, C. Lucarius the B. Consul obtained the honour of the small victory when he had defeated their Fleet; and so made an end of the first Punic war. The Carthaginians therefore sued for peace, and had it granted. At what time as the Temple of Veila was on a light fire, Cæcilius the High Priest recovered and saved out of the flame the holy reliques, Two Tribes were added to the rest: Velina and Quirina. The Palikis rebelled, &c. within six areas were submitted, and brought under subjection.

The Breviary of L. Florus to the twentieth Book.

A. Colony was planted at Spoleton. An army was led against the Ligurians [i.e. Genovacis] which was the first time that they were surprised. The Sardians and the Corsicans, who revolted and C. took arms were subdued. Tuccia a Visual virgin and a Votary was condemned and executed for her in- cept or whoredom. War was proclaimed against the Illyrians, for that they killed of the Embassadors which were sent unto them: and being defeated, confessf themselves subjects to the Romans. The number of the Pretors was increased from two to four. The Gauls inhabiting beyond the Alps (toward France) who came down and entered into Italy, were overthrown and put to the sword. In which war the Romans had by report of the Latinus and other confederates and allies, the number of 500,000 fighting men that served under them. The Roman forces passed then first over the river Padus [i.e. Po], where the French Insulianis i.e. Lombards after certain disagreefures were glad to be ruled by reason, and rendered themselves. Mar. Claudius Marcellus the Consul, having Plain Virdurus the General of the Lombards with his own band, went away with the honour of the third rich and royal states got from the enemy. D. The Illyrians were subdued: so were the Illyrians also, after that they had revolted and put themselves in arms; and were fetached that they came under obedience. The Consors held a Luturna, and took account of the number of the Roman Citizens, and found in all 27,000, The Liberinti (or flames of fran- chised) were reduced into four tribes by themselves, twint, Equilina, Palatina, Suburra, and Collina: whereas beforetime they had been dispered indifferently, and mingled among the rest. C. Flaminius the Consor passed the high way called Flaminia, and built the great Circus or Theater named Flaminii Circus. And two Colonies were established within those Territories that were conquered from the Gauls to wit, *Placentia, and Cremona.

The one and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the one and twentieth Book.

In this book are rehearsed the acts which passed in Italy, as touching the second Punic war, and how Annibal, the Chief Commandor of the Carthaginians, contrary to the accord of alliance, passed over the river Iberus: by whom Saguntum, a City belonging to the allies of the people of Rome, was in the eighth month of the siege forced by assault. For to complain of these wrongs and injuries Embassadors were sent to the Carthaginians. And for that they would not make satisfaction and amend therefore, war was proclaimed against them. Annibal having passed over the mountains Pyrenæ, and discomfited the Volsceans who made head against him, and would have encompassed his passage, mounted the Alps, and after he had passed through them with great difficulty and pain, and was resisted also the French moun- tainers in furious skirmishes and butts, he defended into Italy: and near the river Ticinus, discomfited and disarmed the Romans in a battle of Country. In which conflict when P. Cornelius Scipio was wounded, his son (the same who afterwards was furnaced Africanus) rescnet bim, and proved his life. G. Annibal after he had defeated the Roman army a second time, near the river Trebia, passed over the Appenine: where his soldiers were mightily afflicted and distressed by reason of foul weather and violence of storms and tempests. Cn. Cornelius Scipio (as well in war against the Carthaginians within Spain, and took prisoner Mago, the General Commander of the enemy.

The
The one and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

The one and twentieth book of T. Livius.

The fame may I well say, in the Preface and entrance of this one part of my work, which most writers of histories have promis'd and made promiss of, in the beginning of the whole, to wit, That I will write them most famous and memorable war that ever was, even that, which the Carthaginians under the conduct of Amnibal fought with the people & State of Rome. For neither any other Cities or Nations are known to have warr'd together more wealthy and puissant than they; nor at any time ever were they themselves so great, so strong in forces, and so mighty in means, as now they were. Moreover, they came not newly now, to wage war, without knowledge of the proves and martial skill, one of another; for trial they had made thereof sufficient already, in the first punic war. Besides, so variable was the fortune of the head, so doubtfully were their battles fought, that nearer loss and danger were they, who in the end won the better, and achieved the victory. And to conclude, if a man observe the whole course and proceeding of thefe their wars, their malice and hatred was greater in a manner than their forces: whereas the Romans took ftone from and did think that they, whose hope before was to be vanquished, should unprovok'd begin war fresh with the Conquerors; and the Carthaginians were as malecontent, and thoroughly offended, as taking themselves (not withstanding they were overcome) to be abused too much at their hands by their proud, insolent, and covetous rule over them. Over and besides all this, the report goeth, that Amnibal being but nine years old, or thereabout, came lawning and flattering as wanton children do to his father Amilcar, that he would take him with him into Spain; at what time, as after the African war ended, his father was offering sacrifice, ready to pass over thither with an army: where he was brought to the altar side, and induced to lay his hand thereupon, and to touch the sacrifice, and so to swear, that so soon as ever he were able, he would be a professed and mortal enemy to the people of Rome. Vex'd (no doubt) at the heart, was Amilcar himself, a man of high spirit and great courage, for the loss of the Islands Sicily and Sardinia: for not only Sicily was overvastly yielded (as he thought) as depairing too soon of the fate thereof; and doubting how it should be defended: but also Sardinia was by the cunning and fraudulent practice of the Romans surpriz'd out of the Carthaginians hands, while they were troubled with the commotion and rebellion of AFRICK; and a Tribute besides imposed upon them. He being disquieted, I lay, and troubled with the griefs and discontent, to bare himself for five years space in the Africa war, which infused immediately upon the peace concluded with the Romans; and likewise after, in Spain, for nine years together enlarging ever still the dominion of Carthage; so that all the world might see heintended and designed a greater war than that he had in hand; and if God had spared him longer life, it should have been well seen that the Carthaginians under the leading of Amilcar, would have made that war upon Italy, which afterward they waged by the conduct of Amnibal. But the death of Amilcar hapning in so good leafern (for the Romans) and the childhood and tender naionage of Amnibal together, were the cause that this war was put off and deferred. In the mean time, between the father and the son, Afnrubal, bare all the rule for the space almost of eight years. This Afnrubal had been Amilcar his minion, grown highly into his grace and favour, at the first (as men say) for the very prime and flower of his youth; but afterward, in regard of the singular forwardness of a brave and haughty mind, which soon appeared in him, and for his forwardness to action, he was preferred to be his son in law, and married his daughter. Now, if all this as he Amilcar his son in law, he was advanced to the sovereign conduct of the war, with nothing like all at and content of the Nobility and Peers, but by the means and favour only of the Barcin faction, which bare a great stroke, and might do all in all, among the fouldiers and the common people. Who managed all his affairs, more by policy and sanguine, than by force and violence; and using the authority and name of the Princes and great Lords of those countries, and by entertaining friendship with the chief Rulers, won the hearts of new nations till, and by that means enlarged the power and dignity of the Carthaginians in Spain, rather than by any war and force of arms. But for all this peace with foreign States, he was never the more fure of his own life at home. For a certain barbarous fellow, for anger that his Father and Lord was put to death, threw him in open place: and being laid hold on by them that were attendant about Afnrubal his person, he kept the same connece the longer till he had escaped and gone clear away: yea, and when he was by cruel torments all mangled and torn, he looked so cheerfully and pleasantly on the matter, as if he had seemed to smile; so far his joy of heart surpass'd the pains and anguish of his body. With this Afnrubal, for that he had so singular a gift and wonderful dexterity, in soliciting and annexing unto his dominion on the nations abroad, the people of Rome had renewed the League, upon the two capitulations and conditions first that the river _Iberes _should limit and determine the frontiers of them both: _Iberes _that the Saguntins, left in the midst between the territories of both nations, should remain free and enjoy their ancient liberties.

No doubt at all there was now, but when a new Commander should succeed in the room of Afnrubal, the favour of the people would go clear with the prerogative voice and choice of the fouldiers: who presently brought young Amnibal into the General his pavilion, and with exceeding
A ding great acclamation and accord of all, saluted him by the name of Captain General. For this you must understand, that Aframul by his letters mative had lent for him, being very young, and hardly fourteen years of age; yea, and the matter was debated first in the Coincil-liconic at Castiages, where they of the Barchins side laboured and followed the matter earnestly, that Athenial should be trained in warlike, and grew into his father in equal prowess & general. But Hannu the chiefe man of the contrarie faction: "It is but meet and reason (suppose he) that Aesaual doth demand: and yet for mine own part I think it not good, that his request should be granted. When they meant and marvelled much at this to dissent and speak of his, and will not what construction to make of it, Why then? quoth Hannu to be plain, that floor

B and beauty of youth, which Aesaulus himly yielded and parted withal sometimes into Antipatros father, for rule or abuse at his pleasure; the fame he thinketh by good right he may challenge and have again, from the son to make quitting, but it becometh us not for to accentuate our young youths with the Camp that under the colour, and instead of their military instruction and teaching, they abandon and give their bodies to serve the lust and appetite of the Generals. What? Is this the thing we fear, That the son of Antipatros should carry too long crease he be the excelle grandeur and overaptness of his father, and thefelie flew as it were of his royalty? Or doubt we, that we shall not soon enough serve in all manner allegience his name and talent unto whole son in law, all our Armies have been left; (as it were) in lawful right of inheritance? Nay, I am of opinion, and this is my judgment, That this youth be kept in peace at home unde the Salience of laws, under civil Magistrates, and learn a while to live in quiet condition with the rest of the Citizens and Subjects: for fear left at one time or other, this little spark do burn outright, and tuple a mighty flame. A few and those were in a manner, all of the belt fort and loundelt judgment, accorded with Hannu. But, as commonly it is seen, the greater number weighed the better.

Thus Aesaulus was sent into Spain, and immediately at his first coming, drew all the whole army after him: so highly he was regarded and beloved. The old soldiers believed verily that Antipatros was alive again, and came amongst them: they thought they beheld, and saw the same vigour and spirit in his countenance & vigour, the same quickness and liveliness in his eyes, the same proportion, feature and lineaments of his face. And afterwards, within short time, he had to wrong and wound himself into their favour, that the late remembrance of his father was the least matter of all others, that won him grace and love among them. Never was there one and the self-fame nature, framed and fitted better, for those two things that are in quality most contrary; namely, to rule, and to obey. Whereby, a man could hardly decide and judge, whether he were more dear into the General for the one, or to the Army for the other. For neither Aesaulus would make choice of any one before him, when there was some valiant service or brave exploit to be executed: nor the soldiers put more confidence in any other Leader, nor go more boldly and resolutely to any enterprise, than under him. Most forward he was and hardy to all hazards and dangerous adventures; right provident and wary again, at the very point of peril and jeopardy. Not wary to be able and tire his body: no pains-taking could daunt and brest; his heart. He could away with heat and cold alike. For his diet and feeding, he measured both his meat and drink by his natural appetite, and not by pleasure and delightful taste. For feeping, for waking, day and night was all one with him. When he had once perfonned his service, and finished his exploit; if there were any idle time after, therein would he take his rest and repose: and that should not be upon a soft bed neither, nor procured with great curiosity by still silence, and making no noise about him. Full often many a man hath seen him lying on the hard and bare ground, under a good soldiers jacket and homely caftock cast over him, even among the centinels and corps de guard. For his apparel, it was not more costly nor braver than his fellows and companions: mary, in his armour and horses he loved ever to be goodly be-seen above all other. Amongst toftmen and horsemen both, he would alwayes be a great way torm. And to conclude in giving a charge upon the enemy, and to begin to battell, he was by his good will never the first and when the fight was done, the last man seen to retire out of the field. Of these noble qualities and many virtues, he had not so many, but there were asgreat vices and imperfections in him again, to counterpoise the fame. Cruely moff savage and inhume fullhood and treachery more than. * Punick: no truth, no honestly, no fear of God no regard of oath no conscience, nor religion.

Dipoled thus as he was, and inclined by nature to vertues, and vice, he served full three years under General Aesaulus. During which time, he omitted and forgot no one thing that was meet either to be executed or enterprised by a man that was himselfe another day to be a Captain and chief Commander in the wars. From the very first day that he was chosen and declared Lord General; as it at the same instant, signify had been the Province alligned into him as it, if I say, he had received Commision to war with the Romans, he thought good to make no deiliies, for fear left haply whiles he lingered and slacked the time, some mishap may prevent his designes and cut him short, like as it had overtake his father first, and Aesaulus afterwards: but rather determined to make war upon the Saguntines by affailing whom, the Romans no doubt were touched, and would take arms and enter into the quarrell. But first he led his army into the marches of the: * Octades (a nation beyond Herpus, rather hiding and taking part with the Carthaginians, than under their jurisdiction) that he might not seem to have shot at the Saguntines and

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intended ought against them directly: but that by order and course of his affairs, after he had subdued the countries bordering upon them, he had been drawn (as it were) for vicinity and neighbourhood like to that war and to join them also with the rest unto the Empire. And first he was by force, and lack'd Corinna, a rich city, the seat town and chief place of all that nation. Whereupon other meaner and smaller Cities also, for fear came under his obedience, and yielded to pay tribute. His Army then after these victories, and enriched with spoil and pillage, was brought back to new Carthage, there to winter. Where he made fure unto him the hearts and affectionate love as well of his own countrymen as of the allies, partly by bestowing the pillage liberally among them, and partly, by making true payment of soldiery wages for the time past, and then in the very prime of the spring he went forward to war upon the "Vactus. He forsook by assault both Hamelund and Arb-vallicum, two Towns of the Carth. Arb-vallicum by the manhood and multitude of the Townmen held out a long time. But certain fugitives that were fled from Hamelund, having rallied them together and joined with other exiled subjects of the Oleodeus nation the summer before subdued, railed also the Carpenters to take arms; and let upon Anniulus, in his return from the Vactus; and not far from the river Tagus, troubled and disordered his march, heavily charged with spoil and booty. Annius forbade to fight, and encamped himself upon the bank of the river: and to soon as the enemies were in their first sleep, and all still and hushed, passed over with his Army to the ford: and after he had pitched his Camp far off from the river side, as that his enemies might have room enough to march away beside him, he determined to let upon them as they should pass over the river: To his horsemen he gave commandance to charge upon the Regiment of footmen, to soon as they perceived them to have taken the water: and upon the bank he arranged forty Elephants against them. There were of the Carpenters, counting the aids and succours of the Oleodes and Vactes, 10,000 strong: an Army invincible, if they had fought on even and indifferent ground. Who being both by nature fierce and courageous, and for multitude confident; prelumptuous besides upon their imagination that the enemy was retired for fear; imposed that the only lay of their victory was, because the river ran between: and letting up a shout and outcrie, without direction of any Leader, in all disorder they ran into the river here and there; every man what way was next him. Now from the other side of the bank, a great troop of horsemen were entered into the river, encountered them in the midst of the channel and fought with great advantage. For whereas the footmen unsteady and not able to keep fast footing and hardly trudging the ford, might easily be cast aside and overturned, even by naked horsemen if they did but put forth and prick forward their horses it skilfully not how the horsemen on the other side having their bodies at liberty. and able to wield their weapon, with their horses under them standing fure even in the midst of the stream and whirlpools, might with ease either right close hand to hand, or assaile the enemies aloof. Many of them besides perished in the water hence by the whirling waves of the river were driven upon the enemies, and by the Elephants trodden under foot, and crostled to death. The hindmost, who with more safety recover their own bank, after they were rallied together from one to divers places as fear had lattered them; before they could upon so great a bright take heart and come again to themselves, Annius who with a four-square battalion had entered the river, forced to flight from the bank: and when he had walled the country, within few days brought the Carpenters also under his obedience.

And now all beyond Iberia was subject to the Carthaginians, the Saguntins only excepted. With whom as yet he would not seem to war: howbeit, to minister some cause and occasion thereof, quarrels were picked, and seeds of dissensions sown between them and their neighbors, namely the Turdetans. Unto whose aid, when he was come, that was himself the lower of all the variance, and had let them together by the ears: and when it appeared plainly that it was not a matter of right to be tried by law, but an occasion rather fought of sight and open war; then the Saguntins sent their Embassadors to Rome, for to crave aid against that war, which doubled was at hand. The Consuls at that time of Rome: were P. Cornelius Scipio, and Titus Sempronius Longus, who having brought the Embassadors into the Council House, and proposed matters unto the L. I. there, concerning the weal publicke, anddesired to lend their Embassadors into Spain to take survey, and look into the state of their allies: who also if they thought it meet, should give Annius warning, not to meddle with their concerns, and molest the Saguntins: and withal, to fall over to Carthage into Africa, and there make relation of the complaints and grievances of the allies of the people of Rome: when I lay this Embassage was decreed, but yet not vent, news came sooner than all men looked for, that Saguntum was already besieged. Then was the matter proposed new again before the Senate, some were of mind to dispatch the Consuls into the Provinces of Spain and Africa, with commission to make war both by sea and land. Others thought better to bend all their forces wholly into Spain against Annius. There were a gain of opinion that great and weighty an enterprise was not hand over head, and rashly to be attempted: but rather that they should attend the return of the Embassadors out of Spain; and this advice that seemed most safe, was held for the better and took place. And therefore so much the sooner were their Embassadors P. Volcinius Flaccus, and Q. Quinctius Pacilus, addresed unto Annius before Saguntum, with direction, from thence to go forward to Carthage (in case he would not desist and give over war) and to demand the Captain himself, for amends and satisfaction of breaking the peace, but whiles the Romans were amended about these consultations and decrees,
A decree, Saguntum was by this time with all forcible means assaulted. This City of all other mild wealthy and rich, stood beyond Iberus, situate almost a mile from the sea. The inhabitants are said to have had their beginning out of the Illyrians; and some among them, were descendent from Arderi, a City of the Rutulians; but they grew within short time to such prudence and wealth of theirs, partly by the fruits and revenues of their lands, and partly, by the traffick and gain of their merchandize, and commodities transported by sea, as also by the great influence and encrease of people, and lastly, by their strict rule of discipline, whereby they obtained their truth and loyalty with their allies, even to their own ruin and final destruction.

Annibal after he had invaded their confines as an enemy, and by way of hostility, with his Army overran and wafted their country besieged and assailed the City three times. There was one canto or angle of the wall shooting out into a more plain and open valley, than any other place all about: against which he meant to raise certain mantlets or fabrics, under which he might approach with the Ram to batter the wall. But as the place far from the wall, was even enough and handsome for such engines of battery to be driven upon; so after that they came to the proof and execution indeed the Successors answered nothing to the enterprise begun. For besides that there was a mighty tower over-looked, and commanded them the wall it fell (as in a place doubled and impaled) was more fortified and raised higher there than elsewhere: and also the chafed youth and able men were befowed to make more forcible resistence, where there was like to be most trouble and danger. And first with shot of darts and quarts, and such like they put the enemy back, and would not suffer the pioneers and labourers in any place to encroach on raile rampiers in lability. In proofs also they shot not from the wall only and that tower, but showed them selves in arms for defense, but also their hearts feared them to tally forth, and to break into the guards of the enemies yet, and to enter upon their tents, huts and fabrics. In which skirmishes there died not many more Saganians than Carthaginians. But so soon as Annibal himself, approaching unadvisedly under the wall, was to be wounded grievously in the forepart of his thigh, with a dart or light javelin, and therewith fell to the ground; they all about him fled so fast and were so scared, that they had like to have given over quite and abandoned their mantlets, and other fabrics store laid. After this for some few days, whilst their General was under cure of his hurt, they lay atigger, rather than followed the assailts. In which mean time, as they retired from skirmishes, they ceased not to invent new devices and to prepare new fabrics. Whereupon the assailts began again more hot than before: and in many parts at one and another fell to raise rolling mantlets, so many and so thick that some places would not receive them; and whilst to drive the Ram against the walls, Anibal had men good store, for it is thought he was 35000 in camp strong. The townsman with deviling means to defend and fee to every place, began to move their hands full; but all would not serve. For now were the walls between the rams and many parts thereof shattered and battered: and at one place above the breach, by continual battery, there was in a breach, as the town lay open and naked to the enemy. After that three months, and all the way between fell down with a mighty and notribly crash, in which the Carthaginians thought verily that with that rush the town had been won, by which breach as if the wall had protected both the parties before, they ran forth together one side to fight. The barreled was not by a tumultuous skirmish such as are wont to be about Atlantic of Cities by the occasion and advantage of the one part or the other; but a very great and ranged field (as it were) in an open ground between the breaches of the wall, and the honies of the town that stood a pretty way distant within. Of one side they were picket forward with hope on the other with despair; whilst Annibal thought verily that he was master of the town already. If he had on but a little longer; and the Saganians seeing their town bare, and void of walls, opposed their bodies in the breach, not being backed a foot, left in the space between he should set in the enemy. The more fiercely therefore, and the thicker and closer that they fought together on both parts, the more were wounded and there was not a dart could light in between between their bodies and their armour, but it did mischief.

The Saganians used a we-open called Falaces, in manner of a dart, which they let fly and lanced from them having long shaft or head, round and even every where toward the one end, where it was headed with iron and bound about with row, and smeared with pitch. The iron head was three foot long, that it might pierce every harness and body through. But the greatest fear that it did was this, although it stuck fast in the target, and entered into the body, that being driven and flung, when the middle part was set on fire, by the motion thereof as it flew; it gathered much more fire, forced the fonder to forfeit his armour, and expostled him disarmed and naked to the floor following. Well the fight continued doubtful a long time, by reason that the Saganians took better heart unto them, because they had relied beyond their hope and expectation; and the Carthaginians took themselves vanquished, for that they had not got the victory and better hand whereupon the townsmen all at once set up a cry and beat the enemies back to the very breaches, and rinses of the wall, and from hence thrust them out clean, whilst they were thus encumbered and affrighted; and at last discomfited them put them to flight, and chased them as far as their Camp.

In the mean while news came, that there were Embassadors arrived from Rome: unto whom Annibal dispatched certain messengers to meet with them at sea side, and to give them to understand, That neither they might safely with security of their persons come among the broilis of five my barbarous fierce nations; nor their Master Annibal amidst those dangerous and troublome
beneath affairs, had any leisure to attend or give audience unto embassadors. He knew full well, H that the Embassadors being not received and entertained, would straight to Carthage. Whereupon, he addressed aforesaid his letters and couriers to the chief of the Barcine faction, to frame and prepare the minds of that side, so as they of the other part might not gratify or do any thing in favour of the Romans, by which means, besides that they were neither admitted by Annius, nor occasion given them, that embassage also was in vain, and took no effect at Carthage. Only Anno, notwithstanding the whole body of the Senate was against him, spake with great licence and affent of the hearers, by reason of his authority and reputation, and pleaded to the point of the breach of League, in this wise: 'I have, quoth he, foretold and warned you in the name and for the love of the gods, who are the witnesses and judges of covenants and confederacies, I have, I say, admonished you that ye should not send Amilcar his son, or any of his breed unto the Camp: for that neither the ghost and spirit, nor the progeny and race of that man can rest and be quiet; nor the Roman league will ever be assured and established, so long as there remained one alive of the Barcine name and family. But fent ye have, for all my words, unto your armies, a youth boiling in ambition, inflamed with a covetous desire of being a King, and one that seeth no other way thereto, but by raising one war after another, to live guarded with armies and legions about him. In which action of yours, ye have as it were ministered dry towel, and put oil to the fire: ye have, I say, fed that fire, whereof ye now all are blemishing. Your armies now bettie Saguntum, from which by covenant and virtue of the League they are debarred. Within a while and shortly will the Roman legions lie in siege before Carthage, under K the conduct and guidance, no doubt, of those gods, by whose support and aid in the former war, they were revenged for the breach of the accord and alliance. What? know ye not yet, either of your enemy, or your selves, or the fortune of both nations? This good Captain and gentle General, forth of your making, would not admit and receive into his Camp Embassadors coming from our allies, and in the behal of all of our allies: wherein he abolished the law of Nations, Howbeit, they having taken a repulse, from whence even the very Embassadors of enemies, are not wont to be repelled, are come unto you, and by virtue of their League demand and amends of trepas and restitution of satisfaction for their damages, And presuppose the State be not touched nor culpable in this Action they require no more but to have the author himself in peron, who is the offender. The more gently they deal, and the longer it is ere they begin, the more L obitutat they will be, and continue with greater rigour (I fear me) if they once begin. Set before your eyes the Islands * Egates, and * Eryx: and what for these four and twenty years past, ye have endured both by land and sea. Neither was this bearded boy our Captain then, but his father Amilcar himself, even a second Mars, as these his supporters would have him, but what of that? We could not then, according to our league, hold our hands, and let Tarentum in Italy alone; like as now we are doing with Saguntum. Therefore, both God and man took the matter in hand, and vanquished us in the end: and when we were at arguing and debating the case with difcoufe of words about this point, Whether Nation of the twain had broken the league? the event of war, as an indifferent as an equal judge, awarded victory where the right was, And Carthage it is, against which, Annibil even now hath reared mantles, towers, and other engines; M of assault: even now, battereth and shakeeth he Carthage walls with the Ram. The ruins of Sas- guntum (God grant it a false Prophete) will fall upon our heads: and the war begun with the Saguntins, we must maintain against the Romans. How then? (will some man say) shall we yield Annibil unto them? I know well how small my authority is in this point, by reason of the old grudge and enmity between me and his father deceased. Hewbeit, as I rejoiced, that Amilcar was dead, for that if he had lived still, we should now have waitted with the Romans: for this very yonth, an imp of his, I hate and detest as the very fury and fire-brand of this war: whom I would have by my good will, not only to be rendred unto them, for to purge and expiate the breach of league: but if no man would challenge him (or to be punished) I would award that he should be carried and transported as far as there is sea or land, and be sent away thither from N whence we might not once hear of him again and where he might never trouble the quiet and peaceable state of this City any more, Over and besides, my opinion and resolution is that some Embassadors be sent presently to Rome, to satisfy the Senate: and others also, with a message to Annibil that he withdraw his forces from Saguntum, and with commiotion to render up Annibil himself, into the Romans hands, according to the tenor of the League: and a third Embas- sage likewise to the Saguntins, for to make restitution and amends for their losses and loy- es, firmly and absolutely. When Anno had made an end of his speech, it was altogether needless, that any one man there should make reply, and debate the matter with him by way of Oration, the whole Senate was prostrated already and wrought for Anisbell; and with one voice they blamed Hanno, and founded it out. That he had made a bitter speech, and more favourable of an enemy, O than Plauus Velarius himself the Roman Embassador. After this, the Roman Embassadors had this answer returned. That the war began by the Saguntins, and not by Anissibell. Also, that the peo- ple of Rome offered them injury, in preferring the Saguntins before the most ancient alliance of the Carthaginians. While the Romans thus spent time to perfect Embasages, Anissibell having wearied his men, what with skirmishes, and what with trenching and raising mounts and fa- bricks, he gave them rest some few days and bestowed certain good guards to ward and keep the mandates and other engines of battle. In the mean season he encouraged his foildiers, and let their
hearts on fire, pally, by pricking and provoking them to anger against their enemies, and partly, by drawing them on, and alluring them with hope of great rewards. But after he had one in a general assembly made proclamation, That the spoil and pilage should be the loudest there; they were all so inclined and enkindled, that presently he had founded the signal of battle; it seemed, that force in the World had been able to resist them, The Saguntins, as they had some relief from skirmishes, and continued certain days, neither affording nor assailing them to give them not over labouring night and day, for to make up a new wall and counter-mars, on that side of the Town which lay open by reason of breaches. But after this, they grew the afflent more hot and furious than before; neither with they well (the flames and alarms were to divers and different on every side) whether to come itself, or where was most need of help and in pain, Amalthe himself was present in person to on: courage and exhort his soldiers, where as the coming Tower was driven which was so high, that it overlooked all the mure and counter-Fabrics of the City, and being once approached near the walls, determined, as it was in every hot and fiery, with ordinance of quarrel, shot, brakes, and other artillery, beat the defendants off from the wall: As as home dally abide upon them, Then Amalthe taking the time, and supposing that he had now a good opportunity presented unto him, sent about 500 Africans that were pioneers with pick-axes, mattocks and hand hale tools, to undermine the wall, and to dig into it from the very foundation. And that was no hindrance matter to do, that for the cement of morter was not hardened and bound with lime, but tempered with cardand lay after the old manner of building: and therefore the wall came tumbling down before it was hewn and wrought into: and through the wide breaches, whose troops of armed loungers entered the Town and withal, they seized one high place above the rest. Whereon they planted their artillery and ordinance of flights and brakes, and call a wall about it, that they might have within the very City a fort and bastion of their own, like a Castle over look all. The Saguntins likewise raised another mure within along side where the Town as yet was not taken: So that on both sides they made fortifications, and also fought with all their might and main. But the Saguntins defending the inner parts, by little and little brought their Town daily into a smaller compass. And by that means, as also by reason of the long siege, as fast as went and want of all things grew more and more for the expectation of provisions and indocous was every day lefs than other: the Romains their only hope, being to far off and their enemies near, and was not to be resisted or overcome: and therefore the Saguntins and Carthaginians, refreshed for a while their troubled and afflicted spirits. These two Nations, being risen upon a discontentment of a like mutiny and rigourously lay of loungers, had flaunted and detained those Muter-matters, that had in commission to take up all sufficient able men for the wars, and to make some fear and fear of rebellion: but being prevented in the beginning by the speedy coming of Amalthe, were soon quiet, and laid down their arms. But the affairs of Saguntins continued nevertheless; For Maharbal, having his son whom Amalthe had left behind as Lieutenent, to belitter himself, that neither the Townsmen nor the enemies, nor the men or absence of the General. This Maharbal had made some fortune skirmishes, and with three runs taken a good part of the wall, so as he shewed to Amalthe at this return, alluring along. E every place full of fresh ruins. Whereupon the army was presently brought against the very Cattle of the City, where began a cruel and bloody conflict, with the slaughter of many on both sides, and one part of the said towers was forced and won. Afterwards was there some treaty of peace and agreement, by means of two persons, Alcon, a Saguntine, and Arcerus a Spaniard, and some small hope there was of it, Alcon supposing he could somewhat prevail by way of request and esteeming, without knowledge of the Saguntins, instead away by night to Amalthe. But after that he saw, that with all his weeping he could do no good, but that heavy and intolerable articles and capitulations of peace were exhibited, as from a wrathful conqueror, of an Orator, proved to be a very tyrant, and remained in the camp with the enemies, saying, that he was sure to die, whoever should move the Saguntins to peace, and under those conditions. For demanded it was of the Saguntins, Impriunene to make restitution to the Trudcians of all harness and lofes, Item, to deliver up all their good and silver. Item, to quit the Town, and depart but with one tunic of apparel a piece; and thence to dwell where the Carthaginians would appoint. When Arcerus answered plainly that the Saguntins would never accept of peace with these conditions, Arcerus replied again and said, That being all things else now failed them, their hearts also must needs come down, and fall like wheat; and therewith promised to deliver unto them the tenor of the said peace, and to be a mediator and deser in the composing thereof. At that time he served, Maharbal as a private soldier; however he publish a friend he was, and an hoit and guilt of old to the Saguntins. Who having in flight of men yielded up his offensive arms, to the wonders of the enemies, and passed the ramparts, was the night (for to himself) before the Governor and Prefett of Saguntins. Thither came running presently, a number of all sorts of people: but after the rest of the multitude were commanded to void Arcerus was called into their Counsell house, and having audience given, in which the he peeped unto them. If Alcon your countryman and fellow citizen, who came from you to Amalthe or to treat about peace, had likewise brought back again unto you from Amalthe the conditions and articles of peace, I needed not to have taken this journey, who am come unto you neither as an Orator from Arcerus, nor yet as a fugitive. But seeing he, hath remained with the enemy, either through your default or his own. I know not whether, if he pretended and chartered
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thor himself to blame; but if they stand in danger that report a truth unto you, then are ye in a great fault. I therefore, to the end ye should not be ignorant, but that there are conditions offered to you of life, of safety, and of peace; in regard of old amity and acquaintance, in regard of my (I say) of mutual entertainment long time between us, am now come unto you. And that ye may believe, that whatsoever you shall hear delivered from me, I speak it for your good, and for the favour of no man else; this one thing, if no more, may allure you, that neither so long as ye were able to make resistance by your own strength, nor all the while that ye hoped for aid from the Romans, I never made word or mention of peace unto you. But seeing now, that ye have not any hope at all from the Romans, and that your own forces and City walls, are able no longer to defend you: I present unto you a peace, more necessary, I confess, than equal and rea

ible, Whereof you may have some hope, in these terms; namely, if Annibal offereth and pretendeth it like a conqueror, so you will hear of it, and accept thereof as conquered: if I say, ye will not make reckning of that which you forsook as a loss and damage (seeing by extremity all is the victors) but that which is left, against and advantage yea and freely given unto you. Your Town, whereof a great part is ruined by him, and which he hath taken in manner all, that he mindeth to put you by; your Lands and possessions he leaveth unto you, purposing to set you out a plot of ground, whereupon you may build your selves a new City. Your gold and silver all, as well common treasure as private monies and plate, he commandeth to be brought unto him: the bodies of your wives and children he is content to spare and save undefiled: upon this condition that you will depart without armor, and with a double suit of apparel a peace, and no K. more. These are the impositions that your enemy (a conqueror) demandeth: Which albeit they be hard and grievous, yet your fortune and state is such, as you must allow thereof and be content. For mine own part, I am not out of hope, but when you have put all into his hands, he will deal better by you, and remit somewhat of these conditions. But I think ye were better to abide all this, rather than your bodies to be murthered, your wives and children to be ravished, and haled and forced before your faces, as the law and manner of war require.

To the hearing of this Oration the people had flocked about, and by little and little enter-mingled their own assemblies with the Senators: and all of a sudden the chief of them withdrew themselves and departed before answer was given: and brought all their silver and gold, as well publick as private, into the market place: and when they had cast it into a great fire made hastily for that purpose, most of them threw themselves into it headlong after. Whereupon there being a fear and trouble already throughout the whole City: behold another outcry besides and noise was heard from the Castle. For a certain Tower that had been a long time battered and shaken, fell down; and at the breach thereof, a band of Carthaginians made entry, and gave sign to their Generals that the City was abandoned of the ordinary Watchmen and corps de garde of the enemies, and altogether lay open and naked. Annibal supposing it was no wisdome to neglect and slack so good an opportunity, with all his forces at once assailed the City, and was it in the turning of an hand: and presently gave order that all above fourteen years of age should be put to the sword. A cruel commandment. no doubt, but yet needful, as afterwards it was well seen in the end and upshot of all. For who would have spared and taken pity on those, that either flut themselves with their wives and children into their houses, and burnt them over their own heads, or in their armor, gave not over fight before they died? This was the Town won with exceeding store of pillage within it. And although much was spoiled on purpose by the owners, and that in the massacre and execution they had no respect of age in the lury of their anger: and for all that, the pilferers fell to the foul discourse: yet certain it is, that of the goods so lost in port-sale, there arate a good round piece of mony: and much rich household stuff and costly apparel was sent to Carthage.

Some there be that write, how Saggantium was won the Eighth Month after the siege began: and that from thence Annibal departed to winter in new Carthage: as also, that the fifth month after he departed from Carthage, he arrived in Italy. Which being so, it cannot be, that P. Cornelius N. and T. Sempronius should be the Consuls, unto whom both in beginning of the siege, the Sagonin Embassadors were sent: and who also in their year of government fought with Annibal, the one near the river * Ticinum, and both together a good while after." Trebus. And we must say, that either all these things were achieved in shorter time a good deal, or else that Saggantium in the beginning of that year, wherein P. Cornelius and T. Sempronius were Consuls, began not to be besieged; but finally was forced and won. For the battle at Trebus could not be so long after, as to fall in the year wherein Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius were Consuls. For that Flaminius entered his Consulship at Ariminum, and was created by T. Sempronius, Consul, who after the battle of Trebus came to Rome to elect Consuls, and after the Election was ended, returned again to his army, into the wintering harbours.

About the same time, as well the Embassadors which returned from Carthage, brought word to Rome that there was nothing but war: as also tidings came, of the destruction of Saggantium. And so greatly grieved and terrified the Senators, and pitted withal their allies thus unworthily massacred: so ashamed in themselves they were, that they had not senced in time, so deeply offended and incensed with indignation against the Carthaginians, yea, and so mightily feared the loffe of the very main chance at home, as if the enemy had been already at the gates of the City: that in very deed, having their minds possettled at one time, with so many troubles, they rather trem-
A trembled and quaked for fear, than felted themselves to consultation and counsel. For they considered and saw very well, that neither a more fierce and warlike enemy ever encountered with them: nor the State of Rome was at any time so retly, so feeble, and so undeploped to war. Moreover, it was commonly said, that the "Sarbit, Conia, Hifdri, and Sibricus" had rather chafed the Romans, and made braves of war, than exercised and coiled them in any hard conflicts: as for the Gauls, they were but tumults, rumors, and alarms which they made, and no wars indeed: but the Carthaginians their enemies, they were old beaten enemies, intire and hardened for this 23 years in most difficult service of war, amongst the Spanish Nations, and went away ever with victory: first trained and practiced under Anakles, then under Afribals, and now lately under the conduct of Ancabol, a right hardy and valiant Captain. Considering moreover, that now he cometh fresh from the ruin of Saguntium, a most rich City, and pusheth straight-ways over Italy: drawing after him a train of to many nations of the Spaniards, exereted already by him in the wars: and will not doubt raile the Galts, a people at all times ready to take arms: so as now they were to wage war in Italy, with no more but all the World besides, yea, and under the walls of Rome, for the defence of the City.

Now had the Provinces been nominated and appointed before to the Consul: but then were they commanded by casting lots, to part them between them. To Cornelius fell Sicily: To Sempronius Atcrick and Sicels. Likewise decreed it was, that for that year, there should be levied six Legions of Romans: and of allies, as many as they thought good: also that as great army as might be, should be rigged and set out. So there were enrolled 34000 Roman footmen, and of horsemen 1500: of allies 44000 foot, and 4000 horse, 220 galleys with five couple of oars on a side, and twenty foits, were set atle. After this, a bill was preferred unto the people, that it might please them to determine and grant, that war should be proclaimed against the people of Carthage. And in regard of that war, there was also a solemn supplication Holden through the City: wherein the people adored and prayed the Gods to prosper and bring to an happy end, this war which the people of Rome had determined. And betwixt the Consuls thus were the forsettined: Sempronius had the conduct of two Legions, consisting of four thousand foot, and three hundred horse a piece: also of allies sixteen thousand foot, one thousand and eight hundred Horse, besides 160 galleys, and twelve banks or foits. With this power for Land and Sea service, D was Sempronius sent into Sicily, from thence to pass over into Atcrick, in case the other Consul would be able to impeach the Carthaginians for coming into Italy, Cornelius had the charge of a smaller power: for that L. Maullus the Pretor, was sent in pursuance to France with a sufficient army: but in number of ships especially, was Cornelius scanted 60 galleys of five banks of oars he had, and more, (for it was supposet that the enemy would neither come by Sea, nor fight in that kind of service) and two Roman Legions with the full proportion of Horsemen, and 14000 footmen of allies, with 2400 men of arms. That Province of France (in those parts where the Carthagian was expected) had that year two Legions of Roman footmen, 14000 ailes, besides 1000 Horse from them, and 6000 of the Romans. When all things were thus prepared, to the end that before war began, it might appear they dealt by order of law, and with justice: and that all due complements might be performed, they sent certain grave and ancient personages in Embassage into Atcrick; to wit, Q. Fabius, M. Livius, L. Aemilius, C. Licinius, and Q. Scipio, Firsts, to demand and know of the Carthaginians, Whether Ancabol by their publick warrant and authority, besieged and afflicted Saguntium? then if they vowed the act, and blood to it (as they were like to do) conffenting that it was done by the counsel of the State: to give defiance, and pro hain open war against them. The Romans being arrived at Carthage, had audience given in their Senate-house: where, after Q. Fabius had briefly demanded nothing else, but that one thing which he had in charge and commission, then a principal Senator among the Carthaginians stood up and said:

"Your former Embassage, my masters of Rome, was even as vain as this, when ye required and wished that, for this that you come with now, bowsoever in words it seem more mild and smooth, in very deed and in truth it is more rude and rigorous: for then, was Ancabol only charged and demanded to justice: but now are we both urg'd to acknowledge a fault, and also forced to make restitution and satisfaction of hand: as if we had avowed and confess'd the action. For mine own part, of this mind am I, that the case ought thus to be laid, and the question brought to this issue, whether Saguntum was besieged by a private person, or publick Council but whether by right, or wrongfully. For to enquire and examine whether our citizen and subject have done this by our advice, or of himself, pertained to us alone, as also to confine and punish him accordingly: with you we are to debate this point only, Whether it might land G with the league to do it, or no? And therefore since it pleareth you, that we should dispute and distinguish, between the action of a General, warranted by the publick State, and an enterprise proceeding from his own motive; ye shall understand that there was indeed a league between you and us, contracted by Lutatius the Consul. wherein there is a clause, comprising the allies of both parties: as concerning the Saguntines (who as then were none of your confederates) there was not one word at all therein: but in that league (ye will say) that was contracted with Ancabol, the Saguntins are expressly named and excepted: to which I have nothing to plead, but even that which I have learned of you. For ye your selves denied, that ye were bound to land..."
The one and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

The answer of one of the principal Volscians in Spain, to the Roman Embassadors.

"to that accord which C. Laelius made with us, because it passed neither by a

confident and strong mutual consent of the people. Whereupon, there was another league anew

drawn out, and by publick agreement enacted. If you then, be not tied to observe your

leagues, unless they be assent and ratified by the nobles, or ratified by the people, no more can the league

of Afr. vel oblige us, which he concluded without our privity and knowledge, Forbear therefore

fore to speak either of Saguntins, or libertas; and what your mind hath so long conceived, let

it hatch now at length, and bring it forth. Then Q. Fabius the Roman Embassador, having

made a hollow lap within the plain and fold of his side gown. Here quoth he, within this happer,

we present and offer war and peace unto you, take whether ye will. At which word, they all

cry out at once with as great flamock and boldness: Mary even which you will your will. Whereat he let his robe loose again; 'Why then, there is war, quoth he, take it amongst you, Let

come lay they all again, and welcome be it; and as willingly as we accept thereof, so will we follow and manage it as thoroughly.

This direct demand, and sound denouncing of war, seemed more for the honor of the Ro-

mans, than to make much dispute and argument about the right of the cause, and of the cove-

nant; a vain matter before, but now especially after the winning and destruction of Saguntum.

For if the question were to be decided by words and reasoning, that league of Afridius which

was exchanged for the former of Laelius, was not the same nor the tenor thereof to be compa-

red: seeing that in the accord of Laelius, this plain and proviso was expressly added, [That

it should stand good, and be ratified, if the people approved thereof:] but in this of Afridius

there was no such condition at all: and besides, the covenant for so many years space during his

life, was so established and confirmed, and no word to the contrary; that when the very maker

and author thereof was dead, there was no change and alteration. And yet, put case they should

have stood upon the former alliance; the Saguntins were therein well enough comprised and pro-

vided for in that the allies of either part were excepted and comprehended. For neither was this

clause added [They who at that time were allies] nor yet were they excepted against, who after-

wards should become, or be admitted allies. And leaving that it was lawful to entertain new con-

 federates, who is it that would judge it reasonable, either that no man should be received into

emity for any good desert whatsoever, or for being once received into protection, should not be

defended accordingly: Provided always, that no allies of the Carthaginians should either be fol-

cil to rebellion, or received again. If it themselves as they once revolted.

The Roman Embassadors therefore, as they were commanded at Rome, paffed the last from 

Cartagin into Spain, for to visit all the Cities, and to see whether they could either draw them to their society, 
or withdraw them from the Carthaginians. And fulf they came to the Saguntins, where being 
courteously entertained (for every they were of the Carthaginian government) they stirred up 
youth other nations beyond ibi, to have a desire to change for a new world. From thence they 
came to the Volsciens, whose not the answer reported throughout all Spain turned away all other 
States from binding with the Romans for this, in solemn assembly a sage and ancient father 
among them framed his answer. With what face can ye Romans require us to preserve your friends-

ship and liberty before the Carthaginians seeing that the Saguntins who did the fame have been 
more cruelly by you their allies betrayed than by their enemies the Carthaginians destroyed?

By my advice go and seek you content, there: whilst the auxilium and liberty of Sagun-
tum is not forgotten.

The lamentable ruins of which City, as it is a doleful example to it shall be a

notable warning to all nations of Spain, lest to man ever after repose trust in the protection

and society of the Romans. Whereupon, they were commanded to depart the borders of the 
Volscians immediately, and in no Diet or Council of Spain, had they afterwards any better en-
tertainment, and more courteous language. Thus having in vain gone through all Spain, they took 
their way into Gaul: where they saw a strange light and a miraculous sight: for all in Antonian (thir

the gate and manner of the country) they came to their publick assemblies and thence, these 
Embassadors after they had for some good while heard the greatness and glory of the people of Rome,

and highly magnified their large empire and dominion, and thence made all sues, that they

would give the Carthaginians leave (who minded to make war upon Italy) to pass through 
their Cities and Towns, whereas they set up such a langour, with a certain grumbling and 
muttering, that scarcely on't the youth were filled and emptied with the Magistrates and Eiders: so fo-
lid, so foolish and shameless it moved this demand, in their conceit that they should once imagine
that the Gauls were in. After, as they would be content (rather than to let the war paffe into Italy) to 
ever take upon themselves, and to suffer, and offer their own territories be spoiled and forg'd, for that safety (forsooth) of other men's Lands, who were but mere slaves and strangers unto them. The noise and tumult being at length hushed and appeased, this an-
swer was return'd to the Embassadors: That neither the Romans had deferved so well, nor the 
Carthaginians so ill, at their hands, that they should take them either for Romans, or again

Carthaginians; But contrary-wise, they were advis'd that some of their nation, whereby

the people of Rome driven out of the marches and confines of Italy, put to pay tribute, yea, and
induced other outrage and indignities. The like demands and so were paffed to and fro in other

Councils and Assemblies of Gaul: neither could they meet with any friendly entertainment, or have peaceable words given them, before they came to M. Metellus, where after diligent inquiry, and faithful search made by their allies, they had two advertisements that Amabil

store."
The one and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

A. beforehand had wrought the hearts of the Gauls to his own purpose, and was possett of them: but they understood withal, that they were not like to continue long in good terms of kindness and favor even to him, (so fierce and savage, so untractable are they, and untamed by nature) unless their Princes and Rulers be ever and anon well fed and plied with gold, whereof that nation of all other is most greedy and covetous. The Roman Embassadors, having thus gone their circuit over all the States of Spain and Gaul, returned to Rome: not long after that the Caff, had taken their journey into their Provinces: where they found the whole City possett with the expectation of war: so rife and currant was the rumor and bruit abroad, that the Carthaginians were already paffed over the River Iberus.

B. Annibal, after the winning of Saguntum, had retir'd himself to winter in new Carthage: and there having intelligence what had been done and decreed as well at Rome, as at Cartagin [in Africa], and that he was reput'd not only the Captain General and Conductor, but also the very author and cause of all this war: so soon as he had divid'd and sold the rest of the booty and pil-lage that remained, thought good now to make no longer delays, but assembli'd the foudlers of the Spanish Nation, and to them he spake in this manner. "My trusty friends and loyal compadres, I am persuad'd that ye your selves doe see as well as I now, that all the States of Spain are in such peace and quietnes, that either ye can make an end of foudlery, and all our forces to be cattled and charg'd from service; of else I must remove the war into other Lands. For to shall these Nations proper and flourith, and not only enjoy the benefits of peace, but also reap the fruits of war, if we will seek to gain riches, and to acquire glory and honor from others. Since therefore we are not to war shortly far from home, and doubt it is, when you shall once again your houses, and whatsoever thereis deer unto you, if any of you be desirous to visit home, his wife and children, kinsfolk, and friends, I give him license and free pauper, But I command you withall, to shew your selves here again before me, in the beginning of the next spring; that with the help of God, we may in hand with that war, whereby I shall put forth both worship and wealth. There was not one in manner but well accepted of this liberty so freely offer'd by himself, and were desirous to have a light of home and land both for that every one already long'd for their friends and kindred, and forelaid in further time to come, a greater mist, and care of more lingering after them. This rest all Winter time, between their travels paff, and those they

D were soon after to endure, refreshed well as their bodies as their minds, and prepared them to abide and endure all new palls whatsoever. So in the very prime of the spring, according to the Edict aforesaid, they all assembl'd together again, Annibal having taken a matter and survey of the aids that were sent unto him from all thole Nations went to God's: and there to Hercules he paid his oaths, and bound himself to new, if the rest of the emperors should speed well and have good issues. After this, dividing and cattling care indifferently, as well for offensive as defensive war being doubtfull while he went by Land through Spain, and France into Italy. Africa should lie open and nailed to the Romans from sicily side: purposed to fortifie and make that part free with strong garrisons. In lieu whereof, he sent for fresh supply out of Africa, specially of Archers and Javelotiers, and thole lightly armed: to the end, that the Africans might serve in Spain, and the Spaniards in Africa; like (both the one and the other) to prove the better fouldiers, far from their own countries, and being bound as it were, with mutual and reciprocal pledges. So he sent into Africa, 1580 footmen, armed with light targets, and 870 forders of the islandes Bacot aera, 1500 Horlemen also out of sundry Nations. Which forces he disposed, partly for the defence of Carthage, and partly to be divid'd and asseg'd, for the guard thereof. He sent withal, certain Commisioners into all their Cities to take up fouldiers, and enrolled 4000 of their choisen youths, who should be brought to Carthage, there to lie in garrison, and to serve for hostages. And supposing that Spain was not to be neglected, and the rather, because he was not ignorant how the Roman Embassadors had visit't the same round to see how they could solicite and work the Princes and rulers to their mind, he committed the charge of this Province to his brother Absalon, a valiant and hardy man: and furnish'd him with good forces, especially out of Africa, to wit, 1180 African footmen, 200 Ligurians, 500 Balear Islanders, To this power of footmen, three hundred Horle of the * Libyphicians, a Nation mixit of Carthaginians and Africans. Of * Numidians and Mores, that cost upon the Ocean, 1900, with a small corner of 200 Horlemen of Jlgerites out of Spain. And because he should want no manner of Land help, fourteen Elephants besides. Moreover, there was a fleet allow'd him for the defence of the Seas. For by what forces and service the Romans had before got victory, thereby it was likely, that they would still maintain and continue their wars, Gallies therefore of five banks of oars, he had at Sea, two of four, and five of three. But of the five oared gallies aforesaid, he had no more but two and thirty, fitted and well appointed with rowers and martiners, and so were the

E five of three banks.

From Godes, the army of Annibal returned to winter in Carthage: and from thence he paffed by the City * Econdins, and Marched forward with his forces to Iberus and the Sea-coasts, Where it is reported, that in his sleep he dreamt, and saw a vision namely, a young-man of divine shape and resemblance, saying, That he was sent from Jupiter to guide him in his voyage into Italy, and will'd him therefore to follow him, and in no wise to turn his eyes from him one way or other. Also, that at the first he being scared and affrighted durst not look either about or behind, but followed him still: afterwards (as men by nature are curious) when he call'd and discours'd in
The one and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

his mind, what it might be; that he was so hidden to be seen behind him; he could not hold and rule his eyes, but must needs look back; and then he beheld behind him, a ten thousand huge greatness coming apace, and all the way as it went, to bear down trees, groves, and thickets; and after that, he perceived a great storm and tempest ensuing, with mighty thunder-claps. Now when he was devious to know what this great coniption and strange light might signify, he heard a voice, saying, That it betokened the ruins and sitting of Italy: willing him therefore, to go to forward with his voyage, and search no further into the secrets of the Gods, but leave them to the hidden delinies. Annibal right joyous at this vision, passed over Ilerus with his whole power divided into three parts; having sent certain before him with gifts and rewards into all parts where he should march with his army, to gain the hearts of the Gauls; and withal, to seek out and discover the passages of the Alpes. So he crossed the River Ilerus with 50000 foot, and 3000 Horses, strong. After this, he subdued the Ilergetes, the "Bargufins," Aulicians, and Aquitains, which lyeth under the hills Pyrenei. The government of all these nations he left over to Hasus that he might have it at his command the skirmishes which ensued France and Spain together. Unto whom he allowed 10000 foot and 1000 horses, for to defend and keep in obedience those countries. After that his army was on foot and began to march through the forest Pyreneus, and that there ran amongst the barbarous people a more certain bruith. That they were to make war with the Romans; three thousand foot of the Carpentians, returned back; and for certain it was known that they departed not, for fear so much of the war; the tedious journey and unpassable ways of the Alpes. Annibal, considering that either to receive them or to keep them by violence, was a dangerous matter; for fear lest thereby he should provoke the first inhabitants of the real; sent home again above 70000 foot, as he perceived to be weary, and to have no mind to the service; and made remembrance, that the Carpentines were by his leave discharged. And doubting left long and safe there, might tempt their commanders and give occasion of mutinies, with the rest of his forces he passed Pyreneus, and pitched his camp before the Town *Illiberis, The Gauls, albeit they were advertised, that it was Ilerus at which Annibal stood; yet became the bruith was blazed. That the Spaniards beyond Ilerus were for being subdued, and strong garrisons placed in their cities; certain Nations of them, for fear of sedition and bondage, rose up in arms, and assembled together at Rhaso. Which being joined to Annibal, he fearing more that they would play him in his journey, than endanger him in fight; sent certain L. Orators or Embassadors to their Princes and great Lords, to signify unto them, "That himself in person would gladly pari with them, and that it should be in their choice whether they would come nearer to Ilerus, or himself go forward to Rhaso; where, being nearer together, they might more easily meet and come. For as he was willing to receive them into his camp, and would be glad to see them there: so he would not think much of his pains, to repair unto them himself, as one that was thither come, as a friend and guest unto France, and not as an enemy; and would not by his good will draw a sword (if the Gauls would let him alone) before he were entered within Italy. And thus much very piously by messengers and couriers between. So forth as the Lords of France, who presently removed their camp to Illiciberis, were come willingly enough to Annibal, as being bribed and corrupted with money and presents, they gave his army good leave to pass through their confines along the town Rhaso.

In I. if this while, the Embassadors of Marseilles had brought no other word to Rome, but that Annibal was only gone over Ilerus: but, by that time, the Boii had stirred up the Inbrians to mutiny, and were resolved themselves even as if he had passed the Alpes already: which they did not so much upon old ran our and malice to the people of Rome. As for that, they took it ill and were discontented, that there were Colonies brought lately into the Gauls country, to be placed about "Paestum, Ilerus, and Creonna. Whereupon they rose suddenly, took arms, and entered by force into those parts, and made so foul work and fearful havoc, that not only the country people and villagers, but a lot the three Roman Commissioners called Triumvirs, to wit, Caius N. Licinius A. Servilius and Titus Animus, who were come to let the lands and territory to the said Colonies, not troubling the walls of Placentia, fled to Mutina. That Licinius was one of them, it is not doubted; but some records have Q. Aulus and C. Herennius, instead of A. Servilius and T. Animus; and others again, nominate P. Cornelius Asinius, and C. Poppinius Mapo. It is an uncertain all, whether they were the Embassadors sent to the Boii, to reason or expostulate the matter, that had abusè offended them, and were evil intreated; or that the Triumvirs above said were set upon and affrighted as they were measuring out the lands. But whilsts they were thus befieged at Mutina, and their Boii lying at siege (a nation unskillful altogether in the feat of assailing Towns, and likewise of all other most cowardly, to attempt any martial exploits) whilsts they lay idle about the walls, and never once advanced against them, they began to make shew of a treaty for peace. Whereupon the Roman Embassadors or Commissioners, being by the chief of the Gauls called out to parle, were not only against law of nations, but with breach also of their faithful promise, and word which they had given that time, apprehended: and the Gauls said plainly, they would not let them go, unless their hostages were delivered them again. These news touching the Embassadors being reported to Mutina with the garrisons in danger: L. Marcius the Preator, in great anger and indignation, brought his army in more haste than good order, before Mutina, There were in those days great woods about the high way, and most part of the country wilds
A wilds and woods, not inhabited: where he having engaged himself without his epials, was inter-
pended within an ambush; loth many of his men, and hardly recovered the open campanian country. 
There he encamped himself strongly: and for that the Gauls had no heart to assault, nor hope to 
the camp, his foildiers courages were restrained: albeit it was well known that they had re-
ceived a firewodofail, and knew there forces to be much impaire: Then began he to match on, in 
his journey atrefh. And so long as he held his power through the open country the enemies 
were not inight: but when they were entre the forrests again, they let upon the rereward of them: 
where, besides the great fright and danger of all the rest, So Roman foildiers were left dead in 
the place, and the enemies went away with amends. But afterwards, the Gauls ceased to molest 
B and trouble, and the Romans gave over to fear, so soon as they were palled, and escaped the 
rough, cumbrous, and unpalable forrests. And the Romans being not able in the open and 
damp country to match with saile, made half to get to * Tamant a village near unto the Po. 
There within a fort which they made with the same, and the provision of victuals by the 
river, and the aid alof certain Gauls called * Brixians: they defended themselves against the en-
mies, whose numbers daily were reealed. After this sudden enmity was reported at Rome, and that 
the LL. of the Sevnt were advetarded. that besides the war with the Cagalthians the Gauls were 
up in arms: they gave order, that C. Attilius the Pretor should go (with one Roman L.igion, and 
four thousand auxiliaries, who were enrolled by the Consuls in a new ley) to aid Molonius: who 
without any skirmish (by reason that the enemies were fled for fear) came to Tarasus. Also P. 
C Corellus having newly leaved one Legion in lieu of that which was lent with the Pretor, 
departed from the Camp of Rome, and palling with 60 Gauls along the coasts of Tuscan, Liguria, and to 
forward of S. frey, shortly arriued at * Augilla, and enamped next the mouth of * Rhine-
dt ur (for the river is divided into many brances, and so dischargeth it self into the Sea) being 
not fully of belie that Anibal as yet had palled over the mountains Pyrene. But when he under-
stood that he was ready even then to palls Rhodium and doubting in what place to encoun-
ter and meet him. his people as yet not received, after their being sea-lie: he lent before, 
300 several men of arms: guided by the Mafliffans, and certain Gauls that came to aid: fer to dis-
ver all, and take a full view of the enemies failely without danger. 
Anibals, his intention was to force the country, either for fear or by means of mony, was now 
D come into the country of the * Volscians, a plurifie people and a valiant. Theie inhabit along 
both the banks of * Rhodanum: and mistrusting that they were not able to defend their Lands against 
the Cagalthians: on that side of the River which lay to them: because they might have the 
whole River to serve them for a good defence and rampart, transported over the Rhõne in all 
manner of that event they had and kept the bank on the other side. The ret of the inhabitants ner 
to the River, and in those alo in several territories Anibal had let foot already, both he him-
self with gifts allured to get together from all parts shipping, and to frame new veffels: and they 
or themselves likewise were as willing to have his army transported and their own country ealed 
and delivered (they cared not how soon) of so great a multitude of troublesome goell. Where-
upon, there was got together an hage number of lighter, barges, and boats especially, which 
E were made in hait without gread workmanship; in which the people inhabiting thereby used to 
transport wares and commodities from one to another. Other new wherries alo, the Gauls egun hit to make of the hallowed trunks of trees: and alter them, the foildiers for that they had 
both store of timber and saw after the workmanship but flieght and easie, made in hait certain 
bottomes, in which they were, like troughs without form or fashion, regarding no handomeneas at all, 
so they would but floe on the water, and receive burden, in which they might convey over 
themselves and that which they had. 
N ow when they had prepared and made allready for their passage, the enemies on the other 
side right against them, kept and covered all the bank along with men and Horse, putting them to 
much trouble and fear. Anibal therefore to withdraw them from that place, commanded Hanes 
F the ton of * Bomein, at the left whic of the night, to go up the stream along the river side, one 
days journey, with part of the forces, and thole most of them Spaniards: and whereoever he 
first could eipie a convenient place, to cross the river, and so land as secretly as he could: and then 
to fetch about with his men, that when need were he might charge upon the back of the enemy. 
Hereunto were appoinied certain Gauls for guides: who from thence conducted them some 25 
 miles above, to a little 1 and compass about with the river, which here spread out in breadth, by 
reason that it divided itself and thereby the channel was not so deep: where they hewed him a 
place ofiillage. There, in all hait they cut down and hewed timber, and made boats, to set over 
Horse and man and other burthen. The Spaniards made no more ado, but falling their apparel 
to veffels of lether like bladders, full of wind, and laying their bucklers thereupon, set aloft and 
Ppossed over nimby. The ret of the army alo, with joying planks and trough together, was set over. 
Where having enamped near the river, as being weary with their night journey, and tollome work, they rested one day to refresh themselves, whiles their Captain studied and was 
occupied to execute his commision and his intended service in good and convenient time. The 
morning after they removed from thence, and gave knowledge by smoke that they were posset 
over and not far off. Which when Anibal perceived, for that he would no at the vantage of 
that time, he gave signal to his men alo to get over the water. Now bad the fooemen already 
their boats prepared and fixed. And the course and ranks of barges (which to receive and 
break
break the force of the current from above, transported the Horsemens, besides the HorSES that swam after made for the small boats that passed beneath, a gentle and calm water. For a number of HORSES swam after the ships, hailed by the bridge reeds which were tied to the pumps, besides those which were tied and bridled, and fitted to serve the men of arms to go as ever they were landed, were betowed in barges and ferry-boats. The Gauls stood upon the bank with loud hooping, hollowing, yelling and singing after their manner, who flathing their targets over their heads, brandishing and florishing their swords in their right hands, flew themselves ready to receive them, albeit for great numbers and World of barges and boats fell in their eye over against them, together with a hideous roaring of the water, might have feared them; besides sundry noises of mariners and soldiers, who laboured and striving to break the power and force of the water, and who being on the other side of the bank encouraged their fellows that were passing over. And thus fearing enough as they were, with the tumult and noise presented before their faces; behold there arose a more fearful and terrible outcry behind their backs, upon the forcing and winning of their camp by Hannibal. And himself in person came soon after; so that they were put in fear on both sides. For not only out of the ships there was a great multitude got to Land, but also a power at their backs unlooked for, came forward and charged them. The Gauls, after they had made some resistance, and saw they were easily put back; brake through, where they espied the way to lie most open, and so in great fear they fled divers ways into their Towns and Villages. Annibal then, having converted over the rest of his forces by leisure, cared no more now for any French flits and tumults, and so encamped himself. But for the transporting of the K Elephants, I suppose there were sundry devices: and certainly, however it was, the thing is diversely recorded. Some say, that when the Elephants were gathered together upon the bank, the most courageous and fiercest of them all, was chafed, angered, and raised of purpose by his master or keeper: and when he was pursued of the beast, and to save himself fled from him, and took the River, therewith the Elephant followed after him as he swam, and so drew after him the whole drove of the rest; and as any one of them (fearing the depth) failed to wade, the very force of the River carried him to the other side. But it is more credibly and certainly reported, that they were conveyed over uncertain barges: which as it was a fater way and safer course before it was practised, so when it was done and past, it was more easily credited. They caused therefore one vessel or barge, 200 foot long, and 50 foot broad, to reach from the land side and Lady the shore into the River; which because it should not be carried down with the course and stream of the water, they fastened to the bank above with many strong ropes; and like as it had been a bridge, they covered it over with earth, that the beasts might boldly go thereon as upon the firm ground. Now there was another barge full as broad, but of length only 100 foot; fitted and appointed to pass the River and was tied and coupled thereto: and when as the Elephants (driven after the females going before) upon the steady barge, as it had been upon a cauley, were gone over into the latter which was fastened unto it; then presently was looted from the bonds whereby it was lightly tied, and so haled and drawn by certain galley boats, directed with oars through to the other bank. Thus when the first were landed, they went for more still, until they were all set over: and verified, so long as they were driven on still, as it were upon a long bridge. They nothing feared: the foremost only were afraid when the barge was loosed, and they parted from their fellows, and so were carried away into the wide and deep River, where thronging and thronging together, and juggling one another, they made some trouble, whilsts they that were on most gave back from the water almsich as they could, until such time as very fear (when they law all about them nothing but water) cauited them to be quiet. Some of them also taking beasts as they were, and unruly, fell out into the River, but by reason of their heavines, they stood sure, and calling their Governours, they sought the founds foot by foot, by little and little, and got safe to Land.

While the Elephants were thus transporting over, Annibal in the mean time had sent 500 Numidian light Horsemens to the Romans camp, as espials to discover the ground; where they knew to learn what forces they had, and sliven after their designs and purposes. This wing and troop was encompassed by three hundred Roman Horsemens, sent as is aforesaid from the mouth of Rhodanus: where there was a more cruel skirmish than for so small a number, for besides many hurt, there were slain on both sides in a manner alike: but in the end, the fear and flight of the Numidians gave the victory to the Romans; being now already much travelled and wearied: on whose part (being the winners), were slain 160, not all Romans, but some Gauls: and on the losers side who were overcome, there died above 200. This beginning and prognostication as it were of the war as it portended and prefaged an happy end and succours of the whole unto the Romans: so it was clearly plain, that the victory would hang long in equal balance, not without much effusion of blood, and danger of their part. The conflict being thus determined, they returned each one to his own Captain. As for Scipio, he could not resolve to take any course himself; but according as he saw the plots and enterprises of the enemy, so to frame his own. And Annibal again being uncertain whether to go forward with his journey begun, into Italy, or to give battle unto the first army of the Romans that came in his way and met him: was drawn away from all pretense of conflict by occasion of the coming of the Embassadors of the Boi, and of a great Lord and Potentate, called Matalus, who promising to be his guides unto him in his voyage, and companions in his perils, thought it good, and gave advice to invade and set upon Italy first of all before any
any other war, whiles forces were entire in heart, no where put to the hazard, and to give them as it were the bent hand. The common multitude of the Carthaginians (for that the former war was not clean forgot and out of remembrance) feared their enemies but more their imminent journey, and the Alpes especially, the name whereof to men not experienced was very secret & terrible. Whereupon, Amilcar being now resolute to march onward in his journey, and to put into Italy attended his people to an audience, and by sundry means, as well by way of tribute, as also by enuironment, windeth and alwastes the minds of his soldiers, "I travel (quoth he) what sudden fright or new feat hath polished your hearts that ever before have been made unstable, who have adhered to you for twenty years, and always won the victory, who departed not out of Spain, before that all those Nations and Lands, which lie enclosed between two diverse Seas, were brought in subjection to the Carthaginians; who taking indignation and great disdain that the people of Rome should require all those to be yeilded unto justice (as offenders and malefactors) that had besieged Siciliam, have thereupon passed the river Ilen, with this intent even to destroy and extirp the Roman name, and to set free the whole world out of their servitude, and to have mingled upon the battlefields a name which long after his travel from Eoliens to Wolf from the setting of the sun, the rising of the sun: now when ye see the greater part (by far) of one journey done, and the worst and mountain of Pyrenees, and moderate and melancholy nations incumbrant: that great river that was passed over in three the greatest thousand Gauls, that would have impeded your passage yeare and the fears of this time is to come now, Lay, when you are within the sight of the Alpes to the other side whereof beareth low close and quiet as it were, and land still tidied at the gates of the enemies, Why? what other thing take ye the Alpes to be but high hills? And imagine they be higher than the cliffs of Pyrenean, where there is no land (I am sure) that reaches up to heaven, and no place for men unprotected. But for the Alpes, they are inhabited and they are tilled they be bread and seed living creatures and cattle; and are they a fertile and miserable for some few, unprofitable for whole armies. These very Embassadors whom you see here, drew not over the Alpes with wings, neither were their armies time out of mind born and bred there; but came from other parts as strangers and inhabited by so many good days passed by they were vanquished or else made to acknowledge with a steady hope, that the good fields that lie between Tyberis and the walls of Ramo are the end of your journey.

In these terms he had exhorted and en courage his forlaid, he commanded them to take their repast and retire, to cherish and refresh their bodies, and to prepare themselves for the march. The moreow after he departed fro the banks of Rhodanum, and entered the inland parts of France: not for that it was the more direct way to the Alps, but because he thought the further he went from the Red sea, in to the lesser danger he should be meeting the Romans, with whom he was not minded to fight, before he was arrived into Italy. After that he had travelled four days journey, he came to an land: where the two rivers Atria and Rhodanum, flowing out of sundry parts of the Alps, and taking a direct course after they had run through a good part of the country fall at length together and meet in one, and the ground lying between is called by the name of the land. Near ther, inhabit the Allobroges, a Nation even in those days nothing inferior, either in wealth and piace, or in fame and reputation to any people or state of the Gauls whatsoever. But at that very time there was some disorder and uncertain among them, by occasion of two brethren who were at strife for the crown and kingdom: the elder whose name was Brandes, and had before enjoyed the Seigniori, was depriued and thrust out by his brother, and a holy crew of the youth: who as they had lived in their land, so they were the mightier. The deciding of this variance, was prepared and put out unto Arvalis, in as good and for a time for his purpose, as he could have wished it: and for want of such a time, the empress and judge, to determine whether of them both be King, who restored the elder to the Kingdom: like as it would have been adjudged by the award of the Senators and Nobles of the country. For when his feast and good humour he was, he was eaten with cares, and more of all things abundantly yeared and instrumental and apostate, who he was driven to provide a hand, for what the coldness were in rest.

Having so availed the duty of the Allobroges, and finding now to be forward to the Alps he would urge the direct right way but turned on the left hand to the Triabiges, and from there falling by the frontiers of the Vosuitians, he entered into the Tricenrians, and never was they tried or impeaded in his journey before that he came to the River Dunamun, where dependendoe out of the Alps, is of all other Rivers in France hard to be passed over: for although it carry with it a mighty force of water yet will it be need not be, because it is kept and restrained without banks; but running at once by many diverse channels, maketh ever new

The River

- The people of Savoy according to some others, and to the country of France, of whom the Saxons.

G

the name that went of the Alps, for the coldness were in rest.

- Entremonts in Posduntum, Sit Vingenter:

- Cold off, off, of the country of Savoy.

- Troie of

- Durante.
new foords, and caufeth up new shelves and whirl-pits; (for which cauheit a footman hath much ado to wade through them, and knoweth not the foords:) besides, it rolleth down round stones and pibles, whereby there is no fire nor fitle foot for him that would wade through. And it chance at that time, that it twelled and was riven high by fall of rain, and by land-floods, and caufeth them to have very much to do, that passeth over it: and over and besides all other difficulties, they were of themfelves troubled and disquieted through their own fearfulness and inndry cries which they made. 

Pulius Cornelius the Conful, about three days after that Annibale dillocated from the bantl of Rheadumus, was arrived with his army (arranged in a fourquare bat-tel) as far as the place where the enemy was lately encamped, purpofing without any flay to give him battle, but feeing the hold abandoned, and that he was not like to overtake him, being too far gone forwards; he returned to his fins at Sea, purpofing by that means, with lefle danger and difficulty, to encounter Annibale as he defended from the Alps. But left that Spain (which was the Province allotted unto him) should be left difannihed of Roman fuccours; he fent his brother Cn. Setio with the greateft part of his forces againſt Africful: not to much to de-fend their old allies, and procure new, as to drive Africful out of Spain. Himself with a very small company returned to *Gennia, with intent to guard Italy, with that army which was about the Po.

Annibale being departed from Duuentia, marched for the moft part through the champion coutries, and came in peace and quietly, to the foot of the Alps, for any trouble from the peafants that there inhabited. And albeit he had fome knowledge of the Alps before by report, (which uelt to make things that are uncertain, much more than indeed they are) yet feeing now neer at hand the height of thofe Hills, and the fnows, entermingle along with the skie; the rude and miffappen houfes let upon rooks; the cattel, fheep, oxen, and horses, finged with cold; the people with long flagg'd hair; and without any trimming, both living and liveliefs creatures, even parched, fift and ftark with frott; and all things else more strange and ilia vour'd, than can be fpoken: then began his fouldiers to fear afreight. So foon as they advanced forward, and began to march up the firt cliffs, there appeared over their heads the mountain people, who had feiz'd the Hills: who if they had kept the fecret and hidden vallies, and suddenly all at once charged upon them they would have made a foul slaughter of them, and put them to flight. Then Annibale commendanthe the enigns to fland still, and fent certain Gauls afore, as epifals: by whom L he understood, that there was no paffage that way: whereupon, he pitched his camp among the thole craggy and steep rough places, upon as large a plain and valley as he could find. Then by the fame Gauls (who much differed not in tongue and manners from the other, and had enterminglethemelves in talk with the mountaineers) he understood, that they kept the paffage, but in the day time, and flipt away in the night every one to his own harbour. So at the break of day he mounted thofe steep hills: as if he would openly in the day time march through the ftreights. Thus having fpent the day in making fellaneous and fweat of one thing, and intending another, he encamp'd himfelf strongly in the place where he had retted and flaid: and fo foon as he per ceived, that the mountain people were departed from the steep hills, and kept not fo freight watch and ward after that he had made fweat of fires, more than for the number of thole that re mained behind; and left with the Cavafly all the bag and baggage, with the greateft part of the foemen: himfelf in perion took unto him the nimblineft, moft active, and valiant fouldiers lightly appointed, and with all speed paffed through the ftreights aforefaid, and encamped on the very hills which the enemies before held and beleit. Then in the morning befone his camp dillocated: and the army behind, begun to march and fteit forward. By which time the mountaineers, at the ordinary signal given, came forth out of their Calfles and Forts, and met at the utlal place of their accustomed guards: but then all at once they might fee fome of the enemies over their heads, to have gained their own fforts, and others alo marching in the way. Both which objeets at one time prented to their eye, made them blant and to fland till in a mutf a good while. But afterwards, when they faw Annibale his army, dilfreted in the ftreights, and in great trouble and disorder among themselves in the march, by reafon especially the horses were to affrighted: supposing, that the half fear and terror (besides) that they could procure, would be enough for their enemies overthrow and confufion, they croffed the rooks overtime, and (as they were accultur'd and ufed to them) ran to and fro, up and down through the blind and unhainted wayses. But then veily, the Carnaginians were much eneumbred, as wellby their enemies, as also by the diadvantage of the place, and more ado there was among them (whiles every one firove who should ftill escape the danger) than with the enemy. There was nothing that disorder'd and troubled the army in the march; fo much as their own horses, which (by reason of the diflomant and divers cries that the echoes between the woods and vallies redounded) were affrighted: and also if any of them chance to be ftricken, galled, or wounded; they kept ftill wining, and flinging a-out them, that they overthrew and made great havoc of men, and of all forts of carriage. Besides, the pref was fo great, and the ftreights of both fides fo steep and craggy, that many a man was thrown down head-long a mighty height: yea, and some of them armed; and the humper horfes and beasts for carriage especially tumbled downmain with their load as ita hone or Catfile had come down with a mift hief, Which, although it were terribile behoid, yet Annibale for a while stood still and kept his own men together, for fear of encroaching this disorder and affright. But after then he law his army disbanded and marching in difarray, and that it was no pur-
A post to lead his army safe through the freights, if he loft the carriages: for fear thereof, he ran down from the higher ground, and albeit with the violence of his charge, he discomfited the enemy, yet he encraved the trouble and fear of his own people. But that was seen appeased in a very moment, after the ways and passages were once cleared, by reason of the Mountainiers that were fled; so that within a while the whole host passed through, not only at ease and leisure, but also in a manner without any noise at all. This done, he seized upon a Castle, which was the chief strength of that country, with other villages lying about it; and for three days space he victualled and trained his whole army, with the Castle of his prisoners. And for that he was now neither molested with the Mountainiers, who were at the hill discomfited, nor greatly embroiled with the difficulties of the ways, in those three days he rid a good deal of ground, and journeied a great way into the country; and all at the length he came to another coast well peopled (for such Mountain and Hilly quarters) where he had like to have been overtaken, not by open force, but even in a secret professed cunning: first, by a sudden practive, and after by a secret ambush. Certain ancient men, the Rulers and Governors of the Cattles, repaired unto Ambali as Orators, saying, That they having been taught and made wise, by the profitable example of other mens harms, made choice, rather to trye the amyte, than prove the force of the Carthaginians; and therefore were willing to do his commandment, and be at his desire: requesting him to take at their hands victuals and guides for their journey, yea, and hostages also for better assurance of promises to be performed. Ambali neither overhastily believing them, nor yet curthily distrustfull and requiting their offer, left being rejected and cast off, they might become open and professed enemies; gave them good language, and a courteous answer, received the hostages whom they gave; accepted victuals, which they had brought with them to maintain his army by the way, and followed their guides, but so, as his army was not disarray'd in their march, as if he had been amongst his friends, and in a peaceable country. First, went in the van-guard the Elephants, and the Horsemen; himself marched after with the flower and strength of his Footmen, looking all about him with an heedfull eye. So soon as he was entered a narrow passage, which of the one side lay under a steep Hill that commanded them alof, the barbarous people roole out of their ambusc from all parts at once, both before and behind, and charged upon him both a far and near at hand; yea, and rolled down mighty huge Itones upon them as they marched. But the greatest number came behind upon their backs; against whom he turned and made head with the power of his footmen, and without all peradventure (if the tail both of his army, had not been strong and well fortified) they must needs have received in that lane and freights, an exceeding great overthrow.

And even then, as it was, they came to an extremity of danger, and in manner fell into a sudden mischace. For whilrne Ambali made long stay, and doubted whether he should engage the Regiment of footmen within the freights, for that he had not left any lurours in the rearguard to back the footmen, like as himself was a deien: to the Horsemen: the mountainiers came overthwart, and flanked them; and breaking through the files of the battel, before the way, and crossed upon him. So that Ambali took up his lodging for one night, without his carriages and Horsemen.

The morrow after, when as the barbarous people ran between them more coldly than before, he joyed his forces together, and passed the freights not without great damage and loss; but with more hurt of the impetous Hories than of men. After this, the Mountainiers (fewer in number, and in robbing wife rather than in warlike sort) ran in heaps upon the vanguard, other upon the rearward, as any one of them could either get the vantage of ground, or by going one while afore, and by slaying another while behind win and catch any occasion and opportunity. The Elephants, as they were driven with great leisure, because through their narrow freights, they were ready ever and anon to run on their noses: to what way foremost they went, they kept the army safe and sure from the enemies: who being not util'd into them, durst not once come neer. The ninth day he won the very tops of the Alps, through by-lanes and blind cranks: after he had wandered many times out of the way, either through the deceptualnes of their guides: or for that when they durst not trust them, they adventured rashly themselves upon the valleys, and guessed the way at adventure, and went by aim. Two days abode he encamped upon the tops thereof; and the fouldiers wearied with travel and fight relifted that time: certain also of the impetous Elephants (which had slip aside from the rocks) by following the tracks of the army as it marched came to the camp. When they were thus overtoiled and wearied with the tedious travels, the now that fell (for now the far Verg'ty was set and gone doon out of that horizon) incrcased their fear exceedingly. Now when as at the break of day the ensigns were set forward, and the army marched slowly, through the thick and deep snow; and that there appeared in the countenance of them all, slothfulness and desperation: Ambali advanced before the standards, and commanded his fouldiers to stay upon a certain high Hill, (from thence they had a goodly prospect and might see a great way all about them) and there shewed unto them Italys, and the goodly champian fields about the Po, which lie hard under the foot of the Alpine Mountains: saying, That even then they mounted the wals not only of Italy, but also of the City of Rome: as for all besides (faith he) will be plain and easy to be travelled: and after one or two battles at the most, yea shallhave at your command, the very Castle and head City of all India. Then began the army to march forward: and as yet the enemies verily themselves adventured nothing at all, but some petty robberies by stealth, as opportunity and occasion served.
How eit they had much more difficulte travelling down the hill, than in the climbing and getting up; for that most of the passage to the Alps from Italy side, as they be thrones, to they are more upright: for all the way in a manner was steep, narrow, and slippery, so as either they could hold themselves from falling, nor any tripped and stumbled never so little, could they possibly (they staggered so) recover themselves and keep faire footing: but one fell upon another, as well Herse as Man. After this they came to a mian narrower rock, with crags and rags so steep down- right, that hardly a nimble poulter without his armor and baggage (do what he could take to hold with hands upon the twigs and plants: that there about grew forth) was able to creep down. This place being before naturally of it self steep and pendent with a down fall, now was doubled and dammed up with a new fall of earth, which left a bank behind it of a wonderful and monstrous height. There the Horsecmen stood still as if they had been come to their wayes end: and when Amnial marveled much what the matter might be that stayed them so, as they marred not one word was brought him that the Rock was inaccessible and impassable. Whereupon he went himself in person to view the place, and then he saw indeed without all doubt, that although he had fetched a compas about, yet he had gained nought thereby, but conducted his army, to goe through wilds, and fo places as before had never been heared and troden. And verily that (of all others) was such, as it was impossible to pass through. For whereas they lay old snow untouched and not troden on, and over it other snow newly fallen, of a small depth of this soft and tender snow, and the same not very deep, their feet as they went easily took hold; but that snow, being once with the going of so many people, and beales upon it, frettet and thowed, they were hard to go upon the bare ice underneath, and in the flabby snow-broth, as it retarded and meted about their heels. There they had little ado and much fargling: for that they could not trie not intire upon the flabby ice: and again going as they did (down hill) their feet sooner failed them: and when this they had helped themselves once in getting up, either with hands or knees, if they chance to fall again, when there their props and stayes deserted them: there were no twigs nor roots about, whereon a man might take hold, and rest or lay himself, either by hand or foot. And therefore all that the poor beales could do, was to tumble and wallow only, upon the flappetly and glassy ice, and the molten flabby snow. Otherwhiles also they persifled as they went in the deep snow, whiles it was yet soft and tender; for when they were once fliend and fallen, with flogging out their heels, and beating with their hoods more forcibly for to take hold: they broke the ice through: so as most of them, as if they had been caught full and lettered, stuck full in the deep, hard frozen, and concealed ice. And when, as in both man and beast were wearied and overedded, and all to no purpose, they entrenched upon the top of an hill, having with very much ado cleaned the place aforehand for that purpose: such a deal of snow there was to be dugged, lovelved, and thrown out. This done, the soldiers were brought to break that rock through which was their only way: and against the time that it was to be hewed through, they fellid and overthrew many huge trees that grew there about, and made a mighty heap and pile of wood: the wind lenten slyly, for the time to kindle a fire, and then they set all a burning. Now when the rock was on fire and red hot, they powred thereupon strong Vinegar for to calcine and dissolve it. When as the rock was thus barked (as it were) with fire, they digged ino it, and opened it with pick-e-axes, and made the decent gentle and easy, by means of moderate windings and turnings: so as not only the Horses and other beales, but even the Elephants also might be to goe down. For forty daies he spent about the levelling of this rock: and the beales were almost placed and lost for hunger. For the hill tops for the most part are bare of grass, and look what forage there was, the snow overhild it. The dale and lower grounds have some little banks lying to the sun, and rivers withal, near unto the woods, yes, and plains more meet and beleiving for men to inhabit. There were the labouring beales put out to graze and pastures, and the soldiers that were wearied with making the wayes, had three daies allowed to rest in. From thence they went down into the plain country, where they found both the plain more easy and pleasant, and the nature of the inhabitants more tractable.

In this manner, and by this means principally, entred the Carthaginians into Italy, five months after they departed from new Carthage (as some write) and within fifteen daies overcame and passed the Alps. What power Amhia had, when he was arrived in Italy, the historians do not agree. They that speak with the most, write that he was 100000 foot, and 20000 horse strong; they that make the list of it, say they were 20000 foot, and 6000 horse. L. Cicerio Alimentus, who had delivered under his hand, that himself was taken prisoner by Amhial (a writer of great authority) would induce me sufficiently to believe him, but that lettereth the number of conveyed, by adding to the rest, the Gauls and Ligurians. He recorded, that counting them, the Infantry was 80000, and the Cavalry 10000, which was conducted into Italy (but likely it is that from all parts there came more thither than so, and some Authors do report) and that he heard from Ambial his own mouth, that after he had pased Rhodius, he had lost 36000 men, and a great number of Horses and other beales of burden, when he was come down into the Taurine Country, which was the next Nation in Italy, adjoyning to the Gauls. Which being a thing agreed upon amongst all, I marvel so much the more that there is any doubt, on which side he went over the Alpes, and that commonly it is believed, that he pased by a space called Penniunes, and that thereupon the top of the Alpes took the name, and was so called. Chius faith, he took his way over by the top of Cerastes, both which passages freely would have brought
A brought him not into the Taurins country, but through the mountain forests, unto the Gauls called Libu. But neither is it probable that in those days the same passages were open into France, considering, that the ways which led to Penninus were environed with nations half German. And certainly the Veeragins, who inhabit this very top (in case a man may build ought upon this conjecture) never knew that these mountains took the name of any passage of the Carthaginians, that way: but of some one place conjectured in the top of the hill, which the peasants and mountaineers called Penninus.

Very happily and fitly it fell out for the enterprise of his first disembarkings, that the Taurins the next nation he came unto made war upon the Inhabitans, But Annibal being butt'd in refresh- 

ing his army (that now had lost a great deal of their strength which they had caught before) could not bring with him the aid and gratifying of either party; for cale after cale, plenty upon plenty, very good keeping and delicate after local home delicacies, did by a sudden change greater alter and dil- 


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The one and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

...and so, vanquished and degraded Anniab, But perdid centurie its form, and reason would, that the league of the gods themselves without man's help should against that nation and which had broke the same. Such as, and covenants, begin the war first; let it in good order, and bring to the point of an end; and then we, who next to the gods have been offended and wronged, should smite the same thus begun to our hands, and brought to so good an end. I fear not that any man here doth think, that I utter these brave and glorious words only to elicit you, and that my other thoughts in heart, then shall I speak with tongue, I might have gone my way well enough into Spain; my proper and peculiar province, (where I had been aforetime) and with an army of mine own! I should have had my brother there, both a counsellor to me in my discontents, and a companion with me in my dangers, I found Anniab rather then Anniab mine enemy, and I no doubt, the affairs and charge of the war far less then here. But when I failed by the coat of France, and upon the brink and news of this enemy was left a land, I sent my cavalry before and removed compass as to Rhodanius, and in a battle of horsemens (for with that part of my foot) it was my hap to encounter and fight: I discomfited the enemy: and for that by land I could not overtake him instantly, so halting they marched away, like men that fled. I was intent to return to the sea, and embark again into my ships: and with a great expedition and speed as I could make (considering how great a compass about of sea and land) at the very foot of the Alps, I was ready to encounter and affront him. Can it be thought when thus whipped I shunned and avoided fight, I fell by chance and at unawares upon this dread and dreaded enemy? or rather, that I followed him hard at heaps and challenged him, to draw him forth unto a battle, whereby to have it decided who should have the victory in the end? I would gladly make trial whether all of sudden the earth hath brought forth for these twenty years. Carthaginians, of another mould or new ramp; or whether they be the same that fought near the islands Lentes and whom ye went away, and let go from Erry, valued after the rate of a. * deniers a piece, and no more: and I would be wise, whether this Anniab be the concurrent of Hercules, to undertake this journey's voyages, as he with himself; or one left by his father, a tributary, a vaal, and a slave of the people of Rome; who, but that he is contented in mind concerning the outrage and cruelty committed upon Saguntum, would have some respect and regard, if not of his native country (conquered and subdued) yet of his own house, of the peace and covenants written by his father Amphil, and his own hand: Amphil (say) who at the commandment of our Conful, removed his garrison from Erry: who fuming and storming, received with forrowful heart the grievous and heavy conditions of peace imposed upon the conquered Carthaginians; who capitulated and covenanted to abandon Sicily, and to pay a tribute to the people of Rome: I would have you therefore (my hardy friends) to fight against him not only with the same courage as you do with other enemies, but in a certain heat of cholera and indignation, as you should see our own friends and slaves on sudden to rise up in arms against you. We might well if we had been so minded, when they were enclosed and shut within Erry, have put them to the utmost extremity of all worldly pain, and famished them. We might have passed over with our victorious Armado into Africa and with few days forced and razed Carthage, without any battle fought. We patched them at their humble request, and took them to mercy; we let them M out where they were besieged and beleaguered; and notwithstanding that they thereby were subdued, we made peace and contracted emity with them: and afterward, when they were molest and diludled with the Africans war, we counted them within our protection. In recompence of these good fortunes and favours, they come against us; under the leading of an humorous brain-fick and furious young man, to invade and assail our country. And I would it had pleased God; that we had all this war for our honor only and reputation, and not for our safety and our lives. But we are to fight now, not for the holding and possession of Sicily and Sardines, as in times past; but for our freedom, and the inheritance of Italy: and that which more is, there is no army behind our backs to withstand and make head against the enemy, if we chance to fail of victory: neither are there any more Alps which while he is getting over we might have leisure in the mean time to assemble and prepare new forces. Here in this very place (foothers) shall we stand to it, and make resistance as if we were fighting under Rome walls. Let every man think that he is not only to defend and ward his own body, but to protect his wife and little children and let every one regard and take care, not for his private affairs and domestical charge, but only consider this, That even now the Senator and people of Rome beholdeth and feeth our hardy deeds, and look how our force and valor now speedeth and sheweth it itself, such from henceforth will the state and fortune be of that City and Empire of Rome.

These words had the Conful to the Romans, But Anniab, supposing that his men were first to be encouraged by the representation of some deeds: and then exhorted with words; having marshalled his army in a round compass (as it were) to behold some spectacle in a Theatre: he set in the midst of them all, the prisoners mountebanks bound (as they were) hand and foot: and calling down at their feet: the armor and weapons of the Gauls he demanded of them by a trumpeter or interpreter, Which of them (upon condition to be eased of his bands, and to have armor, and an horse of service, given him for a prize of victory) would enter into combat, and fight at the utterance for his life. And when they all answered with one voice, That they would with no better, and not one of them but called for a sword & required to fight: and therupon, the lots were shuffled to be cast, & not one there was but wished himself to be the man, whom fortune would chuse for the combat. Then
Then every man as his lot fell, in token of cheerfulness and composure of spirit, leapt for joy among his fellows that rejoiced in his behalf, fell a dancing after their manner, and lo (hailily) took arms and weapons: all the while that they were in fight there appeared such affection and disposition of mind, as well in them that were in the same state and condition, as also in those who stood there as spectators only in the multitude to look on: that no less happy and fortunate were they accounted, who chance it was to die in the place then those who had the upper hand. Upon the fight of some couples that were thus matched in combat, he dissected them and whilst he saw them in this good mind, so well affected and rejoicing, then he assembled them all together to an audience, and thus by report he spake unto them,

My valorous foundiers, if in the consideration of your own fortune, ye will anon but be of that mind, which even now ye shewed in beholding the example of the fate of others; the journey is yours, and we have the victory. For that was not but a dumb thou and bare pageant, but a very mirror and pattern of your own condition: and I wot not, whether fortune hath compassed about with harder bonds and greater necessities, your own selves, or your prisoners. On both hands, as well the right as the left, enclosed ye are, and shut up within two seas; and have not so much as one ship to embark in for to escape away, and save your selves. Before you rear at hand is the Po, a greater river, and more violent then Rhodanus: behind you are the Alps to hem you in: the Alps, I say, which ye hardly sawed when you were in heart and lusty, Here must ye either get victory (firs) or lose your lives, even where ye have first encountered your enemies: and

the same fortune, which hath laid upon you necessity of fight presenteth and profereth unto you, (if you go away with victory) such rewards, as men use not to wit for greater and more honeetable at the hands of the immortal gods. If by your manhood and valour we should but recover and win again Sicily and Sardinia, which were got from our fathers: those were rewards and prizes sufficient; but now, over and besides, what riches or treasure the Romans in so many triumphs, have gathered laid up, and held in possession, all that will be ours ever, and the owners thereof themselves withal. Go to it then a Gods name, and take arms, in assured hope of gaining for rich a booty and reward, Ye have all this while been enough a courting and chasing the wild beasts in the wide and desert mountains of Lyctania and Citeria, and have seen no recumbence and fruit of your travels and dangers: it is now high time for you to serve in the wars for good pay and rich rewards, and to receive great wages and prizes for your labour and painful service; you that have measured so long a voyage, pass'd over so many mountains and rivers, and marched through so many armed and warlike nations. Here is the place where fortune hath fet down the utmost bound, and pitched the farthest point & limit of your labors: here will the give you a condigne recumbence and fally, after you have served and followed the wars the full time, by order and law required, Never think that the victory will be so hardly achieved, as the war in name is counted difficult. For oftentimes an enemy of small or no reckoning and regard, hath given a bloody battle; yea, most noble States, most renowned and glorious Kings, have in the very turning of an hand been overthrown. For, setting aside this godly, gay, and glittering name only of the Romans, what is there wherein they are with you to be compared? To say nothing of that continual warfare of yours, for 20 years since, with fain valour and happy success: even from Hercules pillars, from the Ocean, from the utmost bounds of the earth, through to many nations of Spain, and most fell and cruel Gauls, ye are come thus far with victory. And now shall ye fight with an army of new and untrained foundiers, who no longer ago then this very summer, were beaten, put to the sword, vanquished and beggared by the Gaulian army (to say a truth) not known at all to their own Captain, & as little acquainted with him. And to speak of mine own person, if I not born yet at leastwise brought up in the very tent and royal pavilion of my father (a most noble warrior and renowned Captain of bis time) who have subdued Spanin, conquered Gauls, overcome not only the people of the Alps, but that which is much more, the very Alps themselves. Should I make comparison between my selfe,

and this half-year Captain, who hath abandoned and left his own camp and army? Unto whom, if a man should this day, present the Carthaginians and Romans together, without their ensigns and colours, he could not tell, I dare well say, of whether army he were the leader and Conful, For I make no small account, I tell you of this (my tall fellows) that there is not one of you all, who hath not many a time and often seen and beheld my self in person, performing some warlike and military exploit: and unto whom I (as beholder and eye-witness of his valor) cannot recount the time and place of his worthy deed & service. Then ye praised and recommended me, then ye rewarded & honored me with divers gifts & presents, And even I who have been a foundier trained up and taught by you, before I was your General will march in battle against them, that know not one another and are unknown to each like unto his Captain. Which way ever I turn and call mine eyes, me thinks. I see all full of courageous romack, and forrible puissance. The footmen, old beaten and prastiifh foundiers-lances and men of arms, with hard bards, and the light horsemen likewise, chosen forth of most hardy and valiant Nations: of one side, most faithful and trustworthy allies; on the other. Doubtfull Carthaginians ready to fight, as well in countries defence, as also for most just and due revenge. We come of our selves to make war, and we descend into Italy with banners displayed, resolved to fight with so much more courage, as they commonly who are associates, have greater romack and more hope then the defendents. Over and besides, our hearts are kindled, and our minds pricked.
on and provoked with fene of injuries and indignities. First and foremost they required, that I
your General should be delivered unto them, a condemned prisoner at the bar: then they
would have had all you that were at the assault of Segusium, yielded up into their hands, to be
put to most extremt tortures & execution. A people they are, in all of excessive cruelty inolent
and proud beyond all measure: they would have but all in their power; and at their disposition:
they must prescribe, limits, and let down, with whom we should war; with whom we may
make peace; restraining and enjoining us within the terms and bounds of bills and rivers;
which, forsooth we must not pass: and they themselves keep not the limits; which they appoint,
Paes not (say they) Iberus in wise; meddle not at all with the Segusiones; come not near
them, Segusium standeth upon the river Iberus, slip not one foot forward, we advise you. If I
sufficeth not their turn, that they have taken from us our ancient Provinces, Sicily and Sardia-
mina, unless they may have away Spain too. And if I should depart from thence, and quit that
Realm also, they would not stay there, but will pass over straight into Africa: may, they have
sent over this year already two Confuls, the one into Africa, the other into Spain: nothing
have they left for us, but that which we can win and hold with the lords point. Well may
they be cowards, and play the idle lusks, having a place of refuge to retire unto, who in their
own country and ground may be received, when they take their heels and run through ways
without danger, to save themselves. As for us, it stands us upon to play the men, and to make
account of no mean designs between victory and death but upon certain despair of all fleves be-
fides, either to obtain victory, or fortune shall fail and give us the spoil, chuse rather to die fight-
K
ning, than to be killed flying. If this be letted and deeply imprinted in your hearts, if this be your
resolution, I will lay once again, The day is yours. A more poyant and sharper good, than
this, to provoke men to victory, never gave the immortal gods to any whatsoever.

When by these Orations, the fouldiers hearts of both sides were inflamed to fight, the Romans
made a bridge over Tisemis; and for defence of the bridge erected a fence and fort thereupon. But
Amnibal while the enemies were bate at work, sent Mahabal with a Cornet of Numidians, to
the number of 3000. light horse-men, to overrun and waste the territories belonging to the allies
of the people of Rome: commanding him withall, to make as great a noise of the Gauls as he could,
and to looll, it and perivade their Nobles and Lords unto rebellion. After the bridge was finished,
the Roman army passed over into the Infurbians country, encamped themselves upon certain
hills, five miles off from a village where Amnibal allo lay in camp: who seeing there was a battel
toward, went specifly for Mahabal back again, and the horfemen: and thinking belike, that he
could never stay enough to his fouldiers, and admoni them sufficiently to do well and animate
them to fight, he called them all again together to an audience: where he proposed, and promised
unto them openly, certain affered rewards, the hope where of might incite them to fight namely,
Imprimit, that he would endow them with fair lands in Iberius, Africa, or Spain, where they would
themsefes to have, and enjoy to him, and to his heirs forever, as free hold in frank tenures, with
out service: if any one would chufe to have money rather then land him he would content with
silver, Item, of the allies, as many as hereafter were deuoci to be enfranchised Citizens of Car-
shage, they should have their free burgeoie: & thole that had a mind rather to return home again, M
he would endeavor and bring about that he should live so well, as not one of them would with
for to excange his flate with any of his neighbors and countrmen whatsoever. Lat of all look
what bond servants attended and followed their masters, to them he promised immence: and that
inliem of them, he would deliver again unto their matters. two for one, of the faves taken cap-
tives in war. And that they might be affered, that he would perform all these promises, he held
with his left hand a Lamb, and in the right a flight stone, and prayed solemnly, That if he failed
herein, Jupiter and the rest of the gods, would so kill him, as he flew that Lamb: and presently
after his prayer done, he immote the Lamb on the head, and dash it out the brains. Whereat they
all every one, conceived and embraced affered hope unto themselues, that the gods said Amen and
were on their side: and supposing that the only flay of enjoying their hopes, and obtaining their
rewards, was, because they had not fought already; with one heart and voice they called for
battel.

The Romans for their part, were nothing lo loy: for besides other things, they were affrighted
with new prodigies and fearful fights. For it hapned that a Woll entered their camp, & after he had
worried and roim thole that came in his way, escaped unhurt. Also a swarm of Bees fettled upon a
tree that grew over the General’s pavilion. Which strange tokens being purged and cleared by an
expiatory sacrifi ce, Sepio with his Cavalry and darts lightly appoinled, went toward the camp of
the enemy to view their forces; and to observe how many and of what condition and quality they
were; and there he encountered Amnibal, who alfo was gone forth with his horfemen to difcover
the country about. At the firft they saw not one another but afterwards, by reason of the thick dust
that rofe upon the march of so many men and horses, they knew that enemies approached nearer.
On both fides the battalions made a stand, and every man buckled him to the skirmish. Sepio
placed his Archers and horfemen of the Gauls in the forefront: the Romans and strength of
Allies, he bestowed behind for succours in the rearguard, Amnibal for in this battel, his great bar-
bled horses with his lances and men of arms, and strengthened the wings with Numidian horfemen.
The very first charge and shout was faire done, when the Archers aforefaid retired among the
rearguard in the second battalion: by occasion whereof, the horfmen alonesought a good while in
equal
A battle: ye, and afterwards, because the footmen that were intermingled among troubled and disorder the horses, many either fell or else alighted from their horses, to go thither: where they saw their fellows to be environed and overcharged. The conflict became very doubtful in many places until such time as the Numidians (who were in the wings) wheeling about by little and little, drove them before the backs of the Romans: this fearful light troubled them greatly, and the fear was increased by reason of the Consul: his horse: the extreme danger whereof, was put by and avoided by the rescue of his son (then a very striking, as yet, and scarce had any hair upon his face) this youth is he, who had the honor of happy ending this war, unnerved afterwards upon the noble victory and memorable conquest over Annibals and the Carthaginians.  

B) He was, but the Archers were they that fled fairest away, even those whom the Numidians left upon flight. The rest that were horsemen, keeping thick and close together, recovered their Consul within their files into the midst of them: and protecting him not only with their weapons, but also with their bodies, brought him back safe unto the camp: retiring all the way neither disorderly, nor like fearful men or hostile. The honor of saving the Consul, Cestius attributed unto a bondman of Liguria. But Verily would rather believe it of the son: which also the greater number of authors do affirm: but the common tame goeth of the said bondman. This was the first battle with Annibals: wherein it only appeared that the Carthaginians were better in Cavalry, and therefore the open plain field as it were between the Po and the Alps, were not so good for the Romans to fight in. The night following therefore, Scipio commanded his soldiers secretly 

C) without any noise to truss up bag and baggage, and to dilodge: and removed from Ticius, and made haste to Po: that whiles his boats were not yet unlooked one from the other, in which (as upon a bridge) he had brought over his army, he might without any trouble and pursuit of the enemy, conduct the same back again. And they came to Placentia before that Annibals knew they were departed from Ticius; howbeit, he took some of them that made stay on the other side of the bank, as they were too slow about disjoining and loozening the foretold bridge of boats: upon which he could not pass over, by reason that when both ends were let loose, the planks and all, went down the water with the stream. Cestius wrote, that Mago with his horse, and Spanish horsemen, presently, swarm over the river: and that Annibals himself fell over his army at the upper foords of Po; for which purpose, he sent the Elephants along on arrow to break and bear of the 

D) Violence and fire of the current. A thing surely that they were hardly able to do, who were skilful and by long experience knew the nature of the River very well. For it is neither not like a horsemen, with their armor and horses safe, could overcome so great a rage of the river, although we should grant that all the Spaniards got over on blown bladders or leather vessels, and besides, they had needed many days to fetch a compass for to find the foords of Po, over which, the army (laden with carriage) might be conveyed. But those authors carry more credit and authority with me, who write that scarcely in two days they found a place to make a bridge (of planks joined together) over the river, and that Mago and the Spanish light horsemen were sent that way over before.

While Annibals on this side of the River, laying in giving audience to the embassages of the Gauls, E) he conducted over the regiments of footmen more heavily armed: in the mean while, Mago and the horsemen, after they had passed the river, marched one 3 days journey space toward the enemies of Placentia. And Annibals (few days after) encamped himself strongly six miles from Placentia: and the morrow after in the sight of the enemies he put his men in array, and made them offer of battle. The night following there was a petty mistique committed in the Romans camp by the Gauls that came to aid: but greater was the garboil and tumult, then the harm indeed. For about 2000 footmen, and 200 horsemen, having lain the warders at the gates, fled away to Annibals: whom he spake courteously unto, and when he had drawn them on in hope of great gifts and rewards, he dismissed every one into his own City and Country to solicit and persuade their countrymen to side with him. Scipio taking that mistique as a forstoken and overture to the Gauls 

F) revolt in general: and supposing, that now being once guilty and tainted with this offence, they would in a madness run all to take arms and rife. Although till he were once his late wound, yet the night following at the relief of the fourth watch, he marched swiftly, and removed his camp near the river Trebia, into the higher countries, and hills that were more troublesome for men of war. But he wrought not so closely and without the knowledge of the enemy, as he did at Ticius. For Annibals having sent out, first, the Numidian light horse, and then all his Cavalry: without question had disorder and endamaged the rereward. but that the Numidians for greediness of prey and booty, diverted aside, and turned into the tents, abandoned and forlorned of the Romans. Where, whiles they spent time in raffacking and riling every corner of the camp (and when all was done, could find no pillow worth the stay) the enemy creased their hands. And when as they had eloped a few of them that lingered about the river and flew them, Scipio not only to abide any longer the grief and pain of his wound, by reason of the shaking and thronging of his body as he travelled: and thinking it good to expect the coming of the other Consuls his Colleagues, (whom he heard already to be sent out of Sicily) chose out a place near the river which seemed most safe for to encamp in, and it he fortified. Annibals also lay not far off in camp; who as he was proud upon the late battle of horsemen, so was he perplexed for want of victuals, which scarcity encroached upon him every day more and more. 

Gg 3
as he travelled through the enemies country, finding no place provision aforhand. Whereupon, he went to Clusium, a town wherein the Romans had belewed and laid up great store of grain: where, as he prepared with violence to for the town, there appeared some hope of treason, by corrupting of P. Brandinius, the captain of the garision there, and that with no great sum of money: for in consideration only of 400, pieces of gold given unto him, Clusium was betrayed unto Annibale the very firsthouse and garner of corn that the Carthaginians had, all the while they were in league near Tenea. Upon those prisoners that were taken when the garrison and fort was betrayed he exercised no cruelty, because that in the beginning of his affairs, he would win himself a name and opinion of clemency.

While the war by land continued thus at Tenea, there had been some warlike exploits achieved both by sea and land about Sicily, and the Islands that lie against Italy near unto it, both by Sempronius the Consul, and also before his coming. Twenty galleys with five ranks of Oars, and a thousand armed men, were sent from the Carthaginians to invade and waste the coasts of Italy. Nine of them arrived at Lupa e: eight fell with the Island of Vulcius, and three were driven by tempest into the straits of Sicily. Against them being defrayed within kenning, there were twelve ships let out from Messana, by Hiero King of the Saracutians, who hapned at that time to be in Messana, attending the Roman Consul his coming and without any resistance made his boord other three ships, and brought them away into the Haven of Messana. By those that were taken prisoners, it was known, that besides the twenty ships aforesaid, sent against Italy (of which Fleet they were) 35 galleys of five course of Oars, made sail for Sicily, to solicit and per K swade the old allies there to revolt, Item, that the especiall point and design that they felt at was to feize upon Lilibeans: but they thought veryly that by the same guilt or tempest wherein they were scattered, that other Fleet also was cast upon the Island Egests. And according to this intelligence, the King from Messana writeth to Sempronius the Roman Pretor or Governor of Sicily adviding him, that they might be in readiness, to keep all remaining garrisons in Lilibeans; whereupon the Lieutenants and Colonels about the Pretor, were sent from him with all need to all the Cities about, to give order, that their people might be in readiness, to keep good peace, and to hold Lilibeams fire. And for preparation of war, there were forth a proclamation, that the sailors and mariners should bring into the ships ten days provision of victuals and meat ready dressed, to the end that upon the signal given at an hours warning, without all delay, they should a shipboard: Also that all that dwell along the coasts, should from their lencinis, watch-towers, and beacons, espy when the enemies fleet approached. Now (albeit the Carthaginians of purpose played the course of their ships, that they might come just before day to Lilibeans) they were discovered, both for that the Moon shone all night, and also because they came under sail which they had hoisted on. So soon therefore as the signal was given out of the Sentinels and watch-towers, & alarm cried in the town, the mariners were lornard their ships and all those sea-fores also were besoarded some to man and guard the walls, and guard the gates, others to be in the ships. But the Carthaginians persuaded, they were to deal with them that were provided for them, (as being advertised of their coming) for to receive the enemy until day, and employed the time in striking falls, in unattacking their ships, and preparing them for a battle. When it was broad day light, they retired into the deep, to have sea room enough to fight, and that the enemies ships might have no ressort from the haven. The Romans for their part retrued not battle, comforting themselves with the remembrance of the valiant exploits performed in that very place, and tracing also upon the number and valour of their foildiers. They were not so soon landed into the open sea, but the Romans were desirous to grapple, and to come close to hand fight: but contrariwise, the Carthaginians held off afoot, willing to proceed by cunning and policy more then by strength and meer force; and to make trial rather of the nimbleness and agility of their ships, then either of the prowess of men or good ship of armor: for as their Fleet was sufficiently furnished, and to the bow, with a multitude of soldiers, as it was ill provided of foildiers: and wherefoever they grappled together and came to hand-fight, they had nor an equal number of men armed to hold play with the enemies: which being once perceived, the Romans gathered heart, and redoubled their courage, by reason of their number; the other side again were discoured and out of heart, for their default of foildiers. Insomuch as seven Carthaginian galleys were soon involved round and boiled, the test feld Offoildiers and mariners together. 1700, were in them taken; amongst whom, there were three great Gentlemen of the Roman Pretor. The Roman fleet still entire and whole, gave one vessel only that was bened and pierced (yet able to be brought back) returned into the haven.

Presently after this battle, and before that they of Messana had knowledge thereof, T. Sempronius the Consul arrived as Messana and as he entered within the round. King Hiero met him, with a fleet well furnished, and his de ked and coming forth of his royal ship into the Admiral of the Consul he welcomed him, and rejoiced for the late return of his men and ships and praised God that his voyage into Italy might prove happy and fortunate. Then showed he unto him the present effate, and the affairs of the Island; opened the designs of the Carthaginians; and promised withal, that with as good a mind and sound heart, as in the former war against the Carthaginians, when he was a young man, he had aided the people of Rome. So now in his old age he would assist them and for proof hereof, he would of his own fee confirn both the Consuls legions, and also the mariners with corn and payement. Among other matters he enforced him how Lilibeans, and other Cities on the sea coast were in great danger, by reason of some
A some among them that desired a change and alteration. Whereas upon the Conful thought good to make no delay, but to set sail with all speed to Lilybaenum, whom the King and his royal fleet accompanied: and as they were failing, tidings came of the foresaid battle before Lilybaenum, and how the enemies' ships were either scattered and put to flight, or boarded and taken. The Conful having bid King Hiero adieu, with his fleet set sail from Lilybaenum, leaving behind him the Pretor to defend the coast of Sicily, and crossed the sea himself to the Island * Melos, which was held by the Carthaginians. At whole coming, Amillus the son of Gises, Captain of the garrison there, rendered himself, and 2,000, fowlers within a very few, together with the Town and the Island. From whence, within few days he returned to Lilybaenum: where the pirates

B (ex cepting certain noble persons of high parentage) were by the Conful and the Pretor both held openly in portage. When the Conful thought Sicily on that coast force enough, he set sail from thence towards the Islands of Vulciun, so that the brunt went that a fleet of Carthaginians there lay at rest: but there were no enemies to be found about those Islands: for it chanced they were already, pasted over to wade along the river and coast of Lilybaenum; and having forraged the territory of *Vibo, they put the City also in great fear. As the Conful returned back again to Sicily, tidings came that the enemy had made roads into the country of Vibicenae and he received letters also from the Senate, concerning the coming of Amsibul into Italy, and therefore that he should with all speed provide aid and succour his Colleague. The Conful being at once troubled with many cares, presently embarked his army, and by the Adriatic sea, sent them away to *Ariminum. To Sext.

C Pompeius his Lieutenant, he gave the change of 25 Gallies for the defence of the territory of Vibo, and the sea-coast of Italy. With M. Emilius the Pretor, he left a fleet augmented to the number of forty sail, which done, and all things let in order in Sicily, himself with ten ships coasted along Italy, and arrived at Ariminum, from whence he put himself on his journey, and marched with one army to the river Trebis, where he joined with his fellow Conful. Now were both Confuls, and the whole piuance and force of the Romans opposed against Amsibul, so that as it appeared plainly, that either with that power the Empire of Rome might be defended, or else their hopes were gone. However, one of the Confuls being weakened and discouraged with the defect of his horsemen in one battle, and dismayed besides with the hurt he had received in his body, desired to his courtiers right deferred: but the other coming fresh and lusty, and thereby more hardy, would

D abide no delay. It fell out, at that time, that the Gauls inhabited all the Country between the two rivers Trebis and P. T. who whiles these two most piuant nations were at strife and warred, held off as neutrals, and favored neither side, making full account of the good will and grace of that part which should have the better. The Romans; because they would now make no fir, and have no more from the fire, took the matter well enough: but Amsibul was very much thereat offended, giving out very often, that he was sent for by the Gauls for their deliverance and liberty. Upon this indignation and displeasure, and for that also he would feed his men with boots; he commanded 2,000 feetmen, and a thousand horsemen, most of them Numidians, and some Gauls among, to overrun and spoil all the country forward, even to the banks of P. T. The Gauls standing in need of help, and having until that time kept themselves in doubtful tears, were forced to turn from those that offered them wrong, and to advance and cleave unto the Romans that should revenge their injuries and protect them. Whereupon they sent Embassadors to the Confuls, representing the Romans help for their land, which by reason of the exceeding fire, and so much insubordination of the inhabitants toward them, was now endangered. Cornelius liked neither the case, nor yet the time to deal in such affairs: he had the nation besides in suspicion and jealousy, as well for many treacherous parts, as also (in case he would or could forage all or her own pranks of theirs, or the fame duplicity and faithfulness of the Boians. Sempronius contrariwise thought it the instant to keep their allies in faith and allegiance, to defend those that came first to band and fide with him. But now fulfilling his Colleague's call doub'd and held off, yet he sent his own

F Cavalry, and a thousand well near of footmen thither amongst them, to guard the country of Gaul beyond Trebis, who coming suddenly upon the enemies, and charging them at unawares, as they came scattered alder, and out of order, yet and most of them laden with spoil, mightily affrighted them, and made a foul slaughter and pursued them in flight, as far as to their flaming camp, and 3000 iberg. From whence (notwithstanding) they were beaten back by the multitude that followed forth: but new forces from their own companies, they remem'd the fight again. The fight afterward was doubtful and variable: and although they made a lasting bargain on both parts yet the common voice encouraged the honor of victory (such as it was) to the Romans rather then the enemy. But no man would a greater matter of it, and reckoned it more to the fall, then the Col, himself. He joyed himself his bra; that he had got the better, with the help of the fame for-G

Cees, which under the conduct of the other Conful, came by the worte. And now (faith he) the "fowlers are conforted and refreshed well enough, and none there is but my brother Conful that would have the battle deterred: who no doubt is more hen-hearted than bodily hurt: and for the remembrance and intent of little green wound, quarketh to bear of the field & of his things cannot away with eyes-tools, but we must not thus ill here and was need for the pleasure of one cratic and sickly person. For what reason is it, that we should drive off longer, and spend more time in vain? What other Conful expect were to make up the third? or what army besides should we look for? The Carthaginians lie encamped in Italy, and well near within the view and sight of
of the City of Rome; and it is neither Sicily nor Sardinia taken from them by conquest, nor

*Spay on this side Thunus, which they shoot at, to win again: but that the Romans should be

thrust out of their native soil and country wherein they were born; that is their drift and design;

Oh how deeply (quoth he) would our Thoughts high, how heartily would they groan,

they who were wont to marry and country where in they were born, that is their drift and design;

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Upon new 8000. weapons, and once and "fierce and bold, he divided and appointed his Elephants both on the side and the other. The Consul Sempronius seeing his horsemen following the chase on the spur, and out of order; and how as unwares they were charged again by the Numidians, who upon a sudden turned and made head upon them, founded the retreat: and when they were rallied about him, he com- pared his footmen with them. The Romans were in number 18000, of Allies and Latines 22000, besides the aids of the *Cenomani: which Nation of the Gauls only, continued faithful and true to the Romans. With these forces came they into the field, and began the battle. The first charge of the skirmish was given by the Iladers of Balearics, upon whom, when the legions made head with greater violence, their light armed men were quickly brought into the wings: which was a canle that the Roman horsemen pretendely were charged and disordered. For whereas of themselves they were but 4000, horse, and hardly able to withstand the shock of a thousand horsemen of the other, the Romans also were wearied, but most of the Carthaginians fresh and untainted: over and besides, they were overwhelmed with a cloud (as it were) of darts, flying and shot by the Balearic Ilidders. Moreover the Elephants which appeared to the hindmost ends of the wings frighted the horses especially, and not only with the strange light, but also with as uncouth a scent and favor, made them flee every way. The battle of the infantry was equal in courage of heart, rather then in strength of body: which the Carthaginians, (as having a little fore taken repast) brought fresh with them into the field: but contrariwise the Romans were effe- cting and stitting, and for cold even stark and benumbed. Howbeit their romacks would have lef- ved to have held out and with flood to the end, if they might have fought with footmen only. But both the Balearics, having disordered the horsemen, flanked them with their shor, and also the Elephants by this time were entred into the middle battain of footmen: and withal. Mégas and the Numidian light horse (to noon as this battain was unwares gone past their am- buliment and lurking holes) flat upon and arose from behind, and put them in exceeding trouble and fright. Yet for all these inconveniences and disadvantages (to many on every side) the main barret a good while stood unmovable and flitted not, but kept the array, and especially (beyond the expectation of all men) against the Elephants. For certain footmen placed for the purpose by flinging of darts forced them to turn head: and when they were once turned from thers, they followed hard upon them, prickling and galling them under the tails, in which place by reason of the tender skin they are soon wounded. Whom when Annael saw thus fathered and ready to turn upon their own parts, from the main battle to the flanks and outsides, he commanded them to be driven into the left wing upon the Gauls that came to aid and presently enforced them to run a- way. The Romans seeing their auxiliary Gauls put to flight, were driven into a new fear. When upon fighting now as it were in a ring and round on both sides, there were among them to the number all of 10000, who seeing no way else to escape, brake through the middle battain of the Africans, which it was strengthened with the aid of the Gauls, and that with a great slaughter of their enemies: and seeing they neither could return into their camp (the river being between) nor for the rain well discern how toucciou their fellows, they took the way straight to Placentia. After this, thereof brake forth in all parts. They that took the river either perished in the streams and whirlpools: or such as made stay to enter were by the enemy overtaken and slain. But as many as here and there fled scattering through the fields, following the footings and tracks of the battain that retired back came to Placentia. Some for fear of the enemy adventured boldly to take the river, and being once over recovered the camp. The rain and snow together, and the incolerable cold killed many, as well men as beasts and in manner all the Elephants. The Carthaginians followed the enemies in chase as far as Tribus, and there gave over: and returned into the camp so humne and frozen as scarcely they felt the joy of their victory. By reason whereof the night following, when as the guard of the Roman camp, and the remnai of that great company of plunderers passed Tribus, with floar-boats and flat barges the Carthaginians either perceived them not indeed for the noise the tempestuous rain made: or for weariness and sore wounds were not able to stir, and therefore made them quit, as though they knew not of it. And to wiles the Carthaginians were at rest, the army was by Sempronius the Consul brought (in a full march) to Placentia: and from thence having crossed the Po, came to Cremona, became one Colony alone should not be charged with the wintering of two armies at one time.

Upon this defeat and overthrow, there arrived such tearsful tidings at Rome, that they beleaved verily and looked for no other but that the enemy would come with banner displayed right to the very City: and that there was no hope nor help left behind to defend their gates and walls from assault and violence, For seeing that the one Consul was vanquished at Ticinus and the other also, who was called into him out of Sicilis: since both Consuls, and two coniular armies were thus defeated, what other Captains, what Legions remained now to be sent for, to aid? As they were in this agony and fear Sempronius the Consul came home: who with very great danger had passed through the enemies Cavalry, which was spread here and there all about to fetch in booties: and
and more by venturous hardiness then good advice and hope, either to mis this them unpitied, or to resist if he had hapned upon them, he got away. And after he had held the assembly for election of the Consuls (the only thing above all other for that present most desired) he returned into his standing camp to winter in. Now there were completed Consuls, Cn. Servilius; and Cn. Flaminius the second time.

Howbeit the Romans were not in quiet within their wintering camp for the Numidian horsemen ranged about, and made excursions into every quarter, and (those who troubled and empeched them, more then they) the Celibrians and Portugals. Whereby all convey of victuals from every part was stopped, but only that which came by the Po, in Keels and such like vessels.

Neer to Placentia there was a merchants town, both fortified strongly, and also well furnish'd I with a garrison: upon hope to force that castle or town, Anniab went with his horse and foot, lightly armed; and supposing that to carry the matter covertly, would avail much to the effecting of his purposed enterprise, he came upon them in the night; howbeit he was not so close and secret, but he was defierd by the watch: who suddenly set up such an alarm, that it was heard as far as Placentia. Whereby, the Consul somewhat before day was there with his Cavalry, having commanded the infantry to march on after, ranged in a square battailon. In the mean while the horsemen skirmish'd, wherein Anniab was hurt, and departed out of the skirmish, by which means the enemies were frightnd, and the Cattile and hold manfully defended. After few days that he had taken his case, before he was well cured of his wound, he went forward to assault Vicennw Rc. That was a town also of men, handize (for mart town) and had been fortified by the Romans in the Gavis war. Whereupon the people bordering there about on every side, used thither to make repairs, and much frequented the same: and even then for fear of rods and excursions many of the Peasants and rural people retir'd themselves thither for refuge. This multitude (such as they were) upon the report of the valiant holding and defence of the town by Placenti were encouraged, and took arms, and went forth to enuer Anniab. And in the middle way they chance to attaint him and skirmish'd, in no batter array, but as they marched disorderly: whereas they were on the one side, none but a rude and confused force; and on the other side, both a Captain that might trust his soldiery and soldiers also that might reckon upon their Captain, there were to the number of 3,000, discomfited and put to flight, even by a few of their enemies. The morrow after they yield'd themselves, and received a garrison within the wall, and so on as upon commandment to give up their armor, they had obey'd and done: presently a signal was given unto the conquerors to sack and spoil the town, as if it had been forced by assault: where there was not so eaten and omitted any calamity whatsoever, that might afford in such a case memorable matter & sufficient argument for writers to record. So pitiful examples were practizd upon the poor silly wretches, of all loathes and luft, cruelly, and inhuman pride and outrage. And there were the expeditions and enterprizes of Anniab archived for this winter time.

After this the soldiery took repose, but no longer then the intolerable cold lasted: For immediately upon the very first and doubtful tokens of spring he departed from his wintering hold, and led his army into Tuscany, purposing to adjoin unto him (either by force or love) that nation also, as well as the Gauls and Ligurians. But as he pass'd over Apeninum, there arose of terrible storms and tempest, and surpriz'd him that it famish'd well-near the soul trouble and encombrance endured in the Alp. For the wind and rain together did beat and drive upon their very faces. At the first for either they were to lay away their armor, or else in striving and labouring to march on against the weather, and by the whirl-puffs of wind turned round about, and ready to beborn down, they stood still; but when as now the violence and fury of the storm stop'd their breaths, suffer'd them not to take their wind at will, they were fain to turn their backs, and set them down on the ground for a time. Then fell, the sleet thunder'd amain, and made an horrible noise, and amid those terrible cracks redoubled it lightned thick. Whereupon, they lost their bearing and feeling; and for fear, all of them became asoound. At length it pour'd down, and thereby the wind and storm increased more forcably upon them. Whereupon they were driven N to this necessity, even to pitch their camp, even in that very place where they were so suddenly caught and overset by tempest. But that was to them the beginning of a new toil and travel; for neither could they spread and display ought, nor pitch any thing linerly: neither would that which was pitch'd down continue and abide the wind, which rent and tore, and broke every thing, and hurried it clean away. And within a while, the water that fell, and by reason of the wind was raised aloft, being conceald once upon the cold tops of the hills, turned into a kind of hail and snow together, and came upon them with such a force, that leaving all things else, the men were forced to lie along, groveling upon their faces, rather stifled and immother'd, then cover'd with their billings. Hereupon entered a frost, so violent and outrageous, that of that miserable and pitiful heap of men and beasts, that lay there along, there was not one for a good while could raise O and lift up himself when he would, by reason, that for stark cold their fingers were benumm'd, that they could hardly bend and bow their joints. Afterwards, at length, when with biting and chastising their limbs; they got some heat, and came again to themselves, and that here and there in some places the began to make fires; every one that had means so to do, ran and fled to the fires or and help of others. Thus for two days they remained there pinnd up as if they had been besieged, Many a man and beast, and seven Elephants also of them that remained after the battle at Trabia, were starved and perished.
A By occasion hereof, Annibal departed from Apenninus, back again toward Placentia: and when he had marched ten miles on his way, he set him down and encamped. The morrow after he led against the enemy 12,000 foot, and 5000 horse. Sempronius the Consul also, being now returned from Rome, retired not battle; and the same day, the enemies were distant but three miles almsfar: the morrow after they fought on each side most fiercely and courageously, and with variable event and fortune. At the first-on the Romans had the better hand, so far forth, as that not only in fight they overcame their enemies, but also after they had discomfited them, and put them back, they chased them into their camp, and anon assailed the same. Annibal having ordained some few to defend the rampart and the gates, retired the rest thick and close together into the midst of the camp, and commanded them to give ear and be inventive to the signal, when he would have them issue forth. Now was it the first hour of the day, when the Roman Consul having toiled and wearied his foundiers to no purpose, and seeing no hope to win the camp, sounded the retreat. Which so soon as Annibal heard and saw the fight withal to slack and wax cold, and the enemy retired back from the camp, presently illaid himself with the whole strength of his Infantry, for he had sent out his horsemen both on the right hand and the left after the enemies. There had not been lightly a more fierer and cruel battle stricken, and more memorable, for the final mischief of both parts, if the day would have given them time to have fought longer. But the night parted the fray, which was hotly begun with exceeding tempest and courage. Whereupon, the contriving and charging one of another, was more eager, then the slaughter bloody between them; and as the fight in manner was equal, so they parted with losses alike. For of each side there died above fix hundred footmen, and half as many horsemen. But the loss on the Romans side was greater than in proportion of the number, because certain of the degree and calling of Knights, and five Colonels, and three Captains of the Allies, were slain.

After this journey, Annibal went into the country of the Ligurians, and Sempronius to Luca. To welcome Annibal at his first coming into Liguria, there were delivered unto him two Roman Quellers or Treasurers, Cn. Fulvius and L. Lauretian, who were intercepted by the Ligurians, and taken in a train of ambush, with two Colonels, and five others besides, who were as good as Senators fellows: and this was done, because he should affume himself the better, that the peace and amity contracted with them, would be faithfully kept, and observed.

D Wherein these things thus passed in Italy, Cn. Scipio, who was sent into Spain with a fleet and army for sea and land, having set forth from the mouth of Rhodanus, and compassed the mountains Pyrenees, arrived at a place called Emporia, where he disembarked and landed his forces, and entered into the Roman Empire all the country, beginning at the Lacetan, and from thence all the sea coast as far as to the river Iberus, partly by renewing their ancient leagues, and partly by devolving men to contract new. Whereupon, there arose a great name of him for his clemency: whereby he prevailed not only with the States by the sea side but also amongst the inlanders and mountaineers, even to the nations that were more of an ancient usage with whom he not only made peace, but also wrought them so, that they took arms in his quarrel; and there were levied from among them, certain strong companies and bands for to aid and succour him. Hannibal, whom Annibal had left for defence of that province, was not ignorant hereof: and therefore, before all was gone, and the country alienated, he thought good to meet with this mischief; and having pitched his camp in sight of the enemies, set his men in ordainance of battle. The Roman Captain likewise resolved not to defer the fight: knowing that fo, he might be forced to encounter both with Hannibal, and Aferhalis, and rather he desired to deal with them one after the other single; than at once with both. But this battle was not so much dangerous. Six thousand enemies were left behind, and two thousand taken prisoners, together with those that were left in the guard of the camp. For both the camp was forced and won, and also the General himself with certain guards was taken prisoner. Moreover Seffian, a town near unto the camp was won by assault: howbeit, the spoil and pillage of the town were matters of small worth and value; namely, the houffold stuff, and such self and trumpery of barbarous people, and certain poor base values. It was the camp that enriched the foundiers: by reason that not only the army which was now vanquished, but also which with Annibal departed in Italy, and left behind them about Pyrenees, all good things to speak of, that they set store by, because they would go lightly, and not be encumbered with carriages. Before any certain report of this overthrow came to Aferhalis, he had passed over Iberus with 8000 footmen, and 1000 horsemen, as purposing to make head against the Romans at their first coming: but when he heard how the field was lost, and the camp withal, he turned his journey to the sea. And not far from Tartaros, he found the foundiers of the Armado, and the martiners besides, wandering and fleesing over the fields (for usual it is, that happy success should breed careless negligence) whereupon he sent out his horsemen every way, and with great laughter and flight he chased them to their ships: and not adventuring to make any longer stay thereabout, for fear to be surprized of Seipio, he retired back to the other side of Iberus. Seipio also upon the first report of these new enemies, having rallied his forces together in great haste, after he had chastised a few Captains, and left behind him a small garrison at Tartaros, returned with his fleet to Emporia. He had no sooner departed from thence, but Aferhalis was there in his place; and having induced and instated the chief of the Ilergetes, who (had given hostages to Seipio) for to revolt and rebel, even with their own youth waited the territories of all those that continued faithful condescend to the Romans. Afterwards, when Seipio was routed
routed once out of the place where he wintered, the enemy retired again, and quit all the country on that side I levias. Then Scipio having in hostile manner invaded the countries, abandoned and left by him that was the author and cause of their rebellion, and by that means the nation likewise of the Illyrietes, after he had driven them all within Ataragiis, which is their capital town, he laid siege unto it round about, and within few days brought the whole felogeneity of the Illyrietes under his obedience: and besides a greater number of hostages then before (which they were contrained to deliver) he condemned them in a good round sum of money. From thence he went forward against the Aueurians, near to levias, being associates also to the Carthaginians: and having beleaguered their City, he fore-laid and intercepted the Aueurians as they came by night to succour their neighbors, not far from the town, even as they were at the point to enter in. There were slain of them 1200, and the rest being well-near all disarmed, laid every way flattering here and there over the fields home to their houses. All the help and defence that they had who were within, was only the soul and cold winter weather, evermore sought and hurried to auxiliaries that he forth. The siege lasted thirty days, during which time, seldom fell the snow less than four foot deep, and so covered the pentiies and mantlets of the Romans, that when the enemies flung fire and airy times thereupon that alone saved the fame & nothing else. In the end, upon the departure of their Prince Annius, who was fled to Afdrabul, they yielded, upon condition to pay twenty talents of silver, & Scپio returned to Tarracon, there to winter.

But that years at Rome and about the City, were many strange and prodigious signs seen, or at leastwise (a thing usual when minds are once tinctured with religion, and given to make things frantic) many were reported, and soon believed. Among which, this was one: that a babe of condition free born, and but half year old, cried with a loud voice in the herb market to Triumphi. Also in the beasts market, an Ox of himself undriven, climbed up to the third loft of story of an house, and from thence being frighted with the noise and noise of the dwellers below, himself down. Moreover, there was seen in the welkin or element, the resemblance of a navy of ships; and the Temple of Lady "Sper, standing in the herb market, was filled with lightning. Likewise at Lomianus the spear of Juno shook and brandlished of it fell: and a Raven flew into Juno's Church, and lighted upon the very Shrine or Altar of Juno. In the territory of Amrternum, in many places were seen men, as it were, in white garments, but only afar off; for as folk went nearer or nearer, they seemed not to be men, but could not be what it. In Picenum it rained stones; and at Core the lots were tound diminished; and in Gaul, a Wolf drew forth a watchman his sword out of his scabbard, and carried it away. For other prodigious tokens, order was given to the Decemvirs to peruse the books of Sibylla. But for the raining of stones in Picenum, there was ordained a Novennial feast for nine days: and for the expiration of the other prodigies, the whole City in manner was occupied in their devotions. And now above all other things the City was solemnly purged, and greater beasts killed in sacrifice in the honor of those gods, for whom they were ordained, and a profect of gold weighing 40 pound, was carried unto Juno at Laurentum. And the dames and matrons of Rome erected a molten image of brats for Juno in Aventium: and at Core where the lots were diminished, was appointed a Lestifern, and a procession or supplication to Fortune in Aventum. At Rome also there was a Lestifern solemnized to Ferventa [the M gods of youth] and a solemn procession at the Church of Hercules. Moreover, express commandment was given to all the people, to make procession and supplication at every Altar and Shrine of their gods. And to god Genius, they sacrificed five greater beasts, And C. Atilius Scarrus the Pretor, was commanded to pronounce a solemn vow, in case the Common weel continued in the same good estate, ten years, and decayed not. These pontentious prodigies thus expired, and vows made according to Sibylla books, eated mens hearts mightily of their religious fear. Then one of the elect Comites, to wit. Flamininus, to whom were allotted those Legions which wintered at Placentia, sent an Edict with Letters to the Comit, that the Army should be in camp at Ariminum, upon the " Ides of March. His purpose was. to enter into his Consulship in the Province, remembering the old contentions and debates which he had with the Nobles, first when he was a Tribun of the Commons, and afterwards when he was Consul, as well about the Consulship (of which, they would have deprived him) as also, about the triumph, which they denied him. Hated he was besides the Senate, for the new Act or Law, which Q. Claudius (a Tribun of the Commons) had made, to prejudicial to the Senate; and only C Flamininus) of all the Nobles, supported it and let it forwardmanly. That no Senator, or father of a Senator should have a Ship at Sea, bearing above 300, Amphorases: for that was thought sufficient to transport their commodities and fruits to Rome, sluing out of their lands and living. And as for all other gain by traffic, it was not beooming a Nobleman and Senator. This matter having been debated with great concretion, called the proponent of this law (Flamininus) to in such evil will and delightness with the Nobility, but it procured him the affection and love of the Commons, and in course of time a second Consulship, Supposing therefore, that with iterating the Aupices, and putting him to take the presages anew by the flight of birds, and by finding other delays, upon occasion of the Latin holy days, and one business or other belonging to the Consuls charge, they would detain and keep him back still in the City; he set a comenence, as though he would take a journey like a private person, and so departed secretly into the Province. Which thing, when it was once blazed abroad, made the Nobles who were afore maliciously bent against him, to be angry anew; and they gave out, that it was not the Senate only, that C. Flamininus waited against
against, but the immortal Goddesse. For he, who before time had been made God, without regard of taking Antipics, and having the approbation of the birds, when he was proclaimed and called both by God and man out of the field, obeyed not: and now, having a heavy confidence, furnished with offences past, both fled from the Capitol and the solemn murther and making of vows, for that he would not upon the ordinary day entering his Magistracy, visit the Temple of Jup. Opt., Max. nor (because he was odious to the Senate, and they likewise hated him alone) see them and ask their advice and counsel: nor proclaim the Latin Holy-days, and celebrate to Jup. Latini, the solemn yearly sacrifices upon the Alban Hill: nor yet, after he had entered into the city by night, and taken on birds, pronounce his vows there, and depart from thence in his rich coat-armour toward the Province. They said moreover, that he was flipp and slyly never away like a dog, that followeth the camp, without the eights and ornaments of authority, without Sergents and Officers, as if he had been banished, and so left his country, minding beke to enter his government more for the honor and dignity of Ariminum than of Rome, and to put upon him his purp. robe of estate, embroidered with scarlet rather than in hollow and common line; then in his own house. They all every one opined and judged that he should be recalled and brought back again peremptorily yea and be forced personally at home to perform all duties belonging to God and man, before that he went forth to the Province and to the army, about this embelissig (for they thought meet to send Embassadors) went Q. Terentius, and M. Antius: but they prevailed no more than in his former Council the letters missing had done, which were sent from the sent. A few days after he entered his office, and as he was siting, the Cai of young Bullo, being already sly, got away from the hands of the sacrificers, and spottet of many of the 'sanders by with blind, But they that stood far off, not knowing what the matter was of that, fled away, and ran to and fro: which of most men was judged a foretoken and prefiguration of some great affright and trouble. After this, when he had received the two legions of Sempronius the Counti of the year before, and other two, of C. Attilius the Pretor, he began to conduct his army into Tuscany by the way of Apenninus.

The two and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the two and twentieth Book.

A

Annibal came into Hetruria, after he had lost one of his eyes by occasion of comittal watching in the Marches, through which he marched four days and three nights, without taking his reposes, &c. C. Flaminius the Counti of Rome, went forth, contrary to the warrant and approbation of the A'spices, and caused the field-ensign to be dug out of the ground, when he saw, if they could not be picked up; and being mounted on Horse, &c. fell with his head from his body. His fortune was to be surprized in an amb. by Ribatilas, which he had laid for him near the Lake called Thylamaerus: where he and his army were defeated, and fell upon the edge of the sword. Six thousand Romans, who brake through and made an escape, now first finding the faithful pretor that Mahabal had made into them, were by the falsehood of Annibal put in prison. When upon the news of this overthrow, there was great mourning and sorrow at Rome; there were two mothers to die for joy, that beyond their hope and expectation, they recovered their sons, and saw them alive, whom they supposed to be slain in this field. In regard of the forenamed defeat, there was vowed a sacred spring, according to the books of Sibylas. After this when Q. Fabius Maximus the Dictator sent against Annibal, would not come after battle with him, for fear he should hazard his life; the soldiery hastily reviled and denounced with afe and ornaments, as an enemy, and of so many victories, and by making head, and opposing himself only against Annibal embattled his attempts and enterprises: M. Minutius the General of his Horse, a man of a proud spirit, and a rich field, at home, with charging the Dictator, and accepting upon himself the protection of the people, for a faithful and considerable person, and so much by virtue of their power and authority, he was joined in equal command and commission with the Dictator. By means whereof, the army and the forces were parted and diversified between them, as Minutius gave the enemy battle in a place of great advantage, whereupon his Legions were divided and in great h}

B

C:

G

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The two and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

NOW approached the spring, when Hannibal removed out of his wintering holds, after he had layed before to pass over the Alpes: but in vain, by reason of the intolerable cold; where also he layed in greater danger of his own person. By which time the Gauls, who having risen up in arms on his side, for hope of pillage and pillage, seeing now in stead of harrying and carrying away of booties out of other men's lands, that their own country was become the place of the war troubled and molested as we live with the one army as the other which abide there all winter turned their hatred and malice from the Romans back again upon Hannibal: In such hour, as after he had been sturdy, times fore laid by the great trains of their princes, and in danger to be murdered, he escaped only by the deceitfulness and malice practised among their own selves. For with what in ontamity and entity they had conspiried together, with the same they bewrayed one another and detected the conspiracy unto him. By means whereof, as also by changing one while his apparel, another while he boned and attire of his head, by errours allo and misconception, he avoided the peril, and saved himself: But to it was, that even this fear in which he was troubled, caused him to remove the looser out of his wintering harbour,

About the same time, Aufidius entered into his Consulship at Rome, on the Ideas of Marcellus, where, after he had pronounced to the Senate concerning the affairs of the Common-wealth, the hatred and malice which the LL. had conceived against C. Flaminius, was renewed afore: For they said, that they created two Confils, and had cut one. For that lawful government and authority which Flaminius should have had, that auspice of Magnificity which he was meet and due, he ought to have carried with him from the City, from the publick and private habitations, after he had celebrated the Latin holy days, and offered sacrifice upon the mountain Alban, and made his solemn vows accordingly, within the Capitol. But since for default herein, he departed from the City a private person, the Auphires of government could not follow and accompany him: and being gone without them, he might not lawfully take the same anew in force of law. Now there were sundry strange prodigious tokens besides, reported from many places at once, which much encroached their fear: namely, that in Sicily certain foolsfiers javelins were on fire: and in Sar- donna, a Horseman walking staff, as he went the round, and visited the watch upon the wall, burned in his hand: That upon the first and Sea flour, there were seen many light fires, as to all the coasts shine again withall: That two shields were burning blood: That there were some foolsfiers smitten dead with lightning: That the circle and body of the sun appeared in fixed leis in compacts, and eclipsed. Also that there fell from the sky burning flames, at Preneste: And at Arpes there were seen in the Element, Palm or Date Trees: and the sun fighting with the moon: Moreover, at Capua, two moons rose and shewed in the day time: that at Crete, the waters ran mingled with blood: That the very fountain of Hercules yielded and cast up water bespied with blood: That as folk resided in Autumn fields, certain bloody ears of corn light into their baskets: At Falerii the heaven seemed to cleave in lacer and open, and to flow as it were a great chink; and out of the place where it gaped, there shone a great light: That the lots of their own selves diminished, and one fell out of the pitcher with this inscription, Mars brandisheth and forbids his fear. And about the same time at Rome the Statute of M. Livier in the high way Appia, near to the images of the wolves: and at Capua, the wellkin seemed to be on fire. And the form of a moon fell down in a rain or shower. After this, many gave belief afo to prodigies of far les importance: namely, that some mens goats, in stead of hair bare wool: that a hen turned into a cock, and a cock proved to be a hen. These things as folk reported, were declared abroad, and the authors brought into the Senate: where the Consul propounded before the L.L. and required their advice, as touching matters of Religion. Whereupon, there passed a decree that these strange tokens, some should be purged and expiated with greater sacrifices, other with young sucklings: and
A and that for three days, there should be supplications at all the Shrines and Altars of the Gods. As for other matters, after that the Decemvirs had looked into their books, such provision was to be made, as the Gods in their verses should foretell to stand with their pleasure and contentment. So, by the advertisement and directions of the Decemvirs it was decreed as followeth: First, and foremost, that to Juno there should be made of gold a thunderbolt or form of lightning weighing 50 pounds; and another of silver, presented into Juno and Minerva. Item, to Juno Regina there should be sacrifice offered in the mount Areteas, and to Luna Hostia in Luniarium, of greater beasts: Item, that the dukes of Rome, making a contribution (every one to their ability) of a sum of money, should offer an Obolation unto Juno Regina and bring it into Areteas, and

B there to emnity a Lechitimum: Item, that the very Liberi and emancipat women all should according to their power, lay their money together and make a present for the goddess Pernus. These things accomplished, the Decemvirs is called in the market place of Aretis, and for that purpose killed greater beasts. Last of all, by direction out of the books of Stybbst, now in the month December, they celebrated a festific at Rome in the Temple of Saturn, and commandment was given that a Lechitium should belemunized (which bed and table the Senators themselves spread and set out with all the furniture) and a public feast besides, in any bands, and throughout the City both by day and night were proclaimed the solemn Saturnintas and order^ed^ that the people should hold and observe that day, as holy and festive, forever.

Whilesthe Conui was busied at Rome in purifying the Gods, and seeingbolders, Ammonial

C (who was departed from his wintering tower, because the rumor ran that Flaminius the Comil was come as far as Aretis) albeit he had another way more ready and commodious (though it were somewhat farther about) yet chose that which was the nearer through the marshes where as the River, Armis at the same time had overflowed his banks more than initially. As for the Spaniards, Africans, and all his old beaten foemen (the lower flower and strength of his Army) he commanded to march fortofet together with all their baggage and carriages among them, to this end, that if they were to any where to lay, they should not fail and want necessities about them: the Gauls he appointed to follow next: and because he was desirous that these kind of people, should be in the middle ward, and the Horsemens likewise to go after them behindmost in the rearguard, he charged Mago with the right Horsemens of the Numidians, to guard the army D and keep them close together in their march, but especially to have an eye to the Gauls, and keep them in; for fear lest they for tediousness of travel, and weariness of long way (as they are a Nation tender enough and not able to abide any hardship) should either liik away, or else stand still. They of the vanguard, what way forever the guides led them and went afore-paced through thick and thin, waded through great Rivers and deep quicksand: and whilst they were minded and in a manner overwhelmed and swallowed up of bogs and muddy quagmires, yet they followed till their colors, But the Gauls, if their feet chanced to slip, could not hold themselves. And when they were down, they were not able to arise out of the dusty flouths and holes: neither could any of them comfort his corps with courage, nor help his heart with hope of better. Some of them hardly haled their heavy hams, and drew with much ado their hizie legs and laggings

E limbs after them: others, whole hearts were done for tedious toil and travel, when they were once down, laying amongst the jades and other beasts, which all were courted along every where. But that which hurt and undid them most, was their want of sleep, for they had watched four days and three nights continually without a wink. Now when as the water had covered and overspread every place, that they could find no dry ground: to lay their weary bodies on, they were fain to pile their packs one upon another in the waters, and to call themselves aloft upon them. All the way as they went, they might see the beasts and Horses lie every where on heeps overthrown and dead: which served them a while, instead of Conches for want of other means, who fought but only for some thing or other, that appeared above water to repel themselves upon, for to take a nap. As for Amnomial himself, (who had already an infirmity in his eyes, which came first by the distemperature of the spring season now hot and then cold) he was mounted upon an Elephant, the only Elephant that was left alive: this beast bare him a good way above the water; but by reason that he had overwatched himself: and the moist nights besides together with the damp and mist of the foggy lens, blinded his head and filled him full of threems, and became neither time nor place served for any cure and to take Phytick, he lost one of his eyes quite.

Thus after many a man loft, many a Horse pitously perished, when he wasget out at length of these foul lens and miry marshes, in the first dry ground that he came unto, he pitched his camp: and was courted by his epilas and vantcourriers whom he had lett out before, that the Roman army lay about the walls of Areutae. Then with great diligence and careful enquiry he

G endeavoured, to found the intent and the design of the Comil: to know the costs and site of the country: to hearken what ways he travelled; to learn what forces he had; to be adverted how he was flourished and provided of victuals: and to understand all other things expedient for his purpose in such a case, and necessary to be konw. The country was moist fertile and fruitful, as aynone in all Italy, to wit, the goodly champion fields of Tuscrna, lying between Ferula, and Areutae, plentiful in corn, abundant in cattle, and richly flourished with all good things. The Comil was stout and proud, by reason of the former Comilship that he had born: little account he made of the Majesty of Laws, and authority of Senators, and as small regard and re-
verence he had of the Gods themselves: which, as it were, he pluck't out of his heart, and, by his nature, tofortune, had nourished and maintained the same with prosperous success in his affairs at home, and wars abroad; so as it appeared evidently, that since he rejected neither God nor man, and designed not to take their counsel and advice, he would go rashly to work, and do all in haste, hand over hand, without discretion. And to the end he might be more forward to plunge himself headlong into these his infinities and imperfections, Anaibai desiring to anger him, and to move his patience. Leaving the enemy therefore on his left hand he put himself into the way to Feluda to wait and spoil the country of Feluda; and began to the Con
tul a far off; what foul work and havoc he possibly could make, with fire and sword. Then Flamininus, who of himself would not have relented and fare still, in case Anaibai had been quiet; I seeing once the goods of his allies and friends, barbaried and driven away even before his eyes, and thinking it tended greatly to his fame and diurnation, that a Carthaginian should march thus at his pleasure, through the mists of Italy, and without any embasement and controulment, to pass on forward, even to besiege and assault the walls of Rome; when all others about him sitting in counsel, gave advice for profit and safety, rather than for cruel and bruyerly; namely, to pause a while, and expect the coming of his Colleagues, that they might with joint armies, with one heart, and with common accord of counsel, conduct and manage the war: and in the same time, the Cavailry with Auxillary or aid-foUdlers lightly armed, repuls the enemy, and flay him from spoiling to licenionally at his pleasure; in a great chafe and chace he role up, and departed out of the Counsel, and presently rounded the march, and gave the signal of battle: and withal, K

Nay we were biff (quoth he) to remain and sit here till before the walls of Artium for this, be like, our native country, and here is our place of habitation: as for Anaibai, let him escape forth of our hands, and wait all Italy: let him spoil afore him, and over-turn all with fire
and sword, until he be as far as Rome walls; and lead me, in any case once flill: from hence be
tofore the Senators lend for C. Flamininus from Arnunda. Sometimes they called Cialidus
from Ven. With these and such like reproachful and taunting words, he commanded in all haste the standards and ensigns to be cacked up, and called for his Horie, he was not to be mov'd mounded on his back, but the Horse fell presently, call the Rider over and over with his head forward; and there lay Flamininus the Conful under foot. As they all, that attended about him, were af
righted and troubled in mind, at this unlucky preface and ore-token, in the very beginning of this enterprise; word moreover was brought unto him, that one of the per-ensigns was not able to pull up his enign, do what he could, and getting his whole strength and force, to the Confulturning to the messenger. What? quoth thou any letters besides (quoth he) from the States to prohibit me for giving battle? go thy ways, and bid them dig up the enign, with help of fire and mat
rock, if their hands be not benumbed for fear, that they can not pluck it up; and with that began the army to march. The Principal Leaders and Captains, besides that they agreed not, but gai
said this course, were much dismayed and terrified with this twofold prodigious fight: but the common foUdlers rejoiced and took great pleasure, to see this forwardness and animosity of their General; having an eye rather to the end of their hope, than to the cause which they had to hope for. Now, Anaibai wasted in all manner of boldness that he could devise, the territories between the Town Consul, and the lake Thrasymenus, and all to what the edge of the Conuls flomack, to chase his hot blood, and to provoke him for to be revenged, for the harms and wrongs done to his good friends and allies. And come already they were to certain places, naturally made as it were for an ambush, whereas the lake Thrasymenus lieth hard at the foot of the Hills of Cil instantly: for there is between, but a very strait and narrow passage, as if there had been left to much space of ground, only for that purpose, and nothing else. For if a man go but a little further, the plain lieth mere open, and growing larger, and from hence the hills begin to arise aloft. Anaibai in the open ground pitched his camp, for himself with his Africans only and the Spaniards: to lodge in, and made abode. The Etruscans, and the other light armed foUdlers, he led about behing the Mountains: the Horsemen he placed at the very gullet of the fire passage, where in the little hills handliomely covered and hid them close; to the end that so looving the Romans were entered in, when he had put forth his horsemen against the gullet of the fire, as all might be enclosed within in, when he had put forth his horsemen against the gullet of the fire, as all might be enclosed within the lake and the Mountains. Flamininus being come to the lake the day before the Sunsetting; the morrow after, before it was full day light, without discovering and clearing the coast by any scouts and spials sent out before, passed through the fire. After that his army began to be spread and displayed more as large, as the plain opened wider he expedit and perced the enemies only which he had before his face; for the ambuscades lay cloke hidden behind him back, and over his head. Anaibai having once got the enemy (as he could) enclosed thus within the lake and the Mountains, and environed with his forces, gave the signal to them all for to charge: who came down everman the nearest way he could: and so much the more were the Romans affrighted and troubled with this sudden occurrence, by reason that the lift which arose out of the lake, was lest thicker than the plain, than upon the hills: whereby the Companies and Squadrons of their enemies coming out of many Vallyes, were seen well enough on one, and therefore more joyously gave the charge all at once together, The Romans hearing the cry and shout which arose from all parts, before they could well dis
cern and see, perceived themselves compassed all about and surprized, and were affrayed both afront, and on their flanks, ere they could put themselves in battail-ray, as they ought, make their
their armour and weapons ready, and draw their swords. When all the rest were thus amazed, and at their wit’s end, the Consul alone, for all this imminent danger, flewed himself nothing daunted or afraid, but in order the ranks and files which were shuffled and blended together, according as time and place would give him leave: and marshall’d his soldiers, (who turned every way as they heard the fiery and divers noises) and in the best manner he could devise, he comforted and encouraged them, willing them to stand to it, and fight like men, for that there was now no means else to escape. “All the vows and invocations upon the Gods for their help, I would not serve, but only it was mere force and mere manhood must do the deed: and they were to make way by dint of sword, through the midst of their enemies battalions: and the least men feared, the least danger commonly befeted them. Howbeit by rest of the noise and hubbub,

Ly, neither counsel nor command could be heard: and far off were the soldiers from knowing their own Ensigns, their ranks and places, that scarcely their heart would leave them to take arms, and to buckled them, as they should sily for fight: in such sort as of some of them were surprized and born down laden rather with their harness, then covered and defended therewith. And in forget a mild and darkness, more use they had of ears than eyes: for at the groves of their wounded fellows, at the blows and strokes upon the bodies and armour reounding again, at the confused shouts and shrieks of hardy and fearful men one with another, they turfed their faces, and call their eyes every way. Some as they would have fled, light into the press of those that were fighting, and there were set fast: some as they returned for to fight, were borne backward by companies that ran away. Afterwards, when they had assayed in vain every way to get forth, and law well, that on both sides, and flanks the mountains and the lake: that afront and behind, the enemies battalions hemmed them in; then they knew evidently there was no hope of life but in their right hand and force of arms. Then every man became a Captain, and encouraged himself to fight manfully: so as the battail began anew, in order by the Principles, Hoist-arms, and Triarii, nor according to the accustomed manner, whereby the vanguard should fight before the main battail and the standard, and behind them the vanguard; and that the soldier should keep his own legion, his own cohoott, band, and company: but as a venture, even as it happened, to they went to it and buckled, fell, fell: and as every mans heart served him, to be marshalld himself to fight, either before or behind. Their courage and animosity was so ardent, their spirits and minds to intenct to the batter, that being as there was, a terrible earthquake at the very instant,

D which overthrew and turned upside down, a great part of many Cities in Italy, turned aside the courtes of great Rivers out of their channels; and drove their streams against the current. forced the Sea into fresh Rivers, yea, and overturned Mountains with mighty falls, and laid them flat; yet there was not a man who fought in that battail, that once heard or perceived it. The conflict lasted almost three hours. Sharp it was in every place, but about the Consul most cruel: and look in what part ever he law his men distressed and in hazard, there courageously he aided them. By reason that the flower and bravest gallants followed him, and was himself for his own person boldly before in his rich armour, he both aslied the enemy most furiously, and also defended his own citizens as valiantly: for so long, until a certain Insubrian, a man of arms (Dacoreus was his name) one that knew his village well enough. This is (quoth he) to his countrymen, the Consul that defeated our army, put to the word our Legions, walled our territorries, and he that destroyed and laced out our City. Now will I offer him as a sacrifice out of hand to the ghosts and spirits of those our fellow citizens whose by his means have been piecefully slain: and therewith fasting purrs to his Horse, he rode through the thickest troop and preste of his enemies: and when he had first slain his Equier outright (who opposed his body between, and let himself against him, seeing him coming to furiously;) he ran the Consul quite through the body with his lance. And when he would rather than his life have disarmed and tilted him, the Triarii leapt with their targetts over his corps, and lo kept him off. Hereupon from hence forth many began to flee: but anon, neither deep lake nor high mountain, could impede and stop their fearful flight: like blind men they ran and fought means to make escapes, were the lane never fo narrow, were the Hills never so steep and raggy, horse and man, man and armour, fell headlong, one upon another. A number of them seeming to way else to escape, entred into the Lake by the first edges and shallow brims thereof, waded so far, and went up so high, that they left their heads and shoulders only above the water. Some there were, who unadvisedly (such was their fear,) sought to save themselves by swimming. Which being an endless piece of work: and beyond all hope, their wind and breath failing them, they were either tilded and swallowed up of the gulles, or after that with too much haft, they had over-laboured and foiled out themselves, what they could to swim back again, and with much ado to recover the Land: and there, by the enemies Horsemen who had taken the water, were they killed every where, and cut in pieces. Six thousand or thereabout, of the vanguard, who latly brake through the midst, masure the heads of their enemies, unwitting of all that was done behind, escaped safe out of the gullee: and having forced the top of a little hill, there they stood, and might hear only the encirches of men, the rattle and railling found of their armor, but how the battell went or sped, neither could they know, nor yet ditect for the thickness of the dark mist. But now, when they were come to some ods, and one side down went and had the worse, by which time the heat of the sun had broken and disparched the mist, and the bright day appeared: then through the clear light, the hills and dales shewed evidentely the havock & overthrow that was made, and how the
the Roman army was sorely discomfited and defeated. For fear therefore, that the enemy (having held them at bay) would send out against them the Cavalry, up they went with their Enligens in all haste, and got them away with all speed possible they could. The morrow after, when over and besides all other calamities, they were in danger of extreme famine, and that Mahibal (who with all his power off shore pursued them by night, and overtook them) had given his faithful word and promise, that if they delivered up their armour, he would suffer them to depart in their single garments, they yielded themselves. Which promise Ambibal performed as truly, as all Carthaginians tie to do, and faille Carthaginian as he was, be clap them all into prison, and hang iron upon them. This is that noble and famous battle fought at the Lake Trasimene, and of those few overthrows that the Romans had, the most memorable of all others, 1500 Romans were there slain in fight: 10000 were scattered: and flying through sundry parts of Tuscany, got to Rome, 1500 of the enemies lost their lives in the field. But many more of both sides afterwards died of their wounds, Others there be that report much murder and slaughter on both sides. For mine own part (besides that, I love not to write vain untruths, nor any thing without good warrant, and yet the rumour of writers for the most part is too much given that way) I have followed for mine Author Fabius especially, who lived about the time of this war. Ambibal having enlarged without rumour as many of his prisoners as were Latins, and put the Romans in strait ward, cut out from among the heaps of his enemies that lay one upon another, the dead bodies of his own men, and commanded they should be buried: and having with great care and diligence made search also, for the dead corps of Flamininus to inter it, he could never find it.

At the first news in Rome of this overthrow, the people ran together in exceeding fear and trouble into the common place of Assemblies. The Wives and Dames of the City, went up and down to and fro in the streets, and enquired of whomsoever they met, what was the matter of calamity this was, whereof the brute went; and what was become of the array? And when as the multitude assembled thick (as it were) to a publick audience, turning to the Comitium and the Senate-House, and called upon the Magistrates: at length somewhat before the lun, Marcus Pomponius the Praetor came forth and said, A great battle hath been fought, and we have lost the field. And albeit they heard him no more than this of certainty, yet they filled one another ears with rumors, and came home with them these news to wit, that the Conul was killed, and a great part of his army with him slain: that there were but few left alive, and those either fled and scattered up and down in Tuscany or else taken prisoners by the enemy. And how many great calamities & misfortunes follow the overthrow of an army, unto so many cares and perplexities were the spirits and minds of all those plunged, who had any knowledg that served under Flamininus the CoF, all the whiles they were ignorant, what was the fortune of their friends, and no man knew for certain, what was now to become to him. The morrow and certain days following, there stood at the gates a great folle of people, and those were women more than men, waiting to see their friends themselves, or those that could tell tidings of them: and ever as they met with any, they would flock about them, and be very inquisitive; neither could they be picked away from them of their acquaintance and knowledge before they had questioned every particular circumstance from point to point in order. There might a man have seen an alphabet of faces, in those that departed from the messengers, according as the tidings were joyful or woful: there might a man have seen a number coming about them to accompany them as they returned to their houses, either rejoicing for their good hap, or comforting them for their misfortune and calamity. The women especially, as well in joy, as also in sorrow, were in their extremities. One above the rest (as it is reported) standing at the gate upon the saddin sight of her son alive & safe fell down dead at his very feet. Another, who had received an untrue report of her sons death, as the first mourning at home within her house in great sorrow of heart, so soon as ever the faw him coming into the house, for exceeding joy yielded her left breath, and died. And for certain days the Pretores kept the Senators together in Council, from the sun-rising to the setting, consulting under whole conduct and with what forces they might be able to withstand the puissance of those victorious Carthaginians. But they before they were thoroughly resolved of any determinate purpose and confederate to be taken, suddaine there arrived other news of a second loss, namely, that 4000 horsemen under the leading of C. Centurion, the Praetor, sent from C. Servilus the CoF unto his College, were induced by Ambibal in Umbria. For thiser they had taken their way upon the news they heard of the battle at Thrasimene. The brute and rumor hereof hammered diversely in mens heads: some, whose minds were possettied already with grief of a greater calamity, thought the los of that Cavalry but small, in comparison of the former defeat: Others esteemed that which hapned, not according to the importance of the thing it self: but like as it fell out in the natural body of man, that if the crosse and weak, every occasion, be it never so small, and light, is more offensive unto it and too often felt, then a greater cause and object in a found and strong constitution even so, when any croys or adversity happen unto the politick body of a City or C. W. desired (as it were) and likely we are not to measure & weigh the same by the greatest of the accidents but according to the crouse and decaied estate thereof, able to endure and abide no new matter that may in hanger and grieve it, whatsoever. And therefore, the City of Rome took her faw to the sovereign law and approved remedy which she had long desired, and yet not applied and used of late namely to the nomination of a Dictator. And because the Conul himself was abente, by whom alone it was thought he might
A might be named: and by reason that Italy was to overbreach and forlaid with the Punick forces, there might no courier be well dispatch'd, nor letters safely sent unto him: and for that the people had not authority of themselves to create a Dictator, they therefore elected a Pro-dictator: thing that was never seen and practised before that day: namely, Q. Fabius Maximus, and for his General of the Cavalry, M. Minucius Rufus. These had commissio from the Senate to fortify the walls and Towers of the City, to plant and set guards thereon, where they thought meet, and to cut up and break down the bridges upon the great rivers: shewing hereby, that since they were not able to keep and defend Italy, they were now to fight for house and home and to guard the very City.

Amidst in this mean time was come directly by the way of Bombergi, as far to Spadum. And after he had grievously wasted and spoiled the territory, he affaid to give assault to that City: but from thence he had the republic with the lots of many of his men, and guessing by the strength of that one Colony (where he sped but badly in the attempt of) how great and difficult the enterprise might be of assailing the City of Rome; he turned another way into the *Picene country, not only abounding in plenty of all kind of corn and grain, but also affording rich spoil and pilage: which the hungry and needy soldiers foraged and carried away as greedily, beyond all measure. And there for certain days he kept a standing camp, and retrenched his soldiers, toiled as well with winter journey and boggy ways as also in the late battle, which was more joyous and fortunate in the loose and parting, than light and easy in the conflict and fighting. After he had rested and retrenched his soldiers in fittingly, who took more pleasure in booties and prizes, than in ease and repose, he dislodged, and journeyed forward: waiting and spoiling first the *Pictuvrin C and the Adrian territories, and then the Marisci, Marrucini and *Pelignian, and all about Arpin and Lucania, being a region next adjoining unto Apulia.

Ce, foreseeing the other Consuls having had some light skirmishes with the Gauls, and won from them one mean Town of small importance, after he was advertised one of the death of his Colleague and the disaster of the small army, he then what danger might betide the walls of his native country, left an adventur to he should be abiem in the hazard of the main chance, but himself in his journey toward the City of Rome. Q. Fabius Max, the Pro-dictator aforesaid the same day that he entered his office: assembled the Senate, and began first with matters of religion, and concerning the Gods: and after he had laid open unto the L. of the Senate, that the Conful Pirminius had toad more in the neglect and contempt of Divine ceremonies, and the Artificers, than in otherwise in rafiness and for want of skill in feats of war; and that the Gods themselves were to be consulted about the purging and expiation of sins and offenses, and what might appease their wrath: gained and obtained this one point. That the Decemvirs were commanded to repair unto the books of Sibylla; (a thing not usually decreed: but when strange signs and prodigious wonders are reported) who having perused the books of delitines, made relation and informed the Senators, first: That the vow made unto Jupiter for the good success of that war, was not performed with due complements, and therefore ought to be accomplished anew, and in more ample manner: also, that the great Games and Plateis should be vowed unto Jupiter, with Temples likewise to Fortis Erycina, and to *Men. Moreover, that a solemn supplication and a Lictor should be celebrated, and a sacred Spring vowed, if the Gods granted them an happy end of war, and

By the Common-weal to remain in the same state, wherein it stood before the war began. The Senate gave order, that forasmuch as Fabius was to be employed in the wars, M. Ambius the Preor, should have in charge to see all the prelimes performed with all good speed, according to the will and mind of the Colleague of the Bishops or Prelates, These Ordinances of the Senate being enacted, Lucius Cornutius Lentulus the Arch-priest, with the advice of the whole Colledge of the Prelates, thought good and gave advice, that first above all other things the opinion and pleasure of the people (as touching the sacred Spring) should be known, for that without the voices and content of the people it could not be vowed: And in this form of words was the bill propounded unto the people, *Pleadeth you, that this grace may pass the thing done with your consent in this wise? if the face of the people of Rome and the Quirites for five years next ensuing, cons-

Fume safely preserved in these wars, at I defend it should, then that the people of Rome, and Quirites, perform an oblation and gift vowed and promised, namely, in the war between the people of Rome and the Carthaginians: and in the wars with the Gauls this side the Alps to wit, that the excess whereof the spring shall yield and afford one of sheep and fowes, goats and kine, and all things that shall be prophane, be sacrificed unto Jupiter, accounting from that day that the Senate and people shall order: Item, that be which shall sacrifice, may do it when he will, and in what manner he will: and in what sort ever he shal sacrifice, that it may stand for good and rightful. If haply it die, that should be sacrificed, let it be counted propitiously, and not as weakness: if any make lame or maimed shall the same not make, let it not be imposed upon him as a criminal. If any person conceal away the same or hide it out of the way, let it not be imposed for wickedness unto the people, nor to him from whom it shall be solden or hidden, if one chance by ignorance to sacrifice upon an unlucky & disastrous day, let it be accounted good and lawful the hour by night or day, whether bond or free (bull sacrifice let it be taken and held good. If before in the Senate, and people shall ordain these sacrifices to be done, or bull sacrifice, let the people be affisted and disburdened freely thereof. And for the same purpose, were the great games (before vowed) performed with the expense of 333333 Ases and one third part of an Asse beside the sacrifice of 20 Oxen to Jupiter, &c. of white Oxen and other sacrifices, unto many other faines. After these vows pronounced and made accordingly, the supplication was proclaimed & in procession there went with their wives &
children, not only the multitude of the City, but also of the country, to many as had their private affairs, any way depending upon the public. The Lexiferni likewise was prepared and trimmed, and continued for three days: and the Decemvirs displayed their holy ceremonies had the ordering the court. The sacred beds were openly to be seen, one for Jupiter and Juno, another for Neptune and Venus: a third for Mars and Venus: a fourth for Apollo and Diana: a fifth for Vulcan and Venus: a sixth for Mercury and Ceres. Then the Temples vowed unto Venus Erycina, Q. Fabius Mar. the Dictator, vowed one Temple, For so it was delivered from out of the books of deftinies, that he should vow it, who had the sovereign rule in the City, and unto * Mem. Attius the Priest who vowed another. Thus when Church matters touching Religion were finished the Dictator proponnd concerning war and the State: namely, with what Legions and how many the Senate thought good to withstand the victorious Enemy. And a despotised that, he should receive the army at the hands of Cn. Servilius the CoL and enteft beside of the citizens and allies, as many horsemans & footmen as he thought convenient: and that he should do and order all things as his own discretion, for the good of the Common-weal, Fabius said: That he would adjoin unto the army of Servilius two Legions more: which being levied by the General of the horsemens, he proclaimed that they should meet together upon a certain day at Tyburn and when he had published a proclamation. That whatsoever inhabited within any Towns or Cables untended, should depart into places of safety: and that all should remove out of the villages of that country, through which Amabil was to go (but first to let on fire their houses and spoil their corn, that he might find nothing there when he came); he then changed to the high way or canley Flaminius, to meet with the CoL and the army. And when he had discovered them, marching about Otriculum to the river Tyburn, and saw the CoL with his horsemens coming forward to him, he sent a Sergeant, to give warning to the CoL for to come within the Limits to the Dictator, who obeyed his commandment. And as their meeting together, represented an exceeding great shew of the Dictators unto citizens and allies both, who by reason of discontinuance so long time, had wellneer forgotten that government: behold there came letters from the City importing news, that certain ships of burden transporting victuals from Hophia into Spain for the army there were, by the navy of the Carthaginians boorded and taken about the sound or haven of Catana. Whereupon immediately the CoL was commanded to go to Hophia to take up all shipping at Rome or at Hophia to furnish them with paylers, and man them with fouldiers, and to purifie the Armado of the enemies, and to keep the harbours of Italy. A mighty number of men was levied at Rome. The Libertins also, who had children, were of lawfull age to serve, were allegiance unto himself, to be his true fouldiers. Out of this army of citizens, as many as were under 35, years of age, were shipped; the rest were left behind toward the City. The Dictator having received the Conuls army at the hands of Publius Flaccus the Lieutenant, went through the Sabines Country, and arrived at Tyburn, whither he had commanded the new fouldiers to repair at a day. From thence by crofs wayes he returned into the high way or canley Latium, even to Prenestus: from whence (having marched diligently by his epilals, all the wayes) he led forward toward the enemy, purposing in no place to hazard the fortune of battall, but upon necessity. The very first day that he encampèd not far from Arp, within the light of his enemies, there was no hoo with Amabil, but without further delay, he came forth into the field in battall array, had him battall, and offered fight. But seeing his enemies quiet, and no stirring in the camp, he fell to taunting and reviling them saying: That now at length yet, the martial hearts of the Romans were daunted and tamed, and seeing they refuted fight, they confessed plainly, and granted themselves inferior unto him in valor, prowess, and glory: which said, he receipt into his camp. Howbeit, chasting and fretting secretly in his mind for anger that he had to deal hereafter with a Captain, far unlike to Flaminius and Sempronius: and that the Romans now so late, being chocked and taught by their own hands, and to their great cost, had fought out and got a Captain to match Amabil; strife wayes he began to leare the wisedom of the Dictator, and not his force: but having had as yet no trial of his constant resolution, he fell to dignify his mind, and to tempt him with often remov- ing his own tents, and waiting the fields of his allies even under his nose; one while he seemed to march away space out of all sight, another while he would a sudden sallay, and lie close in some by-place and corner, out of the way, to spoie when he could take him in some plain and even ground. But Fabius adde his army, and Marched above on the higher grounds, a prey distaunce off from the enemy, as neither he would let him go clean and abandon on him, nor yet encounter with him. He kept his fouldiers for the most part within the camp, fave only when necessity otherwise conained. For purveyance of forage and fresh, they were neither few in number, nor stragglers attender. The wards of Horsemen and thole that were lightly armed, standing always in order of battall, and ready prepared and furnisht for faddan imprestions and tumults, yielded both security to his own fouldiers, and also danger to his enemies, as they ranged all abroad and coraged the Country. In this manner never was the main chance put to the venture all at once of fortune: and the small triais of light cufling and skirmishes (begin in safety and security, by reason of the recource of refuge (to me not) injured and heartned the fouldiers, frightened with former fails, and made them at length to distruft either their own valour, or fortune. But Amab-

* The goddes of Understan-
Aments violent and haftly; and of tongue intemperate. And first indirectly among some few, but afterwards openly in the hearing of all men, he termed Fabius, instead of a stayed and sober man, 'ow and dull; in stead of wary and heedful, timorous and fearful; attributing unto vertues the names of vices of near resemblance; and having a singular dexterity to debate his betters and inferiors, exalted himsolf thereby: a cunning cat, of all others the worst; and yet hath mightily prevailed and sped too well in many that have used it. Arnobius from Arpi paleth into Samianus, with the country of Beneventum, winneth the City Telema, and till provoketh (of forfeit purpose) the Roman Captain, if haply he could incite him by to many indignities and lotties of his allies, and so draw him to fight on even hand.

B Amongst a great number of Italian confederates and allies, whom Arnobius had taken prisoners at Tresiumeum and disimfified, there were three Campian horsemens, whom Arnobis even then had toke up, and allureth with gifts and fair promises to win unto him the hearts of their countrymen. Thise brought word unto him, that incaut he would lead and bring his army into Cappadocia, he shoul son be Lord of Capp. And albeit the thing in it self seemed greater than the quality of the persons that counselled him thereto: and therefore stood in moving, one while in good hope and assurance, another while in fear and distrust: yet they persuaded him at last to remove out of Samianus into Coniannia. After he had admonished them very often, to see that they made their word and promises good by deed, and commandeth them withal to return unto him with some of their principal Citizens and Country-men, he sent them away.

C Himself gave commandment to his guide, to conduct him into the territory of Caesariana being advised by thole that were skilful and acquainted with the coasts of those parts, that he could gain aforesaid that safe and forest, he might exclude the Romans from coming to reduce and subdue their confederates. But the antiquity of the name, and the Carthaginian language far differing from the Latin, caused the guide to mistake Caesariana for Cappadocia; and to milling of his intended journey, he came down through the Aeserni, Colani, and Caucasus Countries, into the plain champain region of Stella. Where seeing all the coasts environed round about with Mountains and Rivers, he called the guide unto him, and demanded where he was: and when he answered, that he should that same day lodge in Caesariana, then and not before, the error was found; and he knew that he was far out of his way, for that Caesariana was distant in another Country far off. And after he had beaten the guide with rods, and hanged him up by the head, for an example to terrifie all others, he forthwift himsolf within camp and tent our. Arnobius with the Horsemen into the Falern Country, to fetch in booties. So they waited and spoiled as far as the waters of Sumeus. Much harm did these Numidians, but the flight and flight of the people was greater. And yet notwithstanding that great fear, when all was on a light fire as if were, and nothing but war, the Roman allies continued still firm in their faithful allegiance: and the reason was, because they were ruled under a just and moderate government, and neither reluted, nor thought much to be subject unto their Roman betters, the only bond of loyal fidelity. But so soon as he had pitched his camp by the River Vulturnus, and that the most goodly and pleasant Country of all Italy was on fire, and the Villages every where burned and smoked again: whiles F Fabius led his power over the ridge of the Mountain Maffens, the fedition was like to have broken out again, and certain Captains of the multitude began to be emboldened afresh. For there had been great quietness, and all was still for some few days: because seeing the army much rather than their usual manner was, they fappoed verily, that they made more speed and hastened, to give Campania from being spoiled and waited. But when they were come to the ford and edge and point of the Mountain Maffens, and that the enemies were within light, burning the dwelling-houses of the Coloners and inhabitants of Sumeus, and likewise of the Falern Country, and all this while not one word of battell? And are we come hither indeed quoth Minutius, to behold only and to see? and feed our eyes with looking out our allies, continued and waited with fire and sword? and if we hath at nothing else, can we for theme abide to see the Calamity F of those Citizens here, whom our fore-fathers planted in Sumeus as coloners there to inhabit, to the end that all this tract and coaste should be late from the invasion of the Sabins? But behold, it is true a neighbour enemy (the Samite) that fireth it a forrein and alien, even the Carthagman, who from the farthest and most remote parts of the world (whiles we hand at a

G trell off still and for laziness do nothing) come forward even hither unto us, And are we for to degenerate (with sorrow of heart I speak it) from our progenitors and fathers, that along which coast they thought dittrorable unto their empire, for the Carthagman Armadoes, and ships to flote, fall, and ride; we should see the same now pelted full of enemies, the Nymids and Moors are: We who ere while taking soal heart and great disdain to see Septemtriones besieged, called not only upon men, but also upon the faith of alliances and the Gods to withe. Pel's hand still gazing upon Arnobius marching against the walls of a Roman Colony, and ready to affust it. The smoke of the villages and the fields now on fire, is ready to put out our eyes, and to choke us up our ears resound and ring again with the pitious cries of our allies that weep and lament and call other unto us than unto the Gods for help, and we here lead our army as if they were a flock of sheep, over the shadowy foressts, and hills out of the way, hid among the clouds and thick woods to keep them from the heat of Sun. If Furius Camillus had been of mind, by ranging and wandring over hills and foressts in this manner, to win against the City out of the hands of the Gauls, as this our new Camillus tofooth (fought out of purpose to be our only
Dictator in this our disirets and hard estate, goeth about to recover Italy from Aemulus, Rome
had been French at this day: which I learne, if we go thus boldly to work, our ancestors have too,
and received to often, for Aemulus and the Carthaginians. But he, a brave man, and a
Roman indeed, that very day when word was brought to Vetti, that he was chosen Dictator by
the suffrages of the people, and approbation of the senators, although Jannicium was high en
ough, where he might have let him down and beheld the enemy at ease, defended into the
plain and even ground, and the same day in the very mids and heart of the City, where now
Caecuburn or Pons Callicus handeth, and the morrow after, between Rome and Callan, flew the
Legions of the Gauls. And what should I lay of that, which hapned many years after, when at
the weights of Cumdium we were put under the yoke by the Samitns our enemies? Whether I
pray you, did L. Papirius Cursor seek out the mountains of Samnium, or rather lie hard upon
Luceria: and believe it, provoking and challenging the victorious enemies: and thereby shook off
the yoke from the Romans neck, and laid it upon the proud Samnites? And what other thing
else of late days but expedition, gave the victor to Cnilius Labienus? Who the morrow after
that he discovered the enemy, set upon his fleet heavily fraught with victuals: and overcharged
as it was with her own munition, furnitures and provision, sunk, and destroyed the same. It is
meer folly to believe and think by fitting tills by bare prayers and vows, so vanquish and subdue
the enemy. Our forces must be put into arms, and brought down into the plain that man to man
may cope and buckle together. By adventuring boldly, by action and execution, hath the Roman
Empire grown to this height: and not by these counsels and devices, which fearful towards K
term the wary politics of war. As Minucius spoke these words in preaching war, a number of
Roman Colonels and Horsemens came flocking about him. Yes, and these lusty and rash ipeches of
his, came even unto the ears of the Fountaine. Toulpe, it had lien in the voises and election of
the soldiery, out of all question they were to prevent Minucius before their General Fa
ciies. But Cnilius again regarding always with good eyes his own men, no less than his enemies,
carrying a resolute mind, invincible ever bestride of any other: albeit he was well, not that
only within his own camp, but also now at Rome, he heard ill for his temporizing and flow pro
ceedings; yet drew he out the rest of the summer, and held on the same course and purpose: and
never altered his former manner: until that Anguif was being clean disappointed of long desired bat
tail, being struck upon him anon and looked about for some places of winter abode considering, That L
the country where now he was, rather yielded plenty for the pretense, than more for long conti
nuance: as standing upon saunteries and Vineyards, and all things planted, rather for fruits of plea
ture and delight, than for necessity and profit. Intelligence hereof being given to Falcius by his ex
tants, for that he knew well enough, that Aemulus was to return through the same straights, by
which he had entered the Fafer countries: he holdeth and keepeth till the Calpula, with suffi
cient garrisons and likewise Clusium, a City divided by the river Falcinda, and parteth the Falen
and Camparre countries almofter, Himself bringeth back his power through the same hills, having
sent out to discover and eipe 400 Horsermen of confederates, under the conduct of L. Hoftinus
Manlius, who being one of the true and lusty youths that oftentimes heard the General of the
Horsemens giving out abroad brave words and stout speeches, as fiift went forward in manner M
of an eipiel, to discover and see the enemy from a place of safety and security: and when as he saw the
Numidians ranging all about the villages, and drew some of them about who he took at a
vantage-light-ways his mind wholly possefixd and set upon: and to forget the charge and direc
tion of the Dictator, who had commanded him to go forward as wary and as closely as he
prifibly could, and to retire himself again before he came within light of the enemies. The Numid
ians charging and recharging him affectionate, and flying from him another while drew him
almost into their very camp when as both horie and man were outweared, From where C
Castra, who then had the conduct and command of the Cavalry, set out against him liuitily upon the
flpar and before they came within direct shot put the enemies in flight, and followed them contin
ually in chase almost five miles, Minucius seeing neither the enemy to give over pursuit nor any N
hope to o of away exchausted his men, and turned head upon them overmatched as he was very
way: where he himself and his chiefest Horsemens were before found and flain: the other taking
themselves again to flee for life, first cameto Colers: and after through by-lanes and difficult ways, to
the Dictator. That day, as hop was, Minucius had joined himself to Falcius, having been at
fent to keep with altrong guard, the foresal or pale, which above Terracina, growth into a nar
row galler, and reacheth to the sea; for fear left it the advence of the way Appio, were without
defence. A. n. b. Imitge enter and invade the country of Romans: When the Dictator and the Gener
al of Horsemens had joysted their forces together, they encompassed upon the very high way, that
Aemulus was at peace with his allies. Now were the enemies two miles off. The morrow after, the
Carthaginians took up with their army all the way between the one camp and the other, O
When as the Romans were quartered even under their very tents and rampiers, in a place no
doubt of great advantage yet for all that approached Aemulus with his light Horsemens: and to
provoke his enemies, fought by ilars and sates, charging upon them: and retiring back again with
great nimbleness. The Romans kept still their standing, embastled as they were, The fight
was cold and lingering to the mind and liking of the Dictator, rather than of Aemulus: and wh
ere there were of the Romans part 200 slain, there dyed 800 of the enemies. Then seemed Aemulus
after, to be beleaguered and shut up as it were and besieged within C Clusium, seeing that Capua,
Samnium.
A Samnium, and many rich and mighty Nations confederate with the Romans, were on their backs to furnish them with store of victuals. And Annibal contrary-wise was like to take up his wintering place, within the crags and rocks of Formiæ, amid the Sands of Litternæum, and the moaty standing pools. Well wilt Annibal now that he was laid unto hardly, by the tame cunning Hциuagis, that he had used himself. And therefore when he could not escape away by Callistium, and seeing that he must needs to the Mountains, pass over the top of Calliæcula: for fear lest that the Romans should set upon his army enclosed in the valleys between the Mountains, he devised a stratagem, by way of a ridiculous illusion, to beguil the eye-fight of his enemies, and to frustrate and deceive them of their expectation: by means whereof, he purposed in the beginning of the night, to closely and by stealth to gain the Mountains. The manner of this crafty device was this. He caused to be gathered out of all the villages thence many fire-branches: when he took certain bavins or small fagots of brake-wood, dry sticks, and such like trash, and tied them fast to the horns of the Oxen, whereof he had tame and wild, a great number that he drove before him amongst other prizes gotten out of the country: so as he might make well near two thousand head. To Annibal he gave in charge, that so soon as it grew to be dark night, he should drive those Oxen with their horns set a fire toward the Mountains, and especially if the poHsie could, to the very frights and gallet which the enemy kept. It began no sooner to be dark, but Annibal with great silence dextrous and removed his camp, and the Oxen store afterward were driven a good way before the enigns and the army. When they were come to the foot of the Mountains, and to the frighten passages, immediately the signal or watch-word was given to set the Oxen horns, and to chafe them up against the Hill. The beasts, what with fear to see a light fire blazing over their heads, and what with pain to feel the heat now come to the quick flesh and the roots of their horns, fell running up and down, as if they had been mad. By this their gadding thus all at once every way, all the coppices and springs thereabout were set on a light fire, and seemed as if the whole woods and hills had burnt withal: the flashing of their heads also to and fro without light, made the blaze greater, and gave new and temblance of men running from one place to another. They who were appointed and set to keep the passages of the frights, so soon as they saw certain fires upon the tops of the Hills, and over their heads, supposing themselves to be surrounded and enclosed with fire on every side, abandoned their hold, and kept their standing no longer: and whereas the flame soon molt out, thinking that to be the least way, they left them thither, even to the top and ridge of the Mountains. Then and there, they light upon certain of the Oxen wandering afar from their company, and at first seeing them afar off, but not well discerning them, they imagined that they spied fire, and breathed the biz bazing flames out of their mouths; and wondering at the strange sight, stood still amazed and astonished. But when afterwards they discovered the device, and found it out to be a jubilous and deceitful invention, proceeding from man brain, they mistrusted withal some secret trams and an uhit, and with an exceeding noise fled away as fast as ever they could, and flambled upon the same rulers of their enemies, that were lightly armed. But they were afraid as well of the one side as the other, to begin any skirmish in the night season, and layed until day light. In the mean while, Annibal having conducted his whole army through the frights, and killed some of his enemies in the very pale, encamped himself in the territory of Alsfai. Fabius decreed this tumult well enough, but doubting some privy ambush, and avoiding utterly all night battles, kept his men within the strength of their rampiers. At the break of day there began a skirmish on the side of the hills in which the Romans as being far more in number, had environed on every side the light-armed vanguard of the enemies, and soon defeated them, but that a band of Spaniards, sent back of purpose from Annibal, came to rescue them: who being better acquainted with the Mountains, and more light and nimble in running among the crags and cliffs, by reason of well of the agility of body, as the falcon of their light harness, easily in that kind of skirmish, avoided and shunned from their enemy, heavily armed at all pieces, and used to high upon the plain, and so stood firmly and keep their ground. Whereupon in the end they parted amongst one from the other, but nothing near on even hand: for the Spaniards in a manner all, went clear away unhurt, the Romans lost some of their men: and so on both parts they returned to their camps. Fabius likewise removed, and having halted over the frights of the forest, encamped in a high ground, and strongly intrenched even over Alsfai. Then Annibal making as though he would march through Samnium toward Rome, returned back, waiting and insulting the country as far as to the Peligni. And Fabius hovered hill upon the Hill tops between the army of his enemies and the City of Rome: leading his host to, as neither he departed far, nor yet encountered and confronted his enemy. Then Annibal turned his way, and departed from the Peligni, and retired himself into Apulia, until he was come as far as Geryon, a City abandoned and forlorn of the inhabitants, by reason that a part of their wall was fallen down, decayed and ruined. The Dictator forthis his camp in the territory of Larinum. Now was he lent for home from thence to Rome, by occasion of certain solemn sacrifices: whereupon, he conferred and dealt with the General of the Cavalry, not only by way of absolute commandment, but also with advice and perquisites, yea, and as one would say, by prayer and intercession. 'That he would trust more upon confident counsel, than doubtful fortune, and be directed and guided rather by him, than follow the flees of Sempronius and Flaminius: and not think there was nothing done and effected, and make no reckoning of this. That the enemy had
been dallied withal, and trifled out, mocked and defused almost all the summer long. Why, even H 
Physicians (quoth he) many times do more good to the sick body of the patient, by giving reft 
and repose, than by frying and diluting the humors therein. And no small matter is it, that 
we are vanquished and overcome no more, at an enemy's hands to oftentate to victory. And 
after continual toils and overthrows, to have had reft and a time of breathing. Having in this 
wise admonished the General of horse aforehand (but all in vein) he took his way to Rome. 

In the beginning of this summer, wherein their exploits were performed, war began also in 
Spain both by sea and land. After this to that number of ships which he had received ready rig-
ged and well appointed of his brother, joined other ten. To Humi he gave the charge of a fleet 
of forty sail: and so, looking from Carthage, whilst his ships kept near to land, he conducted his 
army along the River upon the strand; ready to give battle to the enemy, however he should 
hap to encounter him either by land or sea, Cu. Seiso after he had intelligence that the enemy 
was removed out of his wintering harbour, at the first had likewise the same intention and pur-
pose, but afterwards doubting to encounter by land, upon the exceeding great report that went 
of new aids, he embarked his belt and most choice foiards, and with a fleet of 35 sail, let for-
ward to meet the enemy. And the second day after that he had looked from Tarace, he came 
to the rode distant ten miles from the mouth of the River Tiber. From whence, two hundreds 
of the Masilians were sent out afoot, and brought word, that the Carthaginian Armada rode in 
the mouth of the River, and that the tents were pitched upon the bank. And therefore to the 
end that he might surprize them at unawares, and unlooking for them, with all the fearful terror at 
once, that he could possibly, he weighed anchor, and set sail toward the enemy. In Spain there 
are many Towns standing upon high grounds, which leave the inhabitants of the country in good 
stead, both as watch-Towers to discover, and allowances to withstand Thieves and Rovers. 
From whence the enemies ships were defrayed full, and a signal given to Aferubal: in such fort, 
as the trouble and trouble arode upon the land, and in the camp, before any was seen on the Sea 
and amongst the ships; as for yet neither noise of oars, nor any ordinary thing like of mariners, 
was heard; nor yet the capes and promontories between suffered the fleet to be seen. But then, 
all on a sudden, certain Horfemen lento from Aferubal one after another; commanded the foiards 
(who either wandred along the strand, or rate quiet within their pavilions; looking for 
nothing lefe than flight that day) presently in all battle to go abroad, and to arm for that the Ro-
man fleet was not far from the haven. This commandment the Horfemen that were lento, gave 
every where. And within a while Aferubal came in perton with the whole army. All was 
on a hurry, and full of jardy alarms; whilst both mariners and foiards, made halt to be shippid, 
rather like men that fled from land, then went to fight. scarce were they all embarked; when 
some of them loded from the shoal, and plucked up Anchors, others out the Anchor Cables, 
for that nothing should stay them: and all that they did, was with much haste; that what the 
foiards were occupied in making themselves ready to fight; the mariners were hindered in their 
busines: and whilst the mariners made speed, the foiards were kept from taking their 
armour, and fitting themselves therewith. By which time Seiso was not only approached near, 
but also had marshalled and ordered his ships ready to fight, So as the Carthaginians were trou-
bled as well with the heavy body and tumult of their own people, as with the assail and bat-
tle of their enemies. And having (by a truth) made an assay and proffer of fight, rather than 
begin any indeed, they turned away their fleet, and fled. And indeed, when they were once put 
to flight (by reason they were parted stouter all abroad, and lay open to so many of their en-
emies, following them up the poone all at once) that they were ready and easy to be bunged and 
pierced, they rowed on all hands to the shore. Some were faut to wade to Land; others leapt on 
drye ground; one fort armed, another fort unarmed; and to escape to their company, embattal-
ised along the strand. Howbeit, in the very first encounter and onset, two Carthaginian ships 
were taken, and four sunk. The Romans, albeit they law the enemies, masters of the Land, and 
might behold them stand in battall array all along the River face upon the banks, yet made them no 
offay, but chaled the fearfull fleet of their enemies: and to so many ships, as either had not creash-
pired, divided, and broken their items, with dashings upon the shore, or were not run a ground, and 
luck fell by their keels in the shelves, thote they drew up, and warped into the deep; with 
ropes fastned to their poops; and to of thirty they took five and twenty. And yet, the taking of 
these vellots was not the beat and goodliest work of their victory: but this polluted all; that with one 
light skirmish they became L.L. of all the Sea along the coastes. And therefore striving with 
their whole navy before Honoset, they landed their men, won the City by terrible assall, stuck it, 
and from thence went onward toward Carthage. And after they had foraged and visitd all 
the territory about, at the last, they fired the very houses thatjoynd to the walls and gates of the 
City. From thence the Armada laden now and charged with rich pillage, sailed as far as Longi-
osa. Where they found great store of Sparr [to make Cables] provided: and laid up thereby Afer-
ubal to serve the navy: and when they had taken three of so much as they needed, they made a 
light fire of all the rest. Neither coasted the Roman fleet along the continent and main only; and 
scoured those parts which lay out into the Sea, but pasted also into the Ile of Ebusur: where they 
alluded boldly for two days space, the head City of the land, with much ado, and small 
effect. And when they perceived, that they spent time in vain, and were past all hope to win 
it, they fell to rob and spoil the country, and alter their had rived and burned certain villages, 

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and got a greater booty & pillage than they had out of the main, they retired themselves to their ships: and thither came Embassadors from the Islands Balares unto Scipio giving peace. From there he came back with the tinct, and returned into the bither part of the Province, whither retorted unto him the Embassadors of all the Nations that inhabit about Iberus, and of many also from the farthest part of all Span. But of States that absolutely came under the obedience of the people of Rome, doing fealty and homage unto them, and giving hostages for assurance of their allegiance there were above 150. Scipio therefore, taking himself strong enough in land forces, went on as far as the bond of Cassius, and Africanius retired himself into Ialba, near the Ocean sea. Here upon the rest of the Simpson was likewise to quiet: and quiet had it been, for anything that the Carthaginians did to the contrary. But, over and besides the natural disposition of all Spaniards mutinous, base and evermore dexterous of novelties and alterations, Magnanimous a Nobleman, who before time had been the Lord and Prince of the Hereteges, seeing the Arians retired so from the forest toward the sea-coast, flared up the the people of his country, and invaded the peaceable Territories of the Romans aloof, for to spoil and waste the same. Again whom there were sent from Spo three thousand Romans, besides certain auxiliary soldiers also, lightly armed: who in a sight skirmish discomfited his forces. (as being a power gathered in haste,) and discomfited (few many, took some prisoners, and disarmed the greater part of them. Nevertheless the rumour of this alarm caused Africanius as he departed to the Ocean, to toils the river iberothabka again, for the reside and defence of his friends and Allies. The Carthaginians were encamped in the territory of the lie. sionian, and the Romans near the new Armoda, when sudden new disquieted the war another way. The Prince of the Ceitiberians, who had sent them from their country, and hostages unto the Romans upon a meagler dispatch into them from Spo, arose up in arms, and entered the Province of the Carthaginians with a strong and proficient army, won three towns by assault, and afterwards, in two battals which they fought with Africanius, right valiantly flew 15000 enemies, and took 4000 prisoners, and many military ensigns they bare away.

While Span and other in these terms, P. Scipio came as I. Deputy into that Province, continuing till his government a ter his Consulship expired, and was sent from the Senate with thirty ships of war, eight thousand footiers, and great store of victuals. This great fleet, in regard of many miles and ships of burden which accompanied it, was Kennedy and discovered afar off, to the great joy both of Romans and also of their friends and associates, and arrived within the port and haven of Tartusio. Where the three diers were disembarked, and Scipio joined with his brother: and from that time forward they agreed together, and with one accord managed the war. And whiles the Carthaginians were amused with the Ceitiberian war they made no stay, but penned over to Scipio, & seeing no enemy they marched on toward Saguntum; for that the fruit went, that the hostages of a Span were delivered unto the custody of Aendoza, were kept there in hold within the Castle, but with a small guard about them. That was the only pledge which the Romans in the Cities of Spain, whose minds were well affrighted and enline to entertain league and society with the Romans, but they feared lest if they should revolt, it would cost the lives of their children. This bond which held Spain in awe one man could them of, by means of a device and practive more witty and subtiler than honest and loyal. There was at Saguntum, one Accedus a Noblenman of Spain, a native and religious detest time unto the Carthaginians: but then (as the nature is for the most part of their Barbarians) as fortune altered her countenance, so changed he his allegiance. And supposing that he should fall into the enemies, without performing memorable treason and delivering into their hands one thing or other of great importance, he should be good enough to be a vile, base and infamous creature, he could not know that he might wind himself into their new Allies, and win them by some good service, unto their bell and greatest behefh. And considering all the means that Fortune might bring within his compass to effect, he employed himself especially at the length to let free and deliver those hostages thinking that the only way to win and procure unto the Romans the amity of all the Princes and great men of Spain. But knowing assuredly, that without warrant from Boffer the Connubile of the Calle, the keepers of those hostages would do nothing, he fetched in hand and cunningly goeth to work with Boffer himself. Now lay Boffer in Camp without the City by the water side, to impeach the Romans enquiring the haven. Thither came Accedus to him, withdrew him apart into a secret place, and declared unto him as a man ignorant, in what state things stood. Namely, "That it was fear and nothing else that kept the Spaniards unto that day in obedience, because the Romans were so far off; but now the Romans were encamped on this side iberothabka, as a fire for the keep and place of refuge unto them, if they minded any innovation and change of State: and therefore seeing they could not long be kept by fear they were to be obliged and bound unto Aendoza by some favour and good turn. When Boffer marvelled and demanded, what sudden accident this might be: and of so great consequence, Mary, (quoth he) send back the hostages into their own Cities. An acceptable present that will be both particularly to their parents, who are of greatest calling and reputation in their own countries, and also generally to all the Cities and Nations. Every man (you know) is defirous to be trusted: and for the most part credit given frankly unto one, bindeth him thereby to be more faithfull. The ministry and charge of conducting the hostages home to their own homets, I will require to have mine own self, that I may further a plot and device of my own, with mine own proper
service and employment: and the thing which of it fell in nature is acceptable, I will in what manner can grace and commend the name, and make it more meritorious. Having thus perfwaded the man, being not altogether to wily, as other Carthaginians naturally are, he went by night secretly as far as the Corps de guard of the enemies, and after he had met and talked with some Spaniards that were auxiliary soldiers in the Camp and by them was brought before Scipio; he declared unto him his whole intent and designment, and the cause of his coming. And after they had given and received faithful promise mutually between them, and agreed of time and place for the delivery of the hostages unto Scipio, he returned again to Saguamum. The day following, he sent with Dick, in receiving Commission from him, for the execution of this matter. And thus being dimined and having his dispatch, he purposed to go in the night to the end that he might (forsooth) avoid the watch and wards of the enemies, the Romans: and at the hour appointed he raised those who had the guard and custody of the children, and put himself on his way; and (simple man he) as if he had been altogether ignorant of that which hapned, brought them within the compacts of an Ambushment, forelaid beforehand by his own wily and crafty devices: and so were they brought into the Roman Camp. All other points besides concerning the rendering of the hostages, according to the agreement and appointment with Dick, were performed in the same order, as they found have passed, in cafe all had been done in the name of the Carthaginians, and to their behoof. But the Romans won much more thank, and gained greater favour thereby, than the Carthaginians could have attained in the like untell. For the Carthaginians (whom in their prosperous success the Spaniards had found by experience to be rigorous unto them and proud) might have been suppos'd if they had done it now, to have been mollified and made more benign and gracious through adverse fortune and fear: but Scipio the Roman General, at his first coming, and unknown beforetime, began with a notable example and testimony of clemency and liberality. And *Actaeon besides received a wife and prudent man seemed not without great reason to have made exchange of his Allies and Friends. Whereupon they all desired with one accord to revolt and presently they had taken arms indeed and rebelled, but for the approach of winter which forced as well Romans as Carthaginians to betake themselves to their winter hiber.

There were the occurrences that fell out also in Spain, in the second summer of the Punic war: whiles in Italy the wise and wary delays the indulgent temporizing of Fabius in the manner of his warfare gave the Romans some repit and incumbrance of their foes and overthrows. Which as it wrought in an *Aerial no small trouble of mind and perplexity, to see that the Romans at the last had chosen for their General a man who managed war by circumspection and guidance of fouldiers and not by adventure of fickle fortune: so it was displeased of his own Citizens, as well those that were armed abroad as those at home: & namely when during the absence of the Dictator, there hapned to be a field fought through the rashness of the General of the Cavalry, with more joyful success (to speak truly) than happy and fortunate. Two other things there were besides, that caused the Dictator to be worse thought of, and in great disgrace and obloquy. The one through the delicate and wily policy of Annibal: who being envoyed by certain Idiotic Traitors (that fled from Rome unto him) which were the lands and possessions of the Dictator, gave express commandment when he had destroyed the country about, and made all even with the ground, to forbear all kind of hostility there only, and to touch nothing of his, either by fire or sword: to the end it might be thought there had been some packing between him and Annibal; and that this was the hire and consideration agreed upon between them two. The other arose from an action of his own: namely, about the exchange and conveying of certain prisoners or captives: which peradventure at the first appearance might have seemed doubtful and fitful (because therein he had not for to have the Commission and approbation of the Senate) but in the end and up-shot it turned no doubt, to his singular praise and commendation. In that entrecas above said it was capitulate between both Generals, of Romans and Carthaginians, (like it had been afore in the first Punic war) That whether ride received more Captives than they gave again, should yield for every one soldier two pound and a half of silver. When it fell out therefore that the Roman Dictator Fabius, had received more prisoners by 247 than Annibal, and the payment of the silver for those due; after much debate in the Senate house, (because he had no direction therein from the E.L.) was delayed, and no order taken therefore; he sent his Ion to Rome of purpose, to make sale of his lands, which had not been eumdammed by Annibal; and to his own cost and out of his private purse did discharge a publice debt.

Annibal now lay in larger before the walls of Gerion, a City which he had won and set on fire, and referred a few houses standing, to serve him instead of barns and garnerers for his grain. From thence he sent out two third parts of his forces to survey country, and remained himself in guard with one third part, ready in arms, (but lightly appointed and without any bag and baggage) in a meet and convenient place; both for defence of the Camp, and also for discovery of all the oaths about that no affall were made upon the purveyors. The Roman Army lay then in the Territory of Larimian, and the Captain General was M. Aemilius. Commander of the horsemens because the Dictator (as above said) was gone to the City of Rome: But whereas these had usually encamped before upon some high hill and strong place (of security) now they began to draw down into the vale and the plain ground, and to devise crafty means and strategies beyond the natural reach of the Commander himself; namely, how they might affall
either the purveyors as they straggled about the country, or set upon the Camp of their enemies, left with a small power and guard to defend it. Ambibal was not ignorant, that together with the General, the whole manner and conduct of their warfare was changed: and that the enemy would fight rather more rashly and hastily, than wisely and warily. And himself (who would have thought it, considering the enemy was approached nearer) sent out a third part of his fowlers to provide corn and forage, and kept the other twain with him in the Camp: he removed also his tents nearer to the Romans, almost two miles off from Capua, to a little hill within the sight of the enemies, and for the end they might know he was minded and ready to receive and defend the purveyors, if happily they should be charged upon. Then eipped Ambibal another hill nearer, and standing even over the very Camp of the Romans. For the gaining whereof, (seeing that if he should have gone by day time openly, he had been no doubt presented by the enemies, who would have seized it first by reason it was nearer unto them) he lent certain Numidian horsemen, who inspired it and kept it. But the Romans making little or no account of their small number, drove them the morrow after from thence, and thither removed their own tents: so that there was but a little distance between one Camp and the other, and the same, in a manner wholly taken up and replenished with Romans: and withall, at the same time, the horsemens of the Romans with certain footmen lightly armed were sent out at a poltern gate of the Camp (which opened now upon the CARTHAGINIANS) against the foragers, whom they discomfited, put to flight, and flew a great number of them. Neither durst Ambibal line forth to skirmish; for, having to few about him, he was hardly able to defend his Camp, in case it had been assaulted. So he was driven now to use the policy and shifts of FABIUS, (for part of his forces were away) and managed his war, sitting full as it were, and keeping the enemy at a bay and at arm's end: and so retired with his fowlers to the former Camp, under the walls of Capua. Some write, that there was a field pitched, and a tent built, and with banners displayed, wherein Ambibal at the first encounter was discomfited and chased to his Camp: but from thence they issued forth who were within, and so the feant turned upon the Romans, who on a sudden were put to the worst: but by the coming of Numerius Decimus (a Samnite) with succour, the fight was reconciled and renewed. This man, not only nobly defended, but also of great power and wealth, as well in Campania his native country, where he was born, as throughout all Samnium (by order and commandment from the Dictator) came with a power of 8000 foot, and 300 horse toward the Camp; and being eipped by Ambibal on the backside, gave both parties good hope of fresh and new aid. But when the voice went, that Fabius at the same time was coming also from Rome, Ambibal for fear of being entrapped within some ambush, retired back with his own men, and the Romans made pursuit after him: and with the help of Numerius the Samnite, won in one day by force two fortresses. So there were 6000 enemies slain, and 3000 Romans. And yet as equal in a manner as the loss was of both parts, the renown ran to Rome of a brave victory, with letters also in post from the General of the Roman full of folly and vanity. Much arguing there was and debate about these matters, both in Senate, and before the people sundry times. And when all the City besides was joyous, and the Dictator alone gave no credit either to the brunt that was blazed, or the letters laying withal,

That if all were true yet he feared more the fawning than frowning of fortune: then M. METELLUS a Tribune of the Commons stepped forth and said, "That this above all was not to be little red: that the Dictator, not only while he lay in Camp opposed himself against all goodness, and stained all valorous services: but also being absent from thence, refrained and discharged that which was well done and worthily achieved: and that he, of purpose, drew the war in length and prolonged the time to the end he might continue the longer in government, and be the man alone to command all both in the City and abroad in the Army: for one of the Consuls was slain in battle, the other under a pretence and colour of pursuing the CARTHAGINIAN fleet, was sent out of the way, far enough off from Italy: as for the four Pratores, they were employed both in Sicily and Sardinia: and yet neither of those two Provinces had any need of a Deputy there. And M. MINUTIUS General of the horsemens, was kept prisoner as it were, and might neither see enemy, nor do any martial exploit. And hereupon it is (quoth he) that not only S. MINUCIUS (whereof the possession was surrendered unto the CARTHAGINIANS, as it were a territory lying beyond iterum) but the Campane, Calene, and Falern territories were utterly overrun and wasted, while the Dictator abode still at Cafelium, and with the legions of the people of Rome defended his own lands and possessions only. And when the Army and General of the Cavalry were desirous of battle they were kept back enclosed in a manner within the compass of the Camp: & their weapons taken from them, as if they had been captive enemies: & at length when the Dictator was once departed from them, they issued forth of the Camp, like men delivered from siege, & so discomfited & put to flight their enemies. In consideration of all these things, (he said) the Commons of Rome were of that courage, as sometimes they had been he would boldly have put up a bill for to deprive C. Fabius of his government. But now for this time, he would propose a more in different & reasonable law, by virtue whereof the Commander of horsemens may be made equal with the Dictator in authority and power. Yet so as that Q. Fabius might not be sent unto the Army, before that he had furnished & ordained another CoI, in the room of C. Flaminius. The Dictator forbade altogether to come into any of these assemblies of the people, as a man in action and pleading nothing popular, and who framed not himself to the humor of the common people: Neither was he in the Senate house heard with patience, at what time as he either magnified

The speech of M. Metellus. - The speech of S. Minucius - The speech of Q. Fabius.
and extolled the valour of the enemy; or rather spoke of the toasts and toasts received for
The two years space, through the relations and unskilfulness of the Commanders: and said, that
the General of the horsemens was to answer and give account for fighting against his edit and
express commandments. Moreover (quoth he) if I were in place of sovereign rule and government,
to do all according I thought good, I would effect and bring to pass within few days:thar
men should know, that a good warrior was to make small reckoning of fortune but wisdom, wit,
and counsel were to guide and direct all. And for mine own part, I deem it a great honor & glory
of to have preferred an army in a time of trouble and danger from shame and ignominy, than to
have many thousands of enemies. After he had made these and much like speeches & reasons
in vain, and created for Col, M. Attius Regular: for that he would not be present to debate the
question concerning the right and authority of his own government, he departed by night facion
forward the army; even the very day before that the foresaid law should be propounded. The
morning came, and the commons were assembled to an audience: wherein men seemed rather feer
cently in their hearts to make the Dictator & to affect and favour the General of the horsemens,
than dunt come forth and be keen to persuade and set forward that which pleased them all in
common. And notwithstanding the bill was exceedingly well liked of, yet there wanted one to give
some credit and authority thereunto. At length, one stepped forth to let it on foot, namely, C.
Terentius Varro, who the year before had been Prator, a man not only of obscure degree by calling,
but also of vie & base parentage defended. His father was (as they say) a Butcher, who kept shop
and sold meat himself; and trained up his son as his apprentice in the same mechanical and servile
occupation. This Varro being a young man, and well left by his father (who was grown rich, and
beginning greatly by his trade) gave his mind and conceived some hope to live more gentlemanlike:
and took a great liking to the common place, and pleasing at the bar: exercising himself in enter-
taining causes of bale persons, against the estate and name of honest Citizens, and of good reputa-
tion: by means whereof he grew to be known among the people; and afterwards was advanced to
place of worship and honour. And having been Treasurer of the City, and born both Edileships,
as well that of the Chair, as of the other: and at length gone through one Pra-
torship, he aspired now higher in hope to be Consul; and craftily waited his time and sought
to wound himself with the favor of the people: by men of all kinds of opinion and hard covertly
had of the Dictator. & thus he alone went away with all the first and utmost love of the Commons.

L

all men that were either at Rome or in the Army, both the public and had, in general (excepting
the Dictator himself) received and admitted the bill; as made to his disgrace and shameful reproach.
But he with the very same gravity and constancy of heart endured these injurious course & dealing
of the people raging against him, wherewith he beat upon his adversaries flattering & charg-
ing him before the multitude: and having received in the way as he journeyed, letters importing
the decree of the Senate, for dividing his authority equally with the General of the horsemens,
and being affured that notwithstanding his commission were parted and communicated with another,
yet his skill and sufficiency of conduct and command remained full with him self: with a mind in-
vincible as well against Citizens as enemies, he returned to the army. But Minmius, who before
that time was hardly to be endured, both for his fortunate successes & also for the favor of the M
commonFortnow very beyond all measure and bounds of modestly, wanted and gloried in that
had conquered & got the mastery over Fabius as well as over Annibal. What Fabius [Tay] who
in time of difficulties, the magnanimity of heart and Captain that could be found out
match Annibal: that the superior Magistrate was by the content & approbation of the people,
(a thing never to be found in any record of Chronicles) made but even equal with the inferior
of: to wit the Dictator with the General of the horsemens: and in that City, wherein the Command-
ers of the Cavalry were wont to quake and tremble at the rods and axes of the Dictator.
The Car

or till continuedinging in flesh and blood, condemned in the judgment both of God and N
man, Wherupon the very first day that he & Fabius were met together: he said that they were ab-
ove all things to determine & set down in what sort they might order this their equal authority
of government. He for his part thought it best, that each other day (or if longer time between
were imposed better) they should one after the other alternatively have the full and whole com-
mand of all for the time in their several turns: that if any occasion of fighting a battle were preten-
ced, they might be able to counter the whole enemy, not only in coniell, but also in power and
strength. Q. Fabius liked not of this imposing that whatsoever lay in the hands and disposition
of his staff colleague must needs be subject unto the arbitration of Fortune: Saying moreover un-
to him. That he was indeed to impart unto him government and rule but not wholly to depart
therefrom, and shun himself out. And therefore he would never willingly fall (to his power) O
manage by counsel and discretion one part or other: neither would he divide with him either
time or dates, but the forces and armies that Minmius might have one moiety, and himself ano-
other; & since he might not preserve by his own counsel & policy, yet he would endeavour to
as far as he could, to love somewhat. And so much he prevailed, that they parted the Leagions be-
tween them, as the manner of the Consuls was. The fifth and fourth fell to Minnius, the second
and third to Fabius. In like manner they divided the horsemens number for number, and the aux-
iliary foundiers of Allies and Latines, The General of the horsemens would needs likewise that
they should be encamped alonther.

Annibal
Annius conceived hereupon a two-fold joy, (for he was not ignorant of all that was done among the enemies, partly by intelligence given him thence by fugitives, and partly by means of his own agents and spies,) for he made this reckoning, both that he should deal well-enough with the Latin臺南 of Minimus, and handle him in his kind; and also that the prudent policy of Fabius was abridged and diminished by the one half. Now there was a little hill between the Camp of Minimus and the Carthaginians: and no doubt there was, but that he who could gain it aforesaid should have the advantage of the enemy, in regard of the ground. That hill Annius was not to deliberate to get without skirmish, & yet it had been a matter of good importance, as willing thereby to give some occasion of fighting and skirmishing with Minimus, whom he would very well be at alway's and enough to encounter him and make resistance. The plain all between, seemed at the first sight nothing commodious nor good for men that would lay an ambuscade, because it was neither over-grown with any woods, nor yet in any part roughy over-spread and covered so much as with briers and brambles. But in very deed the ground was naturally made for to cover and hide an Ambuscado: and the kind, because in to naked and bare a valley, none would have imagined and inspected any decent lines, and forelaying of war. And yet there were in divers mounds and corners thereof certain hollow rocks and caves, and some of them sufficient capacity to receive 300 armed men. In these lurking holes there were betwixt 5000 of horsemen and footmen one with another, some in one place, some in another, according as they might commodiously lie there closely hidden. And yet, let that the firing of any one that might chance to go forth undetected, or the glittering of armour, should bewray the trains in open a valley, Annius by sending out at the break of day (some few for to seize the afore-said hill, withdrew the eyes of his enemies another way. The at the first view were depilated of the Romans for their small number, and every man was deeming to be doing with them, and their fingers itched for to set the enemy's back, and drive them from thence. The General himself Minimus, as fool-hardy and forward as he was most, founded the army and commanded to go to the winning of the place, bravely and threatening of the enemies fully vainly. First, he sent forth his light armed men to skirmish, but afterwards, the Cornets of horsemen set close and jointly together in array; and at the left, seeing the enemies encloosed with new maccoues and supplies, he advanced forward himself with his Legions in order of battle.

Annius had his wherefore, he perceived his men to be disordered, made out continuance steps aside one another, both of horse and foot, ever as the front encreased and grew hotter: to as now, he had his wherefore, he perceived his men to be disordered, and continued them, flanking them on both sides and charging withall behind, that neither their enemy served any of them to fight, nor their hope remained to fly and escape away. Then Fabius hearing the first cry, and knowing thereby that they were in great fear, and seeing besides a far off of their battal disordered and in disarray, "I thought it would be better for me to remain so that I feared, it is taken out: Fortune I see well, hath over-routed foot-hardnesh and taken it tardy. The man, forfooth thou must needs be made e-

In this sort, and all the rest, and none but the enemies were to be feared and sought, and the Romans" were disbanded, and altered anfder about all, advanced again speedily upon all parts, and rallied themselves to the entire battal: the rest who by whole troops had turned their backs, made head again upon the enemy; and one while giving ground and retiring by little and little, another while having in a ring and round together led off, kept this order by turns: so as now, both they that were discomposed, and those that were routed became reduced into one body.

The two and twentieth Book of T.Livius.

The two and twentieth Book of T.Livius.

The two and twentieth Book of T.Livius.

The two and twentieth Book of T.Livius.
His speech to the Dictator.

Since that we therefore are not so happy as to attain unto the highest degree of wit, and per-

tection of nature, let us content our selves with the second place, and keep a mean between:

and whilsts we learn to rate, let us lettle our selves and relrive to obey him that is wiser than

our selves. Let us joy in Camp with Fabius, and when we have preserved our selves and our

enigns before his pavilion and tribunal, see that when I salute him by the name of Father (as

is becomming his excellent majesty and the benefit by us of him received) that ye also call those

foolish your Patrons, whose valiant hands and trusty arms were really protected you: that this

day may give us yet, if nothing else the honour and name of thankfull persons. Having thus said,

he gave commandment to pack up bag and baggage and to disilodge and as they marched in good

array toward the Camp of the Dictator, they struck both him and also all about him into a won-

der and admiration. And having pitched their enigns before the Tribunal: then Multus, the Ge-

neral of the horse went forth before the rest: and after he had greeted Fabius himself as his Father,

and the whole Army likewise called those about Fabricius, by the name of Patrons.

To my pa-

rents (quoth he) O Dictator, unto whom I have made you equall in name only (as much as my

tongue will give me leave) I am bound and beholden for my own life only and no more; but to

you I am indebted for saving both my life, and all these here. The Act therefore and ordinance

of the Commons which hath been a clog and burden to me rather than an honour, here of my

self I renounce, revoke, and aboliit; and (that which I pray God may prove to the good both

of you and me) of mine army and yours, as well that which is preserved as that which is the pre-

server) to submit and surrender again myself under your command and government, together

with these enigns and legions thereto belonging; believing you pardon me, and to enter-

tain me in the room of the General of the Cavalry, and thole here with me, every man in his

former place. Then interchageably they gave their hands one to another: and the fouldiers

(after the assembly dismissed) were curteously invict, and friendly entertained, as well by them

that were unknown unto them as of their acquaintance, and so the day, dolorous, heavy, and al-

most dimfand and accursed, turn'd to be joyful and festival.

So soon as tidings came to Rome of these occurrences, and the fame confirmed as well by the

letters of the Generals themselves, as also by the common voice of fouldiers from both Armies,

every man the best he could, prais'd and extolled Maximum, up to the sky; whose honour and re-

putation was as great in the opinion of Annibals and the Carthaginians, as then and never before,

they found that they had to deal and war in Italy, and with Romans. As for the two years space

before, they let to light by Roman Captains: and fouldiers that they could be hardly perwa-

ded that they, warred with that Nation, whereof there went to great a fame, and of whom their

forefathers had reported alwys wonders and terrible things. They lay alfo, that Annibal as he re-

turned out of the field, gave out these words, that the cloud which settled on the hill tops, ho-

vered so long in the wind that it proved a tempestuous storm in the end.

While these things were doing in Italy, Cu. Servilvius Geminius the Consul, having failed about

the coasts of Siculina and Coroin with his fleet, and received hostile sails both of the one side and

the other, passed over into Affricke: and before that he landed in the continent and firm land, he

wasted the Iland Meninx, and having received ten talents of silver of the inhabitants there-

about, for fear lest their Territory also should be consumed with fire, and iopolled as well as the

reft he came to Affricke, and there let his forces alfo. From thence he led his fouldiers and

mariners likeon with one another disband and out of order; as if they were to rob and iopol

some deart lands, unpeopled and void of Inhabitants. Whereupon they fell unavoidably into an

ambush, and being unskilful of the country, and therewith but few and scattered, they were soon

ecloned among many, and with much slaughter and flamefull flight were driven and beaten back

to their ships. The fleet thus having lost a thousand men, and one Treasurer of the Army among

them called Sempronius Blastus, looted in great haste from the shore (which now was overspread

by enemies) and held their course for Sicily, and at Cytheraus was let over and delivered to T O-

tacitus the Praetor, for to be brought back again to Rome, by P. Sarchis his Lieutenant, Cu. Servilvius

himself journeyed through Sicily by land, and crost the narrow seas into Italy: for both he and

his Colleague M. Attius were lent for by the letters of Fabius, to receive the Army at his hands,

now that his six-months sovereign government was well near expired. All the Annals in a man-

ner do record, that Fabius was the man, who during his Dictatorship, fought and waged war

with Annibal, Callin wrote also, that he was created Dictator by the people. But both Callinus

and the rest, either knew not or else forgot, that the Consul Servilvius, who then was far from Rome,

and in the Province of France, had the lawful right and authority only to nominate a Dictator:

and because the City was affrighted, by reason of that notable overthrow could not stay so long,

they were driven to this hint, That there should be created by the people a Pro Dictator or Di-

tator his Deputy. But the noble acts and glorious renown of that General, together with the O

title of his Image, which might recommend his house more honourable to posterity, gained eafily

this point, and caused the Pro Dictator to be reputed Dictator, and so called.

The Consuls, M. Attius Regulus, and Cu. Servilvius Gentilus, having received the army (as

beforefaid) fortified in good time the places for winning harbour (for it was then the Autumn

season) conducted and managed the wars together in great concord, and followed the fame polit-

tick course that Fabius had done before them. For as Annibal made res seats any time to purvey

corn, they would meet him just at every turn, in fundry places, and either cut off the tail of his
A men, or intercept and catch them as they went flattering, but never hazard all in one's field: the only thing that the enemy shot at, by all the means he could devise, and to near driven was Annibal: and to those terms of want and scarcity, that but for very famine (left by his dilatoriness and departure he might be thought to fly), he would have retired back into Gallia, as being out of all hope to maintain and sustain his Army with victuals in those parts, in case the new Conuls who next succeeded, should hold on till the same policy and manner of warfare, Winter now approached, and all the war that was continued and rife about: *Serious* at what time there arrived at Rome Embassadors from Naples, who brought with them, and presented into the Council-House, forty fanlie boles of beaten gold: and withal delivered this speech, and said,

*B* That they knew full well, how the Treasure of the people of Rome was wasted and confirmed by long wars, and forasmuch as the said wars were maintained, as well for the defence of the Cities and Lands of allies, as for Rome, the very head, mother City, and principal City of all Italy, and for the sovereign dominion and Empire thereof, the Neapolitans thought it meet and reason, that what store of gold their ancestors had left unto them, were it for to adorn and deck themselves, or to relieve them in time of need and necessity, with it they were to aid and help the people of Rome in their adversity. And if they could have bestowed themselves of any other means besides, wherein they might prevail and befriended them they would as willingly and frankly have made presentment thereof: saying, moreover, that the Senators of Rome should do them a high pleasure, if they would make account of all that the men of Naples had as their own: and judge them worthy, at whose hands they would vouchsafe to accept a present; much greater, and more precious in regard of the mind and affection of the givers than the substance and value of the thing. The Embassadors were highly thanked, as well for their liberality and munificence, as for the care they had of them and that bolt was only received which weighed least.

About the same time, a Carthaginian spy, who for two years space had walked unknown and unsuspected, was detected and apprehended now at Rome: and after his hands were cut off, was suffered to depart. Five and twenty slaves were crucified for a conspiracy contrived in Campus Martius. The informer was made free and had 3000 pounds of brass bullion given him for a reward.

*Di* That they had also sent Embassadors to Philip King of the Macedonians, to demand Demetrius Phalaris, who having been vanquished in plain field, was fled into him. Others likewise were dispatched to the Ligurians, as well to expostulate with them and complain, that they had succoured Annibal with men, money, and other munitions: as also to hearken and learn (seeing they were so near) what the Boians and inborians did or went about. Besides, a third Embassage was addressed as far as *Libyrians* into King Ptolemus, to enquire and call for the Tribute, whereof the term was expired and past: and he was minded to take a longer day, that to receive hollages and pledges of him for security. See how careful the Romans were, and what a provident eye they had, notwithstanding the great war which lay heavily upon their necks and shoulders, to their other affairs: inobloquy as no one thing in the world, how distant and remote forever, was by them neglected. But as concerning religion, and Church matters, they made some truce of conciliation, that the Temple of Concord (which L. Manlius, L. Deputy in Gallia, had vowed two years before to build by a donation of a legation and mutiny of soldiers) was not yet set out to workmen or to be built or edified accordingly. And therefore two Domus were for that purpose created by *Emilianus* the Praetor, or L. Governor of the City, namely, *Ca. Popul. et Ca. Quintus Flaminius* who gave order, that the Temple should be built upon the Capitol hill. The same Praetor, by sentence of a decree of the Senate, sent his letters into the Conuls, importuning this much, That if they thought good, one of them should repair to Rome for the creation of new Conuls; and that himself would summon the Parliament against that day which it should please them to appoint. The Conuls wrote back again according to the premises, That they might not depart far from the enemy without damage of State: advising them to hold an assembly for the Election aforesaid, by authority of an interregent, rather than that one of the Conuls should be called away from the wars. But the L. of the Senate thought it better to have a Dictator chosen by one of the Conuls, for the holding of that high Court of Parliament. So L. Vettius Plauno, was nominated Dictator, and he chose for Generall of the Hollemen M. Pompeius Mabro. But these men being not only and lawfully created were commanded, the fortunates end to give over their places, and then the matter grew to an Inter-reign. The Conuls had their Commision for government and conduct of the Army, continued and confirmed for one year longer. The Senators named for Interregency, with *Ca. Londrin. Coms*, the son of Appius, and after him P. Cornelius Afer. During whole Inter-reign, the Parliament was held, with much contention and debate between the Nobles and the Common.

*G* That the vulgar people endeavoured to advance unto the Comitialship C. Terentius Varro, a man of their own cost and condition, one crept into good liking and favour with the common sort by opposing himself and contending against great personages, and by other popular practices and courses that he used to win grace among the people; as namely, by abusing the greatness of Fabius, and the Majesty of the Dictatorship: for nothing was there elie in him, to commend him to the world, but a malicious mind to bring others into disgrace. The Nobles withstood the Commons all they could to prevent this mischief; That men should not take a cullome to be their equals, by means of inveighing and making head against them, *Bibilius Heroicus* a Tribune of the Com.
The Oration of Publius Herennius, as a Tribune.

[Digest of ancient Roman history and legislation.]

...and kinsman to C. Terentius, blamed and accused much not only the Senate, but also the Hugers, in that they forbade the Dictator to finish and go through with the election: and by drawing them in hatred, sought to put him in a false and credit into Terentius his Candidate, who (hoped to be Consul. First, guord he, whereas the Noblemen for many years together, sought occasions of war and trained Amalphi into Italy, the same persons craftily have made a long war of it when it might have been brought to a final end before now. Also, when it was well seen that they might have fought a battle with the common power of four legions all together, seeing that M. Memmius in the absence of Fabius had a lucky day: two legions only and no more, were offered and exposed as it were to the enemy to be taken in pieces: and then afterwards, they were refused and lived from massacre, and the very edge of the sword: to the end that Fabius I. might be called Father and Patron: even he who to say a truth, first impeached the Romans for vanquishing the enemies, before that he faced them from being vanquished. Moreover, the Consuls that succeeded, following the same course and artificial letters that Fabius practiced before them, drew out the war fill on length, when they had good means of victory, and might have fully finished it, A complot (no doubt) contrived and concluded among all the Nobles. And never will they fee to make an end of war, before there be a Conful chosen, a meer Commoner indeed, to wit, a man never seen afore, and of the first head. For those who are of Commoners now made noble, are all alike and of the same profession: they draw all in one line, and have learned one lefion; and ever since that they have let to be concerned of the Nobility, are alien to depile and disdain the Commonalty. For who seeth, that in seeking K have an Intention their only purpose and reach was that the Election might be full and wholly in the power and ordering of the Nobles? That was the thing which the Consul aimed at, in having behind in Camp with the Army & afterwards when there was a Dictator created against their wills for to hold the great assembly for the Election, their drift was, and they wrought for, and brought it about in the end, that the Angurs should give it out and pronounce, that there was an errour committed in creation of the Dictator. And therefore faith he, the Commons cannot not of all things away with their Intensions: and truly, one of the Consulships (at least) appear of right to the Commons of Rome, and no doubt the people in their free election would more willingly make choice of one to be Conful, and confer the dignity upon him, that loved rather to win the victory at once, than to continue commander in the Army a long time, When L. the Commons were once enkindled and set on fire with their speeches and remonances, whilst three of the Partitii were competitors namely, Publ. Cornelius Merenda, L. Menius Volpa, and M. Emilianus Lepidus, and two new Noblemen, who were already familiar and acquainted with the Commons, to wit C. Atilius Serranus and Q. Fulvius Nabo, of whom the one had been High Priest, and the other Angur: yet at length was C. Terentius only created Conful to the end that the election should be in his power, that he might choose unto him a College at his pleasure. Then the Partitians having a sufficient trystall, that their Candidates and Competitors were of small force and not able to prevail, urged and put forward L. Emilianus Plutus, who sometimes had been Conful with M. Lelius, in the condemnation as well of himself as of his companion, escaped the peril of being burnt and was well fished and forthed, as it were in the fire: a man of all M others most mucilugiously bent against the Commons: him they urged, I say to stand for a Confulship notwithstanding he refulded a long while, and alledged many reasons against it. And to the next Comitall or Parliament-day, by occasion that all the concurrents and competitors foresaid that flood with blood, gave place and left off their suit, he was chosen to match with the Conful elect for to thwart and crost him, rather than to be affilet unto him in the government. This done they proceeded to the election of Preotis, wherein M. Pomponius Mathes, and P. Furius Philus were created. Unto Pompeiun fall by the jurisdiction within the City of Rome, and unto P. Furius Philus, between the Citizens of Rome and forreiners, Two other Praetors besides were chosen, M. Claudius Whatever, to be sent L. Deputy into Sicily, and L. Publius Ambius into Galla. All were created in their abilience, and excepting Terentius the Conful only, there was no Meruiuiact written upon any, who had not aforetime born and exercised the face: for divers valorous and hardy men were pasf over and left out, because in such a time of trouble, it was not thought good to prefer any man to a government, wherein he was raw and unexperienced. The Armies also were augmented: but to what proportion they arose, either in Cavalry, or Infantry, I dare not set down any thing for certaintie: fo greatly do authors vary both in the number and quality of the forces. Some day, there was a new supply of 100000 soldiers enrolled, Others, that to the five legions there were were adjoynd four new besides, to the end they might employ nine legions in the wars. Also, that the legions were increased in number both of foot and horse: to wit, with the addition of one thousand footmen and three hundred horsemen in every Legion: for sometime before, a Legion contained 4000 foot, and 500 horfe, cal•ed Quarta legio: whereas at first Romans ordained it to be 2000 of the one, and 300 of the other jfe as a Legion contained now of five thousand foot, and three hundred horse: and that the afo. should double the number of horsemen, and find even proportion of footmen with the Romans.

Some Historians have written that at what time as the battell of Cannae was fought, the Romans were in Camp 87200 strong. But in this they all agree, that the Romanswarred with greater preparation, and more force and fury than in years past, because the Dictator had put them in
in good hope, that the enemy might be vanquished and subdued at once. But before that these new Legions advanced under their ensigns and banners out of the City, the Decemvirs were commanded to go and peruse the books of Sylla; by reason that men were commonly put in fear, and terrifed with news of strange sights and prodigious tokens. For the rumour went, that both at Rome in the Aventine, and also at Aricia, it rained stones, much about one time; and that in the Sabine Country (which no doubt portended a great massacre and slaughter) there issued out of a certain fountain, waters hot, with much blood: and men were more terrifed therewith, because it did in many times together. Besides, in the street called Fornix a toward Campus Martius, divers perons were bluffed and smitten to death with lightning from heaven. The prodigious

B signs were expirte and purged with due remedies out of the foreold books. Embassadors also from the City of Pifam, brought unto Rome a present of massive boles of beaten gold. Thanked they were, like as the Neapolitans before them, but the gold was not received.

At the same time there arrived at Offia from K. Herom a fleet of ships, ready rigged, and furnished with scores of victuals. The Syracusan Embassadors were brought into the Senate house, where they declared, "That K. Herer lo soon as he heard of the death of C. Flaminius the Consul, and the defeat of the Army, took it to heavily, that no proper calamity of his own or of the enemy was more likely to befall him. This, on the contrary, he should think would spare him, and that there was nothing to dread." Whereupon C. Flaminius was immediately sent to the front, and with his forces brought into Sicily; to the end that he might first subdue the enemy, and then proceed to Rome. But for much which it was supposed, they had expected, they were ready moreover to bring in more, according as they should need, and to what place they thought fit.

Sen. 1000 Archers and Slingers, a great and competent power to match with the Balearics and Mores, and other nations that lie there, and to carry their enemies off. Over and besides those gifts and presents they sent, they did assiduously let the Lord Deputy of Sicily know that his City had ples with his fleet into Africa, both to find the enemy work, and give him his hands full of war at home: and to auger him least repose, and worse opportunity, to end aid and succour unto Ambrak. The Senate returned this answer again unto the King: That King Herer had done the part of a right good man, and had behaved himself and allies so that ever since he was entered into amity with the people of Rome, had held on the same constiluite, in keeping his faithful alliance, and never failed, but at all times and in all places factored and advanced the State and Empire of Rome, with all bounty and princely munificence: which the people of Rome took most thankfully, as in right they ought. As for some other Cities likewise had brought and offered unto them, in accepting only in good worth their kindnels received it not, but the Image of Victory, and the happy peace and love observed thereof, they gladly accepted: and for that blessed Saint they appointed and dedicated even the Capitol, and Temple of Jupiter, Min. to be the fest and thirne thereof: that being consecrated in that City and highest temple of the City of Rome, it might be propice and gratious, and remain firm and fast to the people of Rome. As for the slingers and archers together with the corn they were delivered to the Col, Fif, and twenty gallies, with five ranks of oars to a side, were joined to the Navy which was under the conduct of T. Dacius the Pro-prutor in Sicily who had commission, if he thought it good and expedient for the commonwealth, to pass over into Africa. The Consuls having finished the mutineers and levied soldiers, divided a few days until their allies were come with aid from the Latines. Then were the Soldiaries particularly (a thing never done before) by their Colonels, put to their corporal oath, and sworn to make their repair at the Consuls commandment, and without their leave not to depart: for until that day there passed nothing but a sacramental pledge, and in general: For whenever the horsemens referred to their Deputies, and footmen to their Centurions: both they of the Cavalry in their Deputies, and all of the Infantry in their Centurions, were (after a sort) voluntarily among themselves, that they would not abandon their ensigns by way of flight or upon any fear, nor go out of their ranks, unless it were to fetch either some offensive armure onto them, or to save the life of a Citizen, which having been aforetime a voluntary covenant and accord between themselves, was now by the martial Tribunes of the Colonels reduced to a formal and solemn oath, and bound the soldiers to observe them, of necessity. Yet before the ensigns set forward and marched out of Rome, the Consul Varro dealt many hot words and brave orations in the assembly of the people, intimating & purporting thus much in effect: That the Nobles had called for war in Italy where it was like to remain long enough, and to file close to the ribs of the common-weal, if the were served with many in the Generals as Fabius was. As for myself (quohe it shall I know) I vanquish the enemy, the first day that I set eye upon him, yea, and fince the war at once for ever. But his Colleague P. Aulus made but one only speech, even the day before they were to take their leave of the City: which was not
so well taken of the people for the present, as it is proved true in the end, Wherin he gave Utrum to H hard words, nor girded at him otherwise than thus: That he marveled much, how any Captains, before he had experience either of his own army, or of his enemies, and knew the situation of the place and ground, and the nature of the country, sitting as yet within the City in his gowm, could perfectly tell what he was to do in the field, and in arms: and be able to foretell and set down the very day, wherein he was to encounter and joy in ranged battle with the enemy. For his own part, he would not cast thus beforehand, nor plot his designs and counsels before due time & feason, which present occurrences are wont much more to minuter unto men, than men to fit them to the occurrences that shall happen. This would be with all his heart, That the enterprizes taken in hand warily and with discretion, might prove as lucky and fortunate. As to I considerat ratlines, besides that it implieth folly, hath ever to that day speed but ill. Thus it was well seen, that this man of himself enlined to prefer late proceeding & success could, before doubtful wares & fool-hardy counsels: & to the end that he might persever in that resolution more constantly. Q. Fabius. Maximus in his departure (by report) bad him farewell, in this or such like manner.

If you, or L. Emelius, had a Colleague like unto yourself, (which I could rather with you) that your self were lutable to your Colleagues, these may words to you were altogether needless and superfluous. For you twain, being two good Consuls, would even without my speech do all things faithfully to the good of the Commonwealth: and conversely ifboth of you were bad, ye neither would vouchsafe to give ear to my sayings nor ponder in mind my counsels. But now, when I consider your companion what he is and your self to be a man of that quality & worth, K you are he to whom alone I am address'd to direct my whole speech: to you, I say, whom me thinks I foresee already, like to be in vain and without effect in honest man and a good Citizen. For if the Commonwealth be halt and lame and one of side as great sway and authority will bad projects & lead course carry, as the good fage and whatsoever Counsell. For you are far out of the way and much deceived. L. Emelius, if you think to be left troubled with Ambush than with C. Terentius. And I not well not, but I greatly fear that you shall have a more cumbrous adversary of the one, than a dangerous enemy of the other. For with Ambush you are to fight in the field and in time of battle only: but with Terentius you shall have to do in every place, and at all hours. Against Ambush his Legions you shall make head, and have the help of your own Cavalry and Infantry; but General Verre will affall you even with your own tools. But L be from you in any illence the late remembrance of C. Flaminius. For I love no such unlucky prelaging. Howbeit, he began his mad fits when he was once Consul and never before: when he was in his Province with command, & in the Camp with his Army, and never else. But this Verre, even before he sough the Conulship, and all the whilees he was a tutor therefore, and now likewise, that he is Consul, before that he feeth camp or enemy in field is horn-mad, and talketh like a man besides himself. What foul work then (think you) will he make, when he shall see himself with armed youths about him in the Camp, who now amongst peaceable Citizens in their gowns and long robes within the City, stirreth to great storms and tempests, cracking and vanning at every word of nothing but fight, skirmish, and battle? What a coif, I say, will he keep there, where no sooner a word spoken, but a blow given: and when upon direstiton, on presently enlutch execution? But in case this man (as he faith flatly he will) fall immediately to strike a battle, either I know not what belongeth to Art military, and have neither skill how to conduct this kind of warfare, nor any experience of the quality and nature of this enemy, or else there will be another place more noble and memorable by our defeat and overthrow, than was the Lake Trasimeno. But it is no time now to stand upon these terms, and to glorifie my self in comparison of this one perfoun who have loved (as it is well known) to exceed and go beyond all measure in delifting glory & honour, rather than in deriding and coveting the fame. But the truth is this & so it will be found in the end that the only way to war against Ambush, is that which I took and alwayes used. Neither is it the issue and event alone (for that is matter and teacher of tool) which theeweth & proveth this unto us but even resound it self which hath, N and will be still the lance and immutabile, as long as things in the world hold on as they do. We war, (you fee) in Italy, at home, in our own ground and place of residence all quarters round about us, full of our own Citizens or friendly Allies: who daily help us, and will be ready till to furnish us with armour, men horse, and victuals. Sufficient proof and testimony of their faithfulness have they given us already in our hard distresses and adversity. Space and procefs of time maketh us better stronger, wiser every day than other, and more constant and resolute. Contraswise, Ambush is in a strange and foreiin land, in his enemies country, in the midit of all things that are croes and adverse unto him, far from his home and home far from his native soil, having peace no where, neither by sea nor land. No Cities receive him and give him entertain-ment no wals he hath with in which he can retire himself in safety. Nothing theft he, wherefoe- ever he goeth, that he can lay is his own. From day to day, from hand to mouth, he liveth of ra- pine and spoil. Scarce a third part hath he of those forces, which he transported over the river I- lbertus. Hunger and famine hath wasted more of them, than the edge of the sword: and for this small remainder that is left, he is hard and kant provided of food and suffenance. Make you any doubts then but we shall vanquish him, whiles we sit still and take our ease, who day by day de- caieth sensibly, and waxeth old and seacle, who neither hath thore of victuals to maintain an army, nor supply of men to make up his broken bands, nor mais of money to entertain them.
**The two and twentieth Book of T. Livius.**

A

"How long was he fain to fight for Carmus, a poor little Castle in ypula, as if it had been for the walls of Carthage? It fell: Neither will I boast and magnify my defeat at all before you O Amphilus.

Do you but only consider how Ca. Servius and Attius the last Comitis, played mock-holiday with him and deceived him, Thence the only way of safety O Lucius, which I fear our own Citizens will make difficult and dangerous unto themselves, more than the enemies can. For you shall have your own for diet and your enemies both of one and the same mind. Pero the Roman Consul, and Amphil the Carthaginian General will aim and reach at one and the self-same thing. And you, being but one man must make account to rend two Captains and reft them you shall well enough. If you will stand firm and hold your own against all birutes and speeches of the people, if neither the vain-glory of your fellow that shall be blazing nor the insinuous suspicions that shall be so blown abroad to your disgrace, shall entice you from your constant resolution and maintenance of the truth, O dial; there be indeed common provis. That right and true-dealing may well be sick but it shall not die: it may be bleeding but shall not mictar. And he that will depile vain-glory shall attain in the end to true glory. Let them call you and spare not careful; cold and low for wise and considerate, an ill fouldier and ignorant for a skilful warrior and expierc. ed. But be not you dismayed: I had rather hear a wife and soberer enemy to feed you than lee foolish and brain fick Citizens to praise you. Advenire all things boldy, Amphil will concern you: enterprise nothing rashly, he shall dread you. And yet my purpose is not, neither speak I this that you should enter into no action at all:

B

But my meaning and advice is, that in all your doing be guided and directed by fear reason not hald and carried away with blind fortune, Order the matter so, that all things be within your compas, and at your disposition: Stand ever armed and upon your guard. Have your ey about you till, and keep good watch. that neither you lose any opportunity that shall present itself unto you, nor yield unto the enemy any occasion for his advantage. Take time and leisure, your shall find all things, less plain easie, and certain, Contrariwise, hall makethe wofe:

"It is e'er to look, for seefenth ought, but is stark blind."

The Comian answered these speeches, with no light from cheer and gladiome countraende, as corning. That all he spake was rather true in substance, than ease in execution, "For said he) if the General of hoisen men were so violent, and not to be endured of you, who were his Dictator and ooreign Commander: what course shall I take, what flift may I make, what power and authority suffic.ient, am I to like to have to lavy against my feditious, quarrelsome, and heedle Colleague? For mine own part, in my former Comilship, I hardly escap'd a courting, and much ado I had to pass through the light fire of the flaming peoples doom and heavy ceniture, wherein I was well orched and half-brunt, I wish all may be well in the end Howbeit, if any thing shall fall out other wise than well I had rather hazard the pikes and darms of the enemys and leave my life behind me among them; than put my self to be tried again by the voices and images of angry and tety Citizens, Paulus had no sooner delivered this speech, but (as the report goeth) he went forth on his journey and the chief L. of the Senate accompanied him. The other Commoner Comil was likewise attended of his favourists the Commons, more looked on & gaz'd at for their multitude and number, than regarded for the worth & quality of their persons.

E

So soon as they were arrived at the Camp, and that the new army was intermingled with the old, they divided the whole army into two camps & ordered the matter so, that the new which was the leffer should be nearer to Ambial., and in the old the greater number and the whole strength and flower of the main forces should be quatered. Then they went away to Rome M. Attius the Consul of the former year, who excused himself by reason of his old age, and desired to be gone. But they gave unto Ca. Servius the charge and conduct of one Roman Legion, and besides of two thousand horsemen and footmen of their allies in the lesser Camp. Amphil, notwithstanding he well perceived that the power of his enemies was re- enforced by one half more than before, yet wondrous joyful he was at the comming of these new Comils. For not only had he nothing left him of victuals, which from day to day he purveyed for, to serve his present need and no more; but also there was no more to be had, and nothing remained for to fill his hands with; by reason that after the territory was not safe to travel in, the corn from all parts was conveyed unto the strong walled Towns, and there laid up: so that (as afterwards it was known for certain) he had scarce corn enough for to serve ten days: and the Spaniards, by occasion of the dearth and want, were at the point to revolt unto the Romans, they might but easily a good and commodious time therefore. Over and besides, to the inward rathnes and over-haft nature of the Comil. Fortune also minified matter to confirm him therein. For in a certain tumultuary skirmish (to stop and impend the torrages and Plunderes of Ambial,) and which began rather by chance, as the soldiers hurst upon one another than

F

Upon any considerate counsel aforesaid, or by direction and commandment from the Generals the Carthaginians had the foil, and went by the world: for of them there were 17000 ftoin: but of Romans and Converedates, not passing 100. And when in the train of victory they hortly followed the chase in diapary the Comil Paulus, who that day had the absolute command (for they governed by turn each one his day) restrained them, Utroch their hart chaced and fretted, crying out aloud. That he had let the army escape out of his hands: and if he had not thus given o'er the pursuit, the war might have been ended at once. Ambial took this loss and damage nothing near the heart, but rather made him reckoning, that he had caught
The two and twentieth Book of T.Livius.

(as it were) with a boat & Reft the auda founds of the fool-hardy Conflid and of the new foilders especially. For he knew as well all that was done among the enemies, as in his own Camp; namely, that the Generals were not fuitable nor forcing one unto the otherand that of three parts of the army, two in a manner were but raw, fresh, and untrained foilders. And therefore supposing he had now got pace and time favourable unto him, to convince and compafs some firft age, the night following he led forth his foildiers, carrying nothing about them but their armours; and abandoned the Camp full of all things, as well private goods and furniture as publicke provision: and beyond the next hills he betowe secretly in ambush his foildemen well appointed and in ordain of battell on the lefthand: and the horsemens on the right: and convened all his carriages into the midle between two flanks: to the end, that whiles the enemy was bated in rifing I and ran taking the tents: (as it were) and for_inicio bly the flight of the owners and matters, he might surprize him laden and encumbered with bag and baggage. He left behind him in the Camp many fires burning, to the end that the enemies should very think and be greatly under a pretendedื่y; on an army in Camp his purpose was to hold and keep the Confuls amazed still where they were, whis is himself in the mean time might in more ground and escape further away: like as he had paid by Falones the year before. When day-light was come, and the Conill, saw, first that the standing guards were gone, and perceived (as they approached nearer) an unwonted silence, they marcellled much. But after they divedcertainly that the Camp was abandoned, and no person remaining behind: there was running of all hands who could run fleeto the pavilions of the Conill, with news that the enemies were fled, in such force, as they left K their tents standing entire, and had quit the Camp wholly: and to the end their flight shoulde be more secret and not defdried they had let light fires burning in every place. Then began they all to cry and call upon the Conill, to command the standards and ensigns to be brought abroad and to lead forth in pursit of the enemies and without any title to make spoil and havock for their Camp. And in truth one of the Conill, was no wiser than the commonfoilders. But Paullus replied, and told them ever and anon, that they were to be cirumfept and wary, and to look about them what they did 'tare of an ambush. Yet seeing in the end no remedy, and that otherwise he could neither try the mutiny, nor rule the Captain thereof: he sent out M. Scipio (the Proconsul) with a troop of Lucanfoildemen in equitall, to discover the coasts and sea all were clear: who having ridden hard to the gates and given order to all the men to fly without the fortifications, himself with two horsemens besides entred within the empire, and having looked and searched every where advisely, he retired and made relation. That pafl all perdid contrary there were knives abroad and a piece of treachery was in hand: for why, there are fires made (quoth he) on that side only of the Camp that looked toward the enemy; the pavilions stand open and all things of profit and value which they set more three by are left at random even to fit our hands: and we have been beside to divers places, tile plate and join attacted along the way here and there, as it were a beggarly and Também to a booby. These circumstances reported, of purpose to withdraw their minds from censures and greedy desire of pillage; set them on and kindled them the more. And the soildiers had no sooner tried aloft, that unless the signals were given, they would set forwards without Commanders: but they had a captain firstly at hand to lead them M the way: for immediately Vostrorum'the man, Paullus who of himself made his bowfull, and perceived besides that the birds in taking the Amphilope approved not this enterprise nor gave good tokens of happy peace: gave order straightways, that his Colleague should be adverfified of the un-lucky Amphilope, who was ready now to set out of the gate with his standard & that in any wife he should stay. Whereat albeit Vostrorum was not well: content yet the acceptance of FLuminius, and the memorable overthrow at sea of Charesi ( & Pulcher) Conill in the Punic war, wrought some fimplicity of converse and fear in his heart. But it was even the fair grace of the gods (if a man may to lay) and nothing else, which put by and deferved rather than impreffed and inhibited the danger and distraction that here over the Romans heads. For as good hap was it changed at the very instant that the Conill command the ensigns to be brought into the Camp & the foildiers would not obey him that two Soilders who fled sometime two hoildemen the one a Formian, and the other a Sicilian and who in the year when Servilius & Attalus were Conills among other foilders were taken prisoners by the Numidians made an escape and fled that day to their old masters again. Who being brought before the Conill, adverfified them confidently, that the whole army of Anna left lay within ambush, so on the further side of the mountains. The coming of these bordelines to right and jumpest as they did, caused the foildiers to obey their Carol. Whereas the one of them by his ambitious courting and seeking unto them at the firft for a Confilship, and afterwards by his unctuous indulgence and pleasing of them, had lost all his majesty and reputation among them.

Amphilope when he saw that the Romans rather began to stir without advice, than still to run rashly on head to the full, and that his army did he was disloped and took no effct, returned again into his Camp. Where he could not for want of corn make abode many dies: and besides, not only soildiers (who were not all one mans child en) but a confufed mixture of all Nations began day to plot and enter into new defenfions, but also their Captain himself was of many minds. For whereas they began with muttering and grumbling and afterward is with open mouth, to demand and call for their due wages complying first of the death of vicitals, and in the end, of meer hunger and famine: and withall a rumour ran, that the mercenary soildiers, and
A and the Spaniards especially, were minded and intended to give him the slip, and to turn to the enemy: Annibal likewise thought himself otherwhics as it was laid, how he might flee into Gaul, but so, as he would leave his Infantry behind him at six and leven, and to be gone with his Cavalry alone. As I say, this was purposely and devising, when he received a length to dislodge them, and to remove into the better counties of Apulia, where the host was more timely considering withal, that the father he went from the enemies his foundiers who were by nature light-headed and inconstantine, would not to easily catch and fle from him. So he took his way by night, and made fires likewise, and set a few tents standing in fight, that the Romans leaving the fear trains and ambuscades as before, might keep in and not tire abroad. But when

B as the late events thereon, having flourished all the coast, both beyond the camp, and on the other side of the hils, and brought word that he had divided the enemies after off discharging them, he began they the morrow after to think and consult of making after him with her pursuice. But altho both Consuls continued, as ever before, the same men still, that is to say, diligently minded, and perceiving in their several resolutions: but so, as all in manner accorded with Varro, and none agreed unto Paulus; but only Servius the Consul of the former year: yet according to the opinion and counse of the maj. par, they went both together (for what might heeld that which late an easy drivel to make Caius much renowned and famous for the notable overthow and defeat of the Romans. Near this village Annibal had encamped under the wind Vulturinus, and had it on his back wind, when the fields are for sick and burnt with drought, is wont to bring with it clouds (as it were) of dust. Which as it was good and commodious for the very camp itself, so it was like to make in special stead, when they should range their battle, and order, and with the wind blowing on their back, against the enemy, whose eyes the dust was ready to put out, flying with the wind full in their face, so abundantly.

The Consuls having diligence [ly] foretold the ways and tried the passages ever before them, followed Annibal hard, and so soon as they were come to Cumea, had him in fight: where they formed two camps, of like distance almost alunder, and divided their forces just as before. The river Apulus ran close by both these camps, and yielded wating places according as either oftentimes had occasion and need, but not without some kindling and skirmish. But from the lefter camp, which lay on the farther side of Apulus the Romans had more liberty to water, because upon the farther bank there was planted no fence nor guard of the enemy. Annibal having polished himself of a good plot of ground to his mind, commodious and meetor the service of horsemen (in kind of forces he was invincible) ordered his battalions in array, by putting out certain Numidian light horse, made a bravado, and bade the Coriell barn. And even then it fell out, that both the Roman camps were disquieted and troubled anew, what with the mutiny of the footiers, and what with the disarrangement and jarring on the Consuls' sides: whiles Paulus laid hard unto Varro, and let before his eyes the raffines of Senmomand Plebians; and Varro again hit him home, and twixt him with the example of Faesius, which made to goodly a fresh in the eyes of fearful, idle, and cowardly Captains: both of them fell out to protesting and calling God and man to witnesse, the one giving out that the fault was not in him that Annibal was

E now Lord well-ner of all Italy already, and why? because himself was kept short and tied fast enough by his Colleague, and the foundiers whose hot blood was up, and who were eager of fight, had their weapons even plucked out of their hands: Annibal on the other side complaining that he ought should have amifs up to the Legions thus betrayed, and offered willily and unconsideredly to the danger of doubtful battle, notwithstanding he were not blame-worthy but innocent altogether; yet should he be the first that started, and be partaker of the mischiefe and misfortune: and yet he would gladly see, whether they who were so ready and lusty of their tongue to speak, would be as nimble & active of their hands to fight, when the time came. Thus whiles they spend time in choppings of Logick & quarrelling one with another rather then in good & other conjunctions, Annibal who had food arranged a good part of the day ready to fight, mindings to retire his other forces into his camp, left for certain Numidians out of the battel to charge upon the Romans on the other side of the river, who from the lefter camp went for water. There being a disordered & conjoined multitude were not fully lanced on the bank, but with the thought only & tumult of the Numidians, they were discomfited and put to flight: whereupon the enemy rode farther, even to the standing Corps as guards, quartered before the rampart, and hard at the very gates of the Roman camp. The Romans who were an indignity offered to the Romans, to see themselves how now braved and beaten even in the very camp by the auxiliary foundiers, and the real forces of the enemies. that there was no other thing played the Romans from passing the river presently, and embattelling themselves, but only this, that it was Paulus his turn that day to have the sovereign command of all. And therefore the morrow after, it came to Varro his counse for to rule, without any advice of his companion, he purposed forth the signal of battel, and with all his forces put in order of battel, went over the river. Paulus also followed after him as one who might well enough mislike and disallow the purpose of his Colleague, but otherwise could neither will nor chuse, but for ord and him, and take part in the execution. Being once over the river, they joined also the forces which they had in the smaller camp, unto the others: and in this manner they organized the battel. In the right point which was neerer to the river, was arranged the Roman Cavalry, and after them the footmen. The left point on the outside, was flanked with the horsemen of the auxiliaries within flood their infantry: but in the middle part were bestowed the Archers

K k
and loose shot, close to the main battle of the Roman Legions; and of all the rest of light armed auxiliaries, confounded the van-guard. The Consuls led both the points, Terentius the left, Asinius the right; Cn. Sertorius had the conduct of the main battle. Now Annius by the break of day, having left before the Balleare slingers, and his other light armor, passed over the river, and marshalled them in battle array, ever as they came to land, the horse as well Gauls as Spaniards, he opposed in the left point, near to the bank, even against the horsemen of the Romans: the right confounded of the Numidian light horse; and the main battle was strengthened and fortified with his infantry; but in such manner as the Africans flanked both, in manner of wings and between them were belotted the Gauls and the Spaniards in the midst, A man that had seen the Africans, would have taken most of them for Romans, so armed were they with Roman armor, if gotten much of it at T reclus, but most of all at Thrasymenus. The Frenchmen and Spaniards had targets nearest of one fashion, but their swords were unlike and far differing. Those of the Gauls were very long and not pointed. But the Spaniard, whole manner is rather to fight with the thrust and to fray, then to slash and strike edge-long, had handheld short curtilaries, and sharp at the point. And after this first flood were two nations armed before the rest (terrible to behold, both for the bigness of their personas, and also for their habit and attire.) The Gauls all from the navel upward naked: the Spaniards with linen waistcoats or jackets, glittering wondrous bright, bordered and embroidered with purple and scarlet. The completest number of all, as well here as footmen, that first commenced, amounted (as they report) unto forty thouland foot, and ten thousand men of arms. These Captains had the leading of the two points, to wit, Asinius comman ded the left, Maburral the right, Annius himself in person with his brother Mago, conducted the middle battle. The Sun shine upon the flanks both of the one and also of the other army, very indifferent and commodious to both parts, were it that they were so placed and marshalled of let pupefe, or chance at adventure to to hand: the Romans with their faces full south, the Carthaginians into the north, But the wind which the inhabitants of that country call Quintus arose and blew full upon the faces of the Romans, and raised such flore of dust, and drove it in upon their eyes, that it took away their sight and prospect: The cry and shout began on both sides, and the Auxiliary foinders put themselves forth first to skirmish, and charged one another with their right shot, Then the left point of the Gauls and Spanish men of arms encountered and rancul upon the right hand of the Roman Cavalry, nothing at all after the order of horse-service for they were of necessity to affront one another straightforward, as having no room left about them to fling out and ride at large, being flanked on the one hand with the river, and enclosed on the other with the battalion of footmen. Whereupon they, were forced to charge full butt from both parts, directly before them, so long as their horses stood close and thrust together: but at length when they began to stir and wince, the riders, man to man, fell to take hold and clasp one another, and every man to pluck his enemy besides his horse, so as now they were driven much what to foot. This conflict was rather sharp then long: and to be short, the Roman Cavalry was dill omitted and put to flight, And anon, as the horse made an end of their fight, begat like skirmish of the foot also. At the first the Gauls and Spaniards equal to their enemies both in force and courage maintained the conflict right hard'y, and kept their order and arrays. At length the Romans call about and devised on what side, and with what form of a close battle, to force back that pointed squadron of the enemies, ranged very thin, and by form the weaker, and bearing out withal, from the rest of the battle, Now when they had once driven them to retreat, and give ground the Romans pressed on full at one instant; and with the same violence pierced through them as they fled for fear headlong, until they were entered as far as to the very midst of the vanguard and main battle: and finding none able to stand in their way and make resistance, they gained in the end the very rearward of the Africans: who having drawn in from both sides their skirts and wings, stood together strong and firmly kept their ground. The Gauls and Spaniards continued full in the midst, somewhat advanced without the rest of the battle, Now when this pointed squadron was driven in by the Romans, and made even and equal fight with the front of the battle, and afterwards upon farther encouragement, gave way for them to pass in here through the midst thereof, so that they not the Africans charged upon their flanks and whiles the Romans unwarily were engaged over far within them, they came about them on the skirts, and within a while having stretched out and spread their wings, enclozing the enemies round on their backs also, Thenupon the Romans who had performed one battle and conflict in vain, were forced to give over the Gauls and Spaniards, whom they had disordered and put to flight, and were to begin a fresh fight with the Africans; and that to their own great disadvantage: not only because they being enclozed and pent up in a strait room, were to deal with them that had compassed them all about and were at liberty, but also because they being wearied, were to maintain a new skirmish with those that were fresh in heart, and lusty. And now by this time, in the left point of the Roman battle, where the horsemen of their allies were marshalled to affront the Numidians they were first to close fight: which at the first the Numidians began but coldly and faintly, after the deceitful manner of Carthaginians. into whom they were fast and near neighbours. For so, of them or thereabout, having besides their usual javelins and darts which they commonly carry, short daggers or skeins hidden under their cuirass and harquebus, in the semblance of riding away from their own companies, and riding to the Romans, with their bucklers at their backs, all of a sudden dismounted from their horses, and throwing their bucklers, targets,
Not without reason, men of Italy, was Gaetulicus when he heard of the defeat of the Numidian horsemen, who fought but coldly with those that fled before them, to be withdrawn from the midst of the battle, and sent them to pursue the enemies in the chase. And to the Africani overweeny now with execution and killing, rather than with any other fight, he joined the Gauls and Spanish footmen to assist them. On the other side of the battle, Phileus, being at the very first shock and encounter, he was sore wounded with a bullet from out of a flying, yet oftentimes he made head against Numidia, and kept his battalions close and thick together, and in divers places regained the conflict, and evermore the Roman horsemen guarded and protected him. But at the last they left their horses, because the Consul his strength failed him to rule his own, and tost him. Whereupon there was one brought word unto Aemilius, that the Consul had commanded his men of arms to light at once. Then (quoth Aemilius) the report goeth, Yea, marry: But how much gladder would it be, if he delivered them into my hands bound hand and foot? And surely the horsemen fought so after they were slighted, as if there had been no doubt, but that the enemy had the victory, Howbeit, although they had the worse, yet they chose rather to die in the place, then to flee: and the victors angered at the heart with them for thus laying the accomplishment of the victory, went down with them, and killed outright all those whom they could not make to give ground and yield, and yet a few such as were wearied, with much toil and overcharged with many wounds they enticed to retreat. Anon they were all disbanded and scattered sundry, and as many as could, recovered their horses, and fled away.

On Lentinus's coat, I will liken (as he rode by the Consul) fitting all a gore blood upon a stone. Ah L. Aemilius! (quoth he) whom the gods ought of right to regard and save, as being the only guilless man, and innocent of this day's work and unhappy overthrow, take here this horse of mine, while some

vigor and strength remaineth in you. Able I am to mount you upon him, to accompany and protect you also. Come I lay, and make not this battle more cursed and sorrowful by the death of a Consul. Without it, I wot, we have cause enough already, and too much of dolorous tears and woful lamentation. Whereunto the Consul made this answer: I give thee thanks, O L. Cornelius gra-mercy for thy kindnese, and God blees thee in this thy vertue and prowess. But take thou heed to thy self, left by thy foolish pity of me, thou lose that little time which thou hast to escape out of the hands of the enemies. Save thy self, and go thy ways to the L.L. of the Senate, and wilt them all from me in general, to fortifie the City of Rome, and man it well with strong guards, before the enemy follow the train of victory, and come against it. But more particularly

Ely, let Q. Fabius understand, that L. Aemilius yet, was mindful of his whollom precept, all the whites he lived, and now also forgat them not at the hour of his death. And suffer thou me to yeeld unto nature, and let go my last breath, even here among the heaps of mine own slain fellows, that I may end my days and die neither an accursed and guilty person, nor in my Consulship hand up to accuse my Colleague, and to defend mine own innocency, and justify my felie, by the blaming of another. As the Consul uttered these words, first the multitude of his own citizens in the rout, and then the enemies in pursit, ran over him: and not knowing who he was, overwhelmed him with javelins and darts good store. As for Lentinus, his horse carried him a-way to a little hill, then they fled all amain as fast as they could, 7000. recovered the lefser camp, and ten thousand the greater: and upon two thousand put themselves into the village it self of Canuae. But because it was an unwalled and teneblels town, they were immediately environed by Cartulo and the horsemen, and so perished every one. The other Consul made no semblance, that he was offended or displeased with the companies that thus fled, were it of purpose, or as it chance; and accompanied with fifty men of arms or thereabout escaped to Venuca. In this battle were slain of Roman (by report) 40000. footmen, and 7000. horsemen: and in a manner, as many besides of Allies, as of natural Citizens. Amongst whom there was one Consul, two Treasurers, L. Adrilius and Furius Bibaculus, 21. Colonels: Some also who had been Consules, Pretors, and Ediles. Of which number was Cn. Servilius, and Cn. Mucius Nemoriaus, who the year before had been Commander of the Cavalry for some certain days. Besides 80. Senators, or such as were Senators fellows, and had borne those dignities, in regard where, they were to be chosen Senators. G These served as voluntaries and were enrolled among the Legions. There were taken prisoners at this field, as the general speech went, 9000. footmen, and 500. men of Arm.

This is that noble battell, so famous for the overthrow at Cannae, and comparable to that defeat at the river Alia. For like as this was oflfs importance then the other, in respect of that which ensued after the conflict, because the enemy played his hand, and pursed not his victory; so if we consider the los of men and defeat of the army it was the greater, and for the shameful flight more dishonorable. For the running away that was at Alia, as it betrayed the City, fort it saved the Army: but at Cannae, when the one Consul fled, there were scarce 50. of his army that accompanied him.
him, and as for the other Coniul, whiles he lay a bleeding and dying, all his forces to speak of, took their heels.

Now there being a number in both camps, half disarmed, and wholly without their chief Commanders: the Captains of the greater Camp sent a messenger unto the other, willing them to come over thither, that they might march in one entire company together, and depart to Carthage in the night season, whiles their enemies were fast asleep; partly Weavered with long fight and partly charged with wine & good cheer after their joyful victory. This advice some there were that mulified altogether and rejected. For why (say they) might not they come hither themselves, as well as lend us for us we may as soon to join together? Because, I wot, all the ways between are full of enemies, and they chose rather to hazarded the bodies of others, than adventure their own percons in great danger. Others were not so much displeased for any dislike of the motion, as their hearts failed them to take in hand the enterprise thereof. Then spake P. Sempronius Tuditannus a Colonel, 'And will ye, rather chose (quoth he) to be taken captive by a multitude of cruels and cruel enemy? And to have your heads valued at a price? And that Chapmen coming to buy you in open market, should ask every one of you this question, Whether art thou a Roman Citizen, or a Latin Confederate? And so by thy disgrace, reproach, and misery, another man shall get honor, and thy self killed. Ye are (Tee well) like to Lucius Aemilius, who made choice to die valiantly; than to live in shame and obloquy; nor to many other to brave and hardy men, who lie about him dead on the ground by heaps. But before day light surpris us. And greater troops of enemyes befet the passages, let us break through theles, that in disorder and K out of array, make to Ioni no stone at our gates. The point of sword and edge of courage, is able to pats through enemies, and they never so thick and close together. We will make a pointed batailloon in weedy-top, and pierce through their loafe and thin squadrons, as easily as if nothing. 'Well in our way. Go with me therefore as many of you, as are willing to save yourselves and the Common-weal. The word was no sooner out of his mouth, but his sword was out of scabbard, and with a pointed batailloon took his way through the midst of the enemies: and when the Numidian -flanked them, and shot hard at their right side that lay open to them, they shifted their targets to their right arm, and so escaped, to the number of 600, unto the bigger camp, and forth with them, being together to the other greater company, they retired themselves safe to Carthage. These exploits were performed by men unquenched, more upon a present fit of courage, as each mans natural instinct guided, or chance led him, then either any fage advise of their own, or command of other.

Now when all the rest came about Annibal immediately upon this noble victory to concent'ate and rejoice with him, yea, and to advise him, that after to great a battle performed, he should the rest of that day, and the whole night following, both relied himself, and also give rest and repose to his wearied fouldiers: Maharbal, General of the Cavelry, was of mind that it was no giving over thus: Nay (quoth he) that you may know of what conquence this battle is, you shall break your faif and eat your dinner five days hence in the Capitol. Follow hardly with your horseman, that they may see you are come, before they hear that you are coming. No, saith Annibal again, let carriiers on Gods name go afore, and spare not to carry news thereof: Your words are good, M and it is a gay matter and plausible you speak of: but the way there to is longer, and more then I can presently conceive and comprehend: I give you thanks Maharbal, and I commend your good mind and forwardness; but we had need to deliberat and pause further upon this point, Ah (quoth Maharbal) true it is, I see half the way O Annibal, to win a victory, but not the grace to use a victory. And surely, in this one dayes delay, as it was certainly believed, flood the safety and preservation of the City & Estate of Rome, The morrow after, so soon as ever the day began to appear, they minded only and intended the gathering of poiles, and to view that great butchery and slaughter: a pitiful and lamentable fight even to the very enemies to behold. So many thousand Romans lay there along in every place, horsemen and footmen fell mellow, one with another, according as their hap was to meet together, and either to join in fight, or die in flight. Some were seen to arise all bloody from out of the midst of the slaughtered bodies, such as, the bitter morning cold had dipped their wounds, and made them to start up by reason of their smarre, and were by the enemy knocked down again and killed. Other some they found lying along hill alive, cut short by the thighs & hands, who offered their bare necks & throats to be cut & call'd into them to let forth the leafl of their blood. Divers were found with their heads covered within the earth, who as it appeared had made themselfs holes & and gutters in the ground for this purpose; to inter themselves whereinto they thrust their mouths & faces, & being buried with mould cast over them, were stuffed & choked. But above all the rest there was one that drew every mans eye upon him & made them all to wonder, a Numidian with his nose and ears piteously mangled & cropt but yet alive, lying under a Roman dead. For when his bands to wounded as they were, would not serve him to handle a weapon, for very anger he laid mad & lay (to long as he had any breath within him) biting his enemy with his teeth.

After they had spent a good part of the day in gathering poiles, Annibal marched forward to ascult the lefser camp and left and formed he turned aside the arm of the river that flanked them, and so excluded them from the water. But they all within being over-weared with toil, with wading and bleeding of their wounds, yielded sooner then he looked for: and, convened, Imprimis, to deliver up their armor and horses: Items, to pay 500, Quadrigates pieces.
A piece of silver, for every Roman: 200, for every one of the Allies: and every bondman 100 a piece. Hence, that after this random paid, they should depart in their single apparel. Thus they received their enemies into the camp, and were themselves put all in ward: but, Allies and Citizens by themselves, apart one from the other. While they trilled time there, there were about 4000, footmen, and 200 horsemen, even as many as either their strength or hearts would serve, who out of the greater camp fled to Ca. 

They used much in trappings and caparisons of their horses, (for loudiers, be yeere, occupied very little silver, either in their own apparel, or at their board,) all the pillage was given to be riddled and ramantacked among them. Then he gave command that the dead bodies of his own men should be gathered together for to be buried. And as men lay, they were to the number of eight thousand, all right valiant and hearty men. Some Authors report, that the Roman Consul also was fought up and in terred. As for those, which escaped to Ca., were by the Cannins entwined only within the walls, and lodged in their houses: but a noble Lady and a wolsely, named Basta, relieved them with some victual, apparel, yea, and money also in their journeies. In regard of that, which bouniful liberality of hers, after the war was finished, the was highly honored by the Senat of Rome,

Now, there were amongst them four Colonels, namely, Publius Max. of the first Legion, whose father had been Dictator the year before; and L. Publicius Biludas, of the second Legion, together with P. Cornelius, Secipio, and Appius Claudius Pulchris of the third Legion who had been Edile but lately since: and by general consent of them all, P. Secipio, a very young man, and Ap. Claudius were chosen to bear the sovereign rule, and to have the absolute command and conduct of the army. But as they sat with some few others, in counsel together about the managing of their main affairs, behold P. Secipio Pulchris, whose father had been a Consul, gave them to understand, that all their confutations were in vain, and that they did but f foolish and cherish a too high hope of an overthrow flats; for the Common-weal was in a desperate case, pait all cure, and remedies, also that certain noble young Gentlemen, of whom L. Cecilius Metellus was the principal, mind nothine else but to take care, and were ready to embark, to abandon Italy, and fly for safer to some Kind or other. This evil tidings as it was most grievious and heavy in itself: to falling out as it did, presently upon other misfortunes to suddenly and unlooked for, put them into their dumps, and wonderfully amazed and affrighted them all. And when they that were present in place laid their heads together, and thought good to call others to counsel upon this point, Secipio a young man, even then predestined to be the fatal Captain of this war, answered: What do we here? (quoth he) Is it no time now to sit confutting in so great extremity, but leaving all discourses, presently to proceed to action, and to do some exploit. As many therefore as are willing to save the Common-weal, take arms and go with me forthwith: for so where are our enemies (to lay a truth) encaps against us more, then where such dispositions are plotting and contriving.

Forth he went with a few following after him unto the lodging of Metellus: and finding there the young Gentleman storelad, close together in counsel thereabout: he drew his sword, and brandished it naked over their heads, as if they in confusion. I swear before you all, (quoth he) I swear from my very heart, and no man urge me thereto, that I for my part will neither forgive the Common-weal, nor suffer any Citizen of Rome to abandon her. And if I fall with ing and willing, then confound me O Jupiter, O Max. and bring a most shameful end upon my house, my family, and all that I have, Swear thou O L. Cecilius after me, as I have done, I adjure thee: and ye all that are here present take the same oath: for whatsoever shall refuse to be thus told, that upon him I have drawn this sword. Hereat they being no less terrified, then if they had the Conqueror himself Ambitius in person, took the oath every one, and yeeded themselves unto Secipio for to be kept in ward to face against Ambitius.

At the same time; whiles these things were working at Carthage, there arrived at Venusia, upon four thousand foot and horsemen together, such as in their flight had been separated among all the fields, and received into the Conil there. The Venusia took order for them all, that they should be gently entertained, and carefully tended, and divided into several horse-squadrons; and they followed upon the horsemen, a side castile, a coart, and *25. Quadrigatus a piece: and gave ten Quadrigatus to every footman: and armor besides, to as many as wanted. And in all other courtesies of hospitality, both publick and private, they gave and endeavored that the people of Venusia should not in any kind of friendly offices, come behind one woman of Carthage. Howebeit in regard of the great multitude, the burden and charge lay more heavy upon dame Butor, the Conil: for now their number was risen to be ten thousand. Then Appius and Secipio desiring intelligence that the other Conil was alive and well, dispatched a messenger presently to advetist him how many footmen and horsemen there were in them all: and to know his pleasure withal whether he would command and the army to be brought into Venusia, or abide still at Carthage. But Varro (the Conil) of his own accord brought his forces together there, and to us all: called the Consuls, il. a chariot drawn with four horses, representing on the one side of the piece.
The two and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

Confederates together: but that the two Consuls and both the armies were put all to the sword, and hewn in pieces to the last man. Never was there known a greater terror and turmoil within the walls of Rome (and the City still remaining in safety,) I will therefore even at first, sink under my load and crying nothing at all; and never will I go about to recount those things by discourse of words, in which I should make less they were indeed. For were there not now, a flying, rumors first of one, and then of another; to day of this, and to morrow of that; as the year before when the Consul and his army were defeated at Thapsymenides, but manifold overthrows together were multiplied and altogether at once to wit, how both the Consuls were slain, and two Consular armies lost: no camp, no pavilion of the Romans left standing: neither Leader nor Soldier remaining alive: and how Annib., I was now become Lord of Apulia, of Samnium, and well near of all Italy full and whole. And verily, there is not (I suppose) a nation under the cope of heaven besides, but would have been overwhelmed and crushed utterly under the huge heap and heavy weight of so great a ruin & overthrow. Should I compare therewith the defeat and fall that the Carthaginians received at the island Ægates, in a conflict at sea: wherewith they were so quelled, and their backs so broken, that at one clap they lost Sicilia and Sardinia both; and that which more is, yielded themselves tributaries and subjects to the people of Rome. Or should I make comparison of their unfortunate and unhappy battle in Africk afterwards, wherein this very same Annib. gave over play, yielded the buickers, and confedest himself vanquished. Nay they are not any way comparable with this, but only that they were born and supported with few courage, and valour of mind.

Well, to proceed, P. Furius Philus, and M. Pomponius the Pretors, assembled the Senate in the Court Regia, for to consult about the defense and guard of the City: for they made no doubt, but now that the armies were both defeated, the enemy would speedily come to afflict Rome, the only piece of work, and the state service that remained behind undone. But being to seek what counsel to take, and what remedy to devise for redress of these calamities, so exceeding great and grievous, and yet not known to the full, and interrupted and shrewdly troubled besides with the clamorous noises and plaints of women: whereas that in every house almost, they sealed not to mourn, weep, and wail confusely as (because as yet it was not openly and for certain known who were alive, and who were slain.) Then Furius Max. gave his opinion, that certain light horsemen should be made out and sent forth by the highways Ap. L. hastened Latias and to ride along and enquire of them wherein they happen to meet with (which I mean as fled, and were scattered here and there adverse) if happily some of them could report upon his knowledge, what was some of the Consuls, and the armies: and in case the immortal gods have of their mercy and compassion permitted some poor remnant; fell of this miserable and woful Empire, for the Roman name; which if their defect of small forces was what way Annibal took: and whether he was gone after the battle was fought; what preparation he maketh, what presently he is doing, or intendeth to do. His advice was, I say, that they hearken and learn certainly, these promises, certain lusty young men, active and industrious, should be employed. But for the I. of the Senate thus much, that considering there were few Magistrates at home, and those not able to rid the City of this tumultuous and fearful hurlyburly, therefore they should take upon themselves, to debarr the dames and women for coming abroad, and force them every one to keep home, and tarry within doors; to restrain the plaints and outcries of households and families; to confine themselves throughout the City; to take order that all Posts, and messengers of news, should be brought before the Pretors; and that every man should attend at home the tidings, good or bad, that concerned himself, or his own state. Over and besides, that they should set warders at the gates, to see that no person went out of the City; and compel every man to hope for no other earthly safety for himself, but in the preservation of the City, and walls thereof. And when the tumult and hurly is once husht, then (quoth he) may the Senators well be called again into the Council-House, and consult for the defence and safeguard of the City. When all the assembly liked well, and approved of this opinion, and went every man on Furius his side without contradiction, so as the market place, by authority of the Magistrates, was cleared and voided of the multitude, and the Senators were divided and gone sundry ways to appease the up oars: then at last, came letters from Terentius the Consul, importing, that E. Etruria the Consul was slain together with the army: that himself was at Camillus, but in rallying the reliques of so great an overthrow, as it were after a shipwreck upon the sea: and there were ten thousand soldiers of them, or very near, and tho' much out of frame and good order. As for Annib. he sat still now at Canus. bullly occupied about the remainder of prisoners, and intensive to the rest of the spoil and plunder: not making the victory with the mind and courage of a conqueror, nor yet after the guile and manner of a noble warrior and great commander. Then were the pit at and particular losses also divulged and spread abroad through every man his house and family, and the whole City was so filled with sorrow and lamentation, that the Anniversary solemnity of sacrifices to Ceres was feted, because it was not lawful for those that mourned to celebrate the same: and there was not a manor throughout the City, but was in heavines and sorrow for the time. Left therefore other sacrifices likewise, as well publick as private, upon the same occasion, should be neglected and discontinued. there passed an Act of the Senate, by virtue whereof a term was prefixed, to make an end of mourning within thirty days. Now was the trouble of the City no sooner allayed, and the Senators called again into
A into the Council-House; but to mend the matter, there were other letters brought out of Sicily from T. Ohiostilici the Vice-pretor, notifying thus much. That the realm of Hiero was much wasted by the Carthaginians; and when he would have escaped him at his earnest suit and petition, there was another Armado ready rigged, decked and furnished, riding by the Islands past, waiting the opportunity of the time, that when the Carthaginians perceived once that he had turned and bent to the defence of the coast and river Syracus, they might immediately set upon Lilybaum, and the rest of the Roman province. And therefore in case they were minded to aid and maintain a confederate King, and defend the Realm of Sicily, they must of necessity rig and man another fleet out of hand. When the letters both of the Consul and also of the Vice-Pretor were read, agreed it was, and thought meet, that M. Claudius, Admiral of the fleet which rid in the harbour of Ofius, should be sent into the army at Carthage, and letters be dispatched withal unto the Consul, willing him upon the delivery of the army unto the Pretor, to repair unto Rome with all speed possible and not fail, so far forth as he might, without any detriment and hindrance of the Common-wealth. Besides these to great looses and adversities, men were put in fear with sundry prodigious tokens: and among others, in that one year, two Vetal Virgins, Optimus, and Florina, were detected and attainted of manifest whoresom: the one of them was buried quick, as the manner was, under the ground at the gate Callac, the other killed herself. L. Cornelius (a Secretary or Scribe unto the Bishop, whom now they call "Maries Pontifices") the party who had committed formation with Florina, was by the chief or high Priest to be eaten with fods in the Comitum, that he died under his hand. This heinous left, and enormous offence falling among so many misfortunes and calamities, was reckoned, I say, (as usually it is) for a portentous sign; and therefore the Decemvirs were commanded to fear and penit the Books of Sibylla. And Q. Fabius Pretor was sent to Delphi, to consult with the Oracle there of Apollo, and to learn by what prayers the supplications they might pacify the gods; and what would be the end of so great and fearful miseries. In the meanwhile, out of the learning contained in those books of delinies, there were performed certain extraordinary Sacrifices among which, a Frenchman with a French woman, likewise a Greek man and woman, were set down alive in the best market into a vault under the ground shod all about: a place sometime embosomed and polluted with the blood of mankind; but here, but according to the ceremonies and religious enterainment of the Romans. When they had sufficiently pacified the gods, M. Claudius Marcellus was sent from the haven of Ofius for the defence and guard of the City, 1500, fouldiers: whom he had levied and enrolled for the richest and grandest of the City, 1500, fouldiers: whom he had levied and enrolled for the richest and grandest."
of them (a man of no Roman nature and disposition) made semblance, as if he had forgotten somewhat behind him, and so to discharge himself (tooth'k) of his oath, returned into the camp, and before night overtook his company again. When word was brought, that they were coming to Rome, there was a Lictor sent out to meet Carthalo upon the way, and to warn him in the name of the Dictator, before night, to deposit out of the confines of the territory of Rome. But the Committees of the Captives had audience granted them in the Senat-house by the Dictator, and the principal man among them, Marcus Junius, spake in this manner.

Right honourable, and my very good LL, of the Senat, There is not one of you all ignorant, that neither any City whatsoever, hath been at lest charge for redeeming of prisoners taken in wars, and made to small regard of them, then ours. But if we be not blind in our own conceit, and think better of our cause, then there is reason we were there any fools that fell into the hands of our enemies more to be accounted of by you then we are. And why? We yielded not our weapons in battell for cowardice and fear, but after that we had ftood well and unillight fighting over the dead bodies of our fellows slain, and so maintained the fight to the very last, then we retired our selves into the camp. The rest of the day and night following, notwithstanding we were weary with travel, and faint of our hurts, yet we manfully defended our rampart. The morrow after, when we were better and invelled round about by the conquerors army, yes, and exiled from water and faw no other hope at all to break through our enemies, ranged to strong and close together, and thinking it not a matter of reproof, and against the law of arms, that where 7000 of our Citizens were slain in field, some Roman fouldiers should remain alive after the battell of Carcase; then and not at we agreed upon a sum of money, that being ransomed, we might be set at large: so we yeelded unto the enemies our weapons, wherein we saw no help at all. We have heard likewise, that our ancestors redeemeth themselves from the Gauls with a sum of gold; and our fathers also, notwithstanding they were most frighted laced, and hardly brought to capitulate and compound for peace, yet sent Embassadors to Terracamp, for to redeem their captives, and both these battels, first in Italy, with the Gauls, and then before Hecatoz with Pyrrhus, were not flognominous and shameful for the losses it fell, as for the fright and beastly running away. But the plains of Carcase are covered all over with heaps of Roman bodies; and we that here have not remained alive after them, but that the enemies strength held out no longer, nor their word would serve to kill any more. And yet there be some of our men also who fled not back in battell: but being left behind to guard the camp, were taken prisoners by the enemy as well as we, at what time as it was surrendered into their hands. Certainly I envy not the fortune, nor regret at the welfare and good estate of any Citizen or fellow fouldier, neither would I be the thoughtfull man, who by debasing another, would seem to advance my self. But even they verily (unless peradventure good footmanship and swift running desire reward) who for the most part fled out of the field unarmed, and never intend before they gain Venitas or Carnuntum over their heads, cannot justly prefer themselves before us nor boast and glory, that they stand the Common-wealth in better stead then we, Find them you shall (I doubt not) good men and valorous fouldiers: to shall you too, yes, and more ready to do true service to our country, in that by your bounty and good means we have been ransomed and restored again into our country. Ye have levied fouldiers of all ages and degrees and I hear say, there be 8000 bondmen in arms. We are no fewer in number our selves, and redeemed we may be as small monies as they are bought, I say no more. but lo, for if should make farther comparisons between us and them, I must do wrong to the Roman name and nation. This is a special thing moreover (my LL.) which in mine advice ye are duey to consider in this deliberation, in case ye be so hard-hearted, as to have no regard of us, or of our defect, namely, in what enemies hand ye leave us, Itis with Pyrrhus peradventure, who used us being his prisoners, like friends and guests. Nay, is he not a Barbarian and Carthaginian? who whether he be more covetous or cruel, can hardly be imagined. O that ye faw the irons and chains, the nalty filthynefs and foul usage of your Citizens. I am affured, you would be no less moved and affected to compaifion at the fight thereof, then if ye behold on the other side your Legions lying slain all over the plains and fields of Carcase. Ye may oblige and behold the sorrowful cheer, and full tears of our kinsfolk standing here in the porch and entry of this Court, and waiting for your answer. And if they fare, and are to penifie for us, and for them that are absent, what heavy hearts have they themselves (think ye) whole liberty and whole life lieth now a bleeding? And in good faith, if so be Amphilib himself would, contrary to his nature, be respective and mercifull to us, yet should we think our lives did us small good, so long as we are reputed of you unworthy to be ransomed and redeemed, There returned in times past to Rome certain captives, lent home by Pyrrhus without any ransom paid, but the returned again accompanied with Embassadors, right honorable perfonages of this City, who had been sent for their redemption. And shall I return unto my country again not esteemed a Citizen worth 300. Deniers. Every man hath a mind by himself, and a fanck of his own my LL. And I wot well, that my body and life is in jeopardy. But I hear more the hazard of honor and good name, left we should be thought condemned and reject you. For the world will never beleive, that you did it to spare your peace, and to have money.

When he had made an end of his paragraph immediately the multitude who were gathered together in the common place set up a lamentable and piteous cry, and held out their hands unto the Council-
A Council-house, beleeching the LL. of the Senat to let them have and enjoy their children, their brethren, and kinsfolk again. The very women also, for fear and necessity, thrust themselves among this pres of men in the market place, But when all others besides the Senators were voided, they began to debate and consult about the matter in hand. Great variance there was in opinion. Some thought it reason, that their ransom were disbursed out of the common chest; others were of mind, that the City should be at no charge at all for their redemption: marry they would not be against it, but that they might be enlarged and delivered at their own cost and expenses. And in case there were any that had not ready coin enough for present payment, the Chamber of the City should lend them money, so as the people might have good security, as well by lierties B bound, as by their good and lands, managed for the satisfaction of that debt. And when T. Manlius Torquatus, a man of the old world for prudence, and as most folk thought too too hard and aulter in this point, was demanded his opinion, he spake, by report, to the cause in this wise.

If the Committee (quoth he) had treated and made suit, for the redemption of them only

that are captive in the hands of the enemies, and there flawed; if they had not touched the person of any other besides, I would in few words have knit up my verdict and judgement of them.

For what need I to have done else, but put you in mind, and exhort you, to observe the custom delivered unto you from your ancestors, and to maintain the example good and necessary for the service of war. But now, seeing they have not only justifit, but also (as it were) glorified themselves, in that they yielded unto the enemies, and thought it good reason to be preferred.

not only before them that were taken prisoners by the enemies in the field, but also those that saved themselves, and escaped to Cannus and Campania; yea, and before C. Terentius himself the Consul; I will not hide any thing from you my LL, but a quittance with every thing that was done there. And would to God, that the words which I will utter here in your presence, I might deliver at Cannus, even before the body of the army, the best witness of every man's cowardice or valour: or at least, that P. Sempronius were present alone whom, if these fellows would have followed as he led, they would have foudiers at this day in the Roman camp, and not captives at the devotions of the enemies. For whiles the enemies were wearied with fight, joyous and jocund of their treath victory, and most of them retired into their own camp; they might have had the whole night to fave themselves at their pleasure: and if they were not, yet being ten thousand strong, they had been able to have made a lane through them, were they not so thick, and to have broken away in daylight of their hearts. But neither attempted they so much of themselves, nor yet would follow the leading of another. P. Sempronius Indus ceased not all night long almost, to exhort, to admonish, and encourage them, for to follow his conduct, to take the time when but a few of their enemies were about their camp, whiles they were at repose and rest, and whiles the night lathed favourable unto them, for to hide and cover their enterprise: persuading with them, that before day light they might calmly reach unto places of security, and arrive safely at the Cities of their Allies. Like as in the days of our Grandfathers, P. Decius a Tribun Colonell in Samnium; like as of late time when I was a young man my self, in the first Punic war, Catheimius Flaminius sailed unto three hundred his voluntary foudiers, at what time as he minded to lead them to the gaining of a little Hill, standing in the midst of his enemies. Let us die hardly my foudiers, and by our death save and deliver our Legions, beleat and besieged round about. If P. Sempronius had said so much to you, he would never have esteemed you men of valour nor yet Romans, if no man among you would have born him company, or seconded him in that singular venture, But he showed you a plain and easy way, leading as well to life and safety, as to honour and glory. He offered himself to be your guide, to bring you to your native country; to your parents, your wives and children; yet would not your hearts ferve you to escape and save yourselves. Where had your hearts been then, if he would have had you to die for your country? 50000, of our Citizens and Confederates, lay that very day slain at your feet. If so many examples of manhood and virtue could not move you, nothing in the world will ever move you: it is too great a load and overthrow was not able to make you deplore and set little by this life: none will ever do it. Defere home a Gods name, and long after your native country, whiles ye are free and in safety: say, desire to be in your country, whiles you are your country, and whiles ye are Citizens theretofore. Now your desire and longing cometh too late, being dishonoured, having lost your former estate and right of Citizens, and made your selves bondslaves to the Carthaginians. Think ye for a piece of money to recover your liberty again, and to return to your former degree, from which through faint-heartedness and cowardise ye are fallen? You would not hearken nor give ear to P. Sempronius your Citizen, willing you to take weapon in hand and to follow after him; but anon after ye could listen after Annibal, commanding you to betray and render the camp, and deliver up your armor. But why blame I their lidenefs and dashedly fears? when I may reproye and accuse them for willful and lewd wickedness: For they not only refiied to be ruled by his good counsell and exhortations, but also attempted to hinder and stay him in his intended enterprise, had not right hardy and valiant men with their swords drawn, see these dashedly beasts farther off. P. Sempronius, I tell you, had somewhat ado, to pass the ranks and squadrons of his own countriesmen before he could break through the battalion of his enemies. Longeth our country to have these for her Citizens? who if the rest had been like them, should by this day, have never some
a one of them that sought at Cannae, for her Citizens. Of seven thousand armed foildiers, there were found 600 that had the heart to break away, mangetting the enemies, to escape and return with liberty, and with their armor, home into their country, notwithstanding there were forty thousand enemies to resist them: how easily then and safely, deem you, might a power almost of two legions, have palled through them and gone their ways? Ye had this day my Lords twenty thousand at Cannae, of right brave hardy, and loyal foildiers. But now which way can these cowards possibly be reputed true and faithful Citizens (for valiant foildiers, I am sure, they will not think themselves, nor take up on them to be, unless a man could be persuaded and beleeve they were such, who would have impeached and with their old the rest for getting away even when they were at the point to open a passage: or that they rather do not envy now, both the safety and also the honor of others which they have won by provest: knowing in their own I
conscience, that their timorousness and cowardliness was the cause of most ignominious and shameful servitude. They loved better to close within their pavilions, and to look for the day light and the enemy together: when in the thick dead time of the night, they had the opportunity to escape. But now then? Although their hearts fail them to break away out of the camp, yet to defend the same manfully, they had courage and valor enough. Beseged they were, straitly beleaguer'd: invested they were day and night for a good time and in their armor forced to stand upon their guard, and manfully they quit them themselves within their rampart, and at length (God wot) when they had slayed and endured all extremities, when all succors failed them for
inutilization of this life: so pinched with hunger and so enfeebled, that they were not able to bear their own armor and lift up their weapons: overcome at the last, rather with the necessity of making the best of such a chance as providence could offer them: thereupon they surrendered, and the enemy advanced and approached toward the rampart: and within two hours after, without any trial and hazard of skirmish, they delivered up their weapons and themselves. Thus ye see what their good issue was, for two days together. When they should have stood to it in field, and fought, then they fled back to their tempts: when they were to guard and defend their trench and rampart, they surrendered them to the enemy; good no where, neither in battal nor in battle, I agree to ransom you, you (I say) when you ought to have fall'd forth of the camp, linger behind and stay still: and when need was, to abide by it and to defend it as valiant men, surrender camp, give up your weapons, and yeeld your own bodies to the enemy? Nay, but to speak what I think, my sentence is (my LL.) that there fellows deserve no more to be ransomed, then thence to be delivered unto Annibal, who Issued out of the camp, pick'd through the midst of the enemies, and most valiantly saved themselves, for to do lest another day in their country. When Maelius had fail'd, albeit the prisoners were allied near in kindred to most of the Senators: yet over and besides the precedent of the City it self, which never from the first beginning favoured the redemption of such foildiers, as suffered themselves to be taken prisoners: the ransom it fell, which amounted to a good round sum made them to paufe: because they were unwilling both to empty the publik treasury; (having already burdens great fines, in buying up bond-flaves, and arming them for the wars) and also that Annibal (who as the voice went, was at a very great stand for money) should be enrich'd thereby. When this their enfrver was returned, M to wit, No redemption of captives: there was a new fit of weeping and wailing as added to the former sorrow of the people, namely for the los_of so many Citizens: and so with many a tear that they shed, with fundryplaints and moans which they made, they accompanied the Committees aforesaid, as far as the gate. One of the ten went home to his houle the fametime, who upon a fraudulent and cautious return made into the enemies camp, as aforesaid, suppos'd he had acquit himself and disburdered his conscience of his oath, Which being known and recoumed to the Senat, they were all of mind that he should be apprehended, and attended with a good and sufficient guard at the charge of the City, and so carried back to Annibal. There goeth another report of the Captives, that first there came ten of them as Committees: and when it was debated in the Senat, and doubt made, whether they should be admitted into the City or no; N they were at length received, but so, as that they had no audience in the Senat; and upon longer stay made them then looked for, three others followed after them to wit, L. Scribonius, C. Calpurnius, and L. Munatius. Then by mediation of one Tribun of the Com, a kinsman of Scribonius, the matter was propounded in the Senat concerning the ransom of the captives: but granted it would not be: whereupon the three latter Committees returned to Annibal, and the other ten that first came, remained still behind: who upon a colourable occasion, had made an errand back to Annibal, when they were well onward on their way, to take a note, fortooth, of the names of the prisoners, and thereby seemed to have discharged their conscience of the oath. Allo, that in the Senat there was hard hold, much question and variance, about the delivering of them again into the hands of Annibal and how at last: they who were of opinion have them rendered and send back, failed of their purpose: by reason they came short by some voices and opinions, and that the other side carried it clean away. But by the next Senators that came in place, they were so marked, and branded, with all notes of disgrace and shame, that some of them immediately made themselves away with their own hands: and the rest forbare, not only the common place and market all their life time after, but also came not abroad, in manner, to be seen in the very street, and never looked out of their doors. Thus a man may rather marvel, that authors should so differ among themselves,
The three and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breuiry of L. Florus upon the three and twentieth Book,

The Campus revolted unto Annibal, Mago was sent to Carthage, with news of the victory at Cannae and in the entry of the Council-House, he poured out (on the floor) the golden rings which had been plucked from the fingers of the Romans there slain, which by report exceeded the measure of a Modius. Upon these tidings, Hanno the noblest personage among all the Carthaginians, persuaded with the Senat of Carthage, to fly unto the people of Rome for peace, but he prevailed not, by reason of the Barchins rage and faction, that gain-said him. Cl. Marcellus the Praetor fought fortunately before Nola, in a sally which he made out of the town against Annibal, The Army of Annibal fell to riot at Cepaea, and gave themselves to such profanities, while they wintered there, that both in body and strength, and both in courage of mind, they became much enfeebled, Caulinum was besieged by the Carthaginians, and the inhabitants within were driven by extreme famine, to eat things and leatherings, plucked from off their shields and targets, yea, and to feed upon Mice and Rats. They lived with Nuts which the Romans sent them down the river, Vulturnus, The body of the Senat was defiled by receiving upon them a new supply, from out of the order of Knights or Gentlemen, to the number of 197 L. Pollihinus the Praetor, was together with his army defeated by the Gauls, and put to the sword, Coreus and Publius S. Ipius, were vanquished Afdrubal in Spain, and had the conquest thereof. The remnant of the army fled at Cannae was sent away and coaxed into Sicily, and commanded not to depart from thence, before the war was fully finished. A truce and treaty was concluded between Philip the King of the Macedonians and

Annibal, Sempronius Gracchus the Consul, disarmed and flew the Campians. Moreover, this book contains the former exploits delivered by T. Manlius the Lord Deputy in Sardinia, against the Carthaginians and the Sarden: who took the General himself Afdrubal, together with Mago and Hannibal, prisoners. Claudius Marcellus the Praetor was vanquished and defeated in a last battle before Nola, the army of Annibal, and was the first that put the Romans in some good hope of better success, after they had been toiled out with so many foils and losses.

The three and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

Annibal after the battle fought at Cannae, and the winning and vanquishing of both the Roman camps, dislodged anon, and was removed out of Apulia into Sardinia, being sent unto to come into the Hirpines country. By Sempronius Gracchus, who promised to betray and deliver the City of Nola into his hands. Now there was a Citizen of Cosa named Terentius and the personage and of great name in his country. But the bond and faction of the Cofanes (a family of great power, by favour of the Romans) kept him down and over-weighed him: but
after the fame of the battle of Cannae and the coming of Annibal, divided and blown abroad by the speeches of Trebius those Compars abandoned the City and so was it without any conflict rendered unto the Carthaginians, and received a garrison. Annibal leaving behind him there, all the pillage and baggage that he had, divided his army into two parts: giving Mage in charge, to poffeft himself of the towns of that country, which would revolt of themselves from the Romans: or else to force them thereunto, in case they denied and refused to do. Himelf took his journey through the land of Carthage, toward the nether sea, intending to affault Naples, that he might be Lord of a Port Townalso, and have it at his devotion, When he was entered the confines of the Neapoliandrs, he placed some of the Numidians in Amburgh, as cunningly as he could, (and there for the most part, the ways are hollow, and full of clofe and secret nooks and holes) others he commanded to faire a fliew of driving away a body out of the fields, and to ride out braving before the gates of the City. Against whom, seeing to be not many, and those disordered, a troop of horfmen issued forth, but the enemies of purpose giving back and returning from them, led and trained them on, to the place of ambush: and so they were environed on every side, and there had not one of them escaped alive, but that the sea was near, where they fhipped many fisher boats along the flore on the bank side, and as many of them as were skillful in swimming, got unto them, and saved themselves: but in that skirmifh nevertheless certain young gentlemen were slain, Among whom, Hecata allo, the Captain of that Corner of horfemen died in the place, who followed too hotly upon them that retreated & seemed to flee. But Annibal after he had viewed the walls, and saw they were not easy to be won, was disoutraged and starved from giving affault to that City. From thence he turned his journey, and took his way to Carpa, a City flowing in wealth and superfluity of all pleasures, by reason of long felicity, and the favorablc aspect of gracious fortune. But among all corruptions that there reigned, it was infected most with the licentious loosenefs of the Commons, who exceeded beyond a measure, and abused their liberty, frauent Cobustion, a man of noble race there, and popular withall, but one that by lewd and indirect courses became rich and mighty. By means thereof, had both Senate & Com. under his girdle, and might do what he would. This man chanced to be head Magiftrate the fame year that the Romans were defeated and overthrown at the Lake Thriftymen: and supposing that the Commons (who had been a long time maliciously affected to the Senate and Nobility) would by occasion of alteration in the State, enterprize some notable act to wit, (in case Annibal should come with his victorious army into those parts) the murdering of the Senat, and delivering of ope into the Carthaginians hands. This man I say, lewd and had enough wifeifs, but yet not dark enough and wicked in the highest degree: and detefted to lord it, and dominet with the safety of the Common-wealth, rather then with the utter deftruction of the fame: as knowing full well that no State could remain safe, spoiled and bereft once of a publick council: call about and pifert, how he might both save the Senate, and also oblige the fame to be at his and the Commons devotion. He assembled therefore the Senate one day together, and after he had pretendi with a solemn preamble, That in no case he would like & allow of the delegation and intent of revolting from the Romans, unless it were upon necessity and constraint: for as much as himself had married the daughter of Appius Claudius, and had fair issue by her: besides affianced a daughter of his own in marriage unto Livius Rufinus: but yet (quoth he) there is a matter of greater consequence toward, and a danger like to burst out more to be feared then that. For the Commons intend not by way of revolt and rebellion to rid the City of the Senators authority, but are perswaded to massacre all the Senators, and to deliver unto Annibal and the Carthaginians, the Common-wealth, clearly void of a Senat. Of which imminent peril (quoth he) I know how to free you, in case you will wholly trust and rely upon me, and forget all former transactions, and old debates, which have fallen out in government and managing of the Senat. Now when all of them in place, (for fear were forced to put themselves into his hands: I will, quoth he) that you up within the Council-Chamber, and pretend unto them, as though I were one of their complices, both private and party to this intended praife of theirs: and so by soothing them up, under a colourable approbation and allowance of their delighements, which I should in vain crofs and gain, I shall find out a ready way to save all your lives. And for assurance hereof, ask and have of me what bond and security ye will your selves. Thus having made his faithful promise to be leit and true unto them, he went forth, and commanded the Counfell-Houfe to be flint fire, and let warders to keep the gate and entry thereof, that no man without his license and commandment, should either enter in, or come forth. Then after he had called all the people together to an audience, in a solemn and frequent assembly, thus he spoke unto them. That which ye have often wished for (O ye Campians, my good neighbors and friends) namely, to have the power and means to revenge your selves thoroughly of this wicked and unjust Senat, now lieth in your hands to perform with safety at your pleasure. And ye need not by way of an uproar to affault their houses one after another, to the great danger and hazard of your persons, considering how they are defended with strong guards of their vafuls, favorites, and bond flaves: ye have them all at and closely under within the Council-Chamb ers themselves alone. Without company, without armour and weapon. Here you may take them. But fee that ye do nothing basely upon head without due, nor rashly without advisement, I will in compals and bring about, that ye shall give your doom of life and death upon every one of them, to the end that each one may have his delier, and suffer due punishment accordingly. But
"But above all things ye must have an eye and look to this, that ye proceed not too much in
"hear and cholera: but that ye have more regard of your own safety and profit, than of life and re-
"venge, For (Take it) they be the Senators only whole perfons ye hate and detest; and your
"meaning is not wholly to put down and overthrow the Senate quite: for either ye must accept
"of a King,(O government abominable) or elie admit a Senat, the only Council indeed of a free
"City and State: and therefore with one blufh(as they say) ye are to go stop two gaps, and to do
"both at once, namely, to abolish and depofe the old Senat, and to elect a new, I will command,
"that the Senators shall be elected by name one after another: and concerning their life and death,
"I will demand your opinion and refolution: and look what judgement ye give, all inten-
"tly stand and be put in execution. But before the condemned guilty perfon be done to death, ye
"shall substitute in his room a new Senat, some good man of valour and courage, and worthy
"to succeed in his place. With that, he fette him down. And after all their names were thrown in-
"to a lottery pitchcr and thuffed together, he caufed him to be cited and called aloud by name, and

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rather than said any thing directly befitting the present estate of our fortune, for what have we left us all, after this dishomiture of Cauna, that we should be willing to have that suppli
by our allies which is wanting? As who would lay, we had somewhat already. Should we de-
mand of you footmen, as though we were furnished with horse? Should we say that we lack-
ed money, as if money only were wanting, and nothing else? No, no. Fortune hath dealt to
hardly with us, that the hath left us just nothing, nor to much as that, which might be made
up and supplied by others. Our Legions of footmen, our Cornets of horse, our armor and mun-
ition, our Standards and Ensigns, horse and man, money and victuals, all is gone, lost, and per-
ished; either in the battel or the mortuary after in the ruin of our Camp, when we were turned
out of our tents and pavilions. And therefore ye are not, O Campans, to aid and help up in this
war: but in our behalf, and for us, ye ought to take the whole charge of the war upon your
own selves, against the Carthaginians. Call to remembrance how in time past, when your an-
cestors and forefathers were fearfully driven to keep within your walls, standing in dread and
bodily fear, not of the Samnites only your enemies but also of the Sidicins: we took them into
our protection, and defended them before Sarchias: and how for your sakes we began war
with the Samnites, and maintained the same for the space of an hundred years, and in great
variety of fortune, giving and taking furnish the alts all the whiles. Over and besides, call to mind,
how we concluded an indifferent and equal league with you, to the disad vantage of neither
parts: how we granted unto you the liberty of living under our own laws; and how at the
left (a matter, I wot, of right great importance and conference, before this our late over-
throw at Cauna) we granted unto a great part of you, the freedom and privilege of Burgel-
see and parted with you the franchises of our own City. And therefore ye ought of right (my
Matters of Cauna) to repute this loss and misfortune now received, to be as well yours as ours:
and to make reckoning to defend the common state and country of both. It is neither Samnit
nor Tufcan that we have to deal with, to whom, if we lost and parted with our Empire yet it
remained still within the compass of Italy: but the enemy that pursueth us, is a Carthaginian,
drawing after him a train of fouldiers, who are not so much as in Affrick, but coming
from the farthest and most remote parts and bounds of the world, from as far as the * firesights
of the Ocean sea, even from Hercules his pillars: void of the knowledge of all law, right, and dif-
tereence of condition, without reason and discretion, and (in manner) without commerce of
mans language. Theic fouldiers lo fierce and fell by nature, to cruel and merciless: by use and cu-
tume, their captain hath withall made more wild and savage, by making bridées, cautyes, and
high-waies, over heaps of dead mans bodies: and (which I abhor to speak, by teaching them
to eat men lea. To fee and endure thefe men to be their LL, whom feeding as they do upon
such execrabl4e meats and viands, which even to touch and handle without great horror we
may not: to retort for justice as far as into Affrick and Carthage, and to suffer Italy to be re-
duced into a Province under the Numidians and Moors, what is he that would not decent and
abhor, were he but born only within Italy? A worthy honour and immortal glory it will be
for you, O ye Campans, if the Roman Empire and dominion, thus growing to ruin and falling
donprofitate under the weight of this late overthrow, might by your fidelity and forcible
power be laid and upheld, and let upright again, I suppose ye have levied and enrolled alread-
y, thirty thousand foot, and fou broth ele. out of Campans: for coin, for corn, ye have
drole and plenty: Now if your faith and truth be answerable to your wealth and fortune, nei-
ther shall all Amhul find that he hath won the victory, nor the Romans feel that they have lost
a journey. With this Oration thus ended, the Consul gave the Embassadors their discharge, and
dismissed them. As they returned homeward, one of them, Sobus Virius by name, said thus unto his fellows; Now is the day come (quoth he) wherein the Campans may be able,
not only to recover again the lands which in former past the Romans have wrongfully taken
from them, but also obtain and enjoy the sovereign rule & Empire of Italy. As for Ambulus, we
may conclude, content, and capitulate with him what articles and conditions we lift our selves,
to our bell behoof and benefit: And it is all to nothing, that Ambulus, having now disparch,
and finished the war, will of his own accord depart like a Conquerour into Affrick, and with
draw his forces out of these parts: so as the dominion of Italy shall be left wholly to the peo-
ples of Cauna. Virius had no sooner delivered these speeches, but they all applauded him and
accorded thereto. And in like terms they related their Embassage, as all men thought no les.
but the Roman Empire and name was utterly perished and extinct for ever. Incontinently the
Commons and the greatest part of the Nobility of Cauna emined to revolt and rebel: Yet
by the commenne and authority of the Ancients and Elders the matter was stayed and deferr
for some few daies. At length, the greater part prevailed, whose opinion was, That the same
Embassadors which were sent to the Roman Conful, should be addressed in embassage unto Amh-
bul. But I find in some Anna records, that before they went, and before their relocale determi-
nation to revolt, there was an Embassage sent from the Campans to the City of Rome, demanding
thus much, That if they meant to have any help and aid from them, one of their Consuls might
be a Campan. Whereat the Senat of Rome took such impat and indignation, that the said Embassa-
dors were commanded to void the Council-House, and a Serjeant went after them at their heels,
to fet them out of the City: charging them at their peril, to take up their lodging that might
without the territories of Rome. But because this demand jumpteth too near to the like that the
Latines
A Latines made long before: and both Callius and other Historians have (not without good reason) passed it over and laid nothing thereof; I dare not avow it for a truth. Well, Embassadors there came unto Ammode, and concluded peace with him under these conditions, and covenants: 

1. That no General Captain, or Magistrate of the Carthaginians should have any jurisdiction or power over a Citizen of Cypus: Item, That no Citizen of Cypus should be compelled against his will to serve in any wars, or execute the charge and office of a soldier. Item, That the Carthaginians, and their Laws and Magistrates of their own: Item, That Ammode deliver unto the Carthaginians three hundred Roman Captives, as they themselves shall choose; whom they might court and exchange for their three hundred horsemen of the Campans that were in garrison, and offered for pay in Sicily. There were the Articles of the accord. But the Campans stuck not to do more than so, and to go farther than their stipulations: committing divers and sundry outrages. For the Commons suddenly at once apprehended all the Romans in Captivity over the confederate soldiery, yes, and attacked other Citizens of Rome, that were either employed in any military charge, or otherwise occupied in their private affairs; and caused them to be clapt up within the houses and hot-bouses, as in ward and in custody, where their breath being stifled and dropped up with exceeding heat, and stinking vapours they were killed, and died miserably. But there was one Decius Mucius, a man who wanted no means of sovereign authority, but only the sobriety, discretion, and wisdom of the Citizens with whom he lived; who withstood all that ever he could find enormous and audacious counsels, and endeavoured to hinder the Embassage sent to Ammode. And to soon as he heard that Ammode was tending a garrison he reconnoitred unto his fellow Citizens the proud and lordly rule of Pyrrhus, the miserable and wretched thrall of the Tarentines, as preceding sufficient to give them warning. He called not to cry aloud in open place and audience, first, that they should not receive the garrison into the City: then, that being admitted they should either be thrust out again; or rather they would expiate and make amends by some valiant and memorable action for the soulful land part of theirs, in revenging from their most ancient Allies, yes, and kinmen by blood, they then did upon the Carthaginian garrison, and kill them every one and to revenge themselves as again to the Romans. Ammode being of having iniquity of these plots (for they were not a forcing and contriving in a corner) sent certain messengers to summons Mucius to repair unto his presence within his Camp.

After that he seeing he stoutly denied to go, (for he pleaded that Ammode had no authority nor right to command a Citizen of Cypus) he waxed wrath, and commanded the man to be apprehended, and to be bailed person bound unto him. But fearing upon better advice, left by observing such violence some tumult might arise, and in the best of all break forth into an inconceivable fray, he dispatched beforehand a messenger of purpose unto Marcus Curius, the Praetor of L. Governor of Cypus: signifying, that the morrow next following, he would be peremptorily in Cypus: and go with a small guard about him, he let forth of his Camp, and put himself on his journey, Marcus assembled the people together, making proclamation, and warning them to be ready in all frequent solemnity, with their wives and children, to meet Ammode up on the way. They of the adverse side unto Mucius and the Romans performed this not only obediently, but also most effectually, and with great diligence and endeavour. Yet the common force likewise were very forward in this action, as desirous especially to see this great General and brave warrior, so noble and renowned for his many victories. Decius Mucius neither went forth to brave him, nor yet kept his horses, because he would not seem to fear and carry a guilty conscience; but walked up and down in the Market place with one of his lads, and a few of his valets and followers, whilsts the whole City besides was busily occupied, and much troubled in the entertaining and beholding of this great Captain and Commander of the Carthaginians. Ammode being entered the City, in continually required to have audience in their Council-House. Whereupon, the Nobles and principal Citizens of Cypus required him that he would not that day intend any weighty matter of importance, but hint it in person solemnly; set it joy and mirth as an high and festival holiday for his welcome thither. And albeit he was by nature hasty, and ready to fall into fits of anger, yet because he would not seem at his first coming to deny them any thing, he employed a good part of that day in seeing and viewing the City. Entertained and lodged he was and his whole train with the Marcus, Curius, Sestius, and Paesion, the most noble and honourable personages, and the wealthiest of all others, Thither unto him, Paesion (concerning whom I speake before, the principal men of that bend and faction, which reduced the City to the obedience and devotion of Ammode) brought his own son a young Gentleman, and said withall, that the youth kept continually with Decius, and that he was sent to pick him away from his company and train, whole pack he took, and stuck most nightly to him, in maintaining the old society and amity of the Romans, against the new League with the Carthaginians, and that then the binding and inclination of the whole City to the contrary side, not yet the reverent majesty of a father, had yet driven him from his obdurate resolution. And for that time the father laboured with Ammode rather by way of prayer and intreaty, than by excusing and clearing his son, that he would not be discomfited, nor displeased with the young man, so he was overcome with the importunity and the plentiful tears of the father, and gave commandment, that he and his together with his father should be ridden to upper, at which last he purposed to have the company of no other guests of all Cypus, but only of his hostles that have him entertainment, and one Jovellius Tamet,
a famous and brave warrior. To supper they went long before day-light went down, and fared at the table not after the guile of Carthaginians nor according to the discipline ofoudiers but after the order of a City and house; which had been nuste a long time to have the boord furnish'd with dainty food, and with all delicate saucers to please the palate and taste. Perhps only the fon of Carthage could not be brought to change his mind and thei himself cheerful and merry at meat, notwithstanding the Malters of the feast, and Ambibal himself! other whilees invited him to bear them company, and sit with them—but he ever made his excuse to his father, that he was ill at cafe and sickly whenever he seemed to examine him, and to know the cause of such wonderful trouble of mind and vexation of spirit. So a little after fun-setting; when his father arose, and was gone out from supper, the followed hard after him: and when they were come into a secret place apart, (a garden it was on the back side of the house) I will tell you a thing father, I have in my hand a policy, and a reedy mean, how we shall not only obtain pardon at the Romans hands for our trepas committed, in falling away from them and turning to Ambibal: but also how we Campans may be in far greater estimation and favour among them than ever we were. The father marcelling here was delirous to know what device that might be: and that the youth cast his gown from off his shoulders, and thew him a good blade girded to his side. I will quoth he, out of hand, establish and fast cure the Roman League with the bloud of Ambibal, I was delirous (father) to let you know of it aforehand, if peradventure you would be willing to be one of the way when the deed is a doing. The old man seeing and hearing this, in a great mullsagery, as if he had been present to see the execution of that which he heard K him to speake of. Now Ibeec the thee, my fon (quothe he) and pray thee of all loves and bonds that bind children and parents together, that thou wilt not before thy fathers face either comit or suffer this to horrible a part fell of allominous wilkendes whatsoever, and not to be named. There are not many hours one that we careve by all the gods and holy holows in heaven, and by joying hand in hand, made faithful promise, and obiged our selves to communci- cate together with him, and to eat at the holy table of feared lands. And are we no sooner departed thuns from our familiar conference and parley, but we smr our urches against him? Art left thou indeed from thy friends guilty board, to which thou wentst thy full a man bind- den of all the Campans, and even by Ambibal, and witt thou stain and pollute that board with the bloud of the principal guest? I, the father ofwile was able to reco.mme Ambibal to my L ion: and can I pacrifie my sonlikewise, and appease his fierce fome against Ambibal? But if their be nothing faced and inviscible, nothing to be trusted in the world, neither faithfull promises, nor religious oath, nor any piety at all and good nature, things so honest and just: then adventure hardly, and spare not to put in execution all actions detestable and not to be spoken, so that besides the note and infamous mark of wilkendes, they bring not upon our own heads present mischief, and utter confusion. Dareth thou alone affile the perfon of Ambibal? What will that multitude about him do the while, so many freemen and bondmen both? All their guard and regard all their eyes upon him alone what servet they for? What will become of so many hands of theirs? Thinkest thou that they will be bennummed and desd at the time of that tranick enterowtie of thine? The grim village of Ambibal himself, whom whole armies of servants tremble to behold: who the people of Rome dread, and for fear of whom they quake. again, witt thou alone abide to fee? And if all other means of help shold fail him, witt thou endure to strike and wound me thy father, putting my body between for the safeguard and defence of Ambibal? And flab me thou milt through the very heat, before thou canst hurt him or run him through. Suffer therefore thyself to be righted from this thy intended mischief, before thou have the folithere, and mist of thy purpose. Let your prayers take place with thee, as once this day they prevailed for thee. With that, he marked his fon to weep and shed tears and embracing him about the middle, and kising him ever and anon, he left him nor, not gave over to pray & entreat him instantly, until he got at his hands to lay off his sword and prom- ise him faithfully that he would not attempt any such enterprise. Then the youth, seeing how the case stood, I will (quothe he) pay unto my natural father that kindnes and love, in which I am bound as a debtor to my natour Country. But alas for you, good father, I am right sorry for your hard hap: who are to answer before God and the world, for the betraying of your country, no fewer times than these already. Once, when you gave counsell and persuaded to forfake the Romans, and to revole from them: again, when you were the principal agent, and advised to make peace with Ambibal: and now this day the third time, when you are the only obstacle and hindrance that Capua is not restored again into the hands of the Romans. O sweet country and native soil of mine, take here at my hands this sword, wherewith cruelly I was girt and armed for dear love of thee and was fully minded to defend this thy chief Caffle and Fortresses, and not to spare, but embrace it in the blood of thy mortal enemy: take it I say, since my own father is ready to writte it from me. This said, he flung his sword over the garden wall into the high way and open streete: and therewith, because he would not grow into any suspicion he flewed himself again to the gardens within the house, and took part of the banquet. The morrow after, the Senate in favour of Ambibal oTowenly met together in great number: in which frequent assembly, the beginning of his speech was very pleasant and gracious: wherein he gave the Capans thanks, for preferring his amity before the alliance of the people of Rome; and among other hail and magnificall behooves to them made, he promised that within a while,
A Capna should be the head City and chief State of all Italy, whereunto the people of Rome, together with other nations, should refer for law and justice. Mary quoth there is one that hath no part or fellowship in the society and league made between the Carthaginians and you, namely, Magnus Decius, who neither was a Campanian nor ought of right to be so called and reputed. him I demand to be delivered into my hands, and in that my presence the Senate should be addressed their opinion concerning his trepans, and an Act presently enter thereof. All of them there subscribed allowed of the motion, and gave their assent in the end: albeit a great font of them thought both the man unworthy of that hard lot, as you and calamity, and that this was but an ill beginning and a very overture to the INTRINSIC of the right of their freedom. The chief Magi gram the Senate then went forth of the Comitille-Chamber, and late in the Judicial Hall or Temple, and commanded Decius to be delivered, and to stand before him at his feet, and there to answer for himself and make his defense. Who persisted still in the same sounds and boldness of spirit, alleging that by virtue of the covenants in the League compiled, he might not lawfully be pressed and forced thus far. Whereupon he had iron clapt upon him, and commandment was given that he should have a Lictor attend upon him, and to be conveyed into the Camp of Annibal. All the way as he was led, so long as he was bare-headed and open-faced, he went preaching to the multitude that flocked about him, and with a loud voice spake and said: Now Capnans, ye have the liberty that ye fought and longed for. In the open market place, at noon-day, and in your "fight, yo how I man inferior to none in all Capna, am led away bound in chains to die. What greater violence could be offered if Capna were won by allaint of the enemy? Go forth, go and meet Annibal adorning and hang the City with its cloths of tapestry. Register in your Calendar, among other holidays this day Ethyes that in the end ye may behold this goodly triumph over one of your own Citizens. Upon the utterance of these words, the multitude seemed disconcerted at the indignity of this fight. Whereupon he was hoodwinked and his head covered and the Sergeant was charged to have him away quickly, and make haste out of the gates. So, he was brought into the Camp, and immediately shipped and sent to Carthage, for fear lest some commotion might arise in Capna, upon unworthy and shameful a deed: and lest the Senate also should repent themselves, that they had delivered and yielded out of their hands a principal personage among them: also to prevent that no Embassie might be sent unto him for his redemption whereby he should either offend his new Allies, or in case he denied them their first request or suffer Capna to have always a base and licentious Citizen ready ever to stir up new troubles; he granted their fair. The ship wherein he was embarked, was by a tempest cast upon Clyra, a port town in the dominion at that time of the KK. There Magnus fled for refuge as to a Sanctuary, unto the Image of King Polonius, and was brought by his guards and keepers unto Alexaner to the Kings presence, and enthrone the King how contrary to the tenor and privilege of the covenant he was in bonds by Annibal. Whereupon he was loosed from his chains, and put to the choice, whether he would return to Capna, or go to Rome. Magnus answered that he could not in Capna remain in safety, and if he went to Rome, at that time especially when there was war between the Romans and the Capnans, he should be sooner lodged there in a prison like a fugitive runaway.

E than entertained in house for a friend and loving guest: and concluded in the end, that he would make abode and live the rest of his days more willingly in no place of the world, than in his highness Realm whom he found already to be the favour of his life, and the redeemer of his liberty and enlargement.

While thence occurrents fell out abroad, Q. Fabius Pistor, tent (as is above said) Embassador to Delphi returned to Rome, and out of a writing he read openly, the answer of the Oracle in these words (now ye must understand, that in this Scripture were certain gods and saints named, unto whom they should make solemn supplication, and the manner also with all ceremonies and compliances thereto belonging) "Then (O Romans) if ye shall do, your state shall prosper and be more happy; you Comman-Celestial shall go forward better to your mind, ye, and victory in the war shall happen unto the people of Rome. But remember that when all things shall go well on your side, and your state shall be fared and preferred, ye lend unto Pythius Apollo a pretence, according to the merit of a divine recompense, and of the silver railed of the pillsage, prizes, and spoils taken from the enemies, do him honour accordingly. After he had rehearsed these words, truly translated out of the Greek Original then he said moreover, That so soon as he was departed from the Oracle, he presently translated unto all the gods with frank incense and wine, Also, that he was commanded by the Priest of Apollo, that like as he both came to the Oracle, and also celebrated sacrifices, crowned with a garland and chaplet of Laurel, so should he in the same manner adorn himself and be embossed, and not lay off the said garland before he was arrived to Rome; finally, that all ceremonies performed most precisely and diligently, which he was commanded to observe, he had laid and bestowed the said chaplet upon the altar, before the Shrine of Apollo at Rome. Then the Senate made a decree, That those sacrifices and supplications should with all speed and carefully regard be celebrated.

whiles these things palled at Rome and in Italy, Mago the son of Amilcar, arrived at Carthage, and brought the first tidings of the victory at Cannae. This Mago was not immediately and directly sent from his brother, out of the field where the battle was fought, but laid certain dates about receiving the homage and submission of certain cities of the Bruttis, which revolted from the Romans. Who having audience given him in the Senate of Carthage, related what acts and
and exploits his brother Aemilius had achieved in Italy: namely, That he had given battell to Hys Generalis, whereas four were Commi, and two were the Dictator and Commander of horse-men: That he had fought against six entire Consular armies, in which battell he had lain above 20,000 enemies, taken prisoners more than 5,000. That of thatour Cofi, he had killed twain, oneight for the other two of them was deadly hurt, the other having lost his whole army, was fled accompanied rusty with fifty men: that the General of the cavalry created with full Consular authority, was discomfired and put to flight: and the Dictator (forsooth) because he never wou'd hazard the fortune of a field, was counted the only warrior and worthy Captain: Than the Britth and Aquilans part of the Samnites, and Lucians, were revolted to the Carthaginians. That (as in the city of Camarina only, but after the Romans defeat and overthrow in the battell at Canus,) Aemilius also, was surrendered to Aemilius. For these to many and so worthy victories, he required (meet and requisite it was) that there should be a solemn festival day held and farishes solemniz'd to the honour of the immortal gods. And for the better assurance of these lucky and fortunate achievements, and to unite his words, he caused the gold rings of the Romans, to be poured forth in the porch and entry of the Consul's House. The heap of them was so great, that as some authors affirm, when they measured the fame, they fill'd three Medus and a half. But the constant report went, and founding nearer to a truth, that they were not above one Medus. He added moreover, and said, (and all to prove their overthrow the greater,) that none but knights and men of arms, and those of the better sort, who feared on horseback at the Cities, things needful to wear that ornament. The drift and condition of his K speech was this: That the former that Aemilius hoped to make an end of the wars, the more he ought to be aided and helped with all provision and furnitures accordingly. And why? The latter was far from home in the midst of the enemies land, a huge deal of corn was consum'd, a great mass of money was spent, and as to many battells he utterly swoop'd up the enemies armies, to reckning was to be made, that they had in some measure lefled and impaired the forces of the conqueror. Therefore, a new supply of men was to be lent over and money for soldiers. And paxterga, and corn also was to be transported to bable fortresses, that had done insupportable good service and deserved to well of the Carthaginian nation. Upon these reports of Magnanimity, when all men else were wondrous glad, and took great contentment. Himedes, a man of the Bachi band, supposing he had now good occasion and opportunity offered to carp and check L. Haemo. How now L. Haemo quoth he, what say you to this year? Repent you till and mislike the war undertaken against the Romans? Let us see now give your voice and opinion that Aemilius be yielded: for this now thanksgiving to be performed to the immortal gods, for this prosperous speed and fortunate issue. Let us hear a Roman Senator now to speak in the Council-House. of the Carthaginians. Then Haemo: I would have held my peace this day, my LL. quoth he, for fear to speak ought that in this common and general joy might not be altogether pleasant unto you. But now seeing a Senator bittily put me the question whether I mislike still of the enterprise of war against the Romans? If I should keep silence and say nothing, I might seem either proud and inent, or else faulty and culpable. Whereof the one is the part of a man that hath forgot the liberty of other men: the other a property of him, that thinketh not of his own. Well may I therefore answer to Himedes, that I care not yet to mislike this war, nor never will give over to blame and challenge this invincible Captain and warrior of ours, because I see the war ended and determined, upon some indifferent hand, and tolerable conditions: and nothing else shall thin the mists I have, and quench the longing desire of the old peace, but the making of a new. And therefore these particulars, which Megesewhile so magnified and venerated; I thought I could let the present joyful news to Himedes andcither of that true and the aloud of Aemilius. And to me likewise in some measure they may acceptable tidings in this respect, and that good success and happy speed in war, if we will make the right use and benefit of our fortune, will be a mean to procure us more ease and honourable peace. For we if let slip this advantage and opportunity of the time, when as we may seem rather to give than take conditions of peace, I fear me, that even this present goodly gush of rankness is as maketh now, will runn on to law, and bear no head to hold corn in the end, and yet let us consider now, what a special matter this is. Slatin I have whole armies of enemies: Therefore send me fresh and new soldiers, What could you,(Sir) demand more, if you had been overthrown? Won I have before two strong holds where the enemies were encamped, full and frighted we want nothing to think of prizes and victuals, allow me more corn and money, What would you have requir'd and raised more a day, in case you had been riled, and turned perforce out of your own camp and pavilions? But that I may not marvel alone at these strange Enthymemes and conclusions, now(for it is as free and lawful for me to ask some questions seeing I have already answered to Himedes) I would fain have the See of Meges, I care not whether, to make answer likewise to me, Say, that in the battell before Canus, the Roman Empire was wholly defeated and foiled. Say also, that certain it is how all Italy is at present ready to revolt to me first and foremost, whether any one Nation of the Latin people is lain from them to us? Secondly, whether any one per on of the five and thirty wards in Rome, is run away and fled to Aemilius? When Meges said, And denied both. Why then(quoth he) there be great numbers of our enemy still behind. But I would gladly know what courage, what heart, what hopes that multitude hath. When Meges answered, he could not tell, And nothing(quoth Haemo) is more nice & easy to be known,
Sayman, lest the Romans any Embassadors to Ambichol to treat for peace? Nay, had ye any intention to bring into you, that there was so much as one word hinted, or mention made at Rome of peace? When Mago did flay, nay, to that too. Why then (quoth Hannibal) by this account this war will find you work, and keepcuss occupied as much as it did the very first day that

Anna, iet foot in Italy. How many variable fortune was in the former Punic war, how victory went and came irreproachably, we are most of us yet alive that well remember. We never knew better nor had a milder hand, both by land and sea, than before Cato Left him and Annia Philippa; were Consilts, and whiles LPSelius and Ptolemais were Consils, were we vanquished and utterly overthrown before the Ilands Egypt. And inca, now (which God forbid) fore some thousand than to change, and turn her wheel, hope yet to have peace then, being overcome, which now when we are conquerors, no man offereth nor leketh after. For mine own part, if any man should ask mine opinion of peace, I answer, I have, and tender it to the enemies, and accept of their hands. I write not what to say; but if ye would know what I think concerning those demands of Mago, my advice is, that there is no line nor reason to lend aid and supplies to conquerors now if they beat us in hand, decline, and abuse us with a vain and false preservation of conquest and victory, much less a great deal. These remonstrances of his who took small effect with many of them: for, both the less grudge and ran or wish he borne to the Bank he Hone, much impeached his credit and authority, and the Senat that their minds were fully possessed of the present joy, they could admit and abide to hear of nothing, that might offend otherwise to daunt their glad hearts: thinking verily that the war would soon be at an end; and now would it in a little help it forward. And therefore with great consent, there passed an Act of the Senat; That there should be a supply sent unto Ambichol for forty thousand Numidians, forty Hephestis, and many talents of silver. Also the Dictator was sent before with Mago into Spain to levy and hire twenty thousand footmen, and one thousand horsemen, for to make up those broken armies which were in Italy and in Spain. Both these matters (as usually it happens in time of prosperity) were performed but fleshly and at leisure. The Romans conscienciously made more peace, as being by nature more indolent, and besides, such was their ad of fortune and extremity, that they might not neglect their affairs and go slowly about their business. For neither the Conslts was waiting in any affairs that were by him to be managed; and the Dictator M. Junius Brutorus, so soon as he had performed all the complements concerning the religion and religious ceremonies, proposed up unto the people. That (as the usual manner was) he might mount on horseback. Which done, over and besides the two legions of the Romans, which in the beginning of the year had been levied and enrolled by the Conslts, and the bondslaves that were before manners, and certain ignomions gathered together out of the Ptolemais and Gauls country, he proceeded to the last remedy and succour of a distressed and well near desperate state, when as honest and direct counsels must give place unto commodious and profitable policies, and slights from his house, and made proclamation, That whosoever were enemies and condemned of any capital time, or who whatever were imprisoned for debt, and would willingly serve under him, he would take order that they should be exempt from all punishment, and discharged from their creditors. And of such he armed six thousand with the spoils of the Gauls, which in the triumph of Ptolemais were carried in them. Thus he departed from Rome, and twenty thousand strong.

Ambichol having possessed himself of Cepha, and solicitted the Neapolis once again, and founded their minds proposing before their eyes fear and hope, and all in vain, led his forces into the Country of Notis, with this mind, not at first to go roughly with them to work, but by way of open hostility, because he was not out of all hope, that they would willingly come off and yield themselves: but in case they wavered, and answer not his hope and expectation in some good time, he would likely proceed against them in all extremity, and put them to whatever he could endure or last. The Senate, especially the principal of them, being万分 and sure in their alliance with the people of Rome, but the commons (as their mistresses, deforme of alteration, and to see a new world) enjoined wholly to the side of Ambichol; calling many doubts, and fears, that their hands and pollutions should be wished and rioted with blind calamities and indignities, that follow upon hege: neither wanted there heads and ring-leaders of a rebellion. Whereupon the Senate (for fear lest if they should seem to thwart and foil them, they had not been able to withstand the violence of the multitude once upon and drawn to an head) closely dilliberate their intent and purpose, and so by temporizing, prevented a perilous mishie, so having remembranced that they liked well, and were resolved of revolting into Ambichol; but upon what conditions and capitulations they should enter into new league and amity, they now certainly. So having taken a farther time they dispatched in haste certain Embassadors into the Roman Prator Martellus Claudius, who remained with the army at Carthage, adorning him in how great jeopardy the fate of Notis stood, to wit. That Ambichol was already Lord of their lands and the Carthaginians would soon be masters of the City-unles they were overcome and relieved; that their Senat were driven to this step, to yield unto the Commons, and grant to revert whenever they would have them; and by that means to bind them that they rebelled not over hastily. Martellus after he had commended the Nolians, would them with the same dissimulation to protest time and hold off until his coming: and in the mean while to conceal and keep secret to themselves, the dealings and treaties with them, and no cafe to be known
known of any hope they had of aid from the Romans. Himself went from Carthage, to Calvicia, and from thence passed over the river Volturnum, and by the way of Satricum and Trebia, journeyed over Sarnia, through the mountains, and arrived at Nola. A little before the coming of the Roman Prætor, Annibale was depauperated and gone out of the Territory of Nola, and drew downwards to the sea-side near unto Néapolis: his teeth watered at the Port-town, and that out of Affright his ship might arrive thither, as to a safe and litle harbour. But after that he heard that Agela was held by a Roman Prætor, M. Junius Silanus (sent for thither by the Neapolitans themselves) and had received a relation: seeing he could not be admitted into Neapolis no more than into Nola he went to Nuceria. Having beleaguered it round a long time, and often assailed it terribly, and afforded to sollicite as well the Commons as the Nobility, but without effect: as the length by famine he forced them to yield, and to become matter of the Town upon composition, that they should depart every man disarmed in their tangle garments. Then, as one that would seemer from the beginning, to reconcile to all Italians, but only the Romans: he made fair promises of great rewards and advancement to honour, unto all those that would tarry behind and leave under. But no man upon those hopes would remain with him. For they all gave him the slip, and went flyndry ways, some to their friends and acquaintance, others to a venture as their mind flew to divers Cities of Campania but most to Nola and Néoples. Amongst the rest, there were almost thirty Senators, and thence (as it is told of) the bell for that came to Capua: but being kept out there because they had nothing against Annibale. They went to Cumae. The pillage of Nuceria was belittled upon the fortunies the City lacked and burnt. K Now kept Marcellus Nola, not presuming more upon the strength of his own garrison, than upon the confidence he had in the great men and chief of the City. But he had the Commons in jealouic, and above all, one L. Banarius, who for that he had committed to rebellion, and therefore flew in fear of the Roman Deputy: one while was pricked and incited to attempt treision, and to betray the City; another while, in case he shou'd fail of that opportunity, and use his purpose, to make an escape and run away to the enemy. A couragious and lusty young man he was, and the bravest Cavalier in those days of all the Roman Conquerors. His hap was to be found lying half dead among the heaps of slain bodies before Cumae: Annibale took order for the curing of his hurts, and when he was thoroughly healed right presently sent him home well and bountifully rewarded. In remembrance of which favour and good turn, and in token of L. thankfulness, he was willing to deliver and yield Nola into the hands of Annibale, to be at his devo- tion. But the Prætor had an eye unto him, and observed how his head was wondrously twisted, and was hurfully occupied to bring an alteration. And seeing there were but two ways to deal with him, either by punishment to keep him short, and cut him short; or by some benefit to win his heart: he thinking it a better course to gain unto him, so hardy and valiant a friend, than only to bereave his enemy of him; he lent for him, and in this manner spake friendly unto him: "You have (quoth he) amongst your countrymen and fellow-Citizens, I see well, many that envy you, as it appears well by this, that there is never a neighbour you have at Nola that hath told me of you, and how many noble exploits and good services in war you have performed. But yet your valour cannot be unknown and hidden, ever since you served in the Roman army. For many there M. be which were fortunies then with you, which have made report unto me of your provos, and what perils you have entered into, and how often you have put your life in hazard, for the safety and honour of the people of Rome: and namely, how in the battle before Cumae you gave not over fight, until at length having bled well near to death, you were born to the ground and lay under foot, overwhelmed with men, horse and armour, falling upon you, and so kept down that you could not rise up again. But be of good cheer man, and go on tillin this thy venture and well-doing; you shall have at your hands all honour and reward that may be possible: and the officer you come to me and keep me company, you shall find it will be more for your reputation and commodity both. The young man was glad at heart for these gracious words and large promises: and so Marcellus gave unto him freely a good brave courser, and commanded the Troes-Nifer to tell him out in money. 500 Bigas of silver, charging his officers and Lieutors to let him have access unto him, at his pleasure, whenever he came. By this courteous usage and humanity of Marcellus, the young man's foot heart was so dulced, mollified, and cafe to be wrought, that of all Conquerors and Allies there was none who bare himself more valiantly, nor maintained more faithfully the State of Rome. When Annibale was approached to the gates of Nola (for he was returned from Nuceria, and came thither again) and the Commons within the town practis'd a fresh to rebel. Marcellus had a little before the coming of the enemies, retired and put himself within the walls: not for fear that he should not be able to keep the field and his hold; but lest he should give advantage and opportunity to betray the City, owing too many of them within disposed and forward the enemy. After this they began on both sides to arrange their barrels in array the Romans under the walls of Nola, the Carthaginians before their own fort. Small skirmishes there were between the City and the Camp of Annibale (with variable event of fortune) because the Generals were not willing, either to deny and debar some few that were to eager and forward to call for fight, or yet to give forth the signal of a general battle. While these two armies temporiz'd thus, and held their <corp de guard> continually, in manner of a solemn fee Assembly, the chief Nobles of the Nolans advow'd Marcellus, that there nere D. to be night-meetings and conferences between their own Commons and the Carthaginians: and
A and that it was plotted and set down. That when the Roman host was inlaid in barbel-array out of their gates, the Commons in the mean while should fall to rising their carriages, packs, and trundles within, and then flut the gates upon them, and keep the walls: and having the City and all their goods and baggage under their hands, should from thenceforth receive Ansub into the City instead of M. Vereius. Upon these advertisements, M. Vereius after he had thanked and commended the Senators of N. L., determined before any commotion and mutiny arose within the walls to try the fortune of a battle. At those three gates that stood toward the enemy he ranged his forces divided into three battalions, &c. gave order that all the carriages should follow after; and that the ladies, launders, and other Camp followers, together with the feeble and sickly persons, should carry flaks and pales for the rampiers. At the middle gate he placed the flower and strength of the legions, together with the Roman Cavalry: at the two gates at either hand he belowed the new frontiers the light armed, and the anakyli homen of allies. The Nolians were by frighten commandment forbidden to approach the gates or the walls. As for the baggage and carriages the ordinary guard was appointed to attend thereupon, for fear, lest while the legions were but in fight there should be some flame made upon them. In this order and array allured they were within the gates. Ansub who likewise ready armed flung with banner displayed (as he had done for certain days together) until it was well toward noon,first wondered at it, that neither the Roman army Issed out of the gates nor any frontiers appeared upon the walls: and supposing afterward that their small compasses and conveniences were discovered and revealed, and that for very fear they kept within and in still, sent back part of their frontiers into the Camp, with commandment in all speed to bring abroad into the opened field both before the Vanguard, all the Ordinance and Artillery force to batter the City walls: with lifted confident, e. that if he came hasty upon them, gave them afflack, while they thus lingered and Issed not forth, the Commons would make some tumult and flurry within the City. But anon as every man was busily occupied, running to and fro in hither and thither, about his own charge, before the Vanguard and forepart of his battalions, even at the battalions advanced toward to the walls; all upon a sudden that gate was set open, and M. Vereius caused the trumpets to sound the alarm, and the frontiers to set up a shout, commanding the flower of the army first, and then the horse to tally out, and with all the might and force they could, to charge upon the enemy. Soon after they terraced their main battalions: and an assault was made disorderly and made disorder there, when at the two gates of each side. P. Flacciis, Flosuras and Cum Am- relus, two Lieutenant-generals, Issed forth upon their flanks and wings. The horse, bores, scullions and other the multitude assembled, which was set to guard the carriages, arose up and made a new order, and stationed, so as to the Carthaginians (who conceived them before for their small number especially) they represented all at once a flock of mighty army. I dare not avouch that which some Authors fluke not to write, that of enemies were flux in this conflict 2900 and that the Romans lost but one only man. But what victory ever it was, either to great, or smaller, purely a doughty piece of service was that day achieved & I wont not whether I may truly say, of the generallest conquence that any ever was during the time of that war. For as the time was then, it was a greater matter for the Romans (albeit they were the Conquerors) not to be

Evanschied of Ansub than it was afterwards to vanquish him. Ansub disappointed of his hope to win Nola, turned to Acerr a. M. Vereius immediately having flut the gates, and placed the guards and watchmen to keep the time, but no man might go forth, for judiciously in the marketplace to examine, to see what conduct or parting with the enemies: and finding above fifteen guiltiness of this action pronounced sentence of death upon them, as in case of treason, Thoklhe cut shorter by the head and commanded their goods to be confiscat. And thus leaving the government of the City to the Tar whatsoever, departed with all his leers, and above Snob enconomized himself and there abode.

Ansub / being come before Acerr a.slid Admonished the City to surrender voluntarily & without contest: but keeping them obdurate, and willing to resist, he made preparation to lay siege to the town and to assault it. But the Accerans had better heart and courage than might and strength to repel him. Therefore, when they saw themselves like to be intrenched all about, and were palt hope to defend and keep the town: before the enemies had brought all ends of their trenches and lines together they get between the trenchers and rampiers (where they were not finished and flout not close together) in the dead time of the night, and slipped through the lenins and wickets that were flendly looked unto and as well as they could making shift through by-wales and blind lanes over hedge and ditch (as either their wish guarded them or their fear carried them) recovered those Cities of Campina, which they knew for certain were not revoked, but perished true and left unto the Romans, Ansub after he had put Acerr a to the sack, and let it on fire having intelligence, that the Roman Dictator and the legions were received at Cashilus: and leaving left while the enemy lay to near encamped, some should have recoupe also into Contra led his army to Cashilus. At the same time Presebe was held by 500 Prencellins, with a few Romans and Latins, who upon the news of the overthrow at Campina were retired thither, These Prencellins, by occasion that they were not levied and mulcted at Presebe by the day appointed, set out from thence some what too late; and were come as far as Cashi lus, before the rumour was bruited of the defeat before Campina; where they joyed themselves with other Romans and Condurers, set forward from Cashilus, and marched together with a good great company but meeting by the way with
with the tidings of that unfortunate field-venture back again to Caesarianum. And after they had pent [pent] certain days there, as well fearing the Campanians as suspected of them again, (for they devised on both sides how to entrap one another, and how to avoid each other's stains) and having received also a certain intelligence, that in Capua there was treating about a revolt, and that Ambitio 28 was there received; they in one night let upon the Townsmen of Caesarianum, and killed them, and got that part of the City which is on this side Velurnus (a river that runneth through it, and divideth it into two parts) and kept it still. Their number was well increased by the coming of a cohort of four hundred and fifty Penguins, who likewise were driven to Caesarianum, by the same report and news, which a few days before had turned the Pretentius thither. And surely there was sufficient almost of armedboldly to man and defend the walls of that part, being off to a small circuit as they were, considering the town was flanked on the one side with the river. And again, for the proportion of corn (whereof they had small store) they were men but too many, Ambitio being now not far from thence, sent before him the Getulians, under the conduct of a Captain named Isiato; with direction that, if he could come to a parlament, he should perswade with the Inhabitants within and by fair words induce them to open their gates, and receive a garrison; but in case they continued still in their obstinacy, then to assaile them by force, and give the attempt to enter into the City one way or other. When they were come under the walls, the barbarous Captain Isiato supposing (because he heard no noise, and saw no business) that they had quitted and abandoned the town, and were fled began to assaile the gates, brake open the locks, & burn the bars. But all at once on a sudden the gates were set open, and two cohorts well appointed and provided for that purpose within, falled forth with an exceeding great noise and tumult, overthrew a number of the enemies and beat them down. Thus when the flinthad the repulse and were set back, Maximil. I. was sent with a greater power to reconquer them, but was not able to make his party good with their equations that falled forth and charged upon him. Left Ambitio himself encamped even before the wall, and with all his power and forces put together, made preparation to give assault to this little town & small garrison. And writes he pressed hard upon them with feath and hot affaile, insinuating it round about the enemies from off their walls, curtains, and turrets, set the fire to hotly upon the assailes that he left, some of his belt & most forward men ther. Once they illused forth of themselves upon a bravery, and minded to bid them bate, but by a couple of Elephants sent between them and home, they had like to have been forth and kept L. out, and to them made halfe in great ter to recover the gates and put themselves within the town again; having left, considering to kill a number, a great part: and more had died for it, but that the night parted the fray, and made an end of the skirmish. The morrow after, the assailes were all of them in despair to give a treath and hot charge, but not before there was a murall Coronet of gold newed, and promised unto him that first should scale the walls. And the General himself cast in their teeth and reproved them for being so long about the shuffling of a small and weak fence, to speak of Justiied also upon a plain: whereas before they had the strongest town of Saggamum. He put them in mind both all and some, of Caenea Thrasyiscus, and Treb. Then began they to set mantiers and pavilions to, and to undertone. Many and many enterprises were attempted, and nothing left undone, that either by one force could be performed, or by art and cunning devised. The Roman auxiliaries against those their engines and structures raised mounted, and platforms: whereas with countermines and cores trenches met with the mines of the enemies; so as both above ground and underneath they impeached all their attempts: so long, till Ambitio for very shame was fain to give over his design for the present. And when he had notified his standing Camp and placed there a mean guard for the defence of it, because he would not seem to have relinquished altogether the enterprise, he withdrew himself into C. post there to winter. There he lodged his soldiaries within the better part of winter; those soldiaries he lay, who many a time and often had endur'd long, and held out against all travels and hardships that can possibly happen to the body of man; and never had been didied to any good keeping, nor acquainted with delights and pleasures of the world. But even these men, whom no calamity, no misery could N tame and overcome, were spoiled and undone with too much wealth and excessive dainties: and so much, that the rather as they more greedily fell thereto; and having not tasted thereof before, gave themselves wholly that way, and were deeply plumed and drowned therein. For sleeping on soft beds, wine and delicate fare, wallowing and basking, flews and hot-houses, idleness and taking ease, which by use and custom grew pleasant and delightsome unto them every day more than other; had in this fort weaken'd their bodies, and made their hearts to effeminate, that from that time forward the reputation and name only of their victories past defended them more than any present strength and vigor they had; insomuch, as expert and skillful warriors judged their Captain Ambitio in more fault, and rather overween in this action, than in not leading his Army back forward to Rome, after the battell before Caenea. For, that day might have been thought to have deferred only the entire and small victory for a time, but this errone and over-sight seem'd to disable him for attaining the victory for ever. So little retained he of his former old diline that I at this time you went out of Caepurn again as if he had led some other Army and none of his own. For, not only they returned from thence most of them intangled and inured in the love of harlots, but so soon as they came again to lie abroad on the bare earth under tents and pavilions covered with beasts hides, to march long journeys, and to taste of other military toil and labour; their bodies so tired, their hearts so faintned, as if they had been
raw fouldiers, neare come into the field: in such wise, as all the time of their immener abode in Camp, many of them with license and paiptor, would slip out of the way, and depart from their colours: and thefe thrall-backs had no other place of haunt to lurk in, but some: Now when the winter feaon began to be more mild, and draw towards the Sprin, Annibai brought forth his fouldiers out of his wonting harbours, and returned to Caffinum, where, albeit the affault cea-

sed, yet the fiege had continued fo straige, that the townsmen and the garrifon within the Fort, were driven to extream neceffity, and want of victualls. Now the Captain over the Roman Camp was T. Sempronius [Gracchus] by reafon that the Dictator was gone to Rome to take new Appli-

Ces. And as for Marcellus, who was deterr'd for his part to receive and mount the befieg'd was

impressed for coming on them, partly, by the riling, and swelling of the river Pulemaris, and partly, by the inrity of the Citizens of Nola and Accece, who greatly feared the Campans, in the the garrifon were once departed from them. And Gracchus, bying and keeping near unto Caffinum, flirred not one foot, by reafon of the express commandment of the Dictator. That he should at-

tempt nothing in his absence; albeit there came daily from Caffinum into the Campich news, as

would have mov'd and provok'd the moft patient man that was. For it was confantly reported, and for certain known, that some of them within the town, no longer able to endure the famine, threw themselves down headlong, and brake their necks: others ftood armed upon the walls, offering their bare and nacked bodies as Butts and mark to the shot of arrows, and others darts, Gracchus grieved much to hear their pitious tidings, yet durst he not for his life skirmish and fight without the warrant of the Dictator: So he saw full well, that if he would come corn and viol,u-

als unto them openly, fight he must, there was no remedy. Having therefore no hope at all to lend any, but it fhould be fted, he devi'd to fill many tuns and pikes with corn, that he had gotten to-

gether out of the country all about, and withall, to dilpatch a mellemger to the chief Magistrate of Caffinum, adorning him that he fhould in the night ftean the masts of the vefles that came down the river. The night next following, every man watched the river fide, according to the hope they conceived by the forefaid Roman mellemger, and on receiv'd thefe tuns, bullying down the midle of the stream: and the corn was equally divided among them all. Thus did they the morrow after, and the third day alfo, Forver by night thefe vefles were let down into the water, and the fame night they might eafily come unto them: by reafon whereas of the fenfincs and guards of the enemies were nothing were of that which was done, But afterwards, the current growing more

twist and rouh, by occation of continual rain that fell, the said tuns were fome of them driven into the channel to the bank fide, even where the enemies were watch'd: and were chip'd away and flemachine upon the willows and fides that grew along clofe unto the banks: whereof Annibai was advertised, And fio from thenceforward they tended the watch more straitly, that nothing fent down the river Pulemaris could ecape them, and pass to the City. Afterwards, there was poured into the water great ffore of nuts from the Camp of the Romans: which flipt down the channel unto Caffinum, and with grated skimmers of wicker were taken up, But at the left, they within the town were driven to this poor fhitl and extremity, for to take their thongs and bride rains, to pluck of the leather from their shields & bucklers, and make them soft in fable

water, and prove how they could eat them, Nay, they fared not to much as was, except any other like vermin. Nor there was not a weed nor a root that they could come by upon the banks and terraces under the walls, but they gathered and digg'd up. And when the enemies had turn'd up with a plough all the green-fod of the counter-Carp without the walls, they within call tur-

nip'd upon the monidWhereupon Annibai made a horn at it, and cried aloud: What? All we fit here about Caffinum to tong, untill their rapes be come up and grown: and whereas before that time, he would never have heared to hear of any composition and agreement now at laft he was contented to take reftion, and be conferred withall about the random of as many as were feamen within the Town. And it was covenanted between him and them that they fhould pay for their redemption seven tunnes of gold a piece, So upon faithful promise made, and security given,

they yielded themelves: and were kept bound in pri


un in all five hundred and feventy in garrison the one half well near, were either by word or hunger confirmed: All the reft, together with their Prefet Marqius, [one who a-foetime had been a frib or Nofirer] returned fate unto Prenefe. In memorial and testimony of this his Statue was erected in the market place of Prenefe, armed in his cufljafe, clad in a long robe, with his head covered: and three other images, with a title or inscription engraven in a plate of Prras, with this tenor: That Marqius had made a vow for the fouldiers who lay in gar-

Grifon with him at Caffinum. And the fame tite alfo was engraven under three other images, let

up in the Temple of Fortuna. The Town of Caffinum was reftor'd again to the Campans, with a

strong garrison of 700 fouldiers, deducted out of the army of Annibai: for fear left when he was departed once from thence, the Romans shou'd affail them.

The Senate of Rome by vortce of a decree, granted unto those fouldiers of Prenefe double wa-

ges, with five years vacation & reft from warfare, And when to gratifie them rather for their va-

liant service, they made offer unto them of the Burgftle and freedom of Rome, they chofe rather to remain still at home, and would not change their own Country. But what befell unto the Pe-

ruins,
ruins, is not recorded so plainly: for neither appeareth evidence by any publike monument and if
memoriall of their own, nor yet decyee extant of the Romans. At the same time the Petellins
(who alone of all the Bruttii remained in friendship and amity with the Romans) were assaulted
not only by the Carthagianus: (that were possessed of a great part of the Country about them)
but also by the other Bruttii with whom they would not joyn in the compott of their rebellion.
The Petellins not able of themselves to hold out and endure these dangers, sent their Embassa-
dors to Rome, to crave their aid and assistance: whole humble prayers and piteous tears (for
after an answer receiv'd. That they should provide and shift for themselves; they fell into
inamenable mens and complaints, and lay prostrate upon the earth, before the porch of the Coun-
cill-House) wrought exceeding compassion and pity in the hearts of the Senators, and also of the
people: whereupon the LL, were moved again the second time, by M, Æmilius the Praetor,
to deliver their opinion. And when they had cast all about, and well weighed and considered
their present state, and what they were able to do: being forced to confess, that it lay not in their
power to help their Allies: so far distant and remote from them: they willed them to repair home
again; and in case they had performed their fidelity to the full, according to covenant, they gave
them leave in this calamity of their: to take that course that they thought best for themselves.
When they were returned with this answer unto the Petellins, their Senat all on a sudden was
shaken into such terror, despair, and consternation: that some of them were of mind, and gave
advice, to abandon the City, and fly every man wherefor they could: others were of opinion
and persuaded, that leesing they were solicen of their old friends they should joyn with the o-
ther Bruttii, and by their means, turn to Amicall, and come under his protection. Howbeit, a third
side prevailed, who would in no wise that anything should be done over hastily and rashly: but
that they might meet again, and in counsel to consider the matter. And so it was put off, and res-
pite given until the next day. Then, after more mature deliberation, and their former intent some-
what alwigned, the principal personages there assembled grew to this resolution, namely, To
convey all things out of the Territory about them into the City, and to fortifie both it and the
walls.
Near about one and the same time, there came Postes with Packets of Letters to Rome, from
out of Sicily and Sardinia. Thes out of Sicily from Otho, the Vice-Praetor, were read first
in the Senat-House importing the news: That L.Prunius the Praetor was come out of Africa,
and with his fleet arrived at Libanus: himsel observed, dying at point of death: that nei-
thefoudlers, nor sailers, nor mariners, had their money or corn duly paid at the day: neither
indeed was there any to be had. for to keep their mouth and maintaine moving and adorning them
earnestly to send up thereof with all on eniectoped: and if they thought good, one alto
of the new chosen Praetors to succeed after him. To the same effect in manner wrote Cornel, Marm-
inda, the Pro-Praetor, out of Sardinia, touchting that point of money and corn. Anwser was re-
turned to the one and the other. That they had it not, and therefore they were to look themselves
both to their Armados and Armies. and to provide for them. Otho, which addressed Embassa-
dors unto K. Hiero (the only refuge and stay of us) that the people of Rome had receiv'd for
foole: they pay, as much silver as was needfull, and corn to serve months. The confederate Cities M
likewise in Sardinia contributed liberally unto Cornibus, and serv'd their turn. At Rome also for
want of silver, there were (by a law publish'd by M. Minucius, Tribune of the Commons) created
three Bankers, called Triumvirii Mercatoris, to wit L. Æmilius, who had been Conful and Censor;
M. Attelius Regulans, and L. Sestius Libo, a Tribune of the Commons for the time being. Two Duumvirs also were chosen, M. and C. Attelius, who dedicated the Tem-
ple of Concord. which L. Moltius Praetor had vowed before. Three High Priests also were conse-
crated Q. Cato, M. Metellus Q. Fabius M. e., and Q. Fabius F. Lucius, all to supply the rooms of P.
Seuatianus late deceased; so L. Æmilius Pa. but the Consul, and Q. Ælius Pius, staid both in the
journey of Conors.
Now when as the LL of the Senat had fulfilleth other wants and made up all deceies and breac-
ches, which fortune by continuall calamities and offces had wrought and brought them on, so
far forth as by any wisdom and policy of man, they could provide for: at length they had respect
and regard unto them selves also, even to the delineate estate of the Coun-ill-House and the unfre-
quent number of Senators assembling to the publike Counill of the City. For soe that L. Æmilius
and C. I. Minucius were Censors, there had been hofen no new Senators with out standing that
in five yeares space, what with unorinate battels, and what with other particular chances; so
many of them had miscarried. And when M. Æmilius the Praetor in the absence of the Dictator (who
after the los of Cato was now gone again to the holt) had at the request of them all, pro-
pounded this matter; then S. Cato, after he had in long oration complained, not only of
the penury, but also of the small choice of thole Citizens, who were capable of Senators digni-
ty, spake unto the point, and said. "That he held it a matter of good importance both for the
full repairing and reforming of the decayed body of the Senat, as also for to bind the Latine Na-
tion in a more stong bond of amity, that two Senators out of every State of the Latines (if the LL
of the Senat of Rome would agree unto it) should be enfranchis'd Citizens of Rome, and taken
into the Senat in place of thole that were deceased. This opinion of his the LL of the Senate
would behe with no better ease than in times pstr they accepted the motion and demand
of the Latines themselves in that behalf, and there being throughout the whole House a great
muttering
A mattering, for very indignation and disdain of those his words, Manusius above the rest brake out into this speech, and said: 'That they were not all dead, but one man yet was left alive of that house and line, out of which a Consul (when time was) threatened in the Capitol, that he would kill with his own hand, that Latin whom ever he saw sitting in the Council-House of Rome.

With that, Q. Fabius: 'Never was there a thing, quoth he, propounded and mentioned in the Senate-house, in a worse and more unanswerable time, than at this present, when the hearts and affections of our Allies are in wavering, their faith and allegiance so doubtful, the very breaking and broaching of such a matter as this, were enough to let them farther out. And therefore this inconsiderate speech of one foolish vain person, is to be upturned and buried professedly with

B the silence of all men, and never once to be spoken of again. And if ever there were uttered at the Council Table, any secret and mystery, which were to be concealed, this of all other ought most to be kept close, hidden and mothered in oblivion, and reputed never spoken at all. So this matter was daft, and dyed there in the very birth. Then they proceeded and a decree, they decreed for the choosing of Senators, one that had been Consul for a time, and of all those who had been Consuls, and were then living, the most ancient, and the next they gave order, that C. Terentius Varro the Consul should be sent for, to the nomination of that Dictator. Who being returned out of Apulia, leaving the camp there with a good guard, and taking long journeys, until he was come to Rome: the night next following (as the manner was) created by authority of an act of Senat, M. Fabius Bute, Dict. for six months, without a General of Horse. When he was mounted up with his Serjeants to the Refraria, which is the place of public audience, for to make a speech unto the people, he said: 'That he neither allowed of two Dictators at one time, (a precedent never seen and known before) nor yet could take himself for a Dictator, so long as he was without his General of Cavalry. I unlike also (quoth he) that the entire authority and power of Senators, should be put into the hands of one and the fel-line man, twice and that a Dictator should have the rule and government for six months, unless he were created for the managing of wars. And therefore (said he) I will not limit him to gage these things, which fortune, occasion of the times, and necessity have made excessive and beyond all measure powerful. Neither am I minded to depose or displace any of those from his senators dignities, whom C. Flaminius, and L. Aemilius late Consuls, have admitted into the Senate: but only, that a transcript and rehearsal be made of their names, for that I would not have it lie in the power of one man alone, to centre, and give judgement of the same and behavior of a Senator: but this course will I take in substituting new Senators in the room of the dead, that it may appear, and be said: That this Order and degree is preferred before that, and not one person before another. So after that the names of the old Senators were copied out and read, then he chose five into the place of them that were deceased, those who after the time of L. Aemilius and C. Flaminius Consuls, had born any Magistracy of State, and of the chair, and yet were not elected Senators. And as according as they had exercised their office one before another in order of time, so were they chosen fifth Senators in their course. This done, he made a second election of those who had been Aediles, Tribunes, Pretors, or Quelters: and left of all, such as could theiposts taken from the enemies of Rome hanging in their houses: or had been honoured and rewarded with a Cunctar rank.

E Thus after he had with right great approbation and consentment of all men, taken into the Senat 177, forthwith he resigned his office, descended from the pulpit a private man again, discharged and put from him the Serjeants, and came and stood beneath among the other multitude that attended their own private business: trilling out the time for the nonce and purpose, because he would not have the people to leave the common place for to wait upon him. Howbeit, for all that lingering and lay which he made, the peoples affection cooled never the more, and so with a goodly train of men he was accompanied, and conducted home to his house.

The next night following, the Consul returned toward the army, which making the Senate privy and acquainted with his departure, for fear he should have been detained still in the City for the solemn election of new Magistrates. The morrow after the Senate decreed, upon a motion propounded by M. Pompionius the Pretor, to write unto the Dictator, that if he thought it were for the good of the common-wealth, he would together with his General of the Cavalry, and M. Marcellus the Pretor, repair to Rome to burglarize and choose new Consuls, to the end that when they were all together in place, the LL. of the Senate might by them take knowledge in what state the Common-wealth stood, and conclude how to provide for every thing. They all came that were sent for accordingly, leaving behind them their Lieutenants for the government and conduct of the Legions. The Dictator spake of himself but little, and with much modestly, affirming the greatest part of the honor unto T. Sempronius Gracchus, and then summoned the general assembly for the election in which were chosen Coll. L. Poillinus the third time (who then was absent, and as L. Deputy ruled the Province of Gallia) and T. Sempronius Gracchus, whose that time commanded the Cavalry, and repaired to Rome with speed. Then were elected Pretors M. Valerius Lovius, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, and Q. M. Q. Sempronius. The Dictator after the choosing of these Magistrates, returned to Theannum, where the army was met: leaving the General of the Horse behind at Rome, to the end that he being to enter into his government, within few days after, might consult with the LL. of the Senat as touching the levy and enrolling new armies against the year ending.
The three and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

While they were in their hostile and deep conferences about these matters, news came of a
fresh overthrow: thus was the fortune of that year to heap one calamity in the neck of another:
for thus, that L. Pompilius the Consul elected, was himself slain, and the army together with him in
Gallic, utterly defeated and destroyed. The manner of which misfortune was this. There were
in those parts a wide and huge forest (which the Gauls call Liuna) through which Pompilius
was to lead his army. The trees there growing on either hand of the path, the Gauls had done,
that they might stand upright of themselves so long as they were not stirred, to being forced never
so little, they must needs fall down. Now had Pompilius the conduct of two Roman legions; and
of after parts besides, from the high coast of the upper sea, he had enrolled to many soldiers, as
that he came into the enemies country 25000 strong. The Gauls who had betrothed themselves
in ambush round about the shires of the wood, so soon as the army was all engaged within the
firesights of the path, threw from them trees (so guided) which leapt next unto them, and
they fell one upon another (standing as they did, so thickly of themselves, and ready to totter and
come down on both sides of the way) and in the fall overthrow withal and covered over and over
both horse and man, with their armour and muniture, so as scarce ten of them escaped alive. For
as most of them were felled and trucken stark dead, either with the books of the trees, or the
broken arms and boughs, so the rest of the multitude, affrighted with this unexpected and unhap-
py accident, were killed by the Gauls that belit all the firesights and passages of the road and of
that great number, they took few prisoners, who making towards a bridge standing over the River,
were intercepted by the way, and stopped by the enemies that kept the advantage of the bridge
in which place Pompilius was slain, for he strived all that ever he could, not to be taken alive.

The spoils of this General Captain, together with the head cut off from the rest of his body, the
Boians with great joy and solemnly brought into the Temple that amongst them was reputed
most holy and sacred. And after they had etcied the head, as their manner is, they enclosed
and garnished the skull with gold, and that served as well for an holy vessel to sacrifice and Divine
worship and some festival days, as also for an ordinary drinking vessel for the high Priests, and
other Prefets of that Temple. The booty also which the Gauls gained of their enemies, was of no
less importance than the victory; for although a great part of the beasts and living creatures was
removed and kept to death with the fall of the wall, yet all other things, by reason that nothing
was shattered and left by flight, were found wholly on the ground, as the soldiers lay along in that
order as they marched.

These wonderful stories were reported, the City was for many days in such fear and perplexity,
that all shop windows were shut up, and no shouting at all in the streets throughout, from one end
to the other, as if it had been might continually. Then the Senate gave the Aediles in charge to
all, about, and command the shops to be let open, and to make no more shriek in the City of
publick sorrow and heaviness. Then T. Sempronius assembled a Senate, spake comfortably to the
L. of the Council, and exhorted them, that as they were not dismayed with the overthrow
and confusion at Canua, so they would not be cast down and daunted with lighter and smaller
hopes and calamities. For if it might please the Gods rebelee them, and give them good
speed (as they hoped no less) against the Carthaginian enemies and Amulius, the war with the
Gauls might without danger and inconvenience either be laid aside clean, or put off and deferred.

As for the revenge of this deceitful practice, it should rest full in the power either of the
Immortal Gods, or of the people of Rome, to be performed one time or other. But for the present,
they were to consult and resolve concerning Amulius their grand enemy, and to grow to some
point and conclusion of such forces as were meet for that war. And first himself discoursed
and laid down what companies of foot and Horse, what number of citizens, and how many confed-
erates were in the army of the Dictator. After him, Marcellus shewed and recounted the pro-
portion of his own power and their strength. Also, what forces, and of what quality, were with
C. Terentius the Consul in Apulia, they were required to declare, who might speak upon their
knowledge. Then they proceeded to cast and examine, whether two Consular armies well appoin-
ted and furnished, were sufficient to go through and to greatness. Thus for that year, they let
Franse alone, albeit they had good cause to be angry, and were provoked that way to follow revenge.
The Dictator his army, was appointed unto the Consul. As for the forces under the leading of
Marcellus, confitting of them that fled out of the field at Canua, those they ordained to be sent over
into Sicily, there to remain in service so long as the war continued in Italy: and that thither also
should be polshed out of the Dictator his Legions, all those soldiers who were able to do much
service, there to abide in foordure, without any other limitation of time than that which
the Laws in that case provide for. For the other Conul, who should be substituted in stead of
L. Pompilius, there were alligned two Legions of Roman Citizens: and order was given, so
soon as the Aediles would permit, he should be elected with speed. Likewise it was agreed upon
and ordered, to tend for two legions besides out of Sicily: out of which, the Coll. utque whom
those Legions aboved the City were allotted, should take what soldiers he thought needful.
Finally, C. Terentius the Conul, had his commission of command continued for another year,
without empowering one for of the army, which he had in his conduct for the guard and defence of
Apulia.

Amids these affairs and preparations in Italy, the war went forward nevertheless in Spain,
and ever to that day proceeded on the Romans side. F. and C. Scipios divided their forces so,
A. as Cæ. should serve by Land, and Publius at Sea with the Navy. Africulbus, the chief Colonel and Commander there of the Carthaginians, distrusting his own strength both by Sea and Land, kept himself aloof, and far from the enemy, in sure places of safety; unto whom, after long huit and instant prayers, were sent 4000 foot, and 500 horse out of Affrict for supply. Having thus at length, with new helps gathered fresh hope, he encamped nearer to his enemy, and gave order and direction withall, that the Armado should be rigged and decked for the defence of the Islands, and the Sea-coasts. And whiles he was thus beginning hotly to make war again, he was suddenly dis tempered and disquieted with the revolt of the Admirals and great Captains of the Navy; who for their fearful abandoning of the fleet upon Ilerus, having been sharply checked and rebuked, were never after truly and lure, either to the Colonel himself, or to the State of Carthage. These nefte reforms had first practised to raise troubles and insurrections in the Land of the Carpentis, and by their soliciting and instigation, certain Cities were procured to rebel, and one of them they had forced byault. Whereupon, Africulbus turned his forces from the Romans, and then sent wholly against that Nation: and with a cruel army entering the frontiers of the enemies, determined to give the charge upon G.ibus, a Nobleman and renowned thief of the Carpentis, even before the City, that some time before was left, where the said Gibus with a puissant power kept himself strongly evencamped. Having therefore sent out before, certain van-carriers lightly armed, to sustain and draw the enemies to skirmish, he made out withal certain Companies of his Infantry, train ways to over-run and spoil the country, and likewise to catch up and meet with all flaglers, dispersed in the fields. Whereupon, at one time there was a skirmish before the camp: and likewise in the fields, they were either thin, or put to flight. But afterwards, having by divers ways from all parts recovered again the camp, suddenly they shaked off all fear, plucked up their hearts, and thought themselves good enough, not only to defend their fort and hold, but also to bid the enemy battle. They filled out therefore of the camp in good array, shouting, dancing, and hopping after their manner so as this unexpected boldness and courage of theirs terrified the enemies, who a little before had challenged them to fight. Whereupon Africulbus himself withdrew and retired his power for more security to an hill of good height, and for that advantage, with a River likewise between him and his enemies. The light armed van-carriers also, and the forlorn hope, together with the Horiemen that rode at taking abroad, he caused thither to repair for their better safety, and because he trusted neither till nor river, he fortified himself with a trench and rampier besides. In this alteration and incredible fear on both sides, there passed some bickermets: and blows were dealt between. In which, neither the Numidian Horiemen were able to match the Spaniards in that kind: nor the Moros archers could make their part good with the light Carpentis targetiers, who in nimbleness and swiftness were as good as they; and for courage and bodily strength far better. These Carpentis seeing they neither could provoke Africulbus to a battle with all their bravery hard under his camp, nor yet easily by assault win it, they took by force the City Aflea, into which Africulbus when he first invaded the Frontiers of his enemies, had conveyed store of corn and other victuals: yeas, and became the country thereof. And they grew so lusty and audacious, that neither in their match nor within their camp they would be mused and order ed by any means command. This sanguine and careless negligence of their, when Africulbus perceived to arise (as usually it doth) upon good success and prosperity: after an exhortation made to his foudiers, to charge upon the enemies, roving abroad without their colours, he descended from the hill, and marched in battalay array against the camp. So soon as the Spaniards were advertised by the one who came in great haste and fled from the Sentinels and corporde guard that he was coming, and near at hand, with a great outcry they gave the alarm. And as every man could get weapon in hand they ran upon the head to battle, without direction and commandment of Captain without signal, ensign, and order, confusedly. When the formall in the vanguard were joyned in conflict and came to hand-fight, some of their fellows were seen running on heaps and by F troops, and others were not well come forth of the camp: At the first the enemy was terrified with their bold adventure, Afterwards as they encountered thin and loosely stood with the enemies thick and closely ranged together, seeming themself very weak, and not sufficient, so few in number to defend themselves, they looked back one upon another for succours: and being on every side put back, and forced to retire and lose ground, they call themselves into a ring, and thus thrust (as they were) close together body to body and arm to arm with, they were so pent and pestered in so narrow a ground, that they had scarce room enough to wield their weapons; so they were compell'd and environed round with the enemy, and for a good part of the day, were in peaces and muffled, some few of them that brake through by dint of sword, escaped to the woods and mountains: With like fear the camp was abandoned: and the day following, G the whole nation yeelded, and came under the subjection of the Carthaginians.

Long they continued not quiet. For within a while news came from Carthage, that Africulbus should make what speed he could with his army into Italy. Which rumour being blown abroad through Spain, turned in manner all their hearts away unto the Romans. Whereupon Africulbus addressed his Letters immediately to Carthage, shewing what hurt the fame of his departure had done already; and in case he should let forward on his journey, and go out of those parts, all Spain would turn to the Romans; before he were pass'd the river Ilerus. For over and besides, that he had not strength enough to leave behind for a garrison, nor a sufficient com-
mander in head of himself, the Generals of the Roman armies, who had set foot in Spain, were each of them, as he might hardy make head against them with equal power; and therefore, if they had any regard of Spain, he advised them to send one to promise him with a strong power: for he should have his hands full, and enough to do in the province, fell out things as fortunately as they could. These letters, albeit all at the first fight they greatly troubled the Senate, yet because the Italian affairs seemed of more moment and greater importance, they wrought no alteration in their intended course, either for Africns himself, or his forces. Howbeit Africns was sent with a complete and competent army, and a greater Armado, both for the holding of Spain in their allegiance, and also for their defence by Sea and Land. Who, having passed over with all his power, as well for Land as he had the Sea, fortified his camp, drawn his ships ashore, laid them up in three days, and emplaced them strongly all about; himself in person with his elect and most chieftain of arms, made what haste possibly he could, through nations partly enemies, partly doubtful and distrustful, and stayed not either in one place or other (but evermore standing upon his guard) until he was come to Africns. After that he had declared unto him the order decreed by the Senate, and what he had in commission, and taken himself direction likewise from him, in what manner the war in Spain was to be managed, he returned back again to his own camp, in which voyage he travelled by no one thing more than by speedy expedition, for he was ever gone from a place before the people could agree together, and make head against him. Now Africns before that he dislodged and set his army on foot, in these parts, let him take some money of all the cities and states under his jurisdiction: for well he knew, that Africns had paid him five thousand ducats, for his passage through certain countries: and as well he will besides, that the Gauls he was fain to wage for amongst them no money, no men. And if he undertook and entered upon that great expedition, poor and base of other he had never reached so far as the Alps, Thus having in great haste raised and collected his monies he came down to the river Iberus.

When the Romans heard of the proceedings and detachments of the Carthaginians and like- wise of the journey of Africns; both the Generals (laying all other matters apart) prepared to join their whole forces together, to oppose themselves, and to withstand such intended attempts; supposing and considering, that it Africns (who by himself alone was an enemy to Italy, hardly apposable) were once succeeded by Colonel Africns and the Spanish army, the Empire of Rome would soon be at an end. Upon these cogitations being griefed and perplexed, they assembled all their power near to Iberus; and after they had pushed off over the river and long consid- ered whether they should encamp themselves and abide the coming of the enemies to bid them battle, or be invading and afflicting the associate and subject peoples of the Carthaginians, to till the enemy and hinder his intended journey; they resolved at length and made preparation to af- fant Iberus (to named of the river near by) the richest and most wealthy City at that time, of all others in their parts. Whereof when Africns was advertised he for to help his friends, advanced himself likewise to set upon another City lately yeeded to the Romans, and reduced under their subjection. And the Romans after they had begun to lay siege to Iberus, gave over that enter- prise, and made head against Africns himself. And for some few days they lay incamped five miles further one from the other, and without some light skirmishes; but never came to pitch a fair field. At length upon one and the same day (as if they had been so agreed afore) they happened both sides to set out upon the neck of the island, and to come forth with all their power into the plain ground. The Romans stood arrived in three battalions; one part of the Infantry was placed before the hands in the vanguard, another regiment bellowed behind in the rear-guard: the men of arms flanked the sides like wings. On the other part, Africns strengthened his main bat- tle with Spaniards: in the right point he marshalled the Carthaginians, in the left, the Africans. As for the auxiliar and mercenary Hostmen, whom he waged and hired such as were Numidi- ans, he ordained in all the Carthaginian footmen to guard them: the rest that were Africans, he distributed and disposed about the skirts and edges of the battalions. Neither were all the Numidians placed in the right flank, but such as after the guise and manner of Vankers, led two lines of Horces apiece, and used often times in the midst of the hottest conflict, to leap armed as they were from their wearied horse, to another fresh one. So nimble are they themselves, and so trac- cible and well taught to their hands are their Horces. Thus staid they stretched on both sides in order of battle, The Captains of either part for hopes in manner nothing unequal; for neither in number or quality of loudiers was there any great odds between them: Mary, for courage and heart, there was great difference and inequality in the loudiers themselves. For the Romans (notwithstanding they fought far from home) were so persuaded by their leaders, that they fought for Italy and the City of Rome, and therefore as if the whole hope of their late return into their country, were to be tried and decided in this one battle, they resolved either to win the day or to dye for it. On the other side, the loudiers were not so resolved, for most of them being Spani- iards, would have chosen rather to be conquered and overcome in Spain, than with conquest and victory to be drawn into Italy. And therefore at the first shock, when fearlessly the darts and javelins were fired and let fly, their main battle retreated: and so soon as the Romans with great violence redoubled the charge, they turned their backs and fled. Howbeit in both hands the fight was not so hard, The Carthaginians on the one side, the Africans on the other, charged the Romans very hard, and fought sore against them, as if they had them invironed round about within their battalions. But when as the whole power of the Romans were once raidied and gath- ered
A red together in the minds, they were strong enough to remove, and let back the wings of the enemies. So they maintained high in two divers places at once. But both in the one and the other, the Romans (after they had discomfited the main battal in the minds) were no doubt, much better, as well in number, and also in strength and vigour of men. Many a tall fellow was there slain.

And had not the Spaniards at the first when the battle was fiercely begun, been soon as by heaps, very few of the whole battle had escaped and remained alive, The Horsemens fought little or not at all. For the Moors and Numidians, to whom as they espied the battle to fly inland and boldly pretend all on a dead man filled as tall as they could, and left the tails and flanks of the last battle naked, driving afore them the Elephants within. And even after the them, who maintained the skirmish to the very half, escaped with some few out of the thickest battle and execution. The Romans took their camp and railed it. This battle was of much import, and consequence, that it cau led all the Spaniards, who were before out wakening to turn wholly to the Roman grand left after not at all, to pass with his forces into Italy, nor in much as to make wars with Spain. The news hercule being branded abroad and sent to Rome by the letters of the two Scipio's, great joy there was, not too much for the victory, as because after naval was tied by the foot, and halted for coming into Italy.

Amidst these exploits in Spain, * Peticia (a City of the Bruti having ended the siege and many assaults for certain months) was finally won by * M. Valerianus, one of Annual Captains. But that victory cost the Carthaginians much blood, and many a thousand wounded. No force nor violence overcame the besieged Peticians more, than very laurine. For having continued and carried up all kinds of corn, all sorts of four hooved beasts whatsoever; they were driven as length to feed and living on the flocks, fowls, weeds, and roots, tender barks of trees, and the crops of hiers and berries; and they gave not over to long as they were able to stand on their legs upon the walls, and bear their armour. * After the winning of Peticia, conducted his army against * Cornelia, which being not so valiantly defended, was within few days surrendered up into his hands. Near about the same time, a power of the Bruti also, laid siege unto Crotos, a City built and inhabited by the Greeks, and in times past, mighty in men and munition: but now at this time so dilapidated with manif ol and grievous calamities, that of all ages one with another, they were not able to make any D thousand men. And therefore no marvial, if the enemies were few matter of the City, being to be definite as it was of Citizens to defend it. Only the Caile they kept till, into which there were some that escaped in that tumult when the City was taken, out of the mids of the multitude. The Locrians likewise revolted unto the Bruti and the Carthaginians, by reason that the common multitude were fraudulently betrayed by the chief and principal citizens. The Rhinones only of all that country, continued both true unto the Romans, and also at their own liberty to the very last. The same disposition to revolt, was to be seen even in Sicily, to further much as the very honie of * Hiero was not clear and free in all parts from rebellion. For * Seleucus his eldest son, having in contempt both the olde age of his father, and also (after the overthrow of Caunus) the society and friendship of the Romans, turned unto the Carthaginians. And he had, no doubt, made a general alteration in Sicily, but that his death came between and cut him off; which hap made him jump, even when he was arming the multitude, and soliciting his friends to rebellion, that his very father himself was drawn into deep fulmination that he took his life away. There were the occurrences that fell out that year with variable events, in Italy, Africa, Sicily, and Spain.

In the end of the same year, * Q. Fabius Maximus moved the Senat, and made request, that the Temple of Venus Horatia, which he had vowed being Dictator, might now be dedicated. And the Senat made a decree. That * Titus Semp onius, Consul elect, should to soon as he was enter ted into his office, propose unto the people, that they would create two Duxes for the dedication of Temples. And in honour of * Aemilius Lepidus, who had been Consul twice, and Augustus, his three sons, * Lucius, Marcus, and Quintus, exhibited certain funeral games for three days space; and a sheen in the Common place likewise for three days together, of two and twenty pair of tawder-fencers, to fight at thirp to the death. The Curiae * Aediliae, * C. Leius, and T. Semp onius Gracchus, now Consul elect, who in his * Aedilship had been General of the Horsemens, let out the Roman games, which were renewed and continued till for three days. Likewise, the Plays of the Commons, were twice exhibited by M. * Aemilius Cotta, and M. Claudius Marcellus. Now about three years expired of the Punie war, T. Semp onius the Consul, began his government upon the * Isles of Marsch. As for the Praetors, * Q. Fulvius Flaccus, who had afore-time been Consul and Centor, obtained by lot the jurisdiction of the Citizens; and * M. Valerius Corvinus, of the strangers and aliens. To Appius Claudius Pulcher was allotted the government of Sicily: and to * Q. M. Octavius Scævola of Sardinia. M. Marcellus was by the people allowed to have the authority of a Vice Consul, in regard that he above all the Roman Captains, after the defeat of Caunus, managed his affairs and warred prosperously in Italy.

Now the very first day that the Senat was assembled in the Capitol, they decreed upon the first motion, that within the compasse of that year, there should be levied a double tax or tribute: and that one single tribute should be forthwith gathered, for present pay to all the soldiers, saving those that served at Caunus. Then concerning the armies this order was set down: * L. Scævola, that T. Semp onius the Consul, should appoint the two legions of Citizens a certain
day to meet at Cales. Item, that six legions should be conducted to the camp of Claudius above

easfts. Item, that the legions which there were (and those consigned for the most part of the

side of the Cannian army) Ap. Claudius Pulcher the Praetor, should put over Sea into Sicily: and

for those that were in Sicily, they should be transported to Rome. Item, unto that army which

was appointed to meet by a day at Cales, M. Claudius Marcellus was sent for and he was commanded
to conduct the legions of the Citizens to the camp of Claudius. Last of all, to receive the

charge of the old army, and to lead in into Sicily, T. Metellus Crassus Lieutenant, was sent by Ap.

Claudius. Men looked at first, and yet they said nothing, that the Consul should call an assembly

for the creating of a Colleague unto him. But after that they saw that M. Marcellus was sent out
to the way (as it was of purpose) whom above all others they were desirous to be the Consul for

that year, in regard of his notable good service whilst he was Praetor, there arose much mattering

in the Senate, which the Consul perceiving: "My L. L. quoth he, it was for the good of

the Commonwealth, that both M. Claudius should go into Camps to exchange the armies:

and also that the Electoral Consuls, should not be proclaimed, until that he were returned again

from thence, with dispatch of that business which he had in charge: that ye might have a Con-

ful, such a one as the present condition of the State required, and your selves most desired. So

there was no more speech of the election, until Marcellus was come back again. In this mean

time were two Deputies created, Q. Fabius Maximus for the dedication of one Chappel to

Venus Erycina, and T. Obellinus Craft, of another to the Goddess Mem. Both land upon the

Capitol Hill divided slander no more than with one only conduct of water passing between. And

as concerning the three hundred Campari Horsemen, who had served out their full time of war-

fare faithfully, and came to Rome, a motion was propounded to the people, that they should

be enterried Citizens of Rome: and in like manner, that they should be reputed as free Den-

izens of Rome, from the day that the Cannians revolted from the people of Rome and rebel-

led. The chiefest cause of proposing this act, was this, because themselves denied firstly that they

knew, to whom they did appertain, thinking they had abandoned their old native country: and as

yet were not enrolled and incorporated into that state, unto which they had retired. After that

Marcellus was come again from the army, the solemn day of election of a Consul in place of f.

Ppfevmm, was published. And with exceeding great content of all men, Marcellus was chos-

en: and forthwith he was to begin his Magistracy. At whole that entrance, it happened to thun-

der: and the Augurs being called to give their opinion of it, pronounced, that they thought he

was not rightfully created. And the Senators gave it one commonly and bluntly abroad, that the Gods

were not well pleased therewith, because (tertio) two Coli, were elected of the commonalty (a

thing never seen before.) Whereupon M. Marcellus resigned his place, and his house was intub-

lated Fabius Max. the third time.

That year the Sea burned. At Scuttia a cow brought forth a horse folke. And at Larvinum

in the Temple of Luno Hospita, certain llamas or images dropt with blood: and about that Tem-

ple it rained flowers. For which shows, there was told manifestly, according to the cuttable m"dn-

ner, a Novennial feesth. The other prodigious signs likewise were expat with great care and heed-

ful regard. The Consuls then, parted their armies between them. Fabius took charge of those

forces which had been commanded by f. Junius the Dictator. Sempronius had the conduct of

all the voluntary loudners, and besides of 25000 of Auxiliaries sent from the confederates, M. Va-

levco the Praetor had the legions appointed for him, that were returned out of Sicily. M. Claud-

ius the Vice-consul, was sent unto that army, which lay in garion at Neda, above Sestius. And

the Pretors took their journey into Sicily and Sardina. The Consuls, whenever they could

assemble the Scour, proclaimed that the Senators, and all others that had lawful authority to speak

their mind and deliver their opinion in the Council-House, should meet at the gate Capite. The

Pretors, those that were Judges in the Court, and to whom the civil jurisdiction appertained,

enrolled their Tribunal seats and places of Affizies at the publick Bath-pond, and thither they com-

manded all writs to be returned, and appearance there to be made. And for that year all pleas and

judgements of causes passed there.

In this mean time news came to Carthage (from whence Mago the brother of Him was

minded to transport and set over into Italy 12000 footmen, and 1500 horsemen, 20 Elephants, and

1000 talents of silver, together with a guard and supply of 60 galleys.) That in Spain things were

untowardly: and that all the Cities of Spain (in a manner) were revolted into the Romans. Some

there were of opinion, to withdraw Mago with that fleet and power of his, from the enterprize of

Italy into Spain. Considering there was good hope shewed of a sadden, recover again Sardin-

nia, for that there was but a small power of Romans there: and Cornwallis the old Lord Deputy,

well acquainted with the State of the Province, was now upon his departure from thence, and

a new expected in his turn. Over and besides, that the Sardinians were weary already of the Ro-

mans government, which they had so long endured, as who the year that pait was, had tyrannised

over them cruelly, and exercised their authority with oppression, covetously impizing upon them

hard exactions and tribute, and levying of them a most unjust taxation and contribution of coin:

and finally they wanted nothing but an hand, upon whom they might relieve themselves. To this
effect there was an Embassage sent secretly from the Lords and Princes of the Island. And the

principles actor and procurer hereof, was Herfieres, a man in those days of greatest authority and

power among them. Upon these tidings aforesaid, happening to just at one time, they were both
A. disquieted and also refreshed. So they sent Mago with his fleet, and other forces into Spain: and they chose for the expedition into Sardinia, Africanus, termed Calavium, for the L. General, furnished and appointed with a great power almost, as Mago had.

At Rome likewise, the Consuls having dispatched the affairs of the City, directed themselves to the war. T. Sypprovius appointed Sinneius to be the Rendezvous, where the soldiers should meet at certain day. And Q. Fabius, by an order and direction from the Senate, made an Edict, that all men should before the first day of Ides next coming, gather all their corn out of the countries, and convey the same into the principal walled strong towns: pretending that whatever did not accordingly, their fields he would lay waste; fell on the terrains in part idle at the Iper, and let their farms and villages a fire. Not so much as the Pretors themselves (created for civil jurisdiction, and to decide law matters) were freed and exempted from the conduct of war. As for Varus, the Pretor, he was appointed to go into Apulia, to receive the army of the Thagiones, and when the legion were returned out of Sicily, to employ them especially for the guard and defence of that country; and that the army of the Ligures should, with some of the Lieutenants, and M. Fulvius had as fail allowed him, to keep and defend all the sea coasts between * Brundisium and * Tarentum. The like number of ships was assigned to Q. Fulvius; the City Pretor, for to guard the River Sida, near adjoining to the City of Rome. C. Terentius, the Pretor, had in charge to take up by commotion soldiers in the Punic country, and to guard those quarters. And T. Q. Valerius Graffius, after that he had dedicated the Temple of Men in the Capitol, was sent into Sicily, as Lord Admiral of the Armada there.

Upon this war between two of the mightiest Cities, and most profuse states of the World, there was not a King and Prince nor a Nation under Heaven that was unmoved. Among whom Philip King of the Macedonians, had an eye thereon, and was more intirely, in that he was nearer unto Italy, and only divided from thence by the Ionian Sea. He at the first, when the beaten came to his ears, that Amball was palled beyond the Alps; as he joyed much, that there was war kindled between the Romans and the Carthaginians, so, as long as it was uncertain, whether nation was the stronger, he was apt in mind and was in suspense, whether of the two he should wish to have the victory. But after that he heard once, that in three several battles one after another, Amball and the Carthaginians had gained the better hand, he declined to the fortunate side, and sent Embassadors unto Amball: who falling off, and detiring to avoid the Havens of Brundisium and Tarentum, which were guarded and kept by the Romans fleet, arrived and landed at the Temple of Juno Lucina: and so through Apulia, travelling toward Cannus, chanced to light upon the masts of the Romans warship, and were brought before M. Varus Leumis, the Lord Deputy, being then encamped before Nuceria. Where Xenophos, the principal of the Embassadors, bathed not to lay, that he was sent from King Philip, to treat and conclude a league and amity with the people of Rome, and had commission and direction to the Consuls, to the Senate likewise and people of Rome, to that effect. Varus taking great content to bear this new society and friendship with so noble a King, especially upon the rebellion of so many old allies, courteously intreated and friendly entertained this falls hearted enemy, in need of friendly friend and appointed service to accompany him forward, to dierve him carefully in the ways, and to shew him what places, what pavilions and sitterights were held and kept, either by the Romans, or the enemies. Xenophons with these instructions passed through the midst of the Roman guards, and to the next way arrived at the camp of Amball, and made a league and amity with him, under their conditions and stipulations. T. Sypprovius, that King Philip should with a light fleet Armada (for that he was impedied yet to fer to 200 sail) pass over into Italy, wait and spoil all the sea coasts; and to his power maintain war by Sea and Land. Item, That when the war was finished, all Italy, together with the very City of Rome should be partitioned by the Carthaginians and Amball, and unto him all the pillage and booty likewise would belong. Item, When Italy was thus freed, that they should fall into Greece and wage war with what Princes there they pleased, and that all the Cities of the main, and the Islands was left to Macedonia, should fall unto Philip, and be annexed to his Kingdom. In these terms, and upon these Articles, in manner, was the league concluded and confirmed between the General Amball, and the Embassadors of the Macedonians: and with them they were sent back unto the King for the better ratifying of the said covenants, certain Legates, to wit, Grasso, befor, and Mago, who arrived together at the same Temple storeaid, of Juno Lucina, where there did closely a ship anchor, expecting their return. From whence being departed, they were not to food lanced out into the deep, and had taken the open sea, but they were deterred by the Roman fleet that guarded the coasts of Calcabria. Q. Fulvius Flaccus made out certain Coreys, to pursue and fetch in that ship. Where upon, the Macedonians began to flee, but leaving themselves overmatched in twinitness of sail, and not able to make way with them, they yielded themselves unto the Romans, and were presented unto the Admiral; Who demanded what they were, from whence they came, and whither they were bound. Xenophons who had already been too well by making of a lye, began to cog again, and lay, that he was sent from Philip unto the Romans; that he came unto M. Varus, because to him only he was able to pass in safety, but could not possibly get beyond Cannus, being too strongly kept with vigour of the enemies. But afterwars, upon the flight of the Carthaginian habit and apparel, they began toulpert the Embassadors of Amball: and they were questioned whither, their speech and language betrayed them. Then was their retinue taken apart, and threatened to
confests. Letters also were found upon them, sent from Antiobal unto Philip, concerning the peace between the king of the Macedonians and Antiobal. Upon these matters thus detected and certainly known, it was thought good to convey the ambassadors and their company with all speed prisoners to Rome, unto the Senate there, or unto the Consuls whereover they were. To this purpose were chosen five Pinnacles that were most fit, under the conduct of L. Valerius Antias, who had his direction and charge to part the said ambassadors in several ships, and keep them thence afield: and to take good heed, that they neither talked nor conferred together.

About the same time it happened at Rome, that As. Cornelius Mammallus, upon his departure out of the Province Sardinia, made report in what state the land stood: namely, that they all were chidden to rebellion and war; that Marius, who succeeded after him, pretend upon his first coming, by vexation of the ill air and unwholesome water, was fallen into a sickness, not to quick and dangerous, as chronic and tedious, and would not be able long to endure the service of war: that the army there, as it was sufficient to guard and keep in good order a quiet and peaceable Province, so it could not hold out with the war that was like to ensue. Whereupon the LL. of the Senate gave order, that Q. Fabius Flaccus should levy and enrol 3000 foot, and 400 horse, and provide that this legion should pass over with all speed into Sardinia, and fend there with whom it pleased him to conduct and manage the war until Marius were recovered of his disease. For this intent was T. Marullus Torquatus sent Governor; one, who had been twice Consul and Censor, and in his Confulship subdued the Sardinians.

Near about the same time, there was an Atmado sent out from Carthage unto Sardinia, under the leading of Aferusbal (unnamed Calus, and being sore toiled and beaten with tempests, was cast upon the Balear islands: where (in far out of order was not only the ship-tackling, but also the very keels and bodies of the ships to shaken) they drew up the ships to shore, and whiles they lay there about calling and ruminating them again, they spent much time.

In Italy whiles the wars began to flake and was cold, by reason that after the battle of Cumae, the strength of the one part was much abated, and their force decayed, and the courage of the other, well arrayed and made effeminate: the Campians upon their own heads began to contrive, how to reduce the State of Campania under their obedience, first soliciting them to retreat from the Romans: and seeing that course would not speed and take effect, they deviled by a fraudulent parade to compass and entrap them. The Campians use yeatically to solemnize a festival and sacrifice in a certain place called Almate: and they gave notice unto the Cumians, that the whole Senate of Campania would refer their matter: requesting the Senat of Cumae likewise to meet them there, for to confer and consult together in common, how both Cities, the one and the other, might have the same friends and the same enemies, and no other: giving them wuthal to understand, that they minded there to have a good guard about them of armed men, for fear of some f Gdańsk and dangerous attempt from the Romans. The Cumians, albeit they suspected some treachery, denied nothing, supposing thereby to colour an covert their own crafty intended designment. Now all this while, T. Sempronius the Roman Consul, having invered, and parcell his army at Sinusina, at which place he had made proclamation, that his forces should meet together: passed over the river Vulturna, and encamped near unto Linum: where because the Sounder's in the standing camp had nothing else to do, he exercised them to march on the race and skirmish in array, to the end that the raw Sounder's (for such were the voluntaries for the main part) might by use and practice learn how to follow their colours in good order, and in the time of battle know their own ranks and ensigns. In these kinds of training, the special care that the General had, and the only thing that he aimed at, was their concord and good agreement. And for this purpose, he charged the Lieutenants, and the Colonels and Captains, that they should not call in any man's teeth one or other, their fortune and condition aforetime, whereby to breed any discord and heartburning among the companies: and that the old experienced Sounder's should suffer themselves not be equal in estate to the new learners; and those that were born free unto the voluntaries, who had been slaves: reputing them all of birth good enough, and of gentle blood descended, unto whom the people of Rome had vouchsafed to commit their armor and ensigns: laying, that the same fortune which had driven them to do, forced them likewise to maintain the same, and make the bell of it, now was done. The Captains were more careful in giving them good lessons and instructions, but the Sounder's were as diligent to observe the same: and within a while their hearts and affections grew to be linked and united together, that they forgot generally, in what degree and of what condition each Sounder entred into service. While Gracchus was busied hereabout, the Embassadors of Campania certified him, what kind of Embassage came unto them from the Campians, a few days before, and what answer they had returned: advertising him that their festival day was to be helden three days after: that not only the whole Senate would be present, but also the camp and army of the Campians. Gracchus having commanded the Cumians to convey all that they had out of the fields and territories about, into their City, and themselves to keep within their walls: himself the day before the solemnity aforesaid of the Campians, removed his power to Cumae, and there incamped. Now Almate is three miles off from thence. The Campians by this time were assembled there in great number, according to appointment: and not far from the place, Marullus Censor the chief head Magistratus of Capua, was incamped closely with fourteen thousand Sounder's. He, with preparation of the sacrifice, and
A and compelling withal, the deceitful train of treachery, was more busy and careful thereabout, than either in fortifying his camp, or in any other military action. Thus for three days continued this festival sacrifice at Hams. And ever in the night lest it was performed: so, as before midnight all was done and finished, Gracchus supposing that a good time for his ambusc to be employed, having let certain warders before the gates, that no man might go forth to give intelligence, caufed the soldiery between the first and tenth hour of the day, [from noon until four of the clock] to refresh themselves and take their sleep: that in the beginning of the dark night, they might assemble together at the watch-word or signal given them. And about the first watch he commanded to display their Ensigns and advance forward: and thus with a full march, he arrived at Hams by midnight; surprised the hold of the Campans, and entered all the gates at once, being negligently guarded, by reason of their overwatching. Some he killed lying along fast asleep; others, as they returned unarmed from the sacrifice. In this night-tumult there were slain more than two thousand, with Marcus Alfius himself their leader: and 43 Ensigns taken and carried away. Gracchus with the loss of fewer than one hundred of his soldiery, having won the camp, retired speedily to Cumae, for fear of Ambibul, who lay in fort encamped upon Tifata over Capna. And (as he was a provident man and of great force) nothing was he deceived in his opinion. For to soon as this defeat was reported at Capna, Ambibul supposing that he should at Hams find the army of the Romans (consisting for the most part of raw soldiery, and their, bandleys) exulted and lusty above measure, and insolent upon their fresh victory, busied himself to rile their dead enemies thus conquered, driving away booties, and charged with pilage removed his forces in Haiti, and marched space beneath Capna: and encountered with some of the Campans who were fled, whom he caufed between two guards to be conducted safe to Capna, and such as were hurt and wounded, to be let in waggons and carried thither. Himself found at Hams the camp empty and void of enemies and nothing there but the tokens of a fresh massacre, and the dead bodies of his friends and allies lying here and there scattered. Somewhere there were that advised him presently to advance forward to Cumae, and to assault the Town. And albeit Ambibul was willing enough thereto, and falling deliberate (seeing he could not come by Naples) to have Cumae on leaf, a maritime port-Town, as well as the other: yet because his soldiery had brought nothing with them but their weapons, as being led forth to march in such haste, he retired back again to his fort and camp upon Tifata. From whence, at the important prayers of the Campans, the day following he furnished himself with all the Ordnance and Ensigns met for the assault of a City, and returned toward Cumae: and having walled the territory thereof, he empeaked himself a mile from the Town. Then Gracchus, more for fame, that he might not seem to leave his associates in such necessity, (who, craved protection and recommended themselves to him, and to the people of Rome) than for any confidence and fruit that he reposed in the strength of his army, stayed in Cumae. Neither Fabius the other Conful, who was called at Calce, duct it his army over the River Visturinus: as having been butifed first at Rome in renewing the Aepices and bird-flights: and after that, troubled also about the fearful prodigius signs which were reported one after another. And when he sought expiation therefor of his sacrifices, the Sooth-sayers made answer and said, That they could not perceive that the Gods were appeased and pacified for all that he did. Thus whiles Fabius upon these occasions was kept back, Sempronius was besieged, yes, and by this time afflicted, with haizicks and engines of batter. One mighty Great Towre of wood was erected against the Town. Against which, the Roman Conful raised another from the very wall somewhat higher than it: for that he used the wall (which of it itself was of good height) instead of a ground-wall, and planted therein strong poles and piles of timber to bear up the forefaid frame. From thence, at first the soldiery within, defended the Town and Walls with stones, with long poles and perches and other instruments to lance against the assailants. But at length, seeing the other turrets coming forward even close to the Town wall, they flung thereon at once much firework, and something matter at which fires the multitude of armed men for fear kept headlong down the turret: and withal, they of the Town fluffed out at two gates at once, discommited the guards of the enemies, and drove them into their camp: so as that day Ambibul was more like one beleaguered himself, than laying siege unto others. There were of Carthaginians slain about fourteen hundred; forty wanting one were taken prisoners alive, such as about the walls and their 

Corps de garde. The Carthaginians were careless and negligent, fearing nothing lesseth than a tally out of the Town, and were shuddering at unwares taken and surprised. Gracchus founded the retreat, and cautioned his men to retire within the Walls, before the enemies after their loud call could be rallied together. The morrow after, Ambibul (supposing that the Conful in his toil for this happy hand, would come into the field to fight a last battle) arranged himself in array between his Camp and 

Gates. But after that, he saw no fissing at all from the usual guard and defence of the City, and nothing put to the rath of hazard of doubtful hope, he retired to Tifata, without any good at all done.

At the very same time that the siege was raised before Cumae, Titus Sempronius surnamed Longus, fought fortunately in Lucania before Grammenum, with Hanno the Carthaginian: flew more than two thousand of his enemies, lost himself two hundred and eighty men, and went away with 41 Ensigns. Hanno thus driven out of the confines of Lucania, retired himself back into the country of the Bruttii, and M. Fabius the Pretor, recovered by force from the Hep-
pins, three Towns that had revolted from the Romans. Vercellius and Sicelius the movent and Captains of that Rebellion were cut shorter by the head. More than one thousand captives were sold at the speare in port-sale, to whom that would bid most. All the pillage besides was given to the foildiers, and the army brought back to Camat.

While these things hapned in the Countries of the Lucanians and Hirpins, those 5 ships above-said (wherein were embarked the Embassadors of the Macedonians and Carthaginians as prisoners.) having fet a compass from the upper Adriatic Sea unto the nother Sea of Tuscian, round about (in a manner) all the Sea coast of Italy, hapned to fail along neer the City of Camat; and being not certainly known whether they were friends or enemies, Grenceus put forth out of his fleet two Pinaaces to encounter them. When as by demanding and questioning one with another, it was once certified unto them, that the Consul was within Camat, and the ships there arrived in the haven, the prisoners were brought to the presence of the Consul, and all the letters delivered. The Consul after he had read over the letters, both of Philip and Amhulas, feared them up again sure, and lent them by Land unto the Senat of Rome, but commanded the Embassadors themselves to be conducted thither by Sea. When as both letters, and also the Embassadors were arrived at Rome, in a manner, all in one day, and that (after due examination) words and writings agreed together in one: at the skift the LL. of the Senat were sensible and plunged deepely into cares, considering in how great danger they found a new Macedonian war, who were hardly able to endure the Carthaginian. But in conclusion, so far were they off from being utterly dismayed hereat, and sinking under the water, that forthwith they began to treat and debate, how they might dispose to war with these enemies first, and to stop them from their entrance into Italy. The captive Embassadors they laid up in thence; their train and re- turne were sold in open market: and besides the five and twenty ships, whereof Le Filsno or Plac- eus was Admiral, they took order for twenty more to be rigged and decked: which being pro- vided, furnished and shut into the pool afloat, together with those five bare wherein the prisoners were conducted: there were 50 fall in all, that looked from off and arrived at Tarantum. Quintus Fulvius had commision to embark the foildiers of Varro, who had been under the leading of L. Apollus the Lieutenant at Tarantum, with his fleet of sixty sail, not only to defend the Sea-coast of Italy, but also to hearken and have an eye after the Macedonian war, and in case he could learn, that the design and intent of Philip was iterable to those letters and informations of the Embassadors, then he should by his letters certify M. Fulvius the Pretor for so much; and that leaving with L. Apollus his Lieutenant the charge of the army, he should go to the Armado at Tarantum, and with all speed possible let over into Macedo. and there endeavour to keep Philip play at home within his own realm. As for that money which was sent unto Appius Claudius into Sicily, for to be espayed unto King Hiero it was appointed unto him for the maintenance of his Armado, and managing of the Macedonian war. This money was by L. Apollus the Lieutenant brought to Tarantum, and with it, there were sent from Hiero * 200000 Modii of wheat and 100000 of barley.

While these preparations and doings passed at Rome, one ship of those prisoners which were sent to Rome, chance to singe itch from the other's, and to escape away to Philip: whereby M. he was advertised, that the Embassadors or Commissioners were taken, and the letters intercepted. But he not knowing what covenants had past between Amhula and his legates, and what answer they should have brought unto him, sent forth another Embassadors with the same commission. The Embassadors sent unto Amhulas, were Heracleus named Servius, Cicero of Ber- re, and S. Phelus of Magnesia. These went to and fro between in lately, they caried and recar- ried their rounds: and the summer was come and gone, before the King could enter into action, or execute any enterprise. Of so great moment and importance was the boordine of that one ship at the fall with the Embassadors, for the deferred of that imminent war intended against the Romans.

When Fabius had passed over the River Vulsinus, after the expiation of length of the prodi- gious tokens aforesaid, both Consuls together made war about Capua. Fabius by assault won the Cities, Consolistor, Troina, and Afeistia, which had revolted unto the Carthaginians: and within them he surprized the гар Lion foildiers of Amhulas. Many of the Campans likewise were taken prisoners, At Nola (like as in the year before) the Senat held with the Romans, but the Commonalty took part with Amhulas, and plotted secretly, how to murder the Nobility, and to betray the City. But to stop the proceedings of these mischievous deceptions, Fabius led his army between Capua, and the camp of Amhulas upon the hill * Tifata, and fortified himself upon the mountain * Viterbo, in that fort where Claudius had encamped before. From thence he sent M. Marcellus the Vice-Consul with those forces which he had, into Nola, there to lie in garison.

Likewise in Sardinia, T. Manlius the L. Deputy, began to administer those affairs, which had been seised. By occasion that Q. Marus the Pretor was fallen sick, and lay of a long and lingering disea. Manlius after he had drawn the Gallies afore at Cornedis, and put the mariners and rowers in a train for Land-service, and received of the Pretor his army, was able to make 20000 foot and 1700 horse. With this power of men of arms and footmen together, he entered into the enemies country, and not far from the camp of Her came, pitched his tents. Her came himself was by chance gone then, into the country of the Pellidians (a people of Sardinia) to
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A man the youth there, for the mending of his strength: and left his son named Hiero, Ruler over the camp in the mean time. He a lusty hot youth, rashly joined battaile, and quickly was discomitted and put to flight: thirty thousand Sardinians in that field were slain, and upon 10,30 taken prisoners alive. The rest of the army first fled stragling about the fields and through the woods; but afterwards, hearing by the voice that went, how their captain was fled to Corinna the head City of that region, they retir'd theri with. And surely they had in that one battaile, made an end of all war in Sardinia, but that the Amado of Carthage, under the leading of Afrasibal (which by tempet rebellion had been cast upon the Balearic islands) came in time to entertain the LIdvanders, in hope to rebeld. Munda there it was notice abroad, that the Carthaginian fleet was arrived, retir'd himself to Corinna: which gave Hiero good opportunity and overture to join with Afrasibal. Who having landed his soldiery and sent the ships back again unto Carthage, were forward by the guidance of Hiero, robbing and spoiling the Lands of the Roman confederats: and had come as far as Corinna; but that Munda with an army encountered him upon the way, and restrained him from to davish over-running and robbing the country. As the first they encamp'd one against the other nor far aunder; afterwards, they began to put out certain bands and companies, and to maintain in light skirmishes with variable event, until at last they pitched a battle and in full battaile fought for the space of 4 hours. The Carthaginians held our confedel a while, and the victory fell remained doubtful (for the Sardinians were ever to have the field) but at last, seeing every quarter full of the Sardinians either lying along dead, or running away, they also were discomitted: and as they turned their backs and were a-run to flee, the Romains welched about with that win, wherewith they had defeated the Sardinians, and enioy'd them round, and so they fell rather to killing then to fighting any longer. 1,000 enemies were there slain of Sardinians and Carthaginians together, about 3700 were taken prisoners, and 27 military enioys won. This was a noble and famous battaile, memorable especially above all, for taking of these prisoners; namely, Afrasibal the L. General, Hanno and Messa, two noble men of Carthage. Meza was of the Barchine house, next of kin and in blood to Afrasibal. Hanno was the filliactor of the Sardinians to rebellion, and no doubt the principal Author of that war. Neither was this field left famous for the overthrow of the chief commanders of the Sardinians: for both Hiero the son of Hiero, was slain in fight; and also Hiero himself, as he fled with a few horsemen, hearing besides other calamities and losses, of the death of his son, in the night time, because he would have no man come between to stop his purposed intents, he kill'd himself. All the rest escaped to the City Corinna, as they had done before, and there as in a place of refuge fought to save themselves. But Munda following the train of his victory, came against it, and within few days was master of it. After this, other Cities all which had revolt'd, and turn'd to Hiero, and the Carthaginians gave hostages, and yielded by composition. And when Munda had levied of them certain money for the soldiery pay and corn likewise; according to the power and ability or treasurs of each of them, he led his army back to Corinna: and there having put the Gallies on the water, and embarked the soldiery that he had brought with him, he fail'd to Rome, and reconnoiterd unto the L, of the Senat, the utter subduing of Sardinia. The money he delivered to the Treasurers, the corn to the Ediles, and the prisoners unto Afrasibal the Pretor.

B. Much about that time, T. Ocatullus the Pretor, having fail'd from Lippeam into Affrick, and wall'd the territory of the Carthaginians, as he was bound from thence and set sail for Sardinia, whither Afrasibal as the news went had lately rool'd over from the Balearic Islands, he met with the Amado returning back into Africk: and after a skirmish made upon the Sea by his soldiery lightly armed, he took therewith seven Gallies with their oars and mariners: the rest for fear were scatter'd, as it had been with a tempest all over the Sea. And it hapned about the same time, that Bemilea with certain companies of soldiery lent from Carthage for a supply and forty Elephants, and good force of natives came to Locris. For the surpising and setting upon him on a sudden, Ap. Claudius leading his army in hault, and mar. hing to Messana under a colour of visiting the Province, went over to Locris with the tide. Now was Romas-pulled already from thence into the Etrurian country to Hanno, and the men of Locris but the gates against the Romans, So Appius, after much ado and preparation, having effect'd nothing, return'd back to Messana. In the same summer, Marcellus made many rodes from Nida (which he held with a garrison) into the Himipan country, and the Sannin, about Catana, and made inch with there, with fire and sword: that they in Sannin called into their fresch remembrance the old losses and overthrow which they had received: whereupon there were lent immediately from both nations embassadors together, unto Afrasibal, who in this wise delivered their speech unto him. "We have been enemies. O Afrasibal to the people of Rome, first of our own selves, and in our own quarrell, so long as our arm and forces were capable to defend us: but after that our hope therein began to fail us, we drew to a side, and took part with King Pyrrhus. And when he forfook us, we accepted of peace for very necessity: wherein we continued for fifty years almon. even until the time that you entred into Italy. Neither was it your prove, virtue and fortune, rather than your singular courtely and benignity extended toward our country-men and fellow citizens (whom being taken prisoners, you releas'd and sent unto us back again) which hath caus'd us to entertain your amity: in so much that to long as you remain our friend, alive and safe, we would not stand in dread of the people of Rome, nor of the very Gods themselves (if..."
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The answer of AEmilus to the Embassadors.

The Speech of Hanno to Herennius and Herius. Nolans.
A "the Carthaginians than with the Romans. If both Ceff, were with their armies at Nola, they were no more able to match with Annibals, than they were at Cannae: much les might one Pretor with a few raw and new fouldiers hold out and keep Nola against him. And as for the Nolans themselves, it concerned them much more than it did Annibals, to consider, whether he should win Nola by force, or enter upon it by surrender and composition. For to be Lord thereof, he made no doubt, like as he was Master already of Capua and Nuceria. about what odds and difference there is between the state of Capua and of Nuceria, the Nolans know best themselves, who are feated as we were in the mid way between both. But he was to preget to care much un--

B to Nola, what calamities might befall the City, if it were conquered by attaile; rather yet would he give his word and promise, if they would deliver Murensus with his парти, and yield up Nola into Annibals hand, they should themselves, and none but they set down and capitulate later under what conditions they would entertain alliance and friendship with Annibals. To this motion herencius Baffus framed his answer in this fort. For many years already there hath been continual amity between the people of Nola and Nocera, and neither of both to this day hath repented thereof. As for the Nolans themselves, if they had been disposed to turn with the wind, and to change their faith and allegiance, together with their fortune, they would have done it long before this for now it was too late to start & after. If they had minded to yield themselves unto Annibals they would never have sent for a garrison of Romans; but since they were now come to protect and defend them, they had impared & commincated all their ftre with them already, and would take such part, as long as they had an hour to live. This emergent put Annibals clean besides all hope of gaining Nola by treachery. Therefore he beleagurad the town on every side and invested it round like a giardan, to the end, that in one instant he might gibe the atackle on every part of the walls. When Murensus saw him under the walls he let his people out in bated array within the gate and then with a great noise and tumult he suddenly falled out. At their first shock and onset divers of the enemies were beaten down and slain; but after that, they ran from all parts to bate, and were come together with equal forces the fight began to be hot and sharp, and a memorable conflict it had been and few like it but that raised and poured down to fall and with so many storms and tempests, that it parted both the battels, andendid the fight. So that day having with that final skirmish linded their cornage, and left the blood in heat, they retired back the Romans within the City, and the Carthaginians to their Camp. Howbeit of the Carthaginians there were slain, upon the first sally and charge given not above thirty, and of the Romans not one man. This tempestuous shower of rain failed all night long, and continued till, and never gave over until nine of the clock before noon the next day. And therefore, albeit they were sharp set, and their fingers latched on both sides to be a fighting, yet for that day they kept within their hold and strength. So the third day Annibals sent out certain companies into the territory about Nola, for to forrage and fetch in booties, which so soon as Murensus understood, he presently set his men in array, and entred the field, neither was Annibals for his part behind. Now there was a mile distance, or very near between the City and the enemies Camp. In this space between (for all about Nola is plain and champaign) they encountered and jointed battle, E the front that they set up on both sides, red aimed and confused to return unto the fight already began the recess of those cohorts and bands which were gone a forraging into the country. The men of Nola likewise came unto the Romans, and merced their battal: whom Murensus commended for their forwards, and gave them in charge to abide in the rearward to help as occasion served and to carry forth the skirmish they were sent and wounded, and to forbear fight in any case unless they had a signal and token given them by him. The fight was doubtfull, for both the Generals gave encouragement effectually, and also the fouldiers did their best, and fought right manfully. Murensus was content with his men to press hard and drive fipline upon their enemies, when they had despatched nother days ago, who not many dajes put were put to flight and driven from Capua, and who the year before were beaten from Nola under his conduct by other fouldiers saying, "That they were not all there in the field, but many of them gone ranging abroad in the country for to hate booties and get prizes. As for them that fought they were such as were decayed with rioting and following their delights in Cape, as with wine-bibbing in every tavern, where hunting in every Stews and Brothel-house, all the whole winter, were become embled in body larget and waited natry. As for that lively Brergh and vigour of theirs, it was clean gone; the able and lusty bodies were deciided those courageous hearts abated, wherevith they passed over the Pyrenic mountains, and the high cliffs of the Alpi. There remained now nothing but the relics and shadow of those men to fight with, who are scarce able to bear their very armour, to lift up their arms, and carry their own bodies, F adding withal, that Cape was another came unto Annibals; there died his warlike procws, G therefoe, he his military discipline there was the glorious name of former dates buried: there the hope of future time for ever impresse and filled. As Murensus by reproving them and itch like things in his enemies, animated his own fouldiers: so Annibals rebuked his men with more sharp words and bitter checks. "I know there to be (quoth he) the lame arms and weapons, the very lame emigs and tielder which I saw and had at Trebia at Throfynwen, and last of all at Capua. But fully me thinks, when I went to Cape there to winter, I caried with methiser, other manner of fouldiers than I have brought again from thence. Have ye indeed fo much ado to maintain fight with a Roman Lieutenaat, Leader of one only Legion and cornet:

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ceus: with young and raw fiders of his own, seconded only with the aid of the Nolans, challenge and bid us battle the second time? Where is that bulwark of mine that unhurled G.

\textit{Hannibal} the Conifer, and trod off his head? What is become of him that at \textit{Canas} drew \textit{L.}

\textit{Ludus}? What is the edge of the sword dull, and the point blunt? Or are your right hands asleep and benumbed? Or what strange and wondrous accident is betwixt you? Ye that were worst, being few in number, to vanquish many are ye now, being many in number, hardly able to withstand and abide the violence of a few? Ye take big, and gave out great brags and grand words, that if any man would lend you you would win \textit{Rome}, that you would. Behold, now a smaller pie of service. Here I would have you prove your strength, and make trial of it your valour. Let us see now, win me \textit{Nola}, a City in the Campian on a plain, distant ded neither with fea nor rock. Out of this to weakly a City, will I be ready to lead you, laden with rich pilage and spoil, whether ye ever will, or follow you, wherewester ye would have me. But nothing availed either his cheerfull words, or his checking rebukes, to encourage and confirm their hearts. For the Carthaginians being forced on every side to retreat, while the Romans grew more and more animated, not only through the comfortable speeches of their own Captains, but also the Nolans themselves, who with their loud shouting in token of their love and affection, enkindled their courage to hot fight turned their backs, and were driven into their hold. And when the Romans were desirous to affait the fame, \textit{Marciall} conducted them to \textit{Nola}, with great joy and congratulation even of the Common there, whose former were more eminend and affected to the Carthaginians. There were of the enemies single that day above one thousand, one hundred were taken prisoners, nineteen military enigns won two Elephants got alive, and four slain in the conflict. Of Romans there were not killed all out one thousand. The morrow after they spent (upon a truce concluded) in having the dead that were slain on both sides. Of the spoils of the enemies \textit{Marciall} made a great fire upon a row pronounced unto \textit{Vulcan}. On the third day, 1,727 horsemen of Numidians and Spaniards, one with another (upon some plea and anger I believe, or else for hope of more liberal entertainment and commodious gain) fled from \textit{Assoli}, and turned to \textit{Marciall} whole valiant and faithful refresh'd, the Romans in very good head ostenlimes during that war. And after the war was ended, the Spaniards in \textit{Spain}, and the Numidians in \textit{Affilia}, in reward of their virtue and power, were endowed with fair lands and large possessions. \textit{Assoli} lent \textit{Homest} back to \textit{Nola} to the Brits, together with the forces that he came with; heimich went to the winning harbours of \textit{Aphus}, and lodged about \textit{Apulis!}

\textit{Quintus F} being so soon as he heard that \textit{Assoli} had taken his way into \textit{Aphus}, conveyed all the coin from \textit{Nola} and \textit{Nepis} into his Camp, which he had pitched above \textit{Stefalia}; and having well fortified the hold, and left there a sufficient garrison to guard the place for that winter time, removed himself nereat \textit{Capua}, and there encamped; and so waited the Campan Territory with fire and sword, that the Campans little trilling (unto their owne forces, were constrained to shut forth of their gates, and fortifire themselves in Camp before the City, in the open plain, Six thousand they were all. That oftentimes they charged their enemies with their horse, and provok'd them to fight. Among many brave men of arms that the Campans had, one \textit{Fabius} named \textit{Turre}, a Citizen of \textit{Capua}, was the worthiest and best horseman of them all, by many degrees: in short, as he served under the Romans, \textit{Clodius} \textit{Aefflius} only, a Citizen of \textit{Rome}, was at a time with him in an ary of good horsemanship and horse service. This \textit{Turre} when he had ridden about the troops of his enemies, calling his eye every way to see if he could spy \textit{Clodius} at all, enquired at length closely, after they were made, where about he was, and made his challenge unto him. That seeing he was went in words to commend with him for valour and prowess; he should now determine the question by the spear-point and dint of sword; and either he deposed of his glorious armour, if he were overcome, or else gain the fame with the victory. Wherewithal being brought into the Camp to \textit{Aphus} his ears, he made no more to do, but went presently to the Conifer, to know whether he might with his good leave and licence out of his rank fight extraordinarily with his enemy that bad him combat. After leave obtained, he armed himself immediately, mounted on horseback, and rode before the enemies \textit{corpus et armis} oftentimes calling upon \textit{Turre} by name, and bidding him come forth to encounter when ever he list. Now were the Romans by this time gone forth of the Camp in great number to behold this combat: the men of \textit{Capua} likewise filled not only the rampart of their hold but also the walls of the City to see this fight. When as they had made some goodly phanorish sore-hand with brave swords and short speaches, to set out the action: they fat spear in roll, and put spurs to horse, and joddled together again. Afterwards, having gotten the liberty of the ground they daliaced one with another, trifling out the time, and making along piece of work of it, without giving or taking wound, then quoth the Campam Knight to the Roman. This will be but a fight of horses, and not of horsemen, unless we ride out of the open plain ground here into this hollow way, where having no such scope to prick out at large we shall soon come to hand gripes, and close together. The word was not to soon spoken, but \textit{Cheor} turned his horse head, and rode into the forefaid way. But \textit{Turre} a former champion...
A champion in word than deed: Oh take heed of all things (quoth he) how you ride a gelding in a ditch: Which grew afterwards to a by-word used among the country people, Claudius at first had rode in and cut up and down a long time in the lane, and never met with his enemy returned again into the open plain: and rating the cowardice of his enemy, with great joy and gratification, rode back as conqueror into the Camp. Some Annals and Chronicles do record and add to this combat of homemen. a strange and wonderful thing (no doubt) if it be true. As by the common opinion it is reputed no less: namely, that when Vercingetorix fled back into the City Claudius followed hard after him in chase, entered with him at one gate standing open, and rode one clear at the other unhurt. To the great wonder and astonishment of the enemies. Upon this the Blanding Camps were quiet on both sides: and the Cœl., removed backward farther off from the City, that the men of Cœl. might row their grounds: neither did he any harm into their fields, before the corn was come up and to well grown that the plade thereof yielded good forrage and food for the horses: which he gathered and brought into the Blanding Camp and hold of Cœl. above Scipio's, and there he built winter harbours for to make his abode. And he gave order to M. Claudius the Vic. Con. to keep still at Nîmes a competent garrison for defence of the City; and to disbar the rest of the soldiers, and feed them to Rome: that they should neither be compass to their Allies, nor chargeable to the Common-weal. Tib. Guardius also whiles he held his Legions from Cuns into Spain. lent M. Venerius the Praetor from thence to Blandinius, with that army which he had at Luceria, commanding him to keep the sea-coast of the C. Scyntessi Country, and to provide for all things necessary against Philip and the Macedonian war.

In the end of this summer wherein these acts were achieved, whereas I have written, there came a packet of Letters from P. and Corel. Scipio, importing how great and how fortunate exploits they had performed in Spain: but there wanted money for pay: and apparel, and corn to serve both soldiers and mariners. And albeit all these things were away, yet as concerning money, if the City Chamber and common Treasure were not stored, they would make some shift to raise it of the Spaniards: but for all the rest, needs it must be sent from Rome: for otherwise neither could they keep the Army together nor hold the Province in their allegiance. When the letters were read there was no man there but acknowledged that they wrote a truth, and demanded that which was reasonable. But they considered withal, what great armies both on land and at sea they maintained: and what a mighty Armada they must prepare and set out anew, in case the Macedonian war went forward. As for Sicyon and Sardinia, which before the war began, paid tribute, were scarce able to find and keep the garrisons, that lay there for the garrisons of the Provinces: and that they were to crue upon their own revenues and tribute for the maintenance of the charge they were at. But as the number of them that paid rent and conferred tribute, was greatly diminished by so great overthrows of the armies, both at the pool Thracianus, and also at Cuneo: to those few that remained if they were burdened with many exactions and payments, should be plagued and undone another way, therefore it was concluded, that unless the Common-weal maintained not herself by her credit and borrowing money, she were not able to be initially Eined by her own wealth and riches. So it was agreed, That Fulvio the Praetor must needs assemble the people together, and lay abroad and declare unto them the necessity and exigency that the Common-weal was driven into, and to exhort all them that had enriched themselves and enriched their living, by renting and taking to farm the revenues and commodities of the City, and should now do good to the Common-weal, for a time, by which they were grown to that wealth, and undertake the provision at a price, and furnish the army in Spain, with all necessaries thereto belonging, to be contented and paid therewith at the first, out of the common Chests, when they were filled with money. Thus the Praetor made declaration of these matters in the open assembly of the people, and withall determined and set down a certain day whenupon he minded to put forth the soldiers livellies and apparel, and corn to be provided for the Spanish Army, and all things else requisite for the mariners. When the day was come, there presented themselves unto him three companies of nineteen men, for to take this bargain. Who made two requests and demands, the one that for that three years next ensuing there should be no other Publicans or farmers of the City; the other that whatsoever they skipped, the Common-weal would make good against all force of enemy or violence of tempest. Both being granted, they took upon them the matter, and so the Common-weal was served by the money of private persons. This was the demanor, this was the losing affection to their country that went through all degrees of men (as it were) after one sort and manner. And likewise they undertook with great courage to serve the army to with so many idle they performed every thing, in such sort, as there was nothing at all wanting no more than if they had been maintained from a rich treasury, as in times past. At what time as this provision came, the town of Thasus was assaulted by Adonial, Manci, and Anidus: the son of Bonitus: because it revolted into the Romans. Amidst these three several Camps of the enemies, the two Scipio fled into the City of their Allies, that made resistance against, and with great lots of men; and brought corn with them, whereof there was great wine: and after they had encouraged and exhorted the townsmen, that with the same resolution they would defend the walls, as they had seen the Roman army to fight for them, and in their quarrel they left forth their powers to give an assault upon
The four and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the four and twentieth Book.

Hieron. King of the Syracusians (whose grandfather Hiero had been a friend unto the people of Rome) went into the Carthaginians, and for his cruelty and pride, was by his own people murdered. Titus Sempronius Crassus the Pro-Consul, had a fortunate battle near Beneventum, against the Carthaginians and Hannibal their General; through the help especially of the bovadlaves, whom for their good service, he commanded to be made free, Claudius Marcellus the Consul laid siege unto Syracuse in Sicily, which wholly in manner was fall and turned to the Carthaginians. War was proclaimed against Philip, King of the Macedonians, who in a night-skirmish was surprised, discomfited, and put to flight, and with his army well near disarmed, escaped into Macedonice. To manage this war, Valerius the Praetor was sent. This book containeth all the acts achieved in Spain by P. and C. Sipios against the Carthaginians. Syphax King of the Numidians, having entered into amity with the Romans, fought against Malaminia King of the Massilians who stood for the Carthaginians, and being overthrown, paffed over into Spain with a most mighty army unto Sipios, lying over against Gades, where the narrow sea-rump between Africa and Spain, h e Celtiberians all were received into; and by those aids the Romans sent forth, and this was the first time that mercenary soldiers were waged and served in the Roman wars.

The four and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

Annus was not so soon returned out of Campania into the country of the Britons, but by their help and guidance he reconciled to rebellion the Greek Cities which continued the more wily in subversion and alliance with the Romans, because they saw that the Britons, whom they both hated and feared, joined with the Carthaginians. And first he ailed and went in hard with Rhegium, where he spent certain days to little or no purpose. In this mean time, the Inhabitants of Locri were busy in carrying away with great haste the corn, wood, and fuel, and all other necessary matter from the city. Because they would leave nothing for the enemy to prey upon. And daily more and more of them went out of the gates by heaps, so as at last there was no more left in the city, than that some were compelled to repair the breaches of the walls and the gates, and to bring into the turrets and bulwarks store of stores and other sort. Against this multitude the Cortical mixture of all ages, sexes, and degrees ran about the fields, whereof most were altogether unarmed. Amilcar the Carthaginian sent out his Cavalry, giving them direction and charging them to hurt no person. Their horsemen opposed their troops between them and home, only to exclude them out of the city, when they were scattered one from another in flight. The General himself in person encamped on a high ground, from whence he might view the country and the city. And gave commandment to a cohort of the Britons to approach the walls to call forth the principal Citizens of Locri to per; and by making promise of Amilcar's friendship, to persuade and exhort them to yield up the town. At the first they gave no credit at all unto the Britons, whatever they said; but after, when they discovered Hanno and the Carthaginians upon the hills, and heard by some
A few of their own Citizens that were fled back & escaped, now all the rest of the multitude were fallen within danger of the enemies; they made answer, that they would confer and consult together upon the body of the people. So immediately they were assembled together. The most light headed persons were desirous of a change and new alliance; they also, whose kindred and friends were by the enemy intercepted and kept out of the City, had their minds engaged and bound sure enough, as if they had put in hostages and some few who were well affected inwardly in heart & liked of constancy and true loyalty, yet durst not be known thereof, and flew themselves to fland to it; so as they all agreed in outward appearance, to surrender themselves to the Carthaginians. And after they had closely conveighed into the haven, and embarked L. Atilius the Captain of the B garrison, and all the Roman soldiery that served under him to the end, that they might be transported to Rhegium, they received Amilcar and the Carthaginians into the City, with this condition, that presently there should be concluded a league upon equal and indifferent conditions and capitulations between them. But the promise in this behalf (when they had once yielded themselves) was nothing well performed: whilst Amilcar charged the Romans, with fraudulent defiling and letting go the Romans: and they again alleged for their excuse, that they fled away, and made an escape. The horsemen also followed hard in chase by land, if haply either the tide might cause the ships to stay in the current within the strait, or drive them a land. But those whom they pursued they could not overtake; marry, other ships they spied, crossing the firesights from Messina to Rhegium. Roman soldiery they were sent from Claudius the Praetor, to lie in C garrison there, and to keep the town. Whereupon they presently departed from Rhegium.

As for the Citizens of Locri, they had peace granted them by express order and direction from Annibal upon these conditions: Impressus. That they might live free under their own laws: Item, That both the City and the haven should remain still in the hands of the Locrians. The subsistence of the covenant rested and was established upon these terms. That the Carthaginians and Locrians should aid and assist one another mutually, both in peace and war. So the Carthaginians retired from the straits without hindering the muttering and murmuring of the Britons, because they had left Rhegium and Locri untouched, which two Cities they made full account to have sacked and rifled. And therefore they of themselves having levied and put in arms a power of fifteen thousand of their own youth, marched forward to assaile Crotone, a Grecian City likewise, and feated upon the sea. Assailing themselves, much to better their estate, if they could be possed of a port and sea-town, fenced with strong walls and Bulwarks. This only troubled and perplexed their minds, that they durst not, but fend unto the Carthaginians for aid: fearing, lest they might seem to have entered into action and war, without regard of the common good of their confederates, if they called them not: and doubting besides, that if the General of the Carthaginians should prove again, rather an arbitrator of peace, than a coadjutor in war, they should fight in vain against the liberty of Crotone, as they had done before against the City of Locri. Whereupon they thought best to send Embassadors unto Annibal for his warrant, and to be secured in that, if Crotone were recovered by the Britons, it should be subject unto them. Annibal made answer, that this matter required consultation of men present with them in place, and therefore E he put them over to Himon, from whom they received no certain answer to meet unto. For willing they were not, that a noble and rich City as it was, should be spoiled: and besides they were in good hope, that in case the Britons should fail in it, and the Carthaginians all the while not seem, either to allow or help them in their enterprise, the Citizens would the more willingly revolt unto them. The Inhabitants within Crotone were not of one mind, and affected alike. For there was one malady that had infected all the Cities of Italy, namely, the division between the Commons and the Nobles. The Senators inclined to the Romans, the Commoners on the other side took part with the Carthaginians. This division within the City, the Brunii were by a fugitive runaway advertised of in these terms: namely, that Afronomachus the ring-leader and head of the Commons minded to betray the City: that it was a wide, wide, and delate town taking a great circuit of ground: and all the walls being decayed and in sundry places broken down, the Senators and the Commons kept their several guards and watches in sundry quarters far abroad. And look (unto be) where the Commons ward, there ye may enter at your pleasure. Upon this intelligence and direction given by the fugitive, the Brunii environed the City round about; and being set in by the Commons at the first assault were masters of all places,aving the Castle. The Nobles held that piece foreseeing what might happen, and therefore provided themselves of a sure refuge. Thither fled Afronomachus also, pretending that he meant to deliver the City to the Carthaginians, and not to the Brunii. Now this City Crotone had a wall (before Pyrrhus coming into Italy) twelve miles in compass; but after it was laid waste by that war: scarce the one half of the town was inhabited. The river that was wont to run through the midst of the town passed now G along the walls without those streets where the houseth flood thick and well peopled, far from the parts inhabited.

Six miles without the town there stood a noble Temple of Larinia from more renowned than the City it self, as being honoured with great religion and devotion of all the Cities and nations thereabout. A sacred grove there was in that place compiled with a thick wood, of tall fir trees, having in the midst within it divers pleasant and fruitful pastures, wherein were fed beasts consecrated unto the goddes's, of all sorts, without any keeper and officer. And albeit the carreth went forth in the morning by herds and flocks of their own kind, levered by themselves, yet at night, they used to return back again to their own pens and stalls, without harm received either by the
wait laying of wild and ravenous beasts, or by deceitful fraud of men. Great encreased therefore and much commodity accruing by those cattel, inmost as thereof was made a maifie Column or pillar of beaten gold, and consecrated in that place, so as the Temple was famous, as well for riches, as holines and devotion. And many times it fallyeth out, that to such notable places there are attributed some strange miracles. For the report goeth, that there flanded an altar in the very porch of the Temple, the sthlying whereupon, no wind was ever known to blow away.

But to return to Craton. The Cattle thereof on the one side flanded upon the sea, on the other side it bendeth and looketh toward the land, Defended in times past it was only by the natural situation of the ground, but after wards fortified also with a wall, not on that part whereas Dionysius the Tyrant of Sicily, having gained the back rocks and cliffs behind, by craft and guile sometime I won it. This Cattle at that time supposted to be strong and safe enough, the Nobles feized and kept, notwithstanding the Bruttii and their own Commons befieged them. At length the Bruttii leaving the Cattle impregnable, by all the forces and assauts that they could make of themselves, were driven of necessity to crave aid of Hannibal. Who having affailed to draw and urge the Crotominias to yield, upon those conditions, To fuffer a Colony of the Bruttii thither to be brought, and there planted; and that thereby a City lying to waife and destitute, might be replenished and peopled again, as in ancient times: could not move and perfwade any one of them all, but Ariflomachus. For all besides, proteffed and laid, they would die before they would be intermingled with the Bruttii, to change their own rites and manner of life, their cufomes, their laws; and within a while their language also for others that were strange and foreign. Ariflomachus alone, feeing that he could not prevail neither by perfwasions to induce them to yield, nor find any means to betray the Cattle like as he had done the town before, fled away to Hannibal. Shortly after, certain Embassadors from Locris, by the licence and permission of Hannibal, entered the Cattle, and perfwaded them to be content for to be translated to Locris, rather than to abide and fland out the extremity: faying that they had sent Embassadors already to that intent unto Annibal, and had got a grant at his hands, that they might do so. So they abandoned Craton, and the Crotominias were brought down to the sea side and embarked, and the whole multitude departed to Locris.

In Apulis the very winter feftion was not quiet between the Romans and Annibal, Sempronius the Conful winked at Lucerni, and Annibal not far from him in Arpi: and as they could by opportunity, or take their vantage of the one side or the other there paffed some light skirmifhes betwixt them. But the Romans had alwaies the better, and every day more than other, became more wary, and fcuried from all trains and deceitful enemies of the name.

In Sicily the Romans found a great change, and all out of order, by reafon that King Hiero was dead, and the Crown translated to his Nephew or fon, Hieronymus: being yet a child, not like to rule in his owne liberty with moderation, and much les to lay the Kingdom and Scepter with discretion. His guardians and friends gladly enterprized the protection and government of such a nature, and were ready enough to plunge him headlong into all vice and wickednes. Which King Hiero foreseeing, was willing (by report) in his latter daies, to have left Syracusa free and at liberty, so that to noble a kingdom, acquired and established by good means, should not under the Lordly dominion of a child to the great obloquy and fhame of the world, be ruinate, and come to nought. But his daughters with tooth and nail croffed this his deignment, and made full recollenting, that the child should only bear the name of a King, but the government of the whole State should wholly reift in them and their husbands, Andronowdus and Zelus: who were the principal guardians, left to overriue the young Prince. And an easie matter it was not for an aged man, now fortifor years old and ten, to hardly laid at day and night, by the fair speeches, and feminine flatteries of his daughters, to keep his mind free, and to apply and convert it to intend private regards and the publike consideration of the State; and therefore he left fifteen under to overriue and govern the child, whom he foresought upon his death-bed, even when he was going out of this world, to maintain entire and unipotted, the faithful allegiance to the "Romans, which he had kept and oberved invaluat for the space of fifty yeares: and to fet to their helping hand willingly, to direct the young Prince above all, to tread in his steps, and to follow that discipline wherein he had been nurtured and taught. After he had given this charge, and yielded up his breath, the guardians came abroad, brought forth the Kings left will and testament, and shewed the young Prince in the open assembly of the people (and well near fifteen years of age he was.) Where some few, such as were fewed here of purpose within the pref of the assembly for to shout and fhev testimony of their joy and good liking, approved with open voice and allowed the Kings will; whereas all the rest fared as Orphans in a City bereaved of their King, and (as it were) become fatherless, and feared all things that might enufe. The King was interred and his funerals solemnized, with the love and kind affection of his people and subjectes, more than with any fludious care and diligence of his owne friends that were nearest to him. After this, Andronowdus removed from about the Prince all other guardians but himself, giving out oftimes that Hiero was pait a child, and able to govern of himself as King. Thus by deposing the Profefforship, which was common to him and many others, he took upon him and usurped the power and authority of them all. Had it even for a right good King and wellgoverned, that should succeed after Hiero, to find favour and win grace among the Syracusians: to heartily they affected and loved King Hiero. But Hieronymus, as if he had been willing and desirous, that by his vices and wicked life, they should have a great misis of his grandfather, and with again for him; at the very first fight, when he shewed himself abroad in open place,
place, declared unto the world, what difference and great odds there was. For they who so many years together had never been Hiero, nor his son Cato, either in habit of apparel, or in any other ornaments and port, differing from all other citizens, now beheld him in his purple robes, with his regal Crown and Diadem, attended with his guard and train of armed people: yeo, and other wise, after the manner of Dionysus, the Tyrant riding forth of his Court and Palace, in a chariot drawn with four white steeds. This proud pomp and lily array was accompanied and suited with semblable qualities and conditions. He conceived and despised all men: he scorned most proudly to give audience to humble suppliants: and sent them away with reproachful terms and taunts. And not only strangers, but also his very guardians hardly might have access unto him: and to conclude, his units and delights whereby he gave himself, were new and strange to his cruelty that he exercised outrageous and inhuman. So dreadful and terrible was he to all, that some of his Towns, either by making themselves away, or by voluntary exile were driven to prevent and a void the danger of cruel torments. Of whom three only, who alone had more familiarly recourse into the Court, to wit, Androni orion and Zelius, the sons in law of King Hiero, that had married his daughters, and one Thers, had little or no care given unto them in other matters; but whilsts two of them drew toward the Carthaginians, and Thers to the Roman alliance: with their signing debating and dispute, they otherwise turned the mind of the young King to hearken and give audience to their opinions. Now it hapned that there was a conspiracy intended against the life and person of the Tyrant, and the same detected by one Cato, the companion and play-fellow of Hieronymus, and of the same age: one who ever from his childhood had been familiarly acquainted with him, and inward to all his secrets. This revealer of the conspiracy, could appeal and nominate all the conspirators: only Theodorus, by whom him self was made privy to the treachery, and solicited to be come private therein. The party was apprehended immediately, and delivered unto Andronion orion to be tortured; who at the first without delay, confessed himself to be guilty, but concealed all the rest that were accessaries. At the last, when he had been torn, mangled, and dismembered, with most dolorous torments, and intolerable for any man to endure: pretending and making semblance that he could abide no longer pains; did clothe not for all this the guilty persons indeed, but accused the innocent, and laid fair, that Thers was the first deviler of the whole plot: and unless they had born themselves, and relied upon to fo great an head, to let them on work, they would never have attempted so dangerous an enterprise. He appealeth also some other of the Tyrant his guard and houndhold servants and daily waiters: even such as came into his mind during the time of his dolours and pains, and whom amidst his groans he imagined to be such, as whose lives might be kept spared, and deaths la stanted. The naming of Thers especially made the Tyrant to believe, that the detection found to be a very truth indeed: whereupon the man was immediately led to execution and put to death; and the other innocents, as clear as himself, tasted of the same cup and suffered with him for company. As for the conspirators themselves, albeit one of their fellows was a long while put to bitter and extreme torture, there was not one of them that either hid his head or made an escape: so assured confidence had they in the resolute constancy and faithfull promise of Theodorus; and such power and strength had Theodorus himself to keep close the fetchers committed unto him. Now when Thers was once dispatched out of the way, who only was the means to hold them in, and to bind them to their alliance and allegiance to the Romans: then forthwith they began openly to ensue into rebellion, and sent as Embassadors for the same purpose, two noble young Gentlemen, Hippocrates and Epides into Anibalst: from whom also they were sent back again to Embassage. These were both born at Carthage, but defended in blood from the Syracusians by their grandfather, that was from thence banished: and were themselves by the mothers side: noble Carthaginians. By entrance of these two Embassadors, a League was concluded between Anibalst and the Tyrant of Syracusst. And Anibalst was content that they should abide till as Leigers in the Tyrants Court.

When Appius Claudius the Pretor and Lord Deputy of the Province of Sicily heard these news, he adressed straightwaies Embassadors unto Hieronymus: who saying, that they were come to renew the alliance which they had with his grandfather, had formal audience given them to deliver their message, and were dismissed and sent away by Hieronymus with a trump, demanding of them by way of a scoff: "How they had sped at the battle of Cannae. For I can hardly believe ( quoth he ) that all is true which the Embassadors report of that field: and I would gladly know the certain truth: and then upon deliberate and take counsel, which side I were better to take, The Roman Embassadors said, they would repair again unto him when he could begin to once to give audience with gravity and in good earnest to their embassage: and after they had warned and admonished, rather than praised and entrenched him, not to change, but to stand to the first covenant and promises, they departed. Then Hieronymus sent his Legate to Carthage, for to confirm the League with the Carthaginians, according to the alliance and unity made with Anibalst. In which it was capitulate and covenanted, that when they had expelled the Romans out of Sicily ( which would shortly come to pass, in cause they sent the ships and a power of men ) the river Himera, which ( as it were ) divided the island in the middle, should confine and limit both the Syracusian kingdom and the dominion of the Carthaginians.

After this, being puffed up with the fair flattering speeches of such as were about him, who suggested unto him, to remember and call to mind that not only King Hiero was his grandfather, but also King Parrus by the mothers side: he sent Embassadors unto the Carthaginians, to give them from him to underland, That he deeme
med it right and meet, that all Sicily wholly should lie unto his dominion: and that the Empire of Italy only belonged properly to the Carthaginian people to acquire and conquer. This levity and vain glorious humour they neither wondered at, as a strange thing in a giddy-brained young man; nor yet greatly blamed and found fault with, to long as they might entangle him wholly and alienate him altogether from the friendship of the Romans. But all things in him turned to his overthrow and utter confusion. For whiles Hippocrates and Epistolae were sent alone with two thousand soldiers not to found and solicit the Citys rebellion, that were held by the partizans of the Romans: and himself in person entered the country of the Leonists, with all the rest of the forces, which amounted to fifteen thousand foot and horse together; certain conspirators, who thought all to be his own fouldiers, and bare arms under him, poffessed themselves of a vake house, standing over a narrow lane through which the King was wont to go down into the market place of the City: there, when other flood armed and well appointed, and waiting when the King should pass by, one of the conspirators ( whose name was Indigermes ) had given him in charge, because he was one of the squires of the Kings body, when the King approached near unto the door of the said house, to find some occasion or other, in that straight passage, to lay the troop and train that followed behind. And so he effected indeed, and put in execution, as it was agreed and contrived. For Indigermes, lift up his foot, making as though he would losse and flock a straight knot of his shoe-latchet, which hindering his going, whereby he laid the company that followed after, to long, that the King going by alone without his guard of armed men about him, was assaulted mean while, and received many flaps and wounds, before they could K come to relieve and save him. Hereupon arose an outcry and tumult, and divers of the guard let flee at Indigermes, who by this time was ready to oppose himself: and to award all enemies: howbeit he was hurt only in two places, and did escape. The guard seeing the King there lying dead, fled away as they could. The muturers, some of them, lost themselves into the market-place unto the multitude, that rejoiced for the recovery of their freedom: others repaired to Scipio, to intercept and prevent the delignments of Andrachemus, and other favourites and followers of the late King.

Whiles things flood in these uncertain and doubtful terms, Appius Claudius foreseeing war like to ensue, and that very shortly, delivered his letters unto the Senat of Rome, certifying them that Sicil enclosed already, and was at hand to take, with the people of Carthage, and with Amen. But, Himself in the mean time sent all his forces toward the frontiers of the Province and confines of that Kingdom, to withdraw and hinder all the proceeding and enterprizes of the Saca,

In the end of that year, Q. Fabius, by order from the Senate, fortified Puteoli, a town of merchandize, and which in time of wars began to be much resorted unto and frequented, and there he placed a garrison. From whence he was in his journey toward Rome against the grand Electors or Magistrates, he proclaimed the loyal assembly of the people for that purpose, to be the next Comitall day that followed upon his arrival thither: and to it fell out, that he went along the City side immediately upon his journey, and came down into Mars field before he entered the City. Upon which day, when it happened that the Century of the younger fort was drawn out by M. Lucius and had the praetorij and by their voices nominated T. Flavius and M. Emilius Regillus for Consuls, then Q. Fabius after silence made, roll up, and delivered this or such like speech, "It either we had peace in Italy, or war at lease with those enemies, with whom if we dealt neither negligentiy or unadvisedly, the matter were no much, nor importing great hazzard and danger: I would think, that whoseover disturbeth and crosteth your favours and free affections, which ye bring together with you into this solemn place of assembly, to bellow honors and dignities uppon whom ye puttle hath but small and no regard of your liberty and freedom. But since that in this war and with this enemy never any General of ours faulted in the managing of his affairs, but it cost us dear, and we had some great fault and overthrow; it behoveth you, that with what mind and careful regard ye enter the field to combat in your armour, in the same ye N should come hither to this Mars field in your gowns, and so proceed by your sufferages to decy your Comins: and that every one of you should thus say to himself, I am to nominate a Conal to match with General Annal, No longer since, than this very year, when as before Capus, Jufellina, the brave horseman and Valier of all the Campanians defied the Romans, and challenged them to fight man to man, Atellus Claudius, the nobleft Knight of all the Romans, and bel man at arms, was chosen to encounter him. In times past, against a Gaul that offered combat upon the bridge over An[is], our ancients long out Mantua, a courageous, resolute, and patient Champion. Neither can I deny, but upon such another occasion not many yearts after, the like truth was reproved in M. Velterus, who took arms likewise against another Gaul that challenged single fight. And even as we are deare, with to have our foot and head horsemen both, more glorious and hardy than our enemies, or if that will not be, at leastwise equal unto them, and able to countermatch them: even let us be carefull to find out a General of our own comare comparable in the chief commander of our enemies. And when we have chosen the best warriour and Captain in the whole City, then presently without any longer delay, being cast and created for one whole yeare, he shall be sent to match with an old captain, that hath ever smaid in the field, one who is not enclosed within compass of time, nor restrained & gaped within the strict bounds of law, but that he may order & manage every thing, according as the occasions and present occurrences of war do require: whereas, by that time

The Oration of Q. Fabius to the people of Rome.
A few that we can make all ready and dispose every thing in order, and let in hand to begin our affairs, the year is come about and clean gone. Now for as much as enough hath been laid, what manner of Comitis ye ought to create: it remaineth to speak somewhat of them, whom the prerogative Century so highly favoureth, and is much affected unto. A for M. Enylus Regillus he is the Flaminus of Quirinus, whom neither we may take from his munificy of Sacrifice, not yet retain and keep him still, but we shall neglect either the service of the gods, or the due care and regard of the wars. Oclaci us hath married my sisters daughters and hath fair issue by her. But your favours and good turns flowed both to me, and also to my relations, are not of to fill all account and reckoning, but that I ought to prefer the Common-well before all private regards and alliances whatsoever. Every mariner, yea, and every passer is able to feer and rule a ship in a calm water: but when the rolling tender is up and the vellt tossed in a troubled surging sea, and carried away with violent force of the wind, then there had need to be a man indeed, and a skillful Pilot to set at the helm, and to guide the helm. We fail not now in still and quiet sea, but we have been drench'd, and in a manner drowned. With some forms already: and therefore we ought to have exeeding great care and be well adjoyed thereof, whom we have to be the fleers-man. In a matter of its consequence and importance, we have made triall, O T. Oclacilius, of your knowledge and services: and you have not given us yet to good proof of your virtue and promote therein, that we should put you in trust with the managing of greater affairs. A Navy whereof you were Admiral, we rigged and trimmed to your hands this year for three causes: first, to armoy and pill the sea-coast of Africk; secondly to defend and keep to our barks the ports and havens of Italy; last of all, and above all, to enemphe and stay all supplies and new succours together with money munition, and victuall, for being transported unto Annabilis from Carthage. If Oclacilius have performed, I say not all these things, but in any one quit himself well, to the good and benefit of the state, Elect him Comitul hastily; and good leave have you. But if it appeareth, that while you had the rule of the Armada, all things (that a man would have) passed out of the country unto Annabilis, with as great safety and security as if the seas had been open and void of enemies: If, I say, the sea-coast of Italy hath all this year been more in danger, and subject to suetain harm; than that of Africk: what reason can you alledge, wherefore the people of Rome should choose you above all others, to oppose as Captain, to confront their enemy Annabilis. If you were Comitul in place already, we would judge it requisite and good to nominate and create a Dictator, according to the example of our forefathers: neither could you take umfr or be offended, that there should be found in the City of Rome a better warrior, and more sufficient than your self. And surely it concerneth no man more than you: O Oclacilius, to see that there be not imposed a burden upon your shoulders under which you should fall and fall down right. Wherefore I advise and exhort you all as much as possibly I can, in electing of Comitis this day to carry that mind and die that care with full providence as ye would, in case ye were standing armed in battle array; and to choose one of hand two General Captains under whose conduct and government ye should presently fight a field: and make choice of such Comits as whom our children were to take the oath of allegiance: at whole commandement, they shou'd come and assemble together, and under whose charge and protection they might willingly serve asouldiers. The pool/bratamen, the plain before Carra, are heavy examples for us to remember: but yet they served for good precedents unlos to teach us how to avoid the like mischief another time. So the prerogative Century of the younger and junior part, was called again to a new scrutiny, and to give their voices again. Whereas when /. Oclacilius began to cry out aloud and say very stoutly, that Fabius his drift was to continue Comitul still, and therewith grew to be clamorous and troublesome to the assembly: the Comitul commanded the Electors to go unto him, and to lay hold upon him. And forasmuch as yet he had not entered into the City but came down straightforward into the Mars field presently from his journey, he put them in mind that the knickes of the rod together with the axes within them should be born before him. And in the mean time the prerogative Century began afore to give their voices: and by it were nominated Comils Q. Fabius Maximus the fourth time, and M. Marcellus the third time: and all the Centuries besides without any jarring and variance elected the very same. One of the former Prxtrors likewise was chosen again namely Q. Fabius Flaccus. And other new created: that is to say, T. Oclacilius Crawfus the second time. Q. Fabius the Comitul his son, who at that time was Edile of the chair and P. Cornelius Lentulus, After the Election of the Prxtrors was ended and finished, there paffed an Act and deree of the Senate that Q. Fabius should extraordinarily have the charge of the City, and be Praetor there: and that he above all others, when the Comils were gone forth to the wars should be President and Governor of the City of Rome. There fell great rain and much snow that year, whereby the Tiber overflowed the fields, overthrew many houses, and overwhelmed much cattle and people, so as they utterly perished,

Thus in the fifth year of the second Punick war. Q. Fabius Maximus the fourth time: and M. Claudius Marcellus the third time, when they entered their Comislhip, set the City on thinking and musing of them more than usually had been known. For in many years there had not been the like couple of Comils. And old men would talk and lay, that even so were Max. Rebulbus and P. Decius declared Comils against the Galk war: and after them likewise, Papirius and Cornelius against the Samnites and Bruttii: against the people also of Lucania and Tyrrenhm. Marcellus
seems was created Consul in his absence, while he was with the Army abroad, and Fabius being himself present and president of the Election, was ordained to continue till in his Consulship. 

The occasion of the time the necessity and occurrence of wars, and the peril and hazard of the whole state were in, no man looked nearly into the example and precedent to find fault with, nor had the Consul in any jealous of ambition and desire of rule: but rather every man commended his noble and honest mind, who seeing that the Common-wealth stood in need of an excellent Captain, and knowing himself without all question to be the man, made itself reckoning and account of the envy and ill will of men, that thereby haply might accrue, than of the good and profit of the Common-wealth. The same day that the Consuls began their office, they assembled the Senators in the Capitol: and the first thing they did, was, a decree, that the Consuls should either call losses, or agree together between themselves, whether of them two should assemble the people for the election of Censors before he let forward to the army. After this, all they had their authority prolonged and continued still, who were employed abroad with the forces; and their commissions were renewed and sealed again, for to abide in the government of their Provinces to wit, T. Gracchi at Luceria, where he abode with the army of the Volunteers: C. Iunius Brutus in the Punic country: M. Pomponius in the Province of Gaul (on this side the Alps.) It was enacted also, that of the Prætors of the to most year Q. Münus as Vice-Prætor should govern Sardis: that M. Valerius at Brandunum should scour the river, look to the towns, and have an eye to all the attempts and enterprises of Pyrrhus King of the Macedonians, P. Corn. bus Lentulus, the new Prætor, was appointed to rule the Province of Sicié; and T. Q. Ocellius to be admiral of the Navy, which the year before he had the charge of against the Carthaginians.

Many prodigies and strange signs were reported that year and soon after the more as they were believed to be true of the simple and imperfections of people, Namely that within the hippodromum of the Razes, built their nets. In Apia a green palm tree was on a light fire. At Manibus a pool maintained by the overflowing of the river Marcus appeared red with blood. At Capit it rained chalk, and at Rome in the beating market it rained blood. In a village, called Ilfeus a spring under the ground, brake out and yielded such abundance of water, that it overturned, turbid up and down and carried away (as it had been the stream of a river) divers vessels, as pipes tusks barrels and teraces that were in the place. The open and publick hill within the Capitol: the Temple of Voles in Manibus, a nut-tree in the Sabine country: the high street, the wall, and a gate at Aespis, were all blotted with lightning and fire from heaven. And by this time other miraculous and monstrous signs were common, blown abroad to war, that the spear of Vesi in Frenelle of its own accord, lifted and moved forward; that an ox was heard speak in Sicilia that the Infant within the mothers womb, in the Marcianus country was heard to cry to Ituneph, at Spina a woman turned to be a man. At Hedeas there appeared an Altar in the skie, and apparitions of sheers of men discovered about the same, arraigned in white. At Rome also within the city was seen, now the second time, a swarm of bees in the very market place, as a thing wondrous, because it was rare and seldom known. Some there were also, that avouched, how they descried armed legions on the hill Fontanilla, Whereupon the City rose up in arms and when they were come into the field, they said plainly that there were none there appeared but the ordinary inhabitants of the hill. These prodigious lights by direction from the Aëspirites, (i.e. the Scotti yet were expiate, and the gods pacified with greater sacrifices: and a solemn procession and supplication was proclaimed unto all the gods that were shrined at Rome, and had their chapels there.

After all complements performed, that belonged to the pacification of the gods, the Consuls proposed unto the Senate concerning State matters, and especially about the managing of the wars. Namely what forces should be prepared, what numbers of soldiers levied, and where they should be bellowed severally. And agreed it was Th. there should be eighteen Legions equipped in the wars. Whereof the Consuls were to take unto them two apiece: the Provinces likewise of 

N. Gaius Sic. and Sardina should be guarded each of them with other twain. Q. Fabius the Lord Deputy of Aprilis, was to have two Legions under his hand, to command the Provinces, and T. Gracchus other two of volunteers, to keep the country about Luceria; and C. Iunius the Pro- Consul, to have the charge of one, in the Punic country: and M. Aemilius another, for the Navy about Brandunum; and last of all, twain were left behind for the guard and defence of the City of Rome. For to make out this full number of Legions, 20000 of necessity were to be levied new. And the Consuls were appointed with all convenient speed to enrol them; and likewise to provide an Armada that year of 50000 Galleys, together with those ships, which ride in the river along the coasts of Colonna for the defence of that Country. When the matter was done, and the new ships haled and shot into the sea, Q. Fabius assembled the Centuries for the election of Censors: wherein were created M. Attius Regillus and P. Furius Philus.

The rumour still encreased that Scipio was out and up in arms. Whereupon T. Oficius was commanded to go with him with his fleet. And because there wanted pilots, and mariners, the Consuls, by virtue of a decree of the Senate published an Edict, That as many as in the time of L. E- milius, and C. Furius Centors, either themselves or their fathers, were asleep in the Subsidy book from 5000 to 10000 in goods: or who afterwards grew to that worth should find one miner, and six months pay, Item. That whatsoever were rated above 10000 unto 30000 should
A. should be charged with three mariners, and one years pay, Item, that whatsoever were valued in
the Centurio book between 30,000 and 1,000,000 should allow five mariners, Item, that those
above that proportion should lose out of ten, and every Senat should provide eight mariners, and
furnish them with a whole years pay. According to this Edict, the mariners were set out well
armed and appointed by their Masters, and having with them ashore and meat dressed and fodder
to serve them thirty days, they were embarked. This is the first time that ever the Roman Navy
was furnished with sailors and mariners, at the proper charges of private Citizens.

This extraordinary preparation more than usually, terrified the Campanian molt of all other, for
b) the Romans would begin war that year, with laying siege to Caput. Therefore they dis-
patched Embassadors unto Anabl, requesting him to come nearer unto Caput with his forces.

For why? at Rome there were new armies levied, for to affright that City: and the Romans were not
discontented more with the revolt of any than of them. And for him, as this mettle was de-

divered in full haste and fear, Anabl thinking it good to make speed, left the Romans prevented
him, dislodged and removed from Aspi, and encamped upon Titia over Caput, in the fort, where
he kept of old. Then, leaving the Numidians and Spaniards behind him both to guard the Camp,
and also to defend Caput, he went down with the rest of his army to the Lake Ater, pretending
in this there to sacrifice, but in very deed to sound and foll in Puteoli, and the garrison there
for to rebel. Maximus was no sooner advertised that Anabl was departed from Aspi, and in his
return to Camp was; but he journied night and day, and never stood, until he was come again,
and repaired to his army. And withall, he gave order and direction unto Gregorius, to remove
with his power from Lucera, and to draw near to Beneventum; like wise unto Q. Fabius the Pra-
tor, (who was the Conul's son) to supply the room of Gregorius at Luceria. At the same time the
two Praetors took their journey, and went into Sicily, with the army there on land and
Oblactus to keep the sea-coast, and to be defender of the Navy: and the rest spied them every one
into their several Provinces. They also who had their authority and government continued ruled
the tame countries that they did before.

Whiles Anabl abode at the Lake Avernum, there came unto him from Tarennum, five noble
young Gentleman (Roman aforesaid) which had been taken prisoners; some at the pool Tifatums,
others at (Cena), whom he had lent home in the same manner of security, as he had shewed
ever to all the Allies of the Romans, Thefe Gentleman in rememberance of his favours and benefi-
cites, made report unto him, "That they had pernawiad and induced a great part of the youth of
Tarentum, to entertain rather the amity and alliance of Anabl, than of the people of Rome:
and for this intent they were sent Embassadors from them, to request in their name, that it
might please him to come nearer with his forces to Tarennum. For by they, if they might but
once lese out from Tarennum his standard and ensigns, and himself near encamped, the City
would without delay be surrendered up into his hands. For the younger people had the com-
mons at their beck and commandment, and the commons ruled the whole State of Tarennum
at their pleasure. Anabl after he had commended and thanked them, and withheld laden them
with many fair and great promises, willed them to return home, to halten and set forward, and
effect their intendments, saying, that he would be there in good and convenient time.

With these hopes the Tarentines took their leave, and departed, Anabl himself was wonderful-
dy disposed to be Master of Tarennum. He saw it was a noble City and a wealthy, leated also by the
sea-tide, and a very commodious Port, looking and lying toward Macedonia: and well he witt
that King Philip (if he should pass over into Italy, seeing the Romans were pooreful of Bureagno-
na) would arrive at this haven. When he had performed the Sacrifice for which he thither came,
and (whiles he made his abode there) forraged all the Territory of Canuts even as far as the Cape
of the Promontory Milgynum; sedenly he turned his army and marched to Parredo, for to surprize
and give a cast do to the fort and garrison there. There were fix thousand of them within the
town: and the place not only by natural fortification strong, but also fiercely fortified by industry of
man. Anabl having besieged there three days, and assailed the fort and the garrison on every side,
feeling he could not prevail nor effect any thing, went forward from thence, and proceeded to the
waiting of the Territory of Naples, upon anger, rather than any hope of gaining the City. The
Commons of Nola, who long time were discontented with the Romans, and at deadley fewd
with their own Senators, upon his coming into the territory and confines near unto them,
begin to rise in a commotion. Whetupon there came Embassadors unto Anabl, requiring him
to advance to Nola, upon affirmed promises that the town should be delivered into his hands, But
Maccellus, who was sent unto by the Nobes presented this their plot and designd: and in one
day he reached to Suggula from Cales, notwithstanding he made some day to ferry over the river
Taurum. And the next night he went unto Nola, 6000 footmen, and 300 horse for to aid and
Q defend the Senat. And likewise the Conul behifed himself with all speed and diligence, to make
Nola, first to him aforeshore, to Anabl contrarywise temporized, being not ready now to cre-
dit the Nolans as having twice before given the like attempt, and to no purpose in the end, and
therefore he trilled the time and made small hate.

At the same time also Q. Fabius the Conul came against Cadinus, which was kept by the gar-
rition of the Carthaginians to see if he could surprize it, and to Beneventum at one time (as if they
had been so agreed) came on the one side, Hannia from the Brunti, with a great power of foot and
horse; and on another side, Graceburius from Lucanuria: who entered the town first. From whence to


soon as he heard that Hanno lay encamped within three miles of the City, by the river Coloes, and there waited the Country, he himself sallied, and pitched his tents within a mile of the enemy: where he assembled all his soldiers together, preparing to make a speech unto them. He had with him the legions that consisted most of voluntary, who already two years before had been more willing to defend their freedom in silent manner, than to challenge and demand it with open mouth. Howbeit, he perceived when he departed out of the winter harbors, that they began to mutter and grumble in the army when they marched; and to complain in this wise, Whitehead we never serve in the quality and condition of freemen. Whereupon he had written unto the Senate, and thereto added, not so much what they desired, as what they desired to make certain of, that unto that day they had done him good and valiant service: and wanted nothing but the librey: wherefore they might go for true and lawful soldiers. Whereupon the Lords of the Senate had put it unto his discretion as to do by them what he thought was expedient for the Common-weal. Thereupon, before that he should join battle with the enemy, he pronounced these words before them all, and said: *That now the time was come, of obtaining and acquiring that liberty, which so long they hoped after, for the next morrow they were to attempt their enemies with banner dilapidated, and to fight in plain and open ground, where without fear of any ambush the trial might be made with more force and true valour: Whosoever therefore can bring me the head of an enemy, him my pleasure & will is, to make free immediately, and who so loath some ground and retreateth, him will I challenge as a bondiye to be punished. Now every man hath his flate and condition lying in his own hands: and of your freedom, & not only my self will assure you, but for further warrant ye have the assurance of M. Licinius, the Col, of the Senate, and generally of all the LL. of the Council, whose whole thought and concern it was committed unto my hands the ordering of your liberty. And with all here the Consuls letters, and the decree of the Senate in that behalf. Whereat they let up a mighty cry, in token of their attendance and approbation, and called for battle, and earnestly urged to give the signal out of hand, then God that having pronounced the next day for battle, dismissed the assembly. The soldiers were joyous, especially such as were to have their freedom in reward of one day service, and bestowed the rest of that day in making their armor and weapons ready. The morrow after, to length the trumpets began to sound: they were the shift of all other that presented themselves before the General, his pavilion, well appointed and ready to fight: and by the same thing Gracchus led forth his men into the field in order of battle. The enemies for their parts were nothing behind, but forward to encounter them. They were in number eighteen thousand of footmen most of them Britons and Latinos: of horsemen, twelve hundred: among whom there were very few Italians, the rest were in manner all Numidians and Moors. The fight was sharp and continued long: and for four hours it was not seen which side had the better. No one thing else troubled the Romans more than their enemies heads, which were the prizes to redeem the soldiers liberty. For as any had killed their enemies initially they were gain'd with much ado to cut off their heads, within the troublesome press and tumult: and to lose time; and after that by reason that their right hands were employed and occupied with holding the same heads, it fell out that the best footmen gave over fighting, and the feebile dastards and fearful cowards only were to maintain the conflict. Which when the M. Marshals of the field and Colonels reported unto Gracchus: and namely that there was not a soldier of the enemies' standing that was wounded and not any more, but that they lay along were hacked and beheaded as it were by butchers: and that his own soldiers instead of swords, held their enemies heads in their hands: he commanded in all haste, that upon a signal given, they should fling away their heads from them; and charge ashe on the enemies. For their valour and prowess (as he) was well enough seen already, and evidently testified: so long as they were so hardy men and bare themselves so manfully they should not need to doubt of their liberty. Then the conflict began to be renewed: and all the horsemen charged the enemies whom the Numidians received with equal valour: infomuch as the fight of the Cavalry was as bravely performed, as the other of the Infantry: whereupon once again the victory seemed doubtful; on which part it would conclude: whereas in both hosts the Generals reproached and debated the adverse part, Gracchus said that the Britons and Latinos were to often vanquished and subdued by the Roman ancilures; and Hanno again girded on the Romans, calling them bondiyes: and footmen: let loose out of prison and houses of correction. At the last, Gracchus declared aloud, and said, They were not to hope at all for their liberty, unless that day their enemies were dishonored and put to flight. This one word of his at length set their blood in such an heat that they raised a fresh shout: & as if they had been cast again in a new mould, they charged upon the enemies so violently that they could no longer be resisted and withstood. First, they fought in the vanguard of the Carthaginians were put out of order; then they about their standards and ensigns: and last of all, the whole battle was driven back and gave ground. Whereupon they fairly turned their backs, and fled so fast one upon another into their Camp. In such fear and fright, that not so much as at the very gates, nor upon the rampier, they flaid once, and turned again to make heads: so as the Romans following them hard at the heels into their camp as it were in one in pelm mel made a new skirmish even within the rampier of their enemies. Where the fight was not so cumbersome, by reason of the frightfulness of the way wherein they were pent, but the massacre and execution was as cruel and bloody. The prisoners also that were among the enemies, in this confused conflict and tumult joyed themselves and stuck close together: and having caught some weapons, helped
A helped forward the victory: and either charging upon the backs of the Carthaginians flew them, or else hindred them in their flight and running away. So of that great army, there were not all out two thousand and the most part of them alone (that escaped with the Generals) themselves all the rest were either slain or taken prisoners: and of military enigmas were carried away forty five slaves. Of the Victors there died tial two thousand. All the . . . on this prelions, was granted to the lindians. The catell also was reserved, as many as within twenty days the right owners could justly make claim unto for their own. When they were returned both with booties and pillow into the Camp there were about 4000 of the military lindians, whom the . . . and brake not into the Camp with the rest who of ear of punishment fled.

A little hill not far from the Camp and kept it for their hold, but the motion after being set from hence by the Colonels, they repaired again into the Camp at that time as Gracchus had summoned his lindians to an assembly. Where, after that the Pro-Consul first had rewarded his old lindians with military graces, according to each one his provest and good & c. &c. in that battle; then as concerning the voluntaries, he said thus much. He had rather they were all commanded by himself good and bad, one with another than these one of them that they should take of any punishment and therefore he pronounced them all free in the name of God to the benefit, happiness, and felicity, both of Common weal and also of themselves. At which word, they lifted up their voices along with exuding cheerfulness and alacrity and one while they clipped and embraced another another in their arm, with gratulation and great joy: another white again, they held their hands toward heaven, willing and praying at the gods hands all good blessing for the people of Rome and for Gracchus especially. Their (quoth Gracchus) before that I had made you all alive, and to have equal part in the right and pride of freedom, I would not set upon any of you, either the mark of a foot or hardy lindian, or the note of a fain-hearted and badly co.

D "long as they shall continue in lindiany, they neither eat nor drink but standing upon their feet. And this punishment I am sure you will willingly take in good part, when ye shall consider better of it, and fee that you could not have an easier note of diligence and shame for your false hearts and flender service. Then he gave the signal to tralls up bag and baggage, and founded the remove, and to diflodged: and thus the lindians carrying and driving before them their booties all the way disporing themselves to merly and joy and, returned to Beneventum as if they had come from some great dinner upon a solemn and festive day, and not from lighting a bony batt.

All the people of Beneventum came forth in great numbers to meet them at the gates, welcomed the lindians bad them joy, embraced them and invited them to their houses to give them entertainment and lodging. The board were spread in every mans court-yard, and furnished with more of stands they willed them to come and make merry with them: and requested Gracchus to give his lindians leave to feast and make good cheer. And Gracchus was content, but upon this condition, that they should all eat their meals abroad in the open street. Then all things were laid forth, and set upon the tables at every mans door. The voluntaries took their repast and rejection either with their caps on their heads, or else covered their crown with white wooll, some sitting some standing sitting and leaning one another at the table, and eat their meat and led with them together. This was such a worthy fight and solemnity that Gracchus after he was returned to Rome, caused the representation and semblance of the celebration of this day, to be drawn and portrayed in colours and the picture to remain in the Temple of the goddes Isberr, which his father caused to be built in the mount, Aventine, of certain lines and forties and afterwards there dedicated it.

Whiles these matters thus pasted at Beneventum, Annibald having spoild and harried the territory about Nepet, removed toward Nola, and there encamped before the town. Whom when the Consul understood to be coming, he sent for Pompey the Pro-Prator, together with that army which lay encamped above above Sestulae and provided to meet with the enemy, minding presently to bid him battell. He sent out Claudius Nero with the strength of his horsemens in the dead time of the night at a back gate, that was farther from the enemy, giving him in charge to sit about close by and in the camps and in sight and to follow the enemy, as he matched: and when he perceived the battell was begun, then to come forward and set upon him behind on his back. But whether it were that Nero muffled of the way, or having not time enough, could not put this policy in execution, I know not. In his abiem the armies joyed battell, wherein no doubt the Romans had the better hand. Howbeit, (for default that the horsemens were not there in due time of the order of the direction failed and took no effect). And notwithstanding that the enemies gave ground and retreated, yet Marcellus did not follow them upon them, but found the retreat to his own men being in a good way of victory. Yet were there by report above 3000 of the enemies slain that day, but of Romans under 400. And the about the ten fet, Nerone who all the day and night past had tired horse and men, and done no good and now returned, without so much as a fight of the enemy, was sharply rebuked of the Col. Infanmoch, that he gave him this
check to choose him. That it was long of him and none else, that they had not cried quittance of all, with the enemy, for the overthrow & loss received at Cannæ. The day following Marcellus came down again into the field, ready to give battle. But Annibal, as one that secretly confessed himself to be overcome, held himself close within the strength of his Camp. And on the third day, giving over all hope to get Nola, (an enterprise that never sped well) he departed in the still time of the night toward Truentum, upon a better and more allured hope to gain it by treason.

The civil affairs at Rome were managed with no less courage at home, than the wars in the field abroad. For the Seniors who by reason that the City treasured low, were eald of their care of setting out the public works of the City by the great and having nothing else to do, employed themselves in reformation of mens manners and chaffing of vices and enormities, which were upon war: like as mens bodies, which by long and lingring sicknesses grown weak, ever and anon breed new disaies. And first they convented before them those Citizens, who after the battle at Cannæ were reported minded and disposed to leave the Common-wealth, and to depart out of Italy. The ring-leader of them all was L. Cecilius Metellus, who hapned then to be Treaurer of the City. He, with the rest of that true who were culpable in the same crime, were commanded to make their answer and plead their cases; but when they were not able to clear and quiet themselves, the Seniors charged them openly, that they had given out certain words, and made speeches against the State, tending to a sedition and conspiracy, for to abandon Italy. Next after them were cited to appear those coming and crafty companions above said, who with their over-sufficient interpretation and confuting of words, would seem to avoid their oath: those captives, I mean, K who being on their way to Rome, came back secretly into the Camp of Annibal, and took themselves freed and disbursted, because they had sworn to return again. But these and the others afore rehearsed, as many as served upon the City horses, had their horses taken from them, were disbursted out of their Tribes, and condemned all to lose their voices, and to serve without City pay. Neither were the Seniors careful to correct the Senate and reform the degree of the Knights only, but also they proceeded to take out of the public checkroll of the younger Citizens, the names of all those who for four yeare space had not served in wars, as many, I say them, as could not justly plead and alledge, either ordinary immunity by law, or tickets for their excuse. And of these there were found guilty above two thousand, who were awarded to be executed, and all of them to be removed out of their trice. And besides this shameful disgrace and note of ignominy awarded by the Commons, there passed a heavy decree of the Senate against them, to wit. That all they whom the Commons had thus reproved and noted should be bound to serve on foot in the wars, and be confined and sent over into Sicily, to the reliefe there of the army that remained at Cannæ, and no other time of service and warre was limited unto this sort of the fouldiers, but until the enemie were driven clean out of Italy.

Whilesthe Seniors, as it was aforesaid, upon occasion that the Cities flock was so decayed, gave over and forbade to bargain for the repairing and maintainence of the Churches and holy Temples, and for the finding and provision of charitie horses for the State and such like; there reformed unto them a great number of those that were wont at the spaire to take those bargains at their hands by the great, and for a gross sum of money: who ephorted the Seniors to deal in those matters still and to let, and enter into bargain with them, as if the City Chamber wanted no money: making this offer that none of them all would demand payment out of the common Chells, before the wars were fully ended.

Then repaired unto the Seniors the Masters of those bondmen whom T. Sempronius had manumitted and let them at reverence buying, that they were lent by the Tempirs, out of the office of the Bankers, called Mercari, to receive again their monies, according as they prised and valued their slaves showeth; they would not, before the war was finished. And as the hearts of the Commons were thus inscrutably affected, to inflame and support the poverty of the treasurers' houses; to the loss of money that belonged first to Orphans, and afterwards to widows, begun now to be bestowed in the Chamber of the City: and they that preferred and brought in those money, believed alwaye, that they could not lay them up more fine and safe, than in the publick cite and credit of the State, and whatsoever of those disks was disbursed and drained, for to buy and provide any thing for the Orphans or widows aforesaid, the restors kept a book thereof, and noted it down in a register. This kindness and benevolence of private persons unto their country, extended it also from the City, even as far as to the Camp: in which, that neither horsemanship nor Cenrution would take their wages but rebufe and rate them, that could find in their hearts to receive their pay terming them no better than mercenaries and hirelings.

Now Q. Fabius the Consul lay in Camp before Caesarian, which City was kept with a garrison of two thousand Campans, and even hundred of Annibals soldiers. They had for their Captain and Commander, one Quintus Marcellus, lent thither by Qn. Magnus Atellanus, who for that year was Mediator of Capua. He put the bonds and Commons in arms, intermingling one with another; for to enter upon the Camp of the Romans, whiles the Consul was busy in alluring Caesarian. Fabius was nothing ignorant of all these things, and therefore he sent unto Nola to his Collegen there, signifying unto him, that there was need of a second army to make head against the Campans, whiles the other was employed about the alluirt of Caesarian: and telling him besides, that either he must himself come in person, leaving a mean garrison behind him at Nola, or else if he might not be spared from thence, for fear of danger from Annibal.
And Marcellus, having left in Nola a guard of two thousand soldiers, with the rest of his forces, presented himself before Capua; upon whose coming, the Campanians who were ready to betray the island, shred themselves and were quiet. So both Consuls together jointly began to attack Capua: where the Roman soldiers that rashly came under the walls received much hurt: and Fabius seeing little good done, judged it best to encamp and give over the enterprise, being a lover of small conflagrations, and never believeth very dangerous and to depart from there, being there was business toward of great advantage. But Marcellus constraint was of opinion and said, that as there were many things which great warriors were not at attempt to, if they were on the

B taken in hand and the adventure given they were not lightly; to be given over and laid aside; for as much as in it lay matter of great concordence, for fame and reputation, both ways: and so prevailed, that the enterprise was not neglected and abandoned. Whereupon there were mantlets and all other kinds of fabrics and engines of batterie and suicide, but against the City; to as the Campanians besought Fabius, that they might depart to Capua in safety. And when some few were gone forth, Marcellus pollied himself of that gate where out they went: and then they fell to kill and lay one with another; first about the gate: and after they had killed one another, they put like execution those also within the City. Fifty there were or the cabals of the Campanians that first got out of the town, and fled for mercy to Fabius: and they by his guard and safe conduct arrived at Capua. But see Caefalon, through the lingering labours of the inhabitants that creed him.

C protection was by advantage taken of their long paciety, and temporizing, won by the enemies. The captives so many as were either Campanians or Annibals, this soldiers were led to Rome, and there clapt up fast in prisons. But the multitude of the townmen were distributed into a hundred cities aboutjoying, and there keep in ward.

At the very same time that the Consuls after their conquest, retired from Caefalon, Gracchus being in the country of the Lucans and having gathered and enrolled a certain number and companies of soldiers out of those parts, went them out of foraging, under the conduct of a Captain of Allies, into the territories of the enemies. How he contrived them in they ranged into sitting wise out of order, and let upon them, and paid his enemies again with the indecency and lies, or not much less than that which he had received at Beneventum: and in great haste withdrew himself into the country of the Britons; for the fear lest Gracchus should overtake him.

The Consul Marcellus returned back to Nola, from whom he came and Fabius went forward into Sannio, to spoil and waste the country and to recover by force of arms the cities which had revolted. The Samnites about Caefalon were pitifully and grievously discomfited: their villages in all places set on fire, their fields laid waste and destroyed, and great booties both of cattle and people driven away. Six towns forced by assault, namely, Campitera, Tifea, Caffi, Meda, Inuvia, and Orbitarium. In the Lucan country, the town of Inuia; and in Apulia, the City of Aene was assaulted. In these towns and Cities, there were taken prisoners and slain 25000 of the enemies: of fugitives and runagate traitors there were recovered 370, whom the Consul sent home again to Rome, and being thereto come, they were all beaten and scourged with rods in the Comitium, and then pitched down headlong to the earth, from the rock Torga. These exploits were achieved by Q. Fabius, within the compass of a few days. But Marcellus by occasion that he lay sick at Nola, was hindered from performing any feats of arms. The Praetor likewise Q. Fabius, who had the charge and jurisdiction of the province about Locera, won by force about the same time the town Aequus, and fortified a standing camp planted before Ardea.

While the Romans were thus employed about these affairs in divers other places, Annibal was come unto Tarentum, to the exceeding great damage and decrement of all places where he journeyed: but being once arrived in the territory of Tarentum, he began to march and lead his army most peaceably. There he did no harm at all, made no his; rather once went out of the high way. And it was evidently seen that all this was done not upon any modesty that appeared either in forlorn or Captain, but only to win unto him the hearts of the Tarentines. But when he approached the walls of the City, and law no connection, nor interruption from hence upon the discovery of his Vanguard, as he thought he should, he pitched his Camp almost a mile from the town. Now had Tit. Petronius the Vic. Praetor, who was Admiral of the Fleet at Brundibum, and T. Petronius his Lieutenant unto Tarentum, three days before that Annibals threw himself before the walls. He had minded and enclosed the flower of the Nobility, and to bestowed at every gate, and about the walls where need required, good guards for defence: with such vigilant diligence both day and night, that he gave no opportunity and advantage either to the enemies to advance any assault, or to the doubtful and unruly friends to practice any treason. Now Annibal, having spent there certain days in vain, and seeing none of them who repaired unto him at the lake; Avernius either to come themselves, or to send messengers or letters: and perceiving now that he had rashly and foolishly followed vain promises, so he was dejected;lodged and removed from thence. And even then also he spared the territory of Tarentum, and did not hurt at all; and albeit his faine and counterfeited army and mildness his hitherto took no effect: yet he hoped still thereby to corrupt their faithful allegiance to the Romans: and so he went to Salapia. And by reason that midsummer was past, and he liked well of that place for a winter harbour he conveyed thither all the corn out of the Territory of Metapontum.
and Her. Then he sent out the Numidians and Moors, to fetch booties and prizes from out of the Sahara country, and all the woods andastes next unto Apulia, from whence they drove of other cattell small ftores: but of horses especially they brought away great numbers, of which there were four thousand divided among the horsemen to be handled, broken, and made gentle.

The Romans seeing there was likely to be war in Sicily & the same not lightly to be regarded: & that the death of the Tyrant there, either gave the Syracusians good Captains, than wrought any change in their minds: alteration in the case: aligned unto M.Marcellus, one of the Coins, that I.rose, no. to govern. Frequently upon the murder of Heronynus first the fouldiers in the Leontin country, began to mutine and make an uprore, and boldly spake and said, That the Kings death should be espurte, and his oblogeies solemnized with sacrificing the blood of conspirators. But after wards, when they heard often iterated the sweer name of liberty and freedom restored unto them, and that there was good hope that the fouldiers should have a larges deal amongst them out of the Kings Treasure, and be under the command of Captains of better quality, and having besides all this, a bedroll reterned unto them of the Tyrant his cruelty and foul fact, and of mofecibity and loudsome left their affections were to altered that they suffered the body of their King to lie above ground entombed, whom a little before, they fo greatly desired and wished for, Now as concerning the conspirators, whiles the rest of them remained behind to assure and molest themselves of the army, Thedecmus and Soft took the Kings horses and rode poll, as hard as ever they could to Syracuse; for to purprize upon a sudden all his followers and favorites (who knew nothing of that which was done) and fall upon them at unsawres: but they were prevented not only by the fame (which above all other things in such cases is most fwiwis) but also by a courier one of the Kings servents, Whereupon Aemecdorus had feit beforehand of that part of the City which is called the Island, together with the Cattile and all other places that he could come at which were thought of any good importance: and them he fortified with good guards. Thedecmus and Soft being entered within the City at *Hecypus after fun-setting, in the twy, light, and flushing in of the evening and subing in the Kings royal robes allembred with blood, and the ornamentes and attire likewise of his head, he passt through This, and called aloud unto the people to rite all at once for their liberty and to arm them selves, and willed them to repair into Acradia. The people some of them ran out into the streets, others flowed in their entites and porches, that lay looked out of the windows fohn from within their hontes, and asked what the matter might be. Every place flown with terror and charter-light, and was filled with horrid garbols and horrid burlies, As many as were in same gathered together in the open places of the Citythere that were remand took down off the Temple of jep, Olimpia the spoiles of the Gauls and the Illyrians, which the people of Rome had given a present to K. Her as and which he let aloft for a memorabli playng uppo jepier that he would conciliale them this gracious fave, as to beftow those fared weapons & armes upon them that meant to arm themselves with, for the defence of their country, for the maintenance of the Churches and shrines of the gods, & for the recovery of their liberty. This multitude also joyned with the corps de gards that in the principal quarters of the City were belowed in places convenient, But Aemecdorus amongst other places that he fortified made alio all with strongguards of armed men the publice garrisons of the City within the Island. There was a place emciild round about with four-square stone, and built strongly like a fortress: this was possified by the youth that had been appointed for to guard and defend that quarter: and they set messengers into Acradia to signifie that the gattlers and the corn were kept by them to the behoof of the Sanc, and on the morrow at the break of day, the whole people as well armed as unarmed assembled together in Acradia within the Palace, And there before the altar of Concordia which in that place flood erected, one of the principal and chief Citizens, named Pheodes, made an Oration unto them all, with franks of speech enough, tending unto liberty, and enriched with modelly & moderation in this wise: Men, quoth he, that have exchange of others in all others and other indiginities, fall to abase the fame, and their flomacks likewise against them as known is, as for servile discord, what calamities & miseries it bringeth with them, the Citizens of Syracuse, have heard their fathers tell and not seen and tasted them selves. That ye have been ready to take up arms and weapons in hand I commend you for it: but I would then you more think, if we used them not, misely ye be driven thereto by extrem necessity. For the present I hold it good, and my counsel is, that Embassadors be sent unto Aemecdorus, to intimate unto him, yes and to require and charge him, to submit him self to the Sanc and people by and to be ordered to let open the gates of the Island, to put away from about him his guard, and deliver up the cattile and garrison. But in case he intend under the pretence of being guardan or protector to the kingdom of another, thereby to miup it to his own use; hemust be given to understand, by mine advice that we will seek to recover our liberty out of the hands of Aemecdorus more fiercely and forcibly than from Heronynus. And to prefectly upon this assembly embassadors were sent. Then the Sanat went together and sat in Councilhouse, as during the reign of Hiero, there was set an ordinary publice Council of State: so after his death unto that day, the Senors were neither called together, nor their advice taken of forught in any matter. When the Embassadors were come unto Aemecdorus and had delivered their message he was him self (verily) for his own part moved with the general content of the Citizens: but especially when he considered, that among other quarters of the City possified by the ad-
The four and twentieth Book of T. Livius

A vere fide, that one part alfo of the Island which was the strongeft, was barried (as it were) and held out against him. But when the Embassadors called still upon him to come forth, his wife Demarata, daughter of King Hiero, puffed up still with the proud mind and naughtv Romack of a Prince, and full of the vain humour and spirit of a woman, put him in mind of a laying, that Denis the Tyrant had evermore in his mouth; namely, "That a man should not ride on horseback to be deposed from his royal dignity and estate of tyranny, but be led fair and softly a foot pace, and go to that as a bear to the stake. An easie matter (quoth he,) it is to one to yield and forgo the possession of high place and honour, and thing that may be done in the turning of an hand, whenever one will: but to compass and attain thereto is a right hard matter, and of all others most difficult. You were better therefore to borrow some reftit of time of the Embassadors, for to take further deliberation of this main point and in the mean while, to trie the advantage thereof, to fend for the Souldiers out of the Leontin country: unto whom, no doubt, if you would promise a reward out of the Princes treasure, you shall have the whole matter. This prillious unhappy counsel of a woman Anchimedes neither despifed and rejected: together not yet presently accepted and embraced; supposing it a better and safer course, if he meant to aspire unto high dignity and great pruifance, for the present to temporize and give place unto the, efficacy of the time. And therefore he willed them to carry back unto the Senet this answer from him, That he submitted himself, and would be ordered & fet down by the Senat and the people. The morrow after, no loon as it was day-light, he caufed the gates of the Island to be fet open, and let himself forth. In the market-place of Acredina, where he allended up unto the altar of Concord from which the day before, Polyneus had made a Speech, he came to the people, He began his Oration with an excuse of his late coming and long stay behind, and craved pardon the cierctrelding. That he had kept the gates shut not because he meant to separate his own affairs from the State, and not to take such part as the City took: but when words were once drawn he feared what would be the end and issue of murders and massacres, and whether men would lay their hands, when there was an affurance of liberty effected (as being contented with the death only of the Tyrant,) for whether, as many as either in blood and kin, or in affinity and alliance, or in other offce or service, were toward the K. and his Court, should be counted culpable in the taint of another & to like the wife have their threats out. For after that (quoth he) I understand once, that they who had deferved and let free their country and minded and willing to face & preserve it, turn enfranchi

C as not committing on hands indifferently, for the good of the State. I made no longer doubt of the matter, but to yield both mine own person and also all that was under my hand (as committed unto me upon truft and fidelity) unto my native country: now that he who put all into my hand, is through his own folly & outrage overthrown and broug to con-fusion. Then turning to the murderer of the tyrant, and by name calling unto Anchimedes and Ser-

A noble and memorable piece of service ye have already done, (quoth he,) but trust me truly, your glory in this behalf is begun only, and not throughly finifhed and performed: nay, a great danger is yet behind, unless ye fee to the general concord and unity of all parts, that the com-

E mon liberty of the City, turn not into pride and insolency beyond all measure,

Hippocrates and Epizetes, when tidings came of the Tyrants death (which Hippocrates would fain have had concealed and therefore flew the messenger that brought news thereof) being for-faken of the founders, returned to Syracusa, supposing for the present, that to be the fuc-

G as unto a friend and confederate, and had yielded obedience unto him, as they were wil

The Oration of Anchimedes.
put this their desire in execution as they should have done. For in the mean season, those young and rambunctious men and such as ever had converted with the foilders, went up and down, one while to them, another whiles to the fugitive strangers that were revolted; (who for the most part were sailors and sea men that came from the Romans) yea, and forced themselves with the base and most abject persons of the Commons, spreading tales, and whispering into their ears lurid insinuations of matters of crime against the Senators and great men of the Nobility, saying, that they plotted and practiced closely under hand nothing else, but that Syra, under a colour of reconciliation and accord, should be reduced to the obedience of the Romans: and then, the side and faction, and some few with them that are of council to renew the association, might be Lords, and tyrannize over the rest. By this means there flocked multitudes, every day more than other to Syra, that whole car were thicketed, and thicketed still to hear such tumefaction, and were apt enough to give credit thereto. And they gave not only the Hippocrates and Epicles, but Andrognorus, also a good hope of an alteration, and a new order. For he being at length overcome with the importunate entreaties of his wife, who ever put into his head, That now was the only time to surpris and take upon him the rule of the State, whilsts all things were troubled, and in confusion, upon their new and unknown liberty; whilsts the foilders were presented in their way, to be dealt withal, and daily maintained and led out of the Kings Exequaries when those captains sent from Annibals, by reason of their acquaintance with the foilders, were present to attest, and further their delignments first therefore acquainted Themistius, who had married Geo, his daughter, with his consent, and after a few days (full unadvisedly) imparted his mind also, unto one Arisban, an Actor of Tragedies, whom he used about, to make play unto his other feizes. This Arisban was well born and of a worthiful house, a man in good place and of honest reputation; and his profession (for among the Greeks it is reputed no matter of blame to play either in Tragedies or Comedies) was no blot either to his birth, or disgrace to his calling; and therefore as one who made more reckoning of his duty to his country, than of private friendship, betrayed & did dilate all the treachery of the Pratros. Who finding by good provers and certain evidences, that this was no forged and counterfeit information, after consultation had with the Ancients of the Council, by their warrant and direction, let a guard of armed men about the door of the Senate House, and to loom as Themistius and Andrognorus were enter our, they flew out grief thereunto. And when there began some uprore upon this fact, which in them seemed very horrid and horrid, (especially to all the rest that knew not the case) at length they appeal the tumult and ceased silence, and brought the informer into the Council-House, that had deted the intended treason: who declared all things orderly in particular, namely, that this conspiracy was devised and sprung from the marriage of Hermon, the daughter of Geo., who was wedded into Themistius; that divers auxiliary foilders of Africans and Spaniards were appointed, and provided to assassinate the Pratros, and other principal Civilians: that their goods were promis unto the murderers to be ransacked and riddled; that besides there was a band of mercenary foilders, th as were wont to be at work, and ready to execute the commandment of Andrognorus, let in a readiness to seize the Island again, and keep it to his use. And when he had laid every thing abroad in order, with all circumstances, what the practices were, and by whom they were to be performed and executed, and viewed before their eyes most plainly the whole conspiracy, and namely, what person and what forces should have been employed. Then the whole body of the Senate were likewise verily persuaded that they had deserved such an end, and were unjustly murdered as Hermon. But without the Council-House door the confudued multitude, composed of a fettis of people, who were doubtfull of the matter; and knew not what to make thereof, cried out. And albeit they menaced and threatened before the entry and porch of the Senate, yet at the sight of the dead bodies of the Conspirators, lying before their face, they were affrighted and soon hustled to as with great silence they followed the whole body of the Commons to the public place of assembly, whereunto, by order from the Senate, and his fellow Pratros, was commanded to make an Oration.

He began formally to inveigh against Andrognorus and Themistius, (as they that accuse men at the bar,) and rapped up their former base part, charging them with all the wicked deeds and impious facts, committed since the death of Hiero: "For what (quot he) did Hieronymus, or what could he do of himself, so long as he was but a child and tender, and scarcely come all the while he lived to have any hair on his face? His officers and guardians, were they that ruled all and managed the kingdom at their pleasures, but to, as the blame and heavy load lay upon him. Who if he had forfeited either before Hieronymus, or at least his life together with him, he had been but well enough served. But they, who long ago had deferred to die, and whom the galows had already groaned, cast not still after the death of the tyrant, to devise and plot new mischief one in the neck of another. At the first, openly in the sight of the world, Andrognorus by flutting the gates of the Island, entred by way of inheritance upon the kingdom, and sought to seize in his own right, and immediate heir apparent, upon those things that he held under the Prince, only during his homage. Afterwards being betrayed by them that were in the Island, and beleaguered round about by the whole City (which was possessed fully of the Acedem) feeling that in vain he had attempted to be king by spelt and open force: he fought means now to aspire thereto secretly, and by cunning flights. Neither could he be so much as exclaimed and won by any favours and honours done unto him: who being himself a traitor to the free..."
At these words, the people from all parts of the assembly began to cry out with one voice, that neither of them both were worthy to live, nor any one besides of the Kings stock and lineage ought to remain upon the face of the earth, See the nature and disposition of the multitude: Either they serve falsely, or rule prudently. Liberty that is the mean between, they have neither the skill to deserve reason, or the grace to entertain in measure. Now, there, wanted not (ye may be sure, as at all times else) ready instruments and firebrands, to help forward and kindle more anger, such, as hearing the Commoners didtemper already and, bloudly minded of themselves; before in manner that it was all read out and published, it pulset clear, and was granted. And presently there were sent out certain persons from the Praetors, that murdered Democrat and Heroma the daughters of King Hero and Geb, the two wives of Anderoninus and Themistius. Now there was another daughter of Hero, named Hersale, wife to Soppeus, who having been sent as Embassador from Hero to Probus, chose a life in voluntary exile, and lived not with his wife. She having an inklings given her aforehand and knowing that the murderers were coming astro toward her, took her two daughters, servants and together, with her hair loose hanging down their shoulders, and in most other poor array and rufflable habit able to have moved pity and compassion, they were fled into a private Oratory or Chappell unto their house-gods, to save themselves. The mother seeing the murderers fell to entreat them mutt pitifully, and recommended unto them the late remembrance of her father Hero, and her brother Geb: "Be exceeding upon that was born unto her that Hero at the time of Heromnas, as for me (quoth she) I cared no good by his Reign and Kingdom, unless it were the banishment and silence of my husband; and as by the life of Heromnas my fortune was not so good as my fathers; so after he was murdered and dead, my care is not to bad, nor like unto hers. Moreover, and besides in case Anderoninus had effected his deigizations, my father should have been a Queen, and reigned together with his wife; but as for me, I muight have been a subject and servant with the like. Again, if there were any meelfnger sent unto Soppeus to report the death of Heromnas, and the restitution of Syracuse to liberty, who can make doubt, but that forthwith he would be embascular and take the fees, and return again into his country? But how much the men put besides their hope, and deceived of their expectation? And who would ever have thought to have seen in a steele plate his wife and children in danger to lose their lives? For wherein do we hinder the common liberty, or the coute of laws? What danger can come to any person from us one delicate woman, and in manner a widow, and two young maidens living as Orphans in-their? And it be laid again that there was indeed no fear of hurt to be imagined from us: B. but only the Kings blood and kindred was odious in the eyes of the people: Then, quoth she, let us be sent away far from Syracuse and Sicily, and confined over to Alexandria, the wife to her husband, the daughters to their own father. But when they would neither give ear to her words or encline their hearts to pity and compassion: then became she would not spend longer time in vain (for now the first of them drawing their swords forth) the gave over all entreating for her self, and befought them instantly to be good yet, to the young ingenies, and spare their lives, unto whom of that age, even in the very enemies in their heart of anger for to bear violence: and that seeing they were to be revenged of tyrants they would not play the tyrants themselves, and commit that wickedness, which they seemed to hate in others. A. midst these words the murderers (sent from the Praetors) pulled her forth of the inward and most secret place of the chappell and other throat: and when they had done, they stifled and fell upon the maidens behiure with the blend of their mouth who for sorrow of heart and fear together were paling themselves and out of their wits and as it were in a furies fit of frenzy, with them, and get out of the Chappells minding, if they could have escaped forth, and recovered the street to let the whole City on an uprore. And to shifted for themselves poor wrenches by running to and fro within the house, (which was not large and spacious) that so a good while they escaped amongst the thickest of so many armed men, and oftentimes avoided their reachers, and caught no hurt: but, and when they had caught hold of them, not withstanding they were to struggle with so many hands, and that to strong, yet they wound away from them all until at length after they had received many wounds, and filled every place with blood, they fainted and sank down, and yeeded up their innocent spirits. This murder indeed, was of so ill a pittance; but much more lamentable, by occasion of a present accident. For straight after came a meelfnger with express commendation, to spare the women, and not to kill them: for that upon a sudden the hearts of the people relented, and entombed to mercy. But when they heard there was so quick dispatch made of execution, that neither they had time to betinkle themselves and repent, nor space to cool upon their heart, they fell pike and compassion into an extrem fit of anger and choler, The multitude thereupon began to mutter and murmur, and cried to have an election of Praetors in the room of Anderoninus and Themistius (for they were both of them Praetors) which new
new election was not like to fall out in the event to the good liking and contentment of the other弘
Prato's in place. So a day was set down, and proclaimed for this election. At which time it hap-
pned that beyond all mens expectation, one from the farthest part of the assembly nominated Ep-
ides: and then another from thence named Hisperates. After which the same voices came thick
and threefold still, so as it seemed the multitude would wholly go that way. The people there as-
templed, were a confused fort intermingled, as well with a number of soldiers, as of a company
of Citizens and Commoners; ye. and many of them were strangers fugitive, shuffled among,
such as rather than their life desired a general change and iteration. The Prato's at first disem-
bled all, and would seem to take no knowledge thereof: but thought it bett to put off the matter
to a farther day: yet overcome at all with the common accord and content of the people: and I
withal with a mutiny and sedition pronounced and declared the men aforesaid for Prato's,
Neither would they at first hand to know as they were created, let that abroach which was in their
mind and desire to effect notwithstanding they were displeased and disconsol'd much both for
that there had been Embassadors dispatched unto Appius Claudius, about a truce for ten days: and
also when it was obtained that there were others addrest to treat for the renewing of the ancien
league with the Romans.

At the same time (Ap. Claudius the Roman General lay at Mugron with an Armada of 100
galleys, waiting there to hear what was the event of the troubles which arose upon the murder
of the tyrants: and how far forth men would proceed upon this their new and unwonted liber-
ty. And much about those days, when as the Syracusan Embassadors were sent from Appius unto K
Amerin now coming into Sicily, Amerin himself after he heard the conditions of peace,
thought they would grow to some good agreement and conclusion in the end: and therefore sent
other Embassadors to Syracuse, personally to debate and confer in the presence of the Prato's,
concerning the renewing of the League aforesaid. But by that time, they found not the City in
the same quiet time and peace as before. For Hieron and Epeides, after news came that the
Carthaginian Navy was arrived and rid at anchor under the bay of * Agedus, without, and
without all fear buzzed in the ears one while of the mercenary soldiers, another while of the
fugitive triters many tattle families against their brethren in Cith and namely, that they went
about to betray Syracusa to the Romans. But Appius began to keep his Armada at anchor in
the very mouth of the sea, letting know what heart and hope they of the contrary faction had,
L at least that which they intended. Much credit was given (as it should seem) unto those flanders
and lewd suggestions: whom as at the first the multitude ran to the waters side in a great hur-
ty and tumultuous manner to hinder their landing: as happily they attempted it. In this toubleome
continuation of all things, it was thought good, that the people should meet together to deliberate
what was best to be done. In which assembly, whils some drew one way, others haled and pulled
another way and were at the point to mutiny and grow to a sedition. Apollonides, one of the prin-
cipalls and chief Citizens, made a speech to very good purpose for preservation of the publick
peace, and thus he said: * Never was there any City nearer, either to hope of allured safety, or to
fear of utter defillation than this of ours at this present. For if all would go one way together,
and with one accord either encline to the Romans, or bend to the Carthaginians, there were
not a City under the cope of heaven, whose tale were more happy and unfortunate then ours,
But in case we were distracted, and the Common-wealth go divers ways, there would not be more
hitter and cruel war between the Syracusians and the Romans, than among the Syracusians
themselves: when within one and the same walls there should be banding one against another,
and each have their forces, their armor, and their Captains of their own. And therefore
we ought of all hands to consider what we can do that all may be of one mind and draw in the
same line. As for the main point now in question, Whether society and allience be the better
and more commodions, the Romans or the Carthaginians, is a matter of far less moment and
important than to be confin'd and fixed long upon. Howbeit in choosing our friends and
allies, we are to be directed by the authority and set of Hieros, rather than of Hieron's; and N
not to prefer that enemy which we have tried for fifty years in much felicity, above a friendship for
the present unknown, and sometime hereafter found unfruitful. It maketh somewhat also, to
resolve upon this course, that in case we should deny peace and allience to the Carthaginians,
we need not presently go to war with them; but with the Romans we must out of hand make
an account either of peace or of hot wars. This speech of his the leis that it favoured of last
onspiration and affiction, the more authority and iway it carried with it. And besides the de-
liberation of the Prato's and choice Senators, the advice also of the martial men were taken. And
therefore the Captains of all their own enigns and companies, ye. and the great Commanders of
the auxiliary forces of their allies were willing to sit in Council together with them. When the
matter had been often debated, and much contention and hot words passed between, at the last
became there appeared no colourable reason or cause to make war with the Romans, they agreed
that a peace should be concluded, and that together with their Embassadors, there should be ot-
thers alo from them to ratifie and confirm the thing.

There replied not many days between, when out of the Levantine country there arrived cer-
tain Orators, to crave help and succour for the guard and defence of their matches. This Em-
ballge seemed to come very fitting and in good time, for to exonerate and rid the City of the um-
fully and disordered multitude, & likewise to send out of the way their Captains and ringleaders.

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* Plato. Euro,
* Socrates,
based on Conf. Cato,
* Pappus.
The four and twentieth Book of T. Livius. 427

So HIPPocrates, the Praetor was commanded to lead thither the fugitive strangers. Many also of the mercenary soldiers, that were waged to help them in their wars, accompanied them: so as in all, the number amounted to four thousand. This expedition and journey contained greatly as well the lenders and letters of it out, as also the parties themselves that were sent forth. For the one side had a good occasion and opportunity now offered them, to contrive a change in State (the only thing that so long they had desired) and of the other were right glad, that the ink (as it were) of the City was now well tourn and voided away. But this was like the palliative cure of a fire, and a lightning for the present of a sick body: whereby it might soon after by relapse fall back, as it were, into a recidive, and a worse dicease and more dangerous than the other. For HIPPOCRATES began at first to make rodes by Health into the confines bordering upon the Roman Province, and there to waife and spoil afterwards when Appius had sent a power of men to defend the frontiers of his conquerers, he charged with his whole power upon that guard that was opposed against him, and slew many of them. Whereof, when MERCENIUS was advertised, he dispatched Embassadors incontinent to SYRACUSE, to charge them with the breach of peace: and to give them to understand, that there would never be wanting him occasion or other of quarrel and war, unless HIPPOCRATES and EPEIDES were removed, and sent far enough out of the way, not only from SYRACUSE, but also quite out of Sicily. EPEIDES for his lost if he remained present in the City he might be charged and brought in question, for the taint and treasons of his brother absent or be wanting for his part, in the raising of new war: went himself also in person into the Leontins country: and seeing them there forward enough of themselves, and provoked already against the Romans, began also to alienate and turn their hearts from SYRACUSE. For in these terms he suggested and informed against the Syracusans, namely, "how they had capitulated with the Romans, that all the Cities and Nations which were under the Kings, should be subject unto them and within their jurisdiction: to as now they cannot be content (quoth he) with their liberty, unless they rule also like Lords and Kings. I would advise and counsel you therefore, to lend word unto them and give them to understand, that the Leontins likewise deem it good reason, that they should themselves be free: in regard ther that the tyrant was killed within the ground of their City, or because the first alarm for liberty began there. For they leaving and abandoning the Captains there that followed the King ran at once from thence to SYRACUSE. And therefore they are (faith he) so rare that sorest find article out of the infringement of the covenants, or not to accept at all with that condition. Soon were the multitude periowed hereunto, and therefore when the Embassadors of the Syracusans came to the Leontins both to make complaint for killing of the Roman Corps de guerre, and so to command peremptorily that HIPPOCRATES and EPEIDES should depart either to Locri, or to what other place they would rather chuse, so they went their ways and avoided clear out of Sicily: they returned unto them this stout answer again: that neither the Syracusanians had any commination and warrant from them, to make peace with the Romans in their name, neither would they be tied and obliged to any confederacy made by others than their own selves. This answer the Syracusanians made report of to the Romans, and laid plainly, "That the Leontins were not under their jurisdiction, to be ordered and Enlivened by them: therefore, anything committed in the league with them notwithstanding, the Romans might war against them without breach of any covenant: and in that war they would not for their parts fail them, but do their best in condition that when they were once subdued, they might be reduced again under their obedience, according to the covenant comprehended in the League. Whereupon MERCENIUS with his whole power went forth against the Leontins, and sent for APPius also, to affill them on the other side: and so hot were his fouldiers in this service, and bare themselves to revenge for anger that the guard was slain, during the time that there was treaty of peace between that at the very first affult they won the City, HIPPOCRATES and EPEIDES after they saw the wall fell and the gates of the City broken open, betook themselves for their safety, with some few into the Cattle, from whence by night they made a fierce escape, and fled to HERSEBAS.

As the Syracusanians marched from home with a power of eight thousand armed men, and were come forward, as far as to the river ITLA, they met with a messenger, who told them that the City Leontins was forced. They reported other news besides, as well lies as truths, one with another, namely, that townsmen and soldiers indifferently without respect were put to the sword: that he thought verily there was not left one alive of fourteen years of age and upwards that the City was put to the fack, and all the rich mens goods were given away. At this to hearful and horribile news, the army shaid and went not forward. And when they all were greatly troubled, their Leaders SOFAIS and DOMENESIS, consulted what to do. This loud lie arose not upon nothing, but was occasioned by mistraking of a matter. For there were certain fugitive traitors to the number of two thousand. But of Leontins and other soldiers, there was not one hurt after the City was lost. And every man had all his own goods restored unto him again: having that only which in the first hurlyburly of a City newly won happeed to militarry and perish. Howbeit upon this bare report, they neither could be induced to go forward to the Leontins, complaining and grieving that their fellow fouldiers were so besayed and murdered nor yet to abide therestill for to expect and hear more certain tidings. The Praetor perceiving their minds disposed to return, and yet hoping that this mutinous fit of theirs would not continue long, in case the Captains and heads of their fury and folly were once rid out of the way led the army to MEGARIS and went
themselves in person with a few horsemen toward Herbesus, hoping to gain the City by treachery, while they all there were afield. But seeing that enterprise would not prevail, they minded to use forcible means. The morrow after they dislodged and raised their Camp from Megara, purposing with all their forces to assail Herbesus, Hippocrates and Epictides supposing this to be the only way for them, although at the first fight not the safest. (Considering all hopes besides were cut off) namely, to put themselves into the hands of the foinders, who were for the most part acquainted with them, and besides, upon the brutish of the execution and massacre of their fellow foinders, throughly chafed, went out to meet the army. The foremost enigns in the foremost, hapned to come to those three hundred Cretenians, who in the wars of Hieronmus had harbored under them, and received a favour and benefit at Anaulis this hands. For being taken prisoners at Thrasyboulos, I among other auxiliaries that came to aid the Romans, they were set at large and sent away without ransom. Whom when Hippocrates and Epictides knew by their colours, habit and fashion of their armour they held out branches of olives and other vials and tokens of rippancs, befeeching them humbly to receive them, and being once received, to voucheface to protect them, and not to deliver them into the hands of the Syracuseians: by whom they should soon be yielded unto the people of Rome, for to be murdered and cut in pieces. At this they all cried aloud with one voice, and willed them to be of good cheer, for they should fare no worse than their own fellows. Upon this communication the enigns flaid, and the army stood still and marched not forward: but the general captains will not as yet what the case might be of this day. After the rumour was spread that Hippocrates and Epictides were come, and that all the host throughout by a general applause, it seemed like well of their coming: the Praetors incontinently set forth to horse, and rode forward apace to the foremost of the vanguard, demanding of the Cretenians, what manner and fashion this was of theirs, and how they durst be so bold as to parle and talk with enemies? and without license of their Praetors to enter in them within their companies? And herewith they gave commandment, that Hippocrates should be apprehended and bound sure with chains. At which word the Cretenians set up such a cry, and the rest to answer it again with the like, that it was well seen, in case they had proceeded forward as they began, they should have incurred themselves no small danger. And this in great perplexity, and fear of their own lives, they commanded to turn enigns, and retire unto Megara, from whence they came; and dispatched messengers presently to Syracuse, to signify in what terms they stood, Hippocrates being the foinders pulled, to be of impudence and ready to believe everything, devised a cunning flait besides in this manner: After he had sent out certain of the Cretenians to bete the wails between them and Syracuse, he pretended that they had intercepted some letters from thence, which he read out unto the foinders; and were indeed framed and indited by himself. The tenor of the letters ran in this form: 

The Praetors of Syracuse to M. Marcellus their friend, greeting. After these salutations and commendations premised, as the manner is it followed written thus: you have done well and orderly in sparing none at all of the Leonins, but all other mercenary foinders besides are in the same predicament: neither will Syracuse be ever in quiet so long as any foreign aid be either in the City, or in your army. And therefore our advice and counsel is that you would endeavour to get them into your hands, who with our Praetors are encamped before Megara, and by ex-M "

The contents of these letters were not so soon read, but with such an outcry and alarm they ran to their weapons on all hands, that the Praetors amidst this garboil were fain to ride away as fast as they could gallop toward Syracuse. But although they were fled, the mutiny nevertheless continued and was not appeased; for the foinders fell upon the Syracuseians that were in the camp amongst them and they had all drank of the same cup and not one escaped, but that Epictides and Hippocrates came between, and opposed themselves against the multitude in this their furious rage not upon any pitiful compulsion that was in them, or regard of common humanity, but because they would not cut themselves from all hope of return; and besides, they were not only deterred to have the soinders themselves affectionate unto them and faithful, and withal instead of hostages: but also purposed, by this so great danger, first to gain and win unto them the kindred and friends of those soinders; and afterwards to oblige and bind them fast by so good a pawn and gage, remaining still among them. And having good experience, with how small a puff and gale of wind the common people turneth every way, they suborned a soinder, one of them who was befieged within the City of Leonium, to carry news to Syracuse, fusing with those false tidings that were reported at the river Mylas: yeas and to pave the same candidly upon his own knowledge, and tell things that were doubtfull, as if they were most certain, and by himself seen and known: thereby to stir up men to anger and indignation. This fellow was not only credited of the common multitude, but also being brought into the Council-House, he greatly moved the Senate of Syracuse as some of them, more light of belief than others, gave it out openly and said:  "That it was happy, that the avarice and cruelty of the Romans was thus discovered among the Romans: And god blest us from them here. For if they set foot, once within Syracuse, they would commit the like outrages, yes, and worse too a great deal, and more horrible: as they did find there greater matter to work upon, and to satisfy their covetous and greedy appe-

fire to the full. Whereupon they agreed in general, to shut the gates, and to stand upon their guard, and defend the City, but they all feared not alike, nor hated the same persons. For the mar-

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Romans the Prators, and some few of the principal Citizens, albeit they were in the hui, and poleUed with the false report aforesaid, yet they had more regard to provide for a mischief that was more imminent and near, and ready pretently to fall upon their heads. And now by this time Hippocrates and Epicides were come before Hexaplyos. Within the City, the kinsfolk and friends of those Citizens which were in the army, drew together in conventicles, conferred among themselves to let the gates open and agreed to have the common country of them all, to be defended against the violence of the Romans. Now, when one only wicker of Hexaplyos was opened, and they ready to enter in thereat, the Prators came upon them in the manner. And first they commanded by word of mouth, and threatened them; after that, by virtue of their place and authority, they seemed to fright and terrify them: and last of all, seeing nothing could prevail, forgetting their own dignity and majesty of their calling, they fell to pray and entreat them not to betray their country to thole, who aforetime were the instruments and puppets of the Tyrant, and now the corrupters of the army. But to deaU ear gave all the multitude in this their rage and furious fire into the Prators, that they withal, as well as without, let their hands, to, by all forcible means, to bang down the gates, and so when they were all broken open, the army was set in, and received within the Hexaplyos. The Prators fled for refuge with the youth and strength of the Citizens into Acdrom. The mercenaries, the fugitives, and all the foundries that were left, in Syracuse, (of them that served the King) joyed to the army, and augmented their forces. And so Acradma also was upon the first assault won. All the Prators, but those that escaped by flight, and lapsed themselves in the midst of this hurry, were slain and the night coming upon them, staid the massacre. The day following, all bondages were called to receive the rapt and made free the prisoners were set open and the prisoners let go a large. And this confined rabbie and multitude of all forces created Hippocrates and Epicides Prators. And thus Syracuse, having for a short time liberty flining favourably upon it, fell again into her old servitude.

When news hereof came to the Romans incontinently they dislodged and removed the camp from Locutians, and marched directly towards Syracuse. It happened the same time that the Embassadors sent from Appius by the way of the haven, were embarked in a galley of five banks of oars: but another galley of four banks which wasissent, was not to loo en red into the harbour, but it was taken: and the Embassadors hardly, and with much ado escaped in the other. And now the world there was grown to this pass, that no laws or peace, nor so much as the very laws of arms were observed, but broken clean: at what time the Roman army lay in camp a mile and an half from the City, at Olimnian, the Temple of Jupiter. For when it was thought meet to send Embassadors from them, Hippocrates and Epicides with their followers encountered them without the gate, and charged them upon their peril not to enter the City. The Roman Orators alluded and said, "That he came not to proclaim war against the Syracuseans, but to bring aid and help, as well unto thole, who having escaped out of the midst of the slaughter fled unto the Roman Camp, as ali unto them, who being kept under with fear enduring bondage and thralldom more miserable than banishment, yea, and death it felt. Neither will the Romans (faid he) put up that shameful and cruel murder of their Allies without due revenge. And therefore, if those persons who were fled for foucour unto them, may return home safely into their country: if the authors of that massacre above said be delivered into their hands: and if the Sicilians may enjoy again their liberty, together with their laws, there shall not need any hostilite or war: But in case their conditions be not performed they would perfecute with fire and sword, all such as shall hinder and stand against the same, whomsoever.

To this Epicides framed his words in this wise, "If (faid he) ye had any meallage and commissary to part with my brother and me, we would return you an answer accordingly. In the mean while ye were best be gone for this time, and return again when the City and state of Syracuse shall be under their government, unto whom ye were sent. As for war if the Romans think it good to deal that way, they shall find and know by experience, try when they would, that it is of one thing to afflict Syracuse and another to let upon Locutians. And so leaving the Embassadors, he made the gates stay against them.

From this time forward the Romans laid siege unto Syracuse, and began to beleaguer it both by sea and land at once. On the land side at Hexaplyos, by water at Acdrom, upon the walls whereof the sea beateth. And like as they won the City of the Locutians by terrifying them at the first assault, and therefore disfrusted not, but that they should force and enter this also one side or other, being so large and vast as it was, not compact, but built so lofting, one part far afrander from another, they approached with all their fabrics, engines, and ordnance of batterie against the walls. Which enterprise of theirs, so resolutely begun and so hotly and forcibly followed, had iped well and taken effect; if one man at that time had not been in Syracuse, Archimedes was he, a singular Astronomer. A rare man for contemplation and beholding the sky with the Planets, and other stars therein fixed: but a more wonderfull engineer for devising and framing of artillery, ordnance, fabrics and instruments of war, whereby he would with very little ado, and at ease, check and frustrate all the inventions which the enemies with so great difficulty had prepared for to give the assault. This cunning artificer and admirable workman had planted engines of all sorts upon the curtain of the wall, which stood on certain hills, and thole not of even height; and having for the most part high places that yielded hard access, and some other low again, whereunto men might come on even & plain ground, he fitted and furnished every place accordingly. Now Marcellus
from out his gallies of five ranks of oars assaulted the wall of Acro tin a, which (as is above said) is washed and digned upon, with the sea. And from the other gallies, the archers, slingers, yes, and the right armed darters (called Pelites) whose javelins are of that fashion, that they be unhandsome to be landed back again (by those that have not the catt and skill of it) did affie the defendants, that they hardly suffered any one to stand upon the walls without hurt and dangers: Tho' I say kept their gallies far distant from the wall, because archers and darters had need of some space and compass to lan. e and let drive their shot. But unto the gallies of five course of oars, there were adjourned other two of either side: for which purpose the oars within were taken away in a way that they might close larboard to starboard and be coupled one unto the other. And thus being rowed as one entire gally, by the help of the utmost oars without, they carried upon them platforms of timber, framed with foors and lots of planks, and other engins and instruments within them to batter and shake the walls. Against this artillery from the gallies, Archi medes belowed and dipotted upon the walls counter-engins of sundry fizes, some greater, some smaller. Against these gallies that were furthest off he weighed and discharged stones of exceeding main weight and those that were nearer he annoyed with lighter bullers, but those he shot far thicker upon them. And bit of all, to the end that his own Citizens might, without taking harm, make a counter-battery against the enemies, and so annoy them, he caused certain barba cans or loop-holes almost a cubic deep to be pierced through the walls, and to stand thick from the foot to the parapet: and all to slack the enemy, through which overtures, they within shoot dilly against the enemies for arrows out of bows, some quartels out of scorpions and K braxes of mean and indifferent bignes. And against these gallies which approached more clofe and near under the walls because they would be within the shot, and that they within might carry and level over them he devis'd a crane or swive to be planted aloft upon the walls, having at the one end, while hung over the sea a drag or grappling hook of iron like an hand fanned therto with a long staff which took hold upon the prow of a gally, and when the heavy counter poite offic'd at the other end weighed it down to the ground, and therewith drew with it the gally up on a height, while it hung thus aloft in the air, the gally fell into a manner endlong upon the porp, and then the swive being let go again all at once suddenly with a lavy, did the gally tumbling as it were down from the top of the wall, with it the swive and violence against the water (to the exceeding fear of the mariners) that if it had fallen directly downward upon the land, yet needs it must have receiv'd good score of water into it. Thus all their provision for assaults by the sea side, was deluded and made void: and then they turned their whole forces from then, etc. to give assault by land. But even that part of the wall like-wise, was as well furnish'd with all manner of engines and ordnance, provided at the great charge of Hiero, and by his careful fore cast for many years together: but devised and framed by the arithmetical cunning and skill only of Archimedes. Besides, the natural situation of the ground was a great help: for that the rock, upon which the foundations of the wall stand, is for the most part steep and bending forward, that not only the shot levelled out of an engine, but also whatsoever was but rolled & tumbled down, with the very own weight and poise came with a great force & violence upon the enemy. Which fore Said cause made the assailants to have difficult & climbing up, and as unititled footing and keeping of their hold. Whereupon they went to counsel. And considering well that all their attempts and enterprises were thus delined and stocked by the enemy: it was thought good to give over assaults, and only by long and continual siege, to cut them off from all virtuals both by land and sea. In the mean while Marcellus with one third part (well near) of the army, went forth in expedition, to recover again those Cities which, taking occasion upon these troubles, were revolted to the Carthaginians. And he gained Pedasus and Herbasus, which yielded on their own accord. As for Myrages, which he won by a charge, he laid it down to the ground, and sacked it, to the sorrowfull example of the rest and espieaily of the Syracusians.

And much about that time, Hanno also, who had a long time rid in the Bay of the Cape Plate ram with his Armado disbarred and set alond at Hersonisset (which they call Minos) 5500 foot-men, 3500 horse-men and twelve Elephants. He had not all this power of men when he lay with his fleet under Pela nus. For after that Hippocrates had taken and held the possession of Syracusen, he went to Carthage, there being sent unto both by Embassadors from Hippocrates, and also by letters from Annemachus (who moved him and remonstrances. That now the time was come to recover Syracusen with much honour and glory: and being himself there present in person no bad folk nor by word of mouth to further and follow the cause) he easily persuaded the Cartaginians and prevailed that as great a power both of horse and foot as might possibly be raised, should pate over into Sicily. Being arrived at Hersonisset within few daies after Agrigentum was delivered up into his hands. And all the other Cities, which had banded and taken part with the Cartaginians, were put into good hope to drive the Romans out of Sicily: that even they who were befieg'd within Syracusen, to take hold upon them: and were so in their ruff, that suppressing part of their forces sufficient enough to defend their City, they parted between them the charge and managing of the whole war in this manner: That Epicerus should remain behind for the guard and defence of the City, and Hippocrates join with Hanno, and war joyntly against the Romans. He with 10000 foot, and 300 horse, set out by night: and passed between the Corps de gaurd, where none at all warded, and encamped about the Acere. As they were fortifying their Camp, Marcellus came upon them as he retired back from Agrigentum, besieg'd now by the adverse part: whether
A he had made great haste, but in vain, in hope to prevent his enemies, and get thither afore; but little thought he (and nothing less) than in his return from thence, at that time and in that place, to meet with an army of Syracusians that should make head against him; Howbeit, for fear of Himilco and the Carthaginians, whom he knew to be abroad, and with whom he was not able to make his part good with that power which he had about him, he marched as circumspectly as he could, having his eye on every side, and led his army in good order of battle against all occurrences whatsoever might happen by the way, and so as good was, that carefully forecast and diligence, which he was provided with against the Carthaginians, served him in very good stead against the Sicilians. Finding them therefore but feeing in pitching their tents, without order, and stra-

B tered in the word, and most of them unarmed, he environed soon all the Infantry that they had, and put them to the sword. But the Cavalry after a flight skirmished began, fled with their leader Hippocrates to Acre; Marcellus after he had by his flight reproved and kept in the Sicilians, who were at hand to fall away and revolt unto the Romans returned to Syra for, and after some few days, Himilco joined with Hippocrates, and en camped about eight miles from thence upon the river Anatis.

Likewise about the same time, or very near, it happened that 55 war-ships of the Carthaginians, under the conduct of Bumleanc, Admiral of the Armado put into the great haven of Syracusa out of the deep and main sea: and also the Roman fleet of thirty Galleys, with five ranks of oars, arrived at Panormus, and landed the first Legion there: and thus the war was turned and diverted.

C from Italy. So wholly seemed both nations as well Romans as Carthaginians, aimed upon nothing but Sicily, Himilco making full account to prey upon the Roman Legion which was yet a land at Panormus, as they should come to Syracusa: misled of the right way to meet with them: for he marched and led his power farther within land higher in the country, but the Legion coatled along by the sea side, accompanied as it were with the fleet which flanked them and come to Pachiumus unto Appius Claudius, who with part of his forces went out to meet them on the way. But the Carthaginians made no long stay about Syracusa. For Bumleanc having small trust and confidence in his ships, considering that the Romans were coming toward him with a fleet, and were many in number: and with all feeling that by sojourning there he did no other good but with his company impoverish and eat out his fr endsFood and hoarded up faire, and with a merry

D wind passed over into Affick. Himilco also, who had dogged and followed after Marcellus, vainly as far as Syracusa, to epy some good opportunity and vantage to bid him bate, before he joyned with a greater power: seeing that he was hereof disappointed and the enemy lying about Syracusa late and secure, as well in regard of their fortifications as their forces: because he would not spend any longer time to no purpose in sitting there still. To look upon their Allies how they were besieged, he dislodged and removed from thence: attending, whereover there were many hope and likelihood of revolt from the Romans, or that he come with his army, and beth himself in person, to encourage and animate by his presence those that favoured his part, And first he recovered Morgantia, where the Roman garrison was betrayed by the inhabitants, and delivered unto his hands, into which City the Romans had conveyed great stores of corn, victual, and provision of all sorts. Upon this revolt other Cities also took heart unto them, and the Roman garrisons were either thrown and driven out of the Castles and Fortresses, or else were treacherously betrayed, surprised, and destroyed.

The City Aenea, leant upon an high hill, and on every side inaccessible; as it was by natural situation of the ground impregnable, so had a strong garrison within the Castle. A Captain of that garrison, one that was not to ease to be compassed and over-ravaged by desertfull trains. His name was Pinarius, a witty man, and hardly withall, who repose more trust in his own diligence to prevent, that he might not possibly be deceived, than in the truth and faith of the Sicilians. And at this time more than ever, before he stood upon his guard, and took heedfull care of himself and his charge, by occasion that he heard of so many treacheries and treasons, to many revolts

E of Cities, and malversations of garrisons: and therefore as well by day as at night, he looked that the Castle was well provided and furnished of good war, and well continually: and the fortresses never departed from their armour nor their appointed place. When which the chief Citizens of Aenea perceived, who already had covenanted with Himilco, and promised to betray the fort and the garrisons, and law that the Roman Captain was to wary that he lay not open unto the opportunity of any fraudulently and guilefull coune, they resolved by art and open means to effect this their destyled enterprise. They alluded therefore unto Pinarius, 4 That the City and Castle 4 both ought to be in their power that they entered into league and amity with the Romans 4 as freemen, and were not yielded as slaves to be kept in durance and prison. Reyon would therefore 4 fore, and meet it as (as they thought) that all the keys of the gates were delivered unto them.

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G With good and trusty allies, their own faith and truth is the fiftest bond. And no doubts, the people and Senate of Rome would con them greater thank, and esteem more dearly of them, if they be they of themselves, not by constraint but of willing mind, would abide and continue in their found allegiance and fast friendship. Pinarius made answer again, 4 That it was by his General placed there Captain of the garrison: at his hands he received the keys of the gates, and the Constablehip of the Castle, and the same to hold and keep neither at his own will, nor at the pleasure of the men of Aenea, but at his disposition, who leaht him his Commission. New for a Captain to abandon his fort (quoth he is) a capital crime among the Romans, by virtue of a
a law, which our fathers themselves have confirmed, even by the exemplary punishment & death of their own children, who have transgressed the same. And seeing the Consul Marcellus is not far off, ye may, if it please you, send your ambassadors unto him of whom you may be certified, under whose power, commandment & government I am, Tulli. Say they, we will never send unto him, but if words and reasons may not prevail, we will work some other means to recover our liberty again. Then quoth Pinarius to them, If ye think much to address your meffengers to the Consul, yet do me this favour, as to call a Common Councill of the people for my sake, that I may know whether these demands proceed from some few, or from the whole body of the City. So it was accorded and agreed, that a general assembly should be proclaimed against the morrow. Then Pinarius, after that he was departed from this party, returned into the fortres, and called his fouldiers together, and spoke to them in this wise: I suppose ye have heard already (my fouldiers) in what sort the Roman garrisons have, these dais past, been betrayed and murdered by the Skilfuls. I hope this day we have avoided and escaped first & principally through the goodness of the gods; next, and immediately by your own valour and prowess; & by continual watch & ward keeping in your arms both day & night. And I would to God ye might pass as well the time to come, without falling into this hard choice either to endure and suffer Inch horrible mischief; or to execute and commit a fearfull example of cruelty. This intended treason of theirs hath been carried and conveyed closely and cancelionly all this while & seeing they cannot as yet meet with any advantage to surpris us, they would seem now openly and without dissimulation, to demand for to have all the keys of the gates under their hands, Which we should not to loom past with & render unto them; but presently Ennius would return to the Carthaginians, and more cruelly should we here be murdered and hewn in pieces, than the garrisons was at Magna L. Malido I had to offer of them repit of this one might to take further counsel: that I might advertise you of the present danger, wherein both I & you stand. To morrow morning by day-light, they purpose to hold a solemn assembly of the people, and to make a speech unto them, to accurr, and to stir them up against you. And to morrow is the day that the City Ennius shall overflow either with the blood of you or of the Inhabitants. Be ye well stored, that as ye shall lose all that you have if ye impriue you: for in case you prevent them and begin the fray there shall no peril at all betide you. Look who first lay hand on his sword and draweth it he shall carry away the victory clear, Therefore ye must be there pret in your armes, and attentive to expect a signal from me. I may tell will be present in the assembly, and with paling and debating, tempestic and draw out the time untill ye be all in readiness and everything in order. And to toon as I shall give you sign with my gown then let me hear you let up an outcry, then let me see you all upon the multitude: down with them and spare not and put them all to the sword. See in any case there be not one of them that remains and remain alive, from whom ye may fear any harm, either by fraud or force. And now I beseech thee O Dame Ceres, and thy daughter Proserpina, and all other gods in heaven above, or infell beneath, who inhabit this City, that these holy lakes and fanned groves, wherein ye are honoured and worshipt to you be propitious and favourable unto us; in case we enter into this action and enterprise, for the avoiding of treachery intended against us, and not to offer mischief unto others, but to otherwise, I would use more words unto you my friends and fouldiers; for to animate and encourage you, if it were that you had to deal with men in arms: but since they are naked unarmed, & unarmed, you shall kill and slay them at your pleasure, and satisfy your selves with their blood, And to the end that you need not fear any harm from Hannicus and the Carthaginians, I hope the Consul himself lieth encamped near the hand. After this exhoratation they were dismissed, to take their refelct and left. The next day, they were betowed in fundry parts of the City, some to belet all the streets: others to stop the passages and the waies against the townmen, that they might not escape. But the most of them stood upon and about the Theatre, and were nothing inspected as being used nether to behold and see the assemblies of the people. The Roman Captain Pinarius was by the Magistrates brought forth and presented before the people: where he pleased, that it lay not in his hands but in the power and authority of the Consul, to dispose of that which they demanded: and heเต率ted for the most part the same allegations that he shewed the day before. At first they began gently some few by little and little: afterwards more and more of them, required him to deliver up the keys; and to consequently all with one voice, charged and commanded him to do so; and when he seemed to make some stay and defer the matter they menaced and threatened fiercely, yea, and seemed as if they would no longer forbear but proceed to extreme violence. Then the Captain made a sign with his robe, according to the former agreement: and with that the fouldiers who had their eyes upon him waiting witty for the signal and were ready for execution, set up a loud outcry and ran some from aloft upon the multitude assembled over against them; others stood thick at every corner of the Theatre, where the people should go forth, and opposed themselves against them. Thus the men of Ennius, shut up and penned within the Theatre were massacred and lay stumble upon one another; not they only that were killed but such also as fled one over another ahead: the found just upon the wounded, the quick upon the dead, one with another, by heaps. Then there was running from them fundry waies, and as if the City had been taken upon assault by the enemy, there was nothing but murdering and flying away in every place. And as hot and furious were the fouldiers in the execution of this unarmed multitude (whom they judged worthy
A thrily and juftly to be killed as if like danger presented to them, or chol er railed in former, had provoked them there. Thus Æneas was held fill for the Romans by this means: were the deed simply ill, or by circumfance needless and neceffary; Marcellus did not of the fact & granted the pilage of the Citizens of Æneas to the fo unders: supposing that the Sici lians throughly frighted by this fearful example would betray no more garrisons. The calamity and hard fortune of this City, (linding, as it did, in the very heart of Sicily) was in one day divulged and noised throughout the Island, from end to end. And other wise, a famous and renowned town it was, either for the natural situation exceeding strong, or because all places in it were accounted faced and holy, in remembrance of Preferpkins, who in times past left her footing & trace there, at B what time as the was stolen away & ravifhed, [by Pius] Now it was generally thought by the Sicilians, that this curried and deteftable mischief had de fded and polluted not only the habitations of men, but also the temples of the gods: whereupon even they likewise, who flowed but doubtful and indiffertent before, fell now away from the Romans, and turned to the Carthaginians.

Then Hippocrates retired to Margarita and Himileo to Agrigentum: who were fent for by the conquerors and traitors within Æneas, and approached with their forces, but to no purpose. Marcellus returned to the Leontis country: and after he had brought into the Camp corn, and other vi tuals, and left there a mean guard, he preferved himself to the fege that lay before Syracuse. And when he had fent Apusius Claudius to Rome to live for the Consulship, he committed the charge in his room of the Armado there, and the old legatee unto T. Quininus Crispinus, Himself erected and forfited his winning harbours five miles from Exaplos, at a place which men call Leontis. And there were the affairs of Sicily unto the beginning of winter.

In the fame Summer the war began with King Philip which long before had been fup- fected; For there came Embaffadors from Oricon to M. Valerius the Prefeor Admiral of the fleer, for the defence of Brundafium, and the fea-coat thenceabouts of Calabria, and made report that Philip firft allioed to win Apollonia, and was come up the river with one hundred and twenty light galleys, or fiefs with two ranks of oares against the flream: and afterwards, feeing he could not effect his purpofe fo speedily as he hoped, privily by night he approached with his army to Oricon: and that the City, fucre upon a plain, neither strongly fene with walls, nor well man- ned with foudiers, nor yet furnished with armor and munition, was at the firft affaft not surprised, and won, And as they recounted their news of, they behoufed him to grant aid and succours: and to make head againft this undoubtcd enemy of the Romans, either by Land or forces at Sea, and to chafe him away from them: who for no other reason were by him affailed, but because they were near neighbors to Italy, M. Valerius leaving the guard of that place to T. Valerius his Lieutenant General, with a fleet of fhips well rigg'd, furnished & appojided, and having embarked the soudiers (which the galleys for war would not receive) in the merchants fhips of burden, arrived at Oricon on the second day after: and finding that City kept with a small and flight garrifon, which Philip when he departed from thence had left there, recovered it without much refiftance, Thither repaired to him embaftadors from Apollonia, who brought word that they were befieged, because they refu ed to revolt from the Armado of the Romans, and were not able to hold out any longer against E the forcible attempts of the Macedonian, unless a garrifon of Romans were rent unto them. He promis'd to effect whatsoever they defired, and to fhipped a thouand clef and choice foudiers in galleys, and rent them to the mouth of the river, under the conduct of a Captain of Allies Na- vires Crispus, an induftrious man, and an expert foudier. He having landed his men, and fent the galleys back to Oricon (from whence he came) to the relief of the Armado: conducted his foudiers higher in the country far from the riverside, by a way that was not beet nor held by the Kings forces: and in the night-fall, unawares to all the enemies, entered the City. The day following they refled, only the Captain took a survey of the youth and able men of Apollonia, of their armor and the munitions and forces of the City. When he had seen and pruced all; thereupon he was well appaied and encouraged to fight, and withall he had learned by the Scous and fpies, how retchless, idle, and negligent the enemies were without. So at midnight he went forth of the City without any noife, and entered the Camp of the enemies carefully guarded as it was, and lying to open: that by credulous report, there were above one thouand men got within the trench and rampier, before that any one was ware thereof: and if they had held their hand, and not fal to killing, they might have paffed on still even as far as to the Kings Pavilion. But by reason that they flew the watchers next the gates, the enemies were rai'd: whereupon, they were all so frighted and terrifed that not only there was never a foudier took weapon in hand, and went about to repulse the enemy out of the Camp: but even the King himself, half naked as he was, and newly wakened out of his leep, clad in fimple apparel, scarce de ent for a common foudier, much lefs, I wot, for a King, was fain to run toward the river side to his fhips. Thither also the other multitude fled dis- ordered in heaps. There were not many under three thousand either tain or taken prisoners in the camp. Yet there were more by odds of the enemies taken than killed. In the rifing of the camp the Apollonians met with Catapults and Balist, and other engines provided for the affault of the City, which they conveyed all to Apollonia, to serve for defence of their walls againft the like occasion of needful service. All the booty besides of the camp was grant't unto the Romans.

Tidings hereof being come to Oricon, M. Valerius preferably led forth the Armado as fast as to the mouth of the river, that the King might not file away and escape with his fhips: whereupon Philip diluting his power as well by sea as shore, and doubting he was not able to match the
the Romans drew up on one of his ships to land, set fire upon the rest, and by land went into Matien, with a great part of his foilliers disarmed and spoiled. The Roman fleet wintered at Orinum with M. Fabius.

The same year in Spain the affairs went varibly on both sides. For before that the Romans passed over the river Uerus, Mago and Afdumall defeated a mighty host of Spaniards, so as all the farther part of Spain had fallen from the Romans, but that P. Cornelius made haste to transport his army over Eerus and came in good time to settle the waverings and doubtfull minds of the allies. At the first, the Romans encamped at C. Ferenus Aleru, a place memorable for the death of great Amilcar. The Castle was well fortified, and thither more they had conveyed but. But because all those quarters thersabout were full of enemies, and Sundaytimes their Cavalry had charged the Roman footmen, and gone away without any harm, whereby there had been slain at times upon two thousand of them, which either made small haste away, and stood behind, or straggled looly over the fields: the Romans departed from them, nearer unto places of more security and peace, and fortified themselves in camp upon the mount of Vistoria, Thither came Cn. Scipio with all his forces, and likewise Afdumall the son of Gijoe, the third Captain of the Carthaginians, with a full army. And they all encamped beyond the water, over against the fort of the Romans above-foaid, P. Scipio accompanied with certain light armed foilliers, was gone out cloely to discover and take view of the places thersabout: howbeit, the not so covertly, but he was espied by the enemies, and (no doubt) they had put him to a thoughful life in the open plain champion, but that he took a little hill thereby for his damage. Where he was environed and before round about; but by K the coming of his brother Cn. Scipio he was delivered out of that danger.

Culfus, a famous and strong City in Spain, and so near linked in affinity to the Carthaginians, that Amilcar from thence married his wife, and went to the Romans. The Carthaginians came again to Illiturgum and began to assault it; because a garrison of the Romans lay there: and like they were to be Matters of the town, by occasion especially of a great death and scarcity of victuals within. But Cn. Scipio to relieve his friends and the garrison, went out with a legion lightly appointed with carriages, and marching between the two camps of the enemies skirmished with them, flew many of them, and entered the City. The morrow after he fell into joy, in fight with the enemy, and sped as well so as in both battells there were slain of them above well thousand in the place, more than ten thousand taken prisoners, and 26 military eniligns carried away. Thus the siege brake up at Illiturgum. After this, the Carthaginians began to lay siege unto Reges (a City also confederate with the Romans,) But Cn. Scipio at this coming raied up a siege without any confid. Then the Carthaginians from thence went forward against Munda, and the Romans followed them theither straight after. There they encountered together and fought a fet battle with banners displayed, for the space well-near of four hours. And as the Romans bare themselves bravely, and had got the better, and were at point of the victory, the retreat was founded, by occasion that Cn. Scipio was hurt in his thigh with a barbed javelin, and the foilliers about him were greatly afraid that the wound was deadly. But no doubt, if it had not been for that fray and hinderance the very camp of the Carthaginians might that day have been forced. For not only the foilliers, but the Elephants also were driven already so far as the trench, and even there upon the very bank, 59 of them were killed with darts and pikes. In this battell likewise were killed (by report) twelve thousand men, almost three thousand taken prisoners, and 57 military eniligns won. Then the Carthaginians retired back to the City Amintus, and the Romans followed upon them, because they would give them no time to rest and breath themselves after their fright. Where Scipio being brought into the field in a litter, gave them battle the second time, and got the victory clear; but fewer of the enemies were slain by the one half than afore, because there were not so many in number left to fight. But as they are a nation given naturally to renew war, and to be everfighting, and cannot give over they soon repaired and made up their forces. For A'dumall had sent his brother Magus to levy and gather new foilliers; whereupon they took their heart again to try another field. These, being for the most part other foilliers (new come) fought as it were in revenge, and to uphold that side which in few days space had so often taken the foill, and demeaned themselves as courageaully as they before, and sped as untowardly. For there were slain of them above eight thousand, not many under one thousand taken captives, with military eniligns 58. In sight of them there was found very much spoil of the Gauls, as rings, ogoles, car- kants, collars, and bracelets great store. Over and besides, two great Lords and Princes of the Gauls, whose names were Manciatus and Guismerus, were slain outright in that conflict. Eight Elephants taken alive, and three killed.

Now when as the affairs in Spain went thus fortunatly with the Romans, they began at length for very famer to think of Saguntius, a town that was the caunte of all these wars, and had now five years already been in the hands and poftession of the enemy. Whereupon by force of arms they recovered it, drive out of the town the garrison of the Carthaginians, and restored it again to the ancient inhabitants, as many as remained alive, and had escaped those broils of war. As for the Turdets, who were the occation of the wars between the Saguntins and the Carthaginians they labled them, and brought them under their subjection, fold them in portile, and destroyed their City utterly. Thence were the achivements in Spain, during the time that Q. Fabius and M. Claudius were Consuls.

At Rome, when the new Tribunes of the Commons were once entered into their office presently L. Metellus

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A L. Metellus one of the Tribunes aforesaid, arrested the Centors P. Furius and M. Atilius, peremptorily to make their appearance and answer before the people. Thefe Centors had taken from him being Treasurers the year before his horie of service allowed him by the City, called and displaced him out of his Tribe, deprived him of liberty to give his voice, and made him Absurdus, and all, for being a party with them at Carra, who composed to abandon Italy. But by the means and mediation of the other nine Tribunes, they were discharged: for they would not suffer, that the
Centors should come to their answer whiles they were in office. And the death of one of them, namely, P. Furius, was the caufe that they could not accomplish the lefzing and numbering of the Citizens. And when M. Atiliusrended up his Magiftracy. Quo Fabius Max. held the oflen B assembly and Parliament of the people for the election of Centors, wherein were created Q. Fabius Max., the Centor his fon, and T. Sempronius Gracchus the second time, both abfenf. For Pra- tors, there were elected, M. Atilius, and with him who at that time were Ædiles of the chair to wit, P. Sempronius Tuditanus, Ca. Furius Centinalus, and M. Aemilius Lepidus. This year, as it appeareth in old Records, were the Stage-plays first fet out by the Ædiles of the chair, and continued four daies. This Ædile Tuditanus above-named was he who at Carra when all besides him (for fear were affifted, in that would calamity) brake forcibly through the midst of the enemies, and escaped. When Q. Fabius the old Centor had finifhed the Election then the new Centors Elciæ were lent for to repair unto Rome, and they entered their Magiftracy. Then they assembled the Senat fofo, and took order for the war for the Provinces as well their own,
C as those that were under the Praetors: also concerning the armies, and the disposition of every charge and place of command. So the Provinces and armies were divided in this wise: The war with Annibol, whereofever it fell out, was committed to the managing of the Coff, with the charge of one army, which Sempronius himself had before under his command: and another, commanded by Fabius the Centor, And those were two legions, M. Aemilius the Praetor, whose lot it was to have the jurisdiction over the foreigners, had committed his authority unto his Colleague Atilius the Praetor of the Citizens of Rome, that he might govern the Province about Lucania, and those two legions, over which Q. Fabius, now Centor, had the command, while he was Praetor. To Sempronius the Praetor befell the Province of Aetumnia. To C. Furius was allotted Sufcula, with two legions likewise: as, Fulvius should have the leading of the legions.
D of Citizens, and Tuditanus receive his from M. Pomponius. The government of the former Provinces continued still in the former deputies. M. Claudius ruled Sicily, fo far as the dominion of King Hiero extended: and Larentius the Vice-Praetor had the charge of the old Province. T. Q. Fabius was high Admiral of the Navy, without any new supply or augmentation of forces. M. Fabius was employed in Greece and Macedon, with one legion, and the Amado which he had before. Q. Marullus was L. Deputy in Sardinia, having under him the old army, consisting of two legions, and C. Terentius had the administration of the affairs in Picenum, with that one legion which long time he had been Captain of. Moreover, it was decreed and agreed upon, that there should be multiplied and enrolled two new legions of Citizens, and twenty thousand men besides levied of Allies and Afofafs. With these Captains and their forces above-said they provided for
E the defence and maintenance of the State and Empire of Rome, against many wars at once, either in hand already, or suspected shortly. The Centors having enrolled two legions of Citizens, and chosen a supply to make out the rent, before that they left out of the City procured the pacification of the gods, for the festiul and prodigious tokens that were reported. For the wall and gates of Rome were blasted and smitten with lightning from heaven: and likewise the Temple of Jupiter at Ariminum. Other vain objects and illusions of the eyes and ears, which men imagined they saw and heard, were believed for truths. Namely, there appeared in the river of Taurana certain reenlances and shews of Gallics, whereas indeed there were none such. And in the Temple of Jupiter Piculum which standeth in the Territory of Coff, there was heard for both ruffling of arm: and the river of Aventine seemed to run with blood. When satisfied was F made of their strange signs, the gods pleased, and all well again, according to the direction of down by the Priests and Prelates, then the Centors let forward in their expedition, Sempronius into Lucania, and Fabius into Apulia. Where it fell out, that Fabius the father repaired into the Camp at Sufcula, as Lieutenant and affiitant unto his fon. And when Fabius the younger went forth to meet him, and his Sergeant or Ulteras matching alone, said not a word to Fabius the father, nor put him aside to give way, for very reverence of his person, (such majesty he carried) the old man rode forward, and passed by eleven of the said Lictors with their bundles of rods. Then the old Centor commanded the Sergeant that was next himself to do his office: and with that said Ulter called upon old Fabius, to alight from his horse's back: and alighting, let foot ground: I did all this but to try, quoth he, my son, whether you knew well that you were a Centor or no.
G There came that might secretly to the Centor while the Camp lay there, one Cossus Altinius, an Atpinatus, with his three hondilaves, promising, that if he might have a good reward for his service, he would betray Arpi into his hands. Fabius then proposed this matter unto his Council, to be debated of. Some were of opinion, that Altinius was to be whipped and put to death fugitive runagare and false knave as he was: a common enemy and a dangerous to either part and playing with both hands, like a double-hearted hypocrify. Who first, after the over- throw at Carra (as it he might turn with the wheel of fortune and go from his word and faith-ful promise, and change even as the changers) rigned him self unto Annibal; and by his exam-
ple, drew with him Arpi to revolt and rebel; now after that he feeth the Roman ciate to rise again and hold up hand (and that, beyond his hope & contrary to his desires) he would play the villain and turncoat again, and come with a new practice of a more sanguine trea- 
ture: as if treachery and falsehood were of the nature and quality of a judgment passed in Sep- 
temvarious courts; and if he might be allowed to carry two laces under a hood, and alter every 
hour, Faith's friend, that he is not to be trusted and slippery enemy not to be regarded. A 
good deed it were, that together with that same traitor of Falerii, and the other of King Py-
thus, he made a third, and were punished accordingly for exemplary justice, to teach all rogues 
and runnagates hereafter, how they run from their Lords and Matters. On the other side, old Fa-
bir (the Conuls father) replied, and said, That men now daies had forgot how to make diffi-
ence of feaons, and in the very heat & midst of wars, reaoned and gave their opinion and cen-
t face of every thing and person, as in a free time of open peace: when as indeed, we are to think, 
consider, and deliberate of this point, that (if possibly it might be) no more of our allies re-
volt from the people of Rome, rather than invite and incite them thereto: and after one is har-
ted aside, and upon repentance returned again to the ancient amity, to fall a revelling and rebu-
 king of him and bitter to say that he delivered to be made an example to all others. For it 
may be lawfull for one to turn from the Romans, and held unlawfull to return again unto the 
Roman: no man need doubt but shortly the Roman Empire will be foraken of all her confe-
ders, and allies, and we shall see within a while all the Cities of Italy linked and confedered in 
that league and friendship with the Carthaginians. And yet (quoth he) I am not the man that 
thinketh Altius worthy to be trusted in any thing for all this, but I would take a mean couci 
and middle way between both extremities. My opinion is therefore that for this present he should 
be taken neither for enemy nor friend, but commanded to ward, and to have the liberty of a 
prisoner, and only be kept forth-coming in some confederat and trusty City, not far from the 
Camp during the time of the war. And when the war is once finished and ended, then I hold it 
good to deliberate and consult, whether that his former revolt hath deserved more punishment 
than this his present return meriteth favour and grace. Every man liked well of this advice of 
old Fabius, and gave their assent. So he was bound with chains, and himself and his company 
delivered over and put in custody, and a good sumnum of gold, which he had brought with him, 
was by commandment delivered to his wife. At Caesar he made his abode; where all the day 
him he went to walk at liberty, with his keepers following him, but in the night they kept him 
close prisoner. But at Arpi, where his home was, they of his own house began first to mis him, 
and seek for him: afterwards, when it was noised throughout the whole City, that he was out of 
the way, and could not be found: the same hereof coued a multitude, for the loss of a principal 
perfon as he was, thus revolted to the enemy. And for fear of alteration in the State, presently 
the news thereof was sent to Amidus. Who was nothing offended thereat, both because long before 
he had the party himself in jealousy and suspicion, as one neither full nor flesh, a man of no cre-
dit, and hardly to be trusted; and also for that he found a good occasion and quarrel to feize up-
on the goods of so rich and substantial a Citizen and to make sale thereof. But to the end that 
the world might think that he was more angery against his person, than greedy of his substance, 
he joyed with crudely, a grave couple aloof of judiciousness, that the one might serve as a file to 
give brife to the other. For having lent for his wife and children into the Camp, first he examined 
them straitly, for to know whether he was fled, and what store of firber and gold he had left 
behind him at his home; and when he had learned enough of them touching every particular, 
and as much as he desired, he burnt them quick to ashes.

Fabius being departed from Susetta purposed the first thing that he did to assist Arpi. Where 
he lay encamped a mile from the town, and after he had well viewed by near approach, the 
situation of the City, and confidered the wall, look where he saw it was most strong and sure, 
and therefore guarded most strongly and negligently, there especially he purposed to give the hottest 
affault. And when he had sufficiently provided and got together all ordinance and engins, requi-
site for the battery of Cities, he made choice of the most hardy and valiant Centurions of the 
whole army, and set over them certain Tribunes and Marshalls, glorious and doughty good men, 
and appointed unto them a Regiment of six hundred loudiers (for so many he thought sufficient 
for the present service) with direction and commandment, that when the trumpet sounded the 
relief at the fourth watch, they should bring scaling ladders to that place foreward. Now there 
stood a gate low and narrow, answering to the street not much used and frequented, by reason 
that quarter of the City was not inhabited, but flood void. That gate he gave them order first to 
scale and climb over, and then to go forward on the wall, and from within-forth to break down the 
bars, and level the said gate, and when they were Makers of that quarter of the City, then to 
wind the horn, and give signal to the rest of the forces to approach and come hard to the 
town, saying, That he would have all things in readines, and in good order. This direction was 
performed accordingly with great diligence, and that which was thought and feared would have 
been a hindrance and let unto them in the action, was the only thing which helped them mott, 
that they were not detected. And that was a smock of shower of rain that began after midnight, 
which caused the warders and watchmen to quit their flamandges, forake the Sentinels, and to 
fly into the houses for covert. The first noise of the horn pouring down with such a force, made 
that the rumbling of the loudiers could not be heard, as they were breaking down the gates; and
The four and twentieb Book of T. Livius.

A as it grew after to rain more softly, and to kept still at one, it founded gently and weely in their ears, until it brought a good many of them fast asleep. Now after they had seiz'd the gate, the Marshals gave order, That the Cornetiers should be belowe in that old street aforesaid, distant equally abou'd, and to wind their horns, for to waken and raise the Conful. Which being done, according as it was before agreed, the Co6, commanded the standards and ensigns to be brought forth and somewhat before day-light entered at the said broken gate into the City. With that, the enemies at length began to rouse themselves, for now the shower and storm was past, and the day approached. There was a garrison in the City at hand of five thousand of Arpinb, his followers, armed and well appointed: and the Arpines of themselves were 5000 strong. Those the Carthaginians put in the forefront, as a forlorn hope, and opposed them against the enemy, for fear of some treacherous prank that they might play behind their backs. First, they began to arrange themselves to light in the dark, blist, and narrow lanes. For the Romans had filled and taken up not only all the streets, but also the houses that were next the gate to the end they might not be gauled with, and wound from aloft. Some Arpins and Romans fell at length to meet to take knowledge and acquaintance one of another: and to began to commune and talk together. The Romans asked what the Arpines meant to rebell: for what offence and harm given of the Romans, and for what defer and benefit received from the Carthaginians should they being natural Romans maintain war for Allies, strangers, and barbarous nations against the Romans their old friends and ancient Allies: and to to bring them into affection to Africk, to do homage and fealty, yea, and to become tributary, and to pay pension unto it. The Arpines excused and cleared themselves, saying that (simple men and ignorant in all things) were bought and sold by their great masters and principal Citizens, and lived in manner as captives and slaves under the command of some few persons that might do all. Upon this beginning, more and more of them grew to prizing and Conference. At length the Pratice of Arp himself was by his own people and Citizens brought and presented before the Conful: where, after faithful promise made between the enemys and the band of the Arpins immediately bent their forces on the Carthaginians side against the Carthaginians. The Spaniards likewise (who were not many under a thousand men) after they had capitulate and agreed with the Roman Conful, nothing but this one article, That the garrison of the Carthaginians might be sent forth and pass away safe without harm. Coming with their colours to the Conful, Then all the gates were let open for the Carthaginians to depart: and being kept away on safe conduct without any harm at all or damage unto Arminim, arrived at Selapo. Thus Arp was restored again to the Romans, without the least detriment of any onetime but one onely old traitor and now fugitive revolt. The Spaniards were appointed to have double allowance of victuals: and they performed good faithfull, and valiant service many times after to the Common-wealth.

When one of the Confuls was in Africa, and the other in Latium, one hundred and twelve men of arms. Gentlemen of the Nobility of Cape, having licence granted by the Magistrates to go out of the City, pretending to make a rode into the enemies country, and to set it in boosies and priizes, came directly into the Romans Camp lying about Selapo. And meeting with the E. Corps de guard, declared who they were, and that they would put with the Lord Deputy: Not Pal. Camillus, the General and Commander of the army there: who being adverized and certifie himselfe gave order that ten ony of all that number should be brought before him unarm'd. When he heard their facts and demand, which was nothing else but that when Cape was recovered by the Romans, they might have their goods restored unto them: he received them all into his protection. The other Praetor allo Scipio, hastened to the town Cerranum, where there were taken prisoners above one thousand men, and a good deal of copper and silver coin gained besides. At Rome there was char'd a liffel and pitiful fire, which continued two nights and one whole day. All between S. Luc. and the gate Cornemau, together with the Equines and the streets Ingrarius, were burn'd down, and made even with the ground. Likewise without the gate the fire spread all about, and in the Temples of Ternucia and Diana Munita, and Sesto conflagrate much, as well bellowed as prophano.

The same year, when all things prospered well and had good success in Spain, P. and C. both Sepeos having recovered many adorers and those of ancient league that came again to him and yielded themselves and besides, gained some new confederares for receiv'd good hope, and took heart to proceed farther, even into Africk.

Sepeo, King of the Numidians, then king fell out with the Carthaginians, and became their prolected enemy. Unto him the Sepeos address'd three Centurions as embassadors, to treat with him about a league and alliance, and to promise withall, that if he went on still to trouble and molest the Carthaginians by making war upon them, he should do him high favour to the Senate and people of Rome: that they would endeavour and bring about, that in good time and place, he should be well required for that kindness, and receive at their hands a double recompence with thanks. This embassage pleased the barbarous king right well. And after he had conferred and talked with the Embassadors, concerning military affairs, and the knowledge of warfare: and heard those old & experienced loundiers talk of war, he soon found his own wants, and how unskilful himself was in many points and feats of arms, in comparison of that methodical and orderly discipline, whereof they had discourse. The first thing then that he requested at their hands, was this: That as they were good friends and faithfull Allies, two of them would go back
back with their Embassadors unto their Generals, and that the third might remain with him, to
read unto him a lecture in the military science of warfare. Saying, that the nation of the Numi-
dians were raw and altogether unskilful in footmen service, and only nimble and practiced in
fight on horseback. So (quoth he) from the first beginning of our nation have our ancestors used
to war; & to have weft from our childhood been enured to fight. Mary, an enemy I have, troubling
and presuming much upon his Infantry, whom I would gladly be able to match every way in all
kind of service. Footmen I am able to set out as well as another: for why? my Realm is po-
pulous, and yielddeth abundance of men: but altogether ignorant are, how to fit them with
arms. how to meetall them, how to order and set them in battell array: insomuch as all my
people in battle, go to it pell-mell, and are as a multitude huddled and thumbled together at a
venture without skill, without discretion and advisement. The Embassadors answered and said,
That for the present they would do according to his will and pleasure: but withal, they had his
faithfull promise & word of a Prince that he should immediately send back their companion again,
in case their Generals approved not their deed in that behalf. So Statuimus his name was, that left
behind with the King. So Syphax sent by the two Romans his answer to the forefald Embassadors
into Spain: and besides, with them other Numidians. Embassadors of his own to receive farther
alliances and fidelity from the Roman Generals; unto whom he gave in charge, that forthwith
they should solicite, persuade, and entice all the Numidians that were auxiliary foildiers unto the
Carthaginians, and served in any Camp City or Garrison Town of theirs, for to abandon them and
come to him. And Statuimus for his part, having suffered a great multitude of serviceable young
men whole forth and enrolled a power of footmen, to serve in the Kings wars: and when he had
forfeid them into bands and companies, and ordered them in battell array, as near as possibly he
could, to the manner of the Romans: he trained them in their running to follow their colours:
he taught them to keep their places in their ranks, and to double their files: and likewise he ac-
customed them to travel and do work: and so acquainted them with other military orders and
exercises, that within short time, the King reposed as good confidence, and was as mighty in his
new infantry as in his old Cavalry: and in a fort pitched field on even ground, was able to meet the
Carthaginian with banner displayed, and give him the foil in a full battell. The coming of the
kings Embassadors into Spain, was to the Romans also a matter of great consequence and import-
ance: for upon the rumour and fame that went thereof, the Numidians began to fall away space,
and to come thick unto the Romans. Thus were the Romans joyfull in amity and friendship
with King Syphax.

When the Carthaginians had intelligence of this new alliance they addressed immediatly their
Embassadors to Gala, who resigned in another part of Numidia over a nation called Maffia. This
Gala had a son named Mafanius, of eighteen years of age, but a youth of such towardness, and
to forward in vertue, that even then he made good and apparent shew, that he would another
day enlarge his dominion, and make a more flourishing and mighty Kingdom than his father
should leave it unto him. These Embassadors declared unto Gala, "That forasmuch as Syphax
had entered league, and was bandied with the Romans, to the end that by their alliance and fo-
ciety, he might be more mighty and proficient against other kings and nations of Affrike; it
were also better for him and much more commodious to joyne with the Carthaginians in all
convenient speed: before that either Syphax passed over into Spain, or the Romans into Affrike:
And Syphax (say they) may soon be defeated and overthrown now, while that he hath gained
might yet, but the bare name of the Roman League. Gala was soon persuaded to lend a power
of men especially at the present instance of his son, who was very desirous of that war, and to have
the managing thereof. He with the help of the Carthaginian legions vanquished Syphax, and gave
him a great overthrow. So as at that field there were slain, by report, in one day thirty thousand,
Syphax himself in person, with some few Numidian horsemen fled back to the Maffianes, that in-
habited the salt marshes, hard upon the Ocean over against Gades. But the barbarous people at
the time of his coming foretold in great manner to him out of all parts, that in a short space
he was able to arm an mighty host. And before he could with them cross over into Spain, which
was divided from Affrike with a narrow arm of the sea, Mafanius was come with his victorious
Army: who in that place, of himself, without any help or aid of the Carthaginians, gave
Syphax battell to his great honour and singular glory. In Spain no memorable exploit was ach-
ieved: but that the Roman Generals allured and drew to them the able and serviceable manhood of
the Celibrians, for the same hire and stipend that they bargained for with the Carthaginians:
and fent from thence about three hundred Spaniards of the noblest parentage into Italy, to foli-
cit their countrymen, who served under Ancibia as auxiliaries to follow them and take part with
the Romans. This only, touching the affairs of Spain that year, is a thing worthy to be noted and
remembered. That the Romans never waged foildier to serve in their war before that time, when
the Celibrians began to be their mercenaries, and first received pay.
The five and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Chronicle of L. Florus upon the five and twentieth Book.

Publius Cornelius Scipio, surnamed afterwards Africanus, was made Edile, before he was of lawful age; Annibal won the City Tarentum (all but the Castle, into which the Romans garrison was retired) by means of certain young Tarentine Gentlemen, who had made semblance, that they went by night and abating. The solemn place in the honour of Apollo, were now fit instated, upon occasion of certain propheticall verses of Martius, wherein the overthrow at Cannæ had been foretold. Q. Fulvia and Ap. Claudius Consul, fought fortunately against Hanno, a Duke or Captain of the Carthaginians; T. Sempronius Gramius the Pro-Consul, was by a Lucan (his host that gave him entertainment) trained into the danger of an ambush, and slain by Mago. Centenii Penula, who had served in the wars of a Centurion, being made flat unto the Senate, to have the leading of an army, and promised, if he had granted to win the victory of Annibal, and to conquer him, took the charge of eight thousand footmen, and gave battle to Annibal: but he was slain himself; and his whole army defeated and slain. Cn. Fulvius the Prætor fought unfortunately against Annibal, and left the field: in which fight there died sixteen thousand men. Himself, with two hundred horsemen fled and escaped, Apulis was besieged by Q. Fulvius, and Appius Claudius, the Consuls; Claudius Marcellus in the thirty year of the siege won Syracuse, and bare himself in that service like a worthy and noble Knight. In an intrigue and badly-rolly when the City was taken, Archimedes, whiles he was busily occupied in certain Geometrical figures and forms that he had drawn in the dust, was killed. The two Sicils, Publius, and Cornelius, after so many and so worthy exploits performed Fortunately in Spain, came to a woful and heavy end, being themselves slain there, with the loss of three hundred thousand of their whole Army, in the eighth year after that they went into Spain. And the main possession of that Province was quite lost, but for the singular manhood and industry of L. Martius, a Knight of Rome, who having rallied and gathered together the remnants of the armies, so encouraged them, that by their own forces, and several encampments, and the enemy's divisions, they were seven and thirty thousand of the enemy slain, and eighteen hundred taken prisoners, and a great rich booty obtained, Whence upon he was called Captain Martius.

The five and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

Hilles these affairs thus passed in Africa; and in Spain, Annibal employed the immerse nation in the territory of Tarentum, in hope by treason to be Master of the City of the Tarentins; in which mean while, certain baile Cities of the Salentine, and towns of no importance revolted unto him. And at the same time, of those selves States of the Bruttii, which the year before had turned, and banded with the Carthaginians, the Conentiens and Thurins were rallied wholly again to the devotion of the people of Rome. And more of them had returned likewise for L Pompionius Petentins, Captain of the Illyes; who after he had made certain rodes into the country of the Bruttii, and sped his hand with many booties, took upon him the countenance of a sufficient Colonel, and was no less pleased and having gathered a power of men, suddenly in haste, without good aduancement, fought against Hanno. In which conflict, a mighty multitude of his men were either slain or taken prisoners. But as good hap was, they were but a disordered unruly rabble of rustic clowns and bondmen; and the least lots of all other, was the Captain himself who amongst the rest was taken captive: a man as then, the author of a rash and fool-hardy fight, and had been aforetime a Publius, or farmer of the City revenues, and alviases (through his naughty practices and cunning fictions) the subject wherein he was become skillful) a disyloial person, and dangerous both to the publick State, and also to those private companies and societies, with whom he had commerce and allying. Sempronius the Conul, lying in the Lucanian country, made many light skirmishes, but not one worth remembrance, and won certain poor towns, and of small regard belonging unto the lands.

The longer that this war continued lingering, whiles prosperous successes and adverse mishap interchangeably wrought much variety and alteration as well in the inward minds of men, as in their outward state and fortune; such religious zeal and superstition (and the fame for the most part in forein ceremonies) had so seized & polished the City, that either the men or gods thereof, were suddenly all at once become clean altered and transfigured. Inomuch as now the Romans and holy observations were concerned, not only in secret, & within doors at home in their private
private houses, but abroad also in the open streets, yea, and in the common place and Capitol: if
wherefore they fled, alaways a fort of women that neither offered sacrifice and oblations, nor paid
their prayers, and did their devotions according to the use and custom of their native country
and City. Certain odd Priests and Chaplains, yea, and doting wizards and blind Prophets, had
inveigled the minds and consciences of men: whole number was the greater by recency first of
the rural people and peasants of the country, who for need and poverty, and for fear together,
were driven to quit their lands which they had not tilled and husbanded, by rea son of the long
wars, and many invasions and rodes that laid all waste, and so retired into the City: afterwords by
the eafe occupation and ready means of gain which they found by the errour of others, whom
they loon seduced and abused: which trade they used and practiced openly, as if it had been a I
lawful art and mystery. At the first, divers good and honest persons began hastily to grieve and
be offended herewith, yea, and to mutter; and utter their griefs in private: but afterwards in pro-
cess of time the matter was presented before the LL. of the Council, and brake forth to open
complaint in public places. The Ediles and Triumvirs Capitol were blamed much, and sharply
rebuked of the Senate, for not redressing these disorders: and when they went in hand to hand
the common place of this multitude and to call down, over-turn, and fling away the preparation
and provision for their sacrifices and oblations, they had like to have been militated and miltichieved
by the people. When this malady and milorder seemed now to be greater than might be reme-
died and reformed by the meaner and inferior Magistrate, M. Emilius, Praetor of the City for
the time being, received Commision by order from the Senate, to see that the people were eased
and delivered from this new religion and superstition. He not only read unto them in a public
assembly the decree of the Senate in that behalf, but also made proclamation, Imprimis, that whoever
had any books of prophecies or prayers, or treaties written of this art and science of
sacrifices, should bring in all those books and writings unto him before the Calends of A prilex
evening. Item, that no person should sacrifice either in public place or sacred Church, in any
new form or foreign rights and traditions. And in that year there died certain publick Peafts,
not wit, L. Cornelius Lencus the Arch Prelate, or high Priest: and C. Papirius Malfio, the In of
Caus a Bishop. Alto, L. Fufius Flaccus a High, and C. Papirius Ma'to the In of Lucinity, A Dem-
vic, deputed for holy mysteries, In place of Lencus and of Papi'rus were M. Cornelius Catibus.
and Cn. Servilius Cirpubl substituted high Priest and Bishop. For Augurlyere was created L. Ci-
tius Flaminins: and L. Cornelius Lencus was chosen Decemvirs over laced ceremonies and dine
service.

Now the time drew near of the solemn election of new Consuls: but because it was thought
good to call the old away, busied as they were in the wars, T. Semproni on one of the Con-
suls, nominated for Dictator, to hold that election a forelaid, C. Claudius Cento, who named sois
Generall of the Cavity F. Fufius Flaccus. This Dictator, the first comitial day following, ca-
ted to Consuls F. Fufius Flaccus also ennamed, his Generall of horsemen, and A. Claudius ales-
der, who in his Praetorship had the jurisdiction and government of the Province of Sicily. In
were the Pratos elected, C. Fufius Flaccus, C. Claudius Nerac, M. Junius Syllanus, and P. Carus
Sulla. When the Election was ended, the Dictator resigned up his place.

That year was Edile Cornelia, together with M. Carinus (ethegus, one P. Cornelius Scipio, who
surname afterwards was Africns. When he stood and made suit for the Edileship, and the
bunies of the Commons were against him, objecting that he was not eligible and capable of t
office for that he was not of lawful age to be a competitor: and without it: It (quoth he)
the Quirites and Citizens of Rome will choose me Edile, I have years enough on my bi
Whereupon, in favour and furtherance of his suit, there was such running and labouring of the
Tribes for their voices that the Tribunes suddenly forced all their purpose to him
him. And this was the largess and donative that the Ediles bestowed. The Roman Games
according to the wealth of that time, exhibited and set out with great state and magnificence;
continued one day longer than ordinary: and for every street throughout the City, was allotted
a Cornuis of oyl, L. Vitellius Tappalus and M. Fundarius Fundulus, Ediles of the Commons, act
ordained dames and wives of the City before the people, of dishonest and incontinent life: some of
them being condemned, they forced into banishment. The Games called Plebeii, were
rewined for two days: and by occasion of these games a solemn feast or dinner was kept for
honour of Jupiter.

Then Q. Fufius Flaccus the third time entered the Consulship, together with Appius Cla-
rese and the Pratos call lots for their Provinces. It fell unto P. Cornelius Sulla his lot, to have
jurisdiction both of Citizens and strangers, which before was executed by twain. To Cn. F. Fufius
fell Apulco to C. Claudius Nero was allotted Scipio, and M. Junius Syllanus his hap
to have the rule of the Tufcans. The Consuls were appointed by decree of the Senate to war VO
Annib I, and to have under their command two legions apace: and that one of them should
receive his legions of Q. Fufius, the CoL of the former year: and the other take his at the hi
of Fufius Continuus. As for the Pratos Q. Fufius Flaccus had Commision for the conduct
the legions atLucernia, which served under Emilius Praetor there: and Nero Claudius was to
the leading of those that were under the hands of C. Terentius in Picenum: and that they also
provide them selves of supply to make up the full number of the Companies. M. Junius
the charge of the legions of Citizens mutined the year before to serve in Tuscany: T. Sempr
Grac.
Dracchius, and P. Sempronius Tuditanus continued still in the government of their Provinces, the one of Lucania, the other of Calabria, and kept their own forces. Likewise P. Lentulus governed the old Province in Sicily: M. Marcellus was Lord Deputy of Sycrae, and so far as the Realm and Dominion of King Hiero reached, T. Oelcucium Admiral of the Navy. Greece was governed (Ill) by M.V. Terius, Sardinia by Q. Marcius Sevulus, Spain by P. and Cornelius Scipio. To the old armies before, there were other two new legions levied and enrolled by the Coif. So as in all, the whole forces for that year amounted to 23 Legions.

When the Consuls should muster the soldiers, they were hindered by occasion of a seud prank played by one M. Pobulunius Pyrgens, to the great trouble and diuquiet of the State and publick peace. This Pobulunius was by his vocation and calling a Publican, who many years together for crafty and deceitful dealing, for avarice and covetousness, had not his fellow in all the City, but it was C. Pomponius Venetus again: the same man whom the year before as he betrayed the territories of the Lucans falsely and unadvisedly, the Carthaginians by the conduct of Hanno had taken prisoner. These two (forasmuch as it was concerted and intended before, that the transporting of those things which were for the provision of the armies beyond sea, should be warrantable by the City against all danger of tempest; and that all damage and loss of goods that way mis-carrying, should not lie upon the shoulders of the Publicians, who had undertaken by great force to serve the armies but be made good again out of the common Chells and Treasures;) these publicans (I say,) not only gave false information of certain shipwrigs, but also if they brought word at any time truly of some ships that were perished, they were such only as were lost by their own fraud and deceit, and not caused by chance or violent of weather. For they would freight & charge certain old vellets and thaken bottoms, with some few wares of small or no worth at all, and suffer them to sink for the nonce in the deep sea, and give the mariners and sailors with small pinaces and cock-boats prepared aoteels for the purpose: and when they had done, lie faintly and say, that they had lost met, handle and commodities in those ships of fundy forts, and of great value. These cunning parts of theirs had been the year past revealed and noticed to M. Claudius the Praetor, and the Senates by him made acquainted therewith: howbeit there was nothing done, nor any act of Sentis devised for the chastisement of the offender; because the LL. of the Coun-cil in no case would confound the company and society of these publicans and farmers, in such a time especially, when there was some need of them. Then the common people took the matter into their own hands, to procure with more severity against the avaricious and fraudulent practices. At length, two of the Tribunes of the Commons, Sp. and Lucius both Carthians, arose up and shewed themselves. For seeing how odious and inanes an indignity this was, and not to be suffered they brought M. Pobulunius in question, and laid an action and let a fine upon his head, of two hundred thousand Attic. When the day of trial was come, whether the fine aoteel should stand and be paid, or taken off and remitted; and that the Commons were assembled in so great number, that the great Court-yard of the Capitol would scarce hold the multitude: the defendant spake for himself and pleaded at large. But the only hope that he seemed to have was this, in case C. Servilius Sas, a Tribune of the Commons, a friend and near kinsman of Pobulunius, would by virtue of his office come between and stop the course of his libel; for proceeding farther before the tribunes and wards were called forth, to go together and to give their voices. The two tribunes above named, having brought forth the witnesses to depose, and their denunciations being, commanded the people to old and make way: And the lottery casket or folder was brought forth to cast lots in what Tribes the Lucians should give their voices. All this while the Publicians were excepted with Cofet to dissolve the assembly by one means or other and put off the Court for that day. The common people on the other side, called on hard and gainfast it. And as it fell out, Cofet left himself in one of the points and corners of the assembly. He will not what to do his mind was perplexed for shame of the one side, if he did not help his friend and kinsman, and for fear on the other side, because he see the people so eagerly bent. The Publicians seeing a small hope of help in him, with full intent to make him ill, and to trouble the Court, put forward forcibly and advanced themselves through a void way, seized upon an high pace, and between the Tribunes and the people, rushed in upon them, and fell to quarrel and brawl both with the people of the one side, and also with the Tribunes on the other: insomuch as they were like to go together by the ears. Whereupon Fufcens the Consul, 465 Lib, Ber,....
"and to stop the tribes for being called to scrutiny and to give their voices: and nothing else it
was that kept men from committing a fray, and shedding blood, but the patience of the Mag-
istrates themselves in that for the present, they gave place to the furious rage and malappr fas-
tions of view: and for his will and pleasure brake up the assembly, before they could go together
about the matter they were met for: (which the defendant himself wish force & arms was rea-
dy to stop and hinder for going forward) because they might have no occasion given them to
quarrel, which was the only thing that they sought for. When this matter with all the circum-
stances was thronghly examined, and the best men there had spoken their minds; and given their
opinion according to the nature, circumstances and dignity of the thing: and therefore the Senate de-
creed, that this violence tended to the breach of common peace, and the hazard of the State (a I
most dangerous precedent to be fincekt) then without more ado, the two Caesaran Tribunes of the
Com, laid aside, all. debating about the perilous sentence, and indited *Pobliminus* of a
capital crime; and committed him to be arrested by a principal Sergiens, and to be led to pris-
son, unless he put in good securities for his appearance to answer the cause, such as would be bound
for him body or body. *Pobliminus* put in bail: and made default at his day. The then Tribunes
called the Commons together preferred a bill unto them, which they granted to pass as a act, in
this form. That if *M. Pobliminus* came not forth & made appearance before the *Calendars of May*
and being cited and called that day, answered not to his name, and no lawful excuse alleged for
his absence, they judged him to be a banished man, and therefore awarded his goods to be sold in
port-side and himselfe to be excommunicate, and interdicted the use of water and of fire: and to
lose the benefit of a Citizen forever. This done, they began also to endite all those, one after anoth-
er of a capital crime, who were his abettors, and the movers and fathers of a sedition and con-
uction of the people and to call for personal pledges. At the first they committed as many of them
as could, and no more, except such as were sufficient to put in bail. For the avoicing of which danger, most of them departed into voluntary exile. This was the end of the
Publi-ans fraudulent dealings; and this was the issue of their audacious enterprize, in defence
and maintenance of their gilde and deci-

After this, a solemn Court was called for the creation of the Arch-Prelate, and *M. Cornelius
Cethegus* newly elected Prelate, was the President of this election. Three competitors there were, who
used for that Preacy, and firved earnestly one against the other: namely, *Q. Fabius Flaccus,
L Cornfus* for the time being, who also had before been two: Cornful, and Centiforbes; also *T.
Madinus Terquatus*, a man of great reputation, for that he had been likewise dignified with a dou-
ble Centifhip, and one Centifhip: and last of all, *P. Licinius Crassus*, who as yet, was to ice for
the Archippe: howbeit, this young man in that fate and contention was Addition, and carried it
away from those, great, ancient, and honourable persons. Before him, for the space of an hun-
dred and twenty years, there had not been created any one the highest Priest, (tke only *P. Cor-
nelius Cethegus*) but had sat before in the Ivory Chair and born office of State. The Cornful
had much ado to go through with the Levy, and to enroll the full legion of fouldiers, by reason that
the small number of young and able men would hardly afford both to furnishe the new legi-
on of Citizens, and also to supply and make up the old. Howbeit the Senate would not suffer
them to give over their enterprise which they were about, but agreed that there should be cho-

en two Terrisons of Tribunus: the one fort of them to be entt out, within the compass of fifty
miles every way from Rome, the other to go farther: with commission to take good view and for-
voy, within what that precinct and without, in all through-fares and market towns: in boroughs
and places of frequent assemblies: of all persons of free condition that they could fey eye on: and
so many as they thought able men of body to bear arms, although they were not come to the
humble age for service, to pros them for fouldiers. Also it was decreed, that the Tribunes of the Com-
mons: they prosecuted, should put up a bill, that all under seventeen years of age, who had
bound themselves by military oaths, should have as good pay, as if they had been enrolled fouldi-
ers at seventeen years of upward. By virtue of this decree, the two Terrisons aforesaid of the N
Tribunus being chosen, made diligent search, and visited all the country over for free-born men
accordingly.

At the same time letters came from *M. Marcellus* out of Sicily, concerning the demands of
these fouldiers who served under *P. Lentulus*, and they were read in the Senate House. That army
confisted of the senate which remained after the field lost at Cammas, and was confined into Italy
(as hath been before) with this condition, not to return back into Italy before the Punic
was wholly ended. Those fouldiers obtained licence of *Lentulus* to lend as Emislladors unto
*Marcellus* (where he lay in winter harbour) the principal men of arms, such as served on
horses allowed by the City, the chiefie Centurions also the bravest fouldiers and choice flower
of the Legions. One of these in the name of the rest, having liberally granted them for to speak, made
his occasion in this wise: We had come to you into Italy *M. Marcellus*, when you were Confal,

immediately upon that decree made against us (which if it were not unjust and unmentionable,
yet surely it was heavy and rigorous enough: but that we hoped to be let into this Pro-
vice (to generally troubled and out of order by the death of the KK, there to be employed
in some dangerous and cruel war against the Sicilians and Carthaginians both at once,
and so with our blooded and grievous wounds to make satisfaction for our tredows unto the
Magistrates and rulers of Rome. Like as in our fathers' daces, which were taken prisoners
by
A by King *Pyrrhus* before *Heraclæus*, made amends for their fault by their good service against the same Pyrrhus. And yet, I can not see, [my LL., of the Senat] for what ill deed of our parts, ye either have been displeased aforetime, or are offended at this present with us. For me thinks, I see both Consuls, and the whole body of the Senat, of *Rome*, when I behold your face, O *Marcellus*: whom if we had had to our Consul at *Carthage*, it would have gone better both with the Common-weal, and with our selves, then it did. For I beseech you, suffer us now, before I make moan, and complain of our hard state and condition, to purge our selves of that crime for which I blame, Set cæle, that neither the wrath of the Gods, nor deifying and fatal necessity (upon the Law and decree whereof dependeth the invariable order and infallible course and consequence of all things in the world) was the cause that we were defeated & overthrown at *Carthage*, but our own selves, and our default was the occasion: let us see then, who fault it was, the foeldiers, or the Generals? For mine own part, I remember I am a foeldier, and of my Captain and General I will never speak but well: of him especially, unto whom I know the Senat rendered thanks for that he depaied not of the common-wealth: and who government ever since his flight and running away, hath been prostrated from year to year, and who hath had the conduct of armies continually. Neither will I say ought of the rest likewise, who escaped that unfortunate foil and defeat, I mean our military Tribunes and Colonels, who (as we hear lay) use for dignities, bear honourable offices in *City*, sea, and role whole Provinesses as *Rome*, Princes in foreign parts. It is so indeed my LL, do ye easily pardon and forgive your own selves and children? and deal ye so hardly, so rigorously and cruelly, against us bale-abject persons, and vile wretches? And was it no shame and dishonor imputed to the Consul and other great personnages of the State to flee, when there was no other hope? and were the poor foeldiers sent by you into the field with this intention, to be all killed up and none to escape? At the batall of *Aulis*, the whole army in a manner fled away: Also at the fraughts of *Caudine*: (to say nothing of other shameful foils of our armies) the host yoked up their armor to the enemy, before they joyned battle, and fought one strok. Yet, so far off it was, that those armies inflamed any inflamy and shameful reproach therefore, that both the City of *Rome* was recovered again by the means of those Regiments which fled from *Aulis* to *Vacca*, and also the Caudine ligeons which returned to *Rome*, naked were sent: again into *Samnium* well armed: who subdued D and brought under the yoke of subjection the very same enemies, who had taken in pride and joy in that dishonour and ignominy of theirs. And now, for the army before *Carthage*, any man able to come forth and charge them jutly, that either they fled, or for cowardly fear behaved themselves unequely, and not like foeldiers: Where were slain in field above fifty thousand men: from whence the Consul fled with fifty Horsemen, and no more: and of which company there is not one remittach alive, but whom the enemy, weathy with killing, spared and left. I remember, at what time as the prisoners taken there, were denied money to pay for their ransom, then every man commanded and prais'd us, for saving and relieving our selves against another day, to be employed in the service of the Common-weal: for returning unto *Samnium* to the Consul, and for making a good show of a compleat army. But now, in worst case we are, than in out E fathers days, captives have been that were taken prisoners. For they only had their armor and weapons charged for worse, their rank in the battal shifted, their place in the camp where they should quarter altered: which notwithstanding, they recovered again at once by performing their good devoir to their country and winning a victory in one unfortunat battal. Not one of them was ever confined (as it were) to a place of exile: none put beside hope to be diff charg'd from foeldiery by leaving out his full time: and to be brief: they were let to fight with some enemy or other, where they might once for all either lose their life, or end their dis honor. And we, against whom nothing can be objected at all, unless it be this, that we were the caule, and none but, that some citizen of *Rome* might be laid to remain alive of all those that were at the battal of *Carthage*: we say, are sent far enough off, not only from our native country, and F *Iulus* but also from all enemies: where we was old in exile, to the end, that we should have no hope, no occasion and opportunity to wipe away and cancel our disgrace: to mitigate and pacifie the anger of our fellow-citizens, and finally to die with honor. But it is neither end of shame, nor reward of virtue and valour, that we desire and crave: but only that we might be permitted to make proof of our courage, and shew our prowess. Pains and perils we seek for, and to be employed in dangerous adventures, like hardy men and brave foeldiers. Two years already there hath been sharp and hot war in *Sicily*. Some Cities the Carrthaginians won by force, other some the Romans took likewise by assault, Whole Regiments of foot, many troops and corpers of Horse encounter together, and affall one another. At *Syracuse* there are great enterprizes and worthy feats of arms, both by *Sea* and *Land*. The fight of them that fight the G very clattering and ringing again of their armor and weapons, we can hear where we are, and we sit still like idle lunks: and do nothing: as if we had neither hands nor weapons to fight with, T *Sempronius* the Consul, with legions of bond-slaves, hath bidden battel to the enemies, and fought with them in plain field to oot, that they are well recomposed for their labour with gaining their freedom first, and then the Burgoyne of the City. Let us yet, in place and quality at lastwise, of bondslaves taken up and bought for money against these wars, fight with those enemies, as well as they have done, and by our fight trie, whether we can regain our enlarged and liberty. Wil you your self, O *Marcellus* make tryal of us, and of our valour by *Sea*, "by
by Land, in pitched field, and battled ranged, or in giving assaults and winning of walled Towns? 

Put us to it, and spare not. The hardest enterprises, the most painful and dangerous enterprises,

are they which we require most gladly: that we may have that be time, and at once, which we

should have come unto at Careful; seeing that all the time we have lived since, hath been defined

to our ignominy and disgrace.

At these words they fell down prostrate at Marcellus his feet, Marcellus answered them, that he had neither power of himself, nor commission otherwise, to content them, and satisfie their request. Howbeit, write to the Senate he would: and according as the L.L. should give advice and direction, so he would do and not fail. These letters (as I said before) were brought to the Con-
fuls; and by them read in the Senate-houre. And after deliberate consultation about their con-
tents, the Senate passed this decree: That as concerning those soldiers, who had forsaken their fellows fighting before Careus, the Senate should not reason, why they should be put in trust any more with the affairs of the Common-wealth; but it M. Claudius the Proconsul thought it good otherwise, he might do according to that which he judged convenient; and to stand with his own credit, and the safety of the State. Provided always, that not one of them be dispensed with, and freed from service or charge of foouldiery: nor rewarded with any military gift in testimonio and token of his valour: nor yet reduced home again into Italy, so long as the enemy made abode there.

After this, the Pretor for the City, by virtue of a decree from the Senate, and an act of the Commons, assembled the people together. In which Session were created five Commissioners called Dumugnares, for the reedsifying and repairing of the turrets and the walls: Likewise two other fraternities of Trimiviris, the one for taking an inventory of all sacred things, and to sign and note all offerings and oblations: the other for reedsifying the Temples of Fortune and dame Minerva within the gate Careus, and likewise of Jupiter without the gate, which the year past were consumed by fire. Great and fearful tempelis happened this year. On the Alban mount it rained stones continually for two days. Many places were blased and blotted with lightnings from Heaven; and namely, two Chappels in the Capitol, and the Rampier about the camp and fort above Sestryens in divers places thereof: and two watchmen in their Sentinels flenke flark dead. The wall and certain turrets thereon at Careus, not only blotted but also shaken down and overthrown with lightnings and thunder-bolts. At Rome there was a great houne to flie to, and into the air. The sun also appeared more red than it useth to be, and like to blend. In re-
gard of these prodigious fights, there was a solemn Procession and supplication all one day: and the Consul for certain days together, attended only upon Divine service of the Gods: and the Novendial Sacrifices were deservingly celebrated nine days together.

Now whereas a long time already both Amikel hoped, and the Romans also suspected that the Tarentins would revolt: there fell out between, an occurrence and outward accident, which hastened it the rather. There was one Phere a Tarentine, who having abode long at Rome under colour of an Embassador leger, a busy head man, and of an unequil spirit, one that of all things could not away with rest and peace, in which so long as he lived thought every day a year, and that now he was waxen old and aged therein, found means to have access unto the ho-

andings of the Tarentins. He kept them in the Close belonging to the Temple of Liberty, with the least attendance and careful eye because it was expeditious and good neither for themselves, nor for their City, to make an escape, and deceive the Romans. These hostaged he had oftentimes ol-
llicitly and perniciously; by much talk and many reasons, and at length having bribed and corrupted two lestons and warders of the said Temple, he trained them forth in the evening out from the place where they were in late custody: and when he had accompanied them onward on the way as a guide, did direct them how to pass secretly, he fled himself and they together. By day break the next morning they were missed, and their escape was noted throughout the City: Wherupon men were sent out after them from all parts, to fetch them in again: who having overtaken them at Tarentina, laid hold of them, and brought them back to Rome: where in the Careus they were, by the content of the people, beaten with rods, and then thrown down headlong from the cliff Tarpæa.

The cruelties of this punishment, caused much anger; and provoked two of the noblest and most famous Cities in Italy to indignation, not only in publick generally, but also in pri-

vate particularly: according as any man was either in blood joyned, or in alliance and friendship linked to them who were thus foully and shamefully put to death. Amongst whom there were a-

bout thirteen noble Gentlemen of Tarentum, conspired together and the chief of them were Nicco and Philemon. These conspirators before they would stir and enter into any action, thought bett

to speak and confer with Ambell first; and to having gone forth of the City under a pretence as if they went to the chase a hunting, by night they came unto him. But when they drew near unto the camp, the red hid themselves within a wood near unto the high way: Nicco and Philemon only went forward to the watch, and there being taken (as they requested themselves,) were brought before Ambell. Who when they had delivered unto him their complaint and upon what occasions they entered into that delention they were highly commended, and promised great re-

wards and waifed and charged by him, that to the intent they might bear their countrymen in hand, how they ever went out of the City to fetch in some booties, they should drive after them into the City, certain cattel of the Carthaginians, which were put out to pasture and feeding; and
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A and herewith gave them his word to do it safely, and without any imprisonment and resistance whenever. Thus these Gentlemen were seen to bring in good store of cattle: and as they were known to make his adventure the second time and after till, men marvelled the less at the matter, and suspected nothing. Now upon a new parling and communication with Ammabo, they covenanted with him upon his faithful promise in the terms, Impromis, for the Tarrentines themselves, to enjoy freely their Lands and goods, and live under their own laws. Item, to pay no pension nor tribute unto Ammabo, nor be forced to receive a garrison against their wills. And last of all, to betray the garrison soldiery of the Romans, and all their fortresses and places of strength deliver up into the hands of the Carthaginians. When those conditions and capitulations were agreed upon, then Philemones sued much other to go forth and come again in the night: and as was known to be a great hunter, and much delighted in that exercise, he had his hounds following him at his heels, and all other furniture about him fit for huntmen: and lightly ever he took some wild beast or other with his hounds, or else got something from the enemy, that of purpose lay ready for his hands: and always as he brought home ought with him, he would belittle it either upon the Captain of the Roman garrison, or deal it among the warders of gates. And they all, verily believed and were persuaded, that his going out and in thus, that by night, was only for fear of the enemies. Now, when he had used this so accustomably, that he had made it an ordinary practice, to so much, that at what time of the night to ever he had but once lured or whistled the gate was lighted, and open for him: then Ammabo thought it time, to put the plot above said in execution. Three days journey he was off; Where being he would have men the lese marvail, why he kept a standing camp so long in one place he signified and made himself sick. The Romans also, that lay in garrison at Tarrentum, gave over to inspect his long abode and leaguering there. But after that he was determined and resolved to advance toward Tarrentum, he picked out ten thousand foot and horsemens together, whom he imposed for nimble bodies, swift footmanship, and lightness of armor, to be most meet for expeditio: and with them at the fourth watch of the night, he marched forward with his ensigns. And having sent out his horse fourtide Numidian light Horse: he commanded them, to ride about and scour all the ways on every side, and to call their eye to clipe and discover all the coasts, that no country people a far off might defery and view the army on foot, but they should be seen: and withal, to D bring in, as many as were gone before, and kill all them they met and encountered: to the end that the Peasants there inhabiting, might think they were Thieves and Robbers, rather than the vandarierers and fore-riders of an army. Himick in person marching with great speed and celerity, pitched his camp almost 15 miles from Tarrentum. Neither would he there, be known unto his men of his purpose, nor tell them whither they should go: only he called his soldiers together, and charged them to hold on the direct way, and not suffer any one to turn aside: nor in the march go out of his rank or file: and above all things, to be ready for to receive their charge and commandement from their Captains, and do nothing without their warrant and commission. As for himself, he would when he saw his time let them know his mind: and what service was that he would have done. And about the fame very hour and inflants news came as far as Tarrentum that E some few Numidian Horsemen forraged the country, and had put the villagers in great fright all about. At which tidings, the Captain of the Roman garrison was no more moved, nor made any other halt, but only gave order, that some of the Horsemen the next morning by day light should ride forth, to keep the enemy from further excursions. In the mean time, they had this charge, bare themselves to carefully in providing themselves to execute that which they were comman- ded, that contrary-wise, they took those outrodes of the Numidians for a good argument, That Ammabo with his army was not dislodged, but abode still in heaguer where he lay first. Ammabo when it was once dark and dead night, began to set forward. Philemones was there ready to be his guide, loden with his game hunted as his manner was. The left of his conspiracy waited their time to execute their several charges, as it was agreed among them. Now it was ordered between them aore, that Philemones coming in at the minall little wicket, with his vention that he had hunted, should bring in with him some armed men: and Ammabo on another part, come to the gate called Tarrentum, which looked toward the East, and stood on the Land side of the City, a good way within the wall, as it were in a nook. When Ammabo approached the said gate, he made a fire, in token that he was come (as it was devided between them before) and it flamed forth and gave a shining light. The like did Nicot again. Then the fires on both sides were put out, that they made no more blaze. And Ammabo in great and still silence, led his army close to the gate. Nicot came sudainly at outwares upon the watchmen left asleep killed them in their beds, and opened that gate. Ammabo entred with his Regiment of footmen and commanded the cavalry to stay behind, to the end they might have liberty of open ground to ride, whithersoever there was need. Q and as occasion required. Now by this time, Philemones also was come nearer to that little gate on the other side, where he used to make his egress and ingress to and fro. And when he had raised the watchman with his voice to wel known and with his whistle whereby now he was familiarly acquainted, & said withal, that he was troubled with lugging and lugging of a foul heavy beast: therewith the wicket was set open. Two fibly fellows there were carrying in the wild bores between them, and he himself followed with one of the huntmen, lightly & nimby appointed, and whilst the watchman his eye was upon the two porters that carried the beast, wondering at the bigness of the bone, and took no heed to himself, Nicot thrust him through with his spear. Then
tred in after them, about thirty men armed, who killed the rest of the watch, and brake down the great gates withal: and immediately there entered the companies with banner displayed: and so, forth from thence they were conducted and brought to the market place, without making any noise, and there joined themselves to Ambusc. Then Ambusc divided two thousand Gauls into three Regiments, whom he set into sundry parts of the City, and gave order to the Tarentins and the African, to get possession of the most principal and populous places of the City; and when the cry and shout was once up, to kill all the Romans wherever, and to spare the Townsmen. But to the end that this might be orderly done, he gave direction to the young Gentlemen storeward of Tarentum, that so soon as they espied a far off, any of their own Citizens and Country-men, they should bid them be quiet and still, to hold their peace, to be of good cheer and fear nothing. By which time, they began to set up a shout and cry, as men use to do in a City taken by assault, but what the matter should be, no man of the Town or garrison could certainly tell. For the Tarentin inhabitants supposed verily, that the Roman soldiers of the garrison were risen up to sack the City: the Romans on the other side, thought that the Townsmen mutinied, and they were in doubt of some traitorous practice. The Captain himself awakened and raised at the first tumult, escaped to the key, where he took a small Barge or wherry-boat, and fled to the Castle. The Trumpet also that sounded from the Theatre, made the greater terror: for it was both a Roman Trumpet, provided beforehand for the purpose by tho'ke Trattors, and a Greek blew it, one who had no skill: and so it was doubtful, both who he was that sounded, and who they were that gave signal unto. When day appeared, and the Romans saw the armament of the Carthaginians and Gauls then they will well in what door the wind was, and how the World went: and the Greeks seeing the Romans lying along every where brain, were soon aware that the City was taken by Ambusc. But after it was broad day light, and that the Romans who remained unkill'd, were fled into the Castle, and the noise and tumult suddenly began by little and little to slack and give over: then Ambusc commanded the Tarentins to be called to a general assembly, and to present themselves without arms. When they were all come together, but only those who with the Romans were fled for company into the Castle, there to abide in a fortune as they: Ambusc spoke kindly unto the Tarentins, gave them good and friendly words, rehearsed with great pretention what favors he had shewed to all their Citizens, whom he had taken prisoners either at Tralles or at Caere: and withal, after he had bitterly in sighed against the Lordly and proud rule of the Romans, he commanded every man to repair home to his own house and let his own name upon his doore for that Romans house as had not the name written upon them of the Master thereof, he would presently upon sound of Trumpet, command to be riled, Over and beside that, if any one should have his own name, and set it on the door or lodging-house of a Roman (for he saw divers of their houses empty) he would take him for an enemy and deal with him accordingly. After this speech ended, and the assembly dissolved, when the doors were marked with their titles and inscriptions storeward, whereby the houses of friends and enemies were known distinctly one from another: the signal was given by sound of Trumpet: and then there was running every where from all parts to ransack the lodgings of the Romans. And some pretty sprinkling of villager they met withal. The next day after, he advanced against the Castle to assault it, which he had never impregnable and not possible to be won, either by forcible assault, or by artificial devices of fabricke and engines, by reason that both the Sea came to it, whereas the greater part thereof was compass'd, in manner of a demy land, and also fortified besides on another part with exceeding high and steep rocks: and withal, fenced from the City with a strong wall and deep ditch: therefore, because he would neither let nor hinder himself from achieving greater affairs, while he was thereby bided only about defending the Tarentins, nor yet leave them without a strong guard, for far left the Romans from out of the Castle, might at their pleasure come upon them, he determined to raise a rampart for a partition between the Castle and the City, for their defence against the said garrison. And he was not out of hope, that then when the Romans should offer to illume forth to hinder the said work, they might also be fought withal: and in case they adventures rashly ran on, and engage themselves too far, they might be cut off in their heat, and the forces of the garrison might be so diminished and abated by some great slaughter & execution that the Tarentins of themselves should be able with ease to defend their City against them. The said work was not so soon begun but the Romans all of a sudden, set open the Castle gate and charged upon the pioneers as they were labouring about their work. The guard that attended for the defence of the workmen, and flood before their work, fell off and suffered themselves to be put back, to the end that the enemies upon their first success, should be more advantageous supposyng that the further they gave ground, the more of the other would follow after and chase them, Which being perceived the Carthaginians whom Ambusc had kept close for this purpose, and had in readiness very wel appointed, role out of all parts, and made head again. Neither were the Romans able to abide their terrible violence, and die they could not, in miliardess by occasion that the straightness of the place would give no leeway: and besides, many things lay in their way: partly, the work that was begun and partly, other provision of flute brought for the same which mightly hindered and impeached them. Most of them fell headlong into the trench: and were thus more perilish'd in their flight, than were killed in the fight. After this the fortification was in and again, and none durst venture to hinder it. So he cast a mighty deep ditch, and raised an high rampier within it. Also behind it, a pretty distance of he went in hand
to build a more or wall to it, in the very same quarter; that they might be able even without any guard at all, or strength of men, to defend themselves against the Romans. Howebeit, he left them an indifferent band of banditiers, which might withstand out somewhat in making of the wall. Himself then departed with the rest of his army as far as the River G. Iphes five miles off from the City, and there encamped. From which standing camp, he came back once again to survey the work: and finding that it went better toward than he looked for, he began to conceive some good hope that the citadel also might be won by assault. For why it was not defended surely by situation on high ground, as others were, but setted on a plain and divided from the City, by a wall only and a ditch. Now when as it began to be assailed with labours, and artillery devised of all sorts, there hapned a new supply to be sent from Metapontum to aid the garrison: whereby the Romans took heart unto them, to so much as in the night time of a sudden and before they were looked for, they set upon the labours and ordinance of the enemies planted thereupon: some they cast down and overthrew, others they fired and consumed. And there amend of Annibal his affault of the Castle from that tide.

The only hope behind now, was in continual siege: and yet that hope promised no great effect, because they that held the Castle had the Sea free at their command, all that side, whereas the said fort (standing as it were in an half island) overlooked the mouth of the haven: and the City contrary-wise, was wholly excluded from all enterance of passage and commodities coming in by Sea, and like were they that besieged the fortrese, to feel the want and scarcity of victualls, than those that were besieged within it. Then Annibal after he had called together the principal citizens of Tarantum, laid open unto them all, the present difficulties, saying: "That he neither saw any way to win by force the Castle so strong and fortified as it was, nor had any hope at all to gain it by siege, so long as the enemies were Lords of the Sea. But if they had ships once, whereby they might hinder and stay the coming in of their victualls and other commodities, the enemies immediately would either quit the piece, or yeald themselves. The Tarantines held well with that, and approved the device. But (say they) he that giveth us that counsel, must also afford us means to effect the fame. For the Carthaginian ships if they were sent for, and fet out of Sicily might well do the least: many, as for our own which lie that up as it were, within a little creek and bay, consider that the enemy keepeth the mouth and entrance of the haven, how is it possible that they should get out from their harbour into the open Sea, and pass without danger? Pass (quoth he) they shall, make no doubt of that. Many things, I tell you, considered in their own nature are number one and difficult, but by policy and wit of man are easily welded and wrought with alight, Ye have a City here leated upon a plain and champain ground, the ways answerin to every side of it are even, large and broad enough, yea, and open to all quarters. I will chuse that way which croseth the midst of the City, and passeth along to the haven and the Sea, and so will carry and transport the ships upon waies, with no great ado and trouble. And so, both the Sea shall be ours clear, which now the enemies keep, and also we shall believe the Castle round, as well by Sea as by Land: nay, more than that, within short time we shall either enter it, being abandoned of the enemy, or else be masters both of it and them together.

These words not only put them in good hope, that the enterprize would be effectued, but also let them in a wonderful good concite and admiration of the Captain himself. Then out of hand, all the waies and carthes were taken up from all places as many as could be had, and were put together, and coupled one to another. Divers canes and other instruments were fet to, to draw up the ships to Land the way made plain and level, that the cars might go more easilie, and pas away with less trouble and more expedition. After this they got together draught oxen cart jades and other working beasts, yea, and men also for to draw: and thus the work was libly begun, inonuch, as within five days, the fleet well rigged, appointed, and drefted, was brought about the Castle, and rid at anchor even in the avenue & entry of the haven. In these terms flood Tarantum, when Annibal left it, and returned back to his wintering harbours. But authors write diversly of this revolt of Tarentum, whether it happeneth the year paft, or at this present. But the greater number of them, and those that lived nearer to that time, when the remembrance of these matters was freth, affirm that it was this very year.

At Rome, the Consuls and Pretors both remained till the fifth day before the Calends of May, by occasion of the Latin holy-days, upon which day, when they had performed a solemn sacrifice, with all complements thereto belonging, on the Alban Hill, they departed every one to his several charge and Province. After this, there crept into the minds of men a new irruption of confidence upon certain prophetical verses of one Martius, a noble and famous Prophet in times paft. Now, by reason that in the year before, there was diligent search and inquisition made, for such books of Fortune, according to a decree granted out of the Senate, those verses came to light, and to the hands of M. Aemilius Pretor of the City, who put them upon that communion. And he immediately gave them to Sulla the new Pretor. Of two Prophecies of Martius, the one, which afterwards carried the greater authority with it, by reason of the event that happened to right, and declared it so evidently, caufed the other also, whereof the time was not yet come, to be of credit and believed. The former contained a Prediction of the overthrow at Cannae, in these or such like words:
From Trebiana lines, O Rome, at once defended,  
Ele Canna River, near to Canna Town:  
Left strangers born, who have by death intended,  
Force thee to fight on Diomedes his own,  
But warning mine, thou wilt not lift upon,  
Until with blood thy weft do fill the plain;  
And then to sea from fruitful Land, now  
Thy men shall down the stream by thousand plain,  
Thy steps must bent the fish in Ocean deep.  
And lure the plenty, as from high to prey,  
And feed wild beasts, on earth below that keep.

Mark well my words, O Rome, till I am taught to say.  

And they who had been foundiers, and served in those wars, knew as perfectly Diomedes his plans, and the River Canna, as they did the very defeat it self, and loosed at Canna. Then was the other Prophecy likewise read, which was the darker of the twain: not only because future things are more uncertain than those which are past already; but also by reason of the kind of writing, which was more obscure and intricate, in these terms:

If enemies ye would expel, if batch and plague ye sore  
* Sent from a far, ye would drive forth, and vexed be no more;  
To Phocbus (Romans) I advise, ye went from year to year  
To set forth places in solemn wise, with word and woe mighty clear.  
From public kirk, the people set, part of the change disclose.  
The rest should ye, for your and yours, despot, be ye fierce.  
The sacrifice, the Priests must presume these games to be perform'd,  
Who sit in place, mean to please, and for all wrongs reform'd.  
Then shall the ten Decemvirs fight, the Greek's victor observe,  
In flames be called sacrifices, and nothing from them forever.  
If all be done accordingly, your joy shall are increase,  
Your State shall daily grow in wealth, and fruits of blessed peace.  
For God Apollo will you save, he will your feet defend,  
Who at their pleasure west your fields, and make you much annoy.

For the explanation and expiation both, of this prophesy, they took one whole day, and the morrow after, there passed a decree from the Senate, That the Decemvirs should peruse and look into the books of Sibylla about the exhibiting of those said games, in the honour of Apollo, and celebrating likewise of the sacrifices. And when all was perused, and relation made before the Senate: the Lords made an Act, and set down an order: First, to vow and set forth solemn parades accordingly, to the honour of Apollo. Item, After the Games were done and finished, to allow the Priests twelve thousand Ases, toward the expenses of the divine service, and two great beasts for sacrifices. There passed also another Act of the Senate, That the Decemvirs should celebrate divine service, and sacrifice after the oblation and rites of the Graces: and offer upon the Altar these beasts, to wit, an OX with guided horns, and two white female Goats, with guided horns likewise, for Des Ap Io: and a Cow with horns, in like manner guided, for Dame Latona. The Priests, when they was to represent the Games within the Circus Maximus, gave commandment, and made proclamation, That the people, during the time of those solemnities, should contribute money, for an offering to Ap Io, every man according to his ability, and as he might well spare. This is the beginning of the Apollinaris Games and Plays, exhibited for to obtain victory, and not for to escape some plague or pestilence, as most men suppose. And when they were celebrated, the people was to behold and look on, adorned with garlands upon their heads, and the dames and matrons of the City were in procession, and made supplications. Every man's door was set open, and they feasted and made good cheer generally through the City in the open streets; and a high holyday this was, solemnied with all kind of ceremonies that could be devised.

But to return again to Annibal, who was about Trebutium: and both Consuls remaining in Samnium, but ready, as it seemed, to besiege Capua: it fell out that the Campanians already were distrest with hunger and famine, (a calamity that usually followeth long and continual siege) and the reason was, because the armies of the Romans had impeached and hindered their feeding. Therefore they dispatched Embassadors to Annibal, beseeching him that he would take order for grain to be brought into Capua, from all parts near adjoining, before that the Consuls were come abroad with their legions into their territory, and all the wayes belte, and passages stopped by the guards and companies of the enemies. Whereupon, Annibal gave direction to Hannibal, that he should remove out of the country of the Brittsi, and passe over with his forces into Campania, and endeavour so, that the Campanians might be provided of sufficient store of corn, Then
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Heir and aid, That right and overlodged he called for the late convoy thereof. After this, he sent a messenger to the consuls, to give them notice, upon what day they should attend, and be in readiness to receive their corn; and against the time, provided out of the country for the carriage, carts, wains, and draught-beasts, and pack-horses of all sorts. But the Romans did as they carried

B themselves in all things chearfully and regularly, so in this they were very slack and thoughtless: for they lent little above forty carts, and some few beasts for carriage besides. For which they had a check given them, and were rebuked by Hanno; because that hunger, which caused the very beast to bidder it left and make hard shifts, was tolerable to prick them forward to be more careful about their own business. So there was a farther day appointed for to load their corn, and to come more furnished and better provided for. A this being reported to the men of Bereniceum, with the circumstances and particulars, as it was, they addressed with all speed ten Embassadors to the Roman Consuls, encharged them about Bereniceum. Upon which intelligence given of the affairs at Carthage, they took order, and agreed between themselves, that that of them should conduct an army into Carthage. And Ptolemas, who undertook that charge,

C marched by night to Bereniceum, and put himself within the walls of the Town. And there he was advertised by them that devout near hand. That Hanno was gone out with part of his forces, for to pursue them: that there were 1000 carts com, with a rude and disorderly multitude of people, without armor; that all that they did was in hurly, in hubbub, and great fear; and finally, that the camp was out of form and fashion, and all good military orders were gone, by reason of a rabble multitude of country cowards come out of those quarters, and encumbered amongst them. The Consuls, being informed for certain of the particulars of these things, gave their foudiers warning to make ready against the next evening, nothing but their engines and weapons, for that they were to charge upon the camp of the Carthaginians. And so they set forward at the relief of the fourth watch, having their packs and trusses all their baggage behind them at Bereniceum: and presenting themselves before the camp, somewhat before day, they put them into an holy body fear, and so terrified them, that if it had been pitched upon a plain ground, it had been won at the first attack. But the height of the place, and the rampiers and fortifications besides, which could not possibly be escaped upon, without climbing upon the steep hill with much difficulty, were a defense unto it. But day light there was a most affright given, and a hot skirmish begun, but the Carthaginians not only defended and kept their rampier, but also (as having the vantage of the ground) they charged and thrust the enemies back, as they mounted up the hill. Howbeit, rare hardiness overcame all hardships and difficulties whatsoever; for in diverse places at once they advanced as far as the banks and trenches; but it cost bloody blows first, and the death of many a foudier. The Consuls therefore

D calling the Coronels and Marshals together, said, it were not amiss to give over until their haste and heady attempts, and as he thought, it was the later course, for that day to retire the army to Bereniceum, and on the morrow to encamp themselves about the enemy, to the end that neither the Camps might get forth, nor Hanno return and enter into the Town again. And that this might be the former effected, and with a great deal more ease, he would send for his Colleague also with his army, and both of them jointly bend their forces that way. But these devices of the Capt in general were soon defeated. For as he was about to found the retreat, the foudiers with a loud voice cried out, that they could not away with such faire Captains; they feared to be commanded in so cold and slothful service: they would none of that: and so put the Conspirata of their bent. It happened, that next unto the gate coming into the enemies camp, there lered

E a cohort or company of the Peiligni, led by Captain Fulvius, who caught the bower out of the bearer his hand, and flung it over the rampier and with that fell to curing himself and his company both, with a flame light upon him and them to; if the enemies were away with that banner; and therewith he himself the way, and brake first through the trench, and over the palisado into their camp. Now by this time the Peiligni fought within the rampier: and then Valesius Flaccus a Coronel of the third legion from another side fell to uphold the Romans, and hit them in the teeth with their bestly and most determined in order of taking the camp. Whereupon P. Pedemus (a centurion of the Regiment called Principes, and sitting in the first plate thereof) took likewise an ensign from him that carried it, and withal. Now shall quoth he this ensign, and this Centinere (meaning himself) prettily be within the rampier of the enemies: let me see who dare follow, and face it from being taken by the enemy. At first, his own band and company followed him hard at heels, as he climbed to get over the rampier, and then the whole legion came after likewise. But this time, the Consuls also facing their foudiers climbing over the rampier, charged his purpose, and was of a clean other mind: and from calling, and rekindling their foudiers back, fell to exhort and encourage them, shewing in how great hazard and danger a right hardy and valiant cohort of allies were, and the whole Legion of Citizens besides. They all therefore set to and every man did his best: and not with landing there was many a dare driven and javelin hurled, notwithstanding the enemies opposed
posed their armor and bodies full against them yet they never flinted to aby every place, as well as high as low, until they were broken through, and gotten in. Many a man was hurt (ye may be sure) but yet even they that bled until they fainted, and were not able to fight any longer, carried this mind and force withal, to die yet within the rampart of their enemies. Thus in the burning of an hand the camp was won, as easily as if it had been pitched upon a plain and even ground, and not fortified at all with trench and rampier. From this time now, there was no more fighting, but killing on all hands in that tumult and confusion of bell-mell within the camp. Slay there were of enemies more than six thousand, and above seven thousand taken prisoners, toger-

The Campins also having heard, as well of their own losses as of their allies, sent Embelladors to Ambibol, to certify him; "That both the Conuls were at Beneventum, that the war was within a dayes journey of Capua, and but a lepp from the very gates and walls of the City; and unless he made good halt to succour and rescue them, Capua would sooner come under the obedience and subjection of the enemies than Apri did. And he was not to make such a reck-

ning of all Tarentum (much less then of the Calte alone,) as in regard thereof to leave Capua un-

defended, and yeild it to the people of Ro, Cap. I say, which he was to come and make equal with the City of Rome. Ambit. promised that he would take care for the good estate of the Campans : and for the present he sent two thousand Horsemans with the Embellad-

ors, as a guard to keep the country and territory from invasion and spoil.

The Romans in this mean time, among other their affairs, neglected nor the safety of the Calle of Tarentum, and the garrison there believing. Pet C, Scrutarius, Lieutenant, by order and authority of the Senat, was sent by P. Corn. but the Pretor into Hbran, to pursuyc for cornard to buy more: who with certain ships laden therewith, arrived in the haven of Tarentum passing even through the guards of the enemies. At whole coming, they that before whiles they had but small hopes, were oftentimes by way of partly moved by the enemies to go to the contrary side, now themselves began to periwaide and licillicit the enemy to come unto them. And the garrison here-

ly was strong enough, considering that the fouldiers which lay at Metapumum, were drawn from thence to the defence and keeping of the Calle of Tarentum. And therefore the Metapumins, so soon as they were delivered of the fear whereby they were kept and held inas with a bit, recol-
ted unto Ambibol. Semblibly did the Thurins also, who inhabited the same tract by the Sea side. They were moved and periwaded thereto, not so much by the rebellion of the Farentins and Metapumins, with whom they were linked in kindred, and joynez near in blood (over and be-

sides that they were defended as well as they. out of Achaea) as with anger toward the Romans for the hostages lately by them killed. Their friends therefore, and kindred dispatched letters and meffengers unto Hanno and Magis (who were in the country of the Britani near at hand) offering to deliver the City into their hands if they brought their power and presented it before their walls. Now was there one M, Atimius, Captain there over a small garrison, whom they implo-

med might be easily driven forth of the Town to make some rash and inconfert skirmish, pre-

noting not so much upon his own feoudiers (who were but an handful) as upon the youth and flour of the Thurins, whom he had of purpose enrolled into bands and companies, and furnished with armor against the like occasions of service. The Carthaginian Captains above named, had divided all their forces between them in two parts, and were entered into the territory of Thuri:

and Hanno with his Regiment of footmen, advanced with banners dip'd ayde before the City: Magis with the Horfemen, hid behind close among the Hills, over-against the Town, and there lay lager in ambush. Atimius then, who by his eipials was endangered only of the squadron of footmen, came forth with his forces into the field, ignorant (God wont) both of the fatihood and resnon of the Townsmen, and also of the covert trains and ambushment of the enemies. The skirmish of footmen was exceeding faint and cold, whereas the Romans being but few, fought in the vanguard: and the Thurins looked rather when the skirmish should end, than made any halt to fight themselves and help: and withal, the squadron of the Carthaginians gave ground for the nonce, to train the enemy as far as the side of the Hill, under which, on the other side their Horfemen lay in wait and were ambushed. And thither they were not so looin come, but the Horfemen made halt to shew themselves, with a great outcry, and presently put to flight the raw and disordered company and multitude of the Thurins: who were not very fast and found in heart to them on whole side they fought. The Romans albeit they were environed round, whilst the footmen lay still at them on the one side, and the Horfemen charged them a-fresh on the other side, yet they maintained fight, and held out a long while; but at left, they likewise turned their back
A back and fled to the City. There the traitors and conspirators being gathered together on
heaps, so soon as they had let in the gates standing wide open, the companies of their own ci-
tizens: when they saw once the Romans running space in dismay toward the City, made a false
alarm, crying aloud that the Carthaginians were at hand, and that both enemies and friends to-
tgether mingled, would enter the City, unless they made better hall to shut the gates. So they
excluded the Romans out, and gave them as a prey to be hevin in pieces by their enemies. How-
beit, Atmian, with some few, was received within the Town first. After this, there was some mut-
tiny and dissention between the citizens themselves, for a little while. Some were of mind to
stand upon their guard and defend the Town: others were of opinion, to yield unto fortune of
the time, and deliver it up to the victors hands. But in consideration, fortune and bad counsel to-
gather, (as for the most part it fell out) prevailed. And so, after they had brought Atmian
and his soldiers to the haven (for to be embarked, more upon good will that they bare to him for his mind and last government), and therefore were ready to save
him, than for any regard at all they had of the Romans, they received the Carthaginians into the
City.

The Consuls then led the legions from Beneventum into the territory of Capua, not only to make
spoil and mar the cow, that was laid up already in strong Towns against winter, but also to
afflict Capua: supposing they should make their Consulship renowned unto posterity, by the de-
struction of so rich and wealthy a City: and besides, do away that great dishonour and shameful
blemish of the Empire of Rome, in suffering a City to erect unto them to continue now three years
in rebellion, without revenge and confounding punishment. But to the end that Beneventum should
not be without a guard, and that against all inordinate accidents and occurrences of war; in case
Atmian should come to Capua, for to rescue and aid his allies. (which they made no doubt but
he would do) there might be Horsemens to withstand his violence; they commanded T. Gracchus
to come out of Lucania, with the cavality and light armed footmen, and to take order and leave
some other to govern the legions and the halting camp, for the guard and defence of those
parts there.

Gracchus before he had lodged out of the Lucan country hapned to have a fearful and prodigio-
ous token, as he offered fortune. For after the sacrifice was performed and accomplished, two
Snakes came gliding out of a blind hole, no man knew how, to the entails of the beast, and fell
to eat the Liver: and so soon as they were espied inwardly said out of Sight, and were no more
seen. Now, when as the bowl-prayers had given advice to kill a new Sacrifice and to aso as the
inwards were opened and laid forth, to tend and look unto them more heedfully, the Snakes
came again, as it is reported the second and third time: and when they had once given as it were
an allay, and tafted the Liver, they went clear away without hurt and untouched. And albe a
Sotholayers foretold, had given an Item, and foretold, that this prodigious sign perceived
properly unto the chief Captain and General, and warned him to take heed of some close perils
and secret practices; yet his fatal destiny of death that hung over his head, could by no forecaet
and providence be altered and avoided. Now there was one Flavius a Lucane, the principal head of
that bend and side of the Lucans, which when the other faction revolted unto Annibal, took the
Romans part; and having been by them chosen the Praetor had continued in that place of Magi-
stracy a year already: this man all on a sudden chance his mind and affection, and seeking to
wind and enter into the favour of Annibal, could not be content to revolt himself, and to draw
with him the Lucans to rebellion; unless he made a league also and covenant with the enemies,
and joined it with the murder and blood of his General; of him (I say) who being enticed and
lodged in his house, he purposed villainously to betray. He entred therefore into a secret speech
and conference with Mago; Governor over the Bruttii, and having captivated with him, under
his faithful word and promise. That if he delivered the Roman General into his hands, the Lucans
might live in freedom under their own Laws, in league and amity with the Carthaginians,

Gracchus, he told him of a place into which he would bring Gracchus, with a small company and guard
about him: willing Mago to put his foot and horse in arms, and in such a place beforehand wherein
he might bellow closely and secretly a mighty number of men. When the place was well viewed
and considered all about, they agreed upon a day, for putting this plot in practice. This done,
Flavius cometh to the Roman General Gracchus, and encomemeth him that he had begun an enterpris-
e of great consequence for the accomplish and full perfection of; he the needed the
helping hand of Gracchus himself: "Namely, he had persuaded with all the Praetors and Go-
vernors, who in that universal and general trouble of all Italy, had revolted unto Annibal, for
"to return again into the league and friendship of the Romans: seeing that the Roman state and
"their Dominion, which by the overthrow at Cannae was come in a manner to the lowest ebb,
"and lain into extreme despair. flowered now again, and grew everyday more than other, greater
"and mightier; whereas contrary wise, the putrlllung of Annibal decayed much, and was well-
"never come to nothing: besides, the Romans were men that might be appeased and reconciled
"again, especially the teipais being so long ago done and past: for never was there nation un-
"der the sun, more tractable, more exorable and ready to pardon a fault: and how often have
"they (to go no further for examples) forgiven the open Rebellion even of their fore-fathers and
"ancestors? These (quoth he) were my words unto them, and indeed, but my words, Mary
"they had rather hear Gracchus himself speak, and hear the same from out of his own mouth:
"
they would more gladly talk with him in person, and take hold of his right hand, which as the *allured pawn of his faithful promise; he carrieth always with him whithersoever he goeth, and they defer no more. I have therefore (that he) appointed a convenient place of interview, and conference: lying out of the way and forth of sight, but yet not far from the Romans camp.

There the matter may be dispatched in few words, and all the remainder nation of the Lucans, reduced under the obedience and alliance of the people of Rome. Gracchus suffering no great harm, neither in his words nor deeds, finding all to a great likelihood of truth and simplicity in his conceit, departed out of the camp attended upon with his Sergeants, and guarded only with a corneet of Horsemens: and so by the guidance of his own hoist, in whose house he lodged, was plunged headlong within the danger of the ambush of his enemies: Who suddenly arose: and Flavius because he would put it out of doubt, that he was a traitor, went to their side and joyed with them. Then they let flies arrows, and short darts against Gracchus and his Horsemens on every side. Whereupon Gracchus slighted from horseback, and commanded the rest to do the same, exhorting them, that the only thing which fortune now had left unto them, would grace and honour with vertue. For what remaineth else for us, (a small handful unto them) in vironed as we are with a multitude of them, within a valley compassed about with hills and woods, but present death? This only we are to resolve upon. Whether in this present amazedness and heartlesse fear, we will as beasts suffer our throats to be cut without revenge again; or turning wholly our timorous expectation anduffering of death, into choler and courage, fight adventourously and manfully, and bating our hands in the blood of our enemies, lose our lives and fall down dead; upon the weapons and bodies of them, lying gasping themselves under us.

Ah! that Luuan, that seditious rogue and rebel, that treacherous and sable traitor, see ye all lay at him. Whole hap it will be, ere he die, to be his Priest, to sacrifice and send him to the Devil; he shall win an honourable prize, and find no small solace and comfort in his own death.

With these words, he wrapped his rich coat of arms about his left arm (for they had not brought forth with them so much as their shields) and charged with exceeding force upon the enemies. The fight was far greater on their part then for the proportion and number of the men. The bodies of the Romans lay openmost unto the first, and thus overcharged on all sides from the higher places: as being in the valley subjedt to the volley of their darts, they were soon piercethrough. When Gracchus was left naked alone, and his guard dead at his feet, the Carthaginians did what they could to take him alive; but he having espied among the enemies his good hoist and friend, that Lucan, ran among the thickest places; where he was fully bent to mistich him, that they could not will nor choose but kill him outright, without they would have lost the lives of many other. He was not so soon dead, but Mago lent him freighth ways unto Annibal, and commanded that his body together with the knittles of rods (belonging to his Majestie) should be presented and threwed before the Tribunal seat of the General. And this is the true report of the end of Gracchus; to wit, that he let his life in the Lucan Land, about the plains which are called Vetere campi. There in time that tell it otherwise, how he being accompanied with his Sergeants, and three serving men his bondslaves, went out from the camp within the territory of Beneventum, neer unto the River Calor, to wash himself; where there chance his enemies to lurk, and lye in wait among the willows and alders that grew by the bank side, and so being unarmed and naked too, he was assaulted, where he defended himself as well as he could with flinging at them pible stones such as the River afforded and carried down with the stream, and so was slain. Others write, that by advice of the Bowel-pryers, he went out of the camp half a mile off, for to purge and expiate in some pure and clean place, those prodigious tokens above rehearsed: and there was best and environed round about with two troopers of Numidian Horsemens, who hapned there to lie in ambush. See how variable and uncertain the same goeth, both in what place, and after what manner, this so noble and famous person cameby his death. Nay, the very funeral and sepulture also of Gracchus is directly delivered. Some say, he was entered by his own fouldeers within the Roman camp. Others give out and say (and that is the more common report) that by the appointment of Annibal he was buried in the very entrance of the Carthaginian legions: that there was a funeral fire made in solemn wise to burn his corps; that the whole army jutted and ran at tilt and torment in their compleat armor; that the Spaniards leaped and danced Morrice: and each nation according to their guise and manner performed sundry motions and exercises as well of their weapons, as of their bodies: yea, and that Annibal himself in proper person, with all honor of funeral pomp that might be devised, both in word and deed, solemnized the obsequies in the beast manner. This say they that affirm the thing to have hapned in the Lucans country. But if a man should believe them, who record how he was slain at the River Calor, then the enemies gat nothing of him but only his head. Which being presented unto Annibal, he sent Carthalo immediately with it into the Roman camp, unto Cn. Cornelius the Treasurer or Quetlor: who there within the very camp performed the funerals of the General, and both army and citizens of Benevetum together solemnized the same right honourably.

The Consuls being entered into the territory of Campai, as they foraged all abroad, frageing one from another, were by the Townsmen of Captain which fell out, and by the Horsemens of Mago, put in fear: whereupon in great fright and haste, they rallied the foulers to their colours, that
A that were ranged over the Country: but before they could well embattail them, and set them in array, they were discomfited, and lost above a thousand and five hundred men. Upon which good success, the enemies (as they are a nation by nature proud) began to be very luyly and exceeding audacious, infomuch, as they offered to skirmish fundry times with the Romans, and ever challenged them to fight. But that one battail,so undividedly and incomconsiderably archived, made the Comitis more circumspect and wary afterward. Howbeit, one small occurrence hapned, which, as it encouraged and animated them again, so it abated the hearts, and daunted the boldnes of the other. For in war there is nothing (be it never so little) but one time or other, it is the occasion of some great consequence and importance. There was in the camp one, 

B Quintus Crispinus, linked in special friendship and familiarity with Balbus, a Citizen of Capua, whose acquaintance grew and encreased upon this occasion: This Balbus, upon a time, before the revolt of Capua fell lick at Rome, and, lying in Crispinus his house, was liberally and kindly used, yes, and tenderly feene unto by him, during his sickness. This Balbus having put himself forward before the randing shouts, that warded at the gate of the Roman camp, willed, that Crispinus should be called out unto him. Whi being told unto Crispinus, he supposed no otherwise of it, but that he should talk friendly and familiarly with him. For albeit both nations generally were at enmy, in regard of the publick State, yet the private right and band of hospitality, remained still in force, and was not forgotten, and therefore he went out somewhat apart from the rest of his fellows. Now, when they were come in sight and interview one of the other. I challenge thee, O Crispinus (quoth Balbus) to combat: let us mount on Horseback, and trye it out between us two, without any other companion, whether of us is the better man at arms. To this Crispinus made answer again and said, We want no enemies, neither you nor I, upon whom we may prove force of our manhood: easier me, if I met and encounter you in the very battail, yet I would decline, avoid, and shunt from you left I should dislike and stain my hand in the murder and bloodshed of my guest and friend; and with this he turned from him and went his way. But the Campanite contrary-wise, upon these words, was the more eager with him, railing and rating at him for his effeminate cowardice and daintiness, letting fly at the harmless and innocent man all sightfull terms and reproachful language: which himself: I wot (he had his due) was well worthy of calling him a friendly foe, and a kind enemy indeed, and finally charged him, that he made his excuse of sparing him: for friendship's sake, whom he knew he was not able to match in manhood and valour. But it (quoth he) thou thinkest, that by the breach of publick league and covenant, our private bands of amity and hospitality, are not yet enough broken in fitter, then here I pronounce openly, in the hearing of two armies, That I Balbus a Campanite renounce all hospitality with thee T. Quintus Crispinus a Roman, and to farewell all friendship for ever: I will, I say, have no more to do by way of acquaintance with thee, no society, no alliance, no hospitality will the guest have with that host, who in hostile manner is come to invade his native country, and to make assault upon the publick buildings and private houses thereof. And therefore, if thou be a man, meet me in the field. Crispinus drew back a long time, and was loth to enter into the action, but at last his fellow Horsemens, serving in the same troop and corner with him, forced and prevailed him, not to suffer that bragging Campanite, thus to infringe over him without revenge. Whereupon he made no more ado, nor any longer delay, but whiles he went unto the I. Generals to know their pleasure, whether they would permit and license him, out of his order and rank, to fight with an enemy that challenged him, and gave him defiance. And having obtained leave, he buckled his armor about him, took his weapon mounted on Horseback, and calling upon Balbus by name, bad him come forth he durst to long a fight. The Campanite made no lay, and so with spear in refleet pass to, and they ran their frieuses full carrier one at the other. Crispinus with his lance pierced Balbus above his shield, through the left shoulder, and therewith unhorsed him, and when he was fall to the earth with the pain, he alight himself from his horse, minding on foot to fall upon him as he lay along, and so to dispatch him outright. But Balbus, before his enemy leaught upon him, left his target behind and his horse, and by good footmanship recovered his own fellows, Crispinus then, all goodly to be seen with the spoils of his enemy, made the w of the horse and armor that he had won, and bearing up withal the bloody point of his lance, was with much praise and great glorification of the foundiers, brought honourably to the Comitis, and presented before them. At whose hands he was both highly commended, and also liberally rewarded.

Annual having dilobged out of the territory of Beneventum, and removed into Capua, within three days after he was come thither, brought forth his forces into the field, making no doubt at all, but that, considering the Campanis in his absence, had but few days before fought fortunately, the Romans now would be so much lefe able to abide his royal army to often used to victory. And verily when the conflict was once begun, the Roman battalions of the Infantry were much troubled and distressed, especially with the fierce assault of the Horsemens, who overcharged and pecked them mightily with their darts and Javelins, until the signal was given to their own Cavalryalso, to let hard to, and charge the enemies with their horse. Now the men of arms were but lively in both sides, it hapned that the Regiment of Sempronius [Gracchus lately slain] were defiled marching a far off under the conduct of Cn. Cornelius the Treasurer, which put both parts in like fear, loit they were some new and fresh enemies that advanced against them. So they founded the retreat on either side, as if they had been agreed so
to do, departed out of the field (as a man would say) on even hand, and retired themselves unto H their several holds: howbeit, the greater number was slain of Romans, upon the first violent charge given by the Horsemen. From them e the Consuls intending to draw Ambibal away from Capua, departed landry wayes, Felons into the territory of Camnes, and Claudius into the Lucans Country. The next day, when Ambibal was advertised, that the Romans had abandoned their camp, and that they were gone into divers parts with their several armies, being at first uncertain whom to pursue, resolved at length to make after Apulus, and so began to do. But after he had once trained the enemy about to the place that he desired, he returned himself another way to Capua. And Ambibal hapned also upon a new occasion preferred, to have a good hand of his enemies into their hold.

There was one M. Centenius, furnamed Pellaia, one of the chief Centurions of the Pilaris, a singular good Captain in that kind, as well in regard of his mighty and goodly body, as also of his brave mind, and valiant courage. This man having left out his ordinary time required by Law, was by the means of P. Cornelius Sulla the Prector, brought into the Senat-House, and became a Petitioner unto the LL. of the Council, that he might have the leading of five thousand footmen: promising that within short time, by reason he was so well acquainted with the nature and qualities of the enemy, and withal so much beaten in riding those quarters, he would do some great deed, and achieve a piece of notable service: and look, by what cunning devices and stratagems, both our leaders and our armies had been until that day, entrapped and over-ruled, the very fame would heute and practice against the enemy. He was not so vain and undiscerned in making this offer, but they were as forthi and foolish again in taking him at his word, and trusting him: as who would say, A good Leader and Commander, and a stout and hardy foildier were all one. And so where as he demanded but five thousand, he had the charge given of eight thousand: whereas the one half were citizens, the other allies and confederats: and besides them, he himself also gathered together out of the country as he pleased, a good Company of Volunteers: into which as his power was doubled, by that time he came into the Lucan Country, where Ambibal abode, after that he had followed Claudius in vain, and to no effect, a man that had but half an eye, might see what the sequel and event would be of the conflict between General Ambbal, and Centenere Centenius: between both armies also, the one of old bestandtovadiers tried ever to victories, the other of raw novices and yong beginners, yea, many L of them taken up suddenly in hait, and fledgeley armed by the halis. For so soon as both foits had confronted one another, and that on neither side they dallied and shifted off, but minded presently to go to it & fighton were they on both parts arranged in order of battale. And albeit the Romans had many illad. anages, yet they maintained skirmish more than two hours: and that so boldly and courageously that they thrunk not one jot, so long as their leader ftood on foot. But after that he once was stricken down and slain, who not only in respect and remembrance of the former name (that he had won) of valour and provets: but also for fear of future shame and dishonor, in case he should remain alive after the defeat of his forces, whereof he was the only cause through his fool-hardy rashnes, pretended himself desperately upon the pikes of his enemies, where he might be sure of nothing but present death: and incontinent the Roman bat-tailon was discomfited and put to flight. And so hard beleed they were, in seeking ways and means to escape (all the avenues were so laid and beleed with the Horsemcn) that of a great a multitude, there were hardly one thousand saved, all the rest miscarried here and there, and came by their death one way or other.

In this mean tyme, Capua was strightly beleaguered by the Consuls, and they began to it in most forciible manner; great preparation there was of all things needfull unto such an exploit, and with great diligence every thing provided and brought accordingly. Corn was conveyed to Cassinum, and laid up there for store: at the mouth of the River Vulturnus (where now the City standeth) was the fonce and caffle fortified (which Fabius before had built) and a strong garrison therein planted, to the end that both the Sea foorer, and the whole River also might be N at their command. Into these two fortes flanding on the Sea side, as well the corn which lately was sent out of Sardona, as also that which M. Tullius the Prector had bought out of Hevstria, was transported from the Port of Cassia, whereby the army might be fed plentifully all winter feaon. Over and besides that bosome received in the Lucans country, the army likewise of the Vo- lonets, i.e. Voluntary foildiers (which during the life of Crassus, had lived truly and faithfully) now a bandoned their colours: as if by the death of their Captain they had taken themselves fully dischargued from warlike service.

Ambibal made no small account of Capua: for willing enough he was, that his allies and friends there should not be torstaken and left in so great perill wherein they dwell; and yet upon that for- tunat succes which hapned unto him through the rashnes of one Roman Captain, his fingers O itchet to be doing with another of them, and hoped to find some good opportunity and advan-tage to surprize and overthrow both Captain and army. Whereastherefore certain Apulian Emba,lladors advertised him, that C. Fulius the Prector, (who at the first inaffinking of certain Ci-ties in Apule which had revolted unto Ambibal, bare himself like a wise and prudent Captain: now afterwards upon his good fortune and happy speed in those affairs, whereby himself and his foildiers had made up their mouts and filled their hands well with booty and pilage) both himself and his men were grown so idle and so disolute, that no good government nor military disci-
Discipline remained among them: hereupon Ambit the having good experience, (as often heretofore, so in this late instance but few days past) in how small a head an army verteth, when it is directed by an unskilful Leader, removed his forces into Apulia. Now lay the Roman legions and Fulvius the Pretor, encamped about Herdonia. And when the news came thither that the enemies were on their journey coming toward them, hardly might the foiards be exclaimed and dismayed, but they would in all haste push up standards and ensigns, and straightway go into the field and bid them battle, without commission and commandement of their Pretor. And no one thing more held them back, than the asured hope they had, to do it at their pleasure whenever they would. Ambit the night following, having certain intelligence, that there was a tumult in the camp, and that most of the foiards mightly importuned their General to put forth unto them the signal of battle, and called earnestly him for to lead them out into the field, made full account to meet with good opportunity and occasion, to have a fair day of his enemies: and therefore he betowered three thousand men lightly appointed, in divers villages thereabout, among the thick groves and bushes, and within the woods: who at a sign given them, should all at once upon a loudain, start up and leap forth of their lurking corners: and withal, he gave order to Max, with two thousand Horsemens or thereabouts to keep all the ways whereas he suspect they were most like to flee and make escape. Having thus ordered all things beforehand in the right time: at the break of day he entered the field with his army, and embattled himself in warlike manner, Fulvius for his part, was not behind: not induced so much upon any hope or conceit he had of good speed as drawn and baled thereto through the rash enforcement and compulsion of his foiards. And therefore as they came forth to battle upon a head and heat, inconsiderately, so they were set in array as disorderly: even at the pleasure of the foiards, according as they came forth and took up their ranks and files, as they list themselves: and then again, as the toy took them in the head the same, either upon willfulness or fear. The first legions together with the left wing or cornet of Horsemens were first marshalled: and the squadrons drawn and fetched out in a great length: not withstanding the Knight Martialis and Coronels cried out, that within, there was no strength nor power at all: and that the enemies wherefoever they should hap to charge would break in upon them and go through. But no wholeome counsel for their own good might be taken and considered upon: nay, they would not so much as lend their ear, and give them the hearing. And by this time Ambit was in place, with another manner of army (you may be sure) and otherwise ordered and arranged. And therefore the Romans were not able to abide so much as the first shout and shock of the onef. The Captain himself (as foolish and heady as Cennerius: but in courage and resolution for shot of him) seeing how the world went, the field like to be lost, his foiards in fear and great perplexity: recovered his horse in great haste, and with some two hundred horsemens fled away and cryed: all the army beside, beaten back affront, befit behind flanked on the sides, and environed round, were killed and hewn in pieces, that of eighteen thousand, there were not pass two thousand saved. And the enemies besides were matters of the camp.

When these lozies one in the neck of another were reported at Rome, the City was set in a great fit of sorrow and fear for the while: but so long as the Consuils, in whom reselt the main chance, had hitherpropered and iaped well, they were the lefe troubled at these by-blowes and cross misfortunes. Whereupon they addrest C. Lelltorius and M. Matius as meffengers unto the Consuils, willing them to gather together with good care and diligence, those dispersed relics and rememders of the two armies; also to have anay and heedful regard unto them, that upon fear and desperation they yielded not themselves to the enemy (as it hapned after the Cannian overthrow:) and lall of all, to make diligent search and seek out those Generals, or voluntary servitors, that had abandoned their ensigns and called themselves. The like charge was laid upon P. Cornelius, who had commission besides to levy moremen. And he made proclamation throughout all market Towns, fairs, and places of frequent resort, That those Generals should be found out and brought again to their own colours, to serve as aforetime. All these directions were executed and accomplished with exceeding great care and diligence.

Apollonius, the Consul, after he had made D. Junius Captain of the icone erected upon the mouth of the River Volturnus, and M. Aurelius Costa Governor of Lucullus, with commision, that as any ships with corn from out of Hetoria or Sardinia arrived there, they should immediately send the corn to the camp: went back himself to Capua: where he found Q. Fulvius his Colleague, transporting thither all provision from Capilius, and making preparation for the assault of Capua. Thenboth Coll, jointly together beleeged the City: and sent unto Claudius Nero the Pretor, to come unto them from Sestilia, out of the old camp of Claudius, who likewise leaving a small garrision there to defend the piece, with all his power and forces, enclosed the paws before Capua. So there were three royal pavilions pitched for three Ll. Generals about Capua: and three full armies in three sundry places began to fortifie, creating hafting forts and forts in places not far distant: yea, and to cast a trench and raise a rampier round about the City. And in divers quarters at once, they skirmished with the men of Capua, whensoever they came to hinder the fortifications, with so good success, that the Townsmen were driven at first to keep within their gates and walls: but before that those rampiers and trenches above did were fully finished and all ends brought together, there were Embassadors dispatched unto Ambit, to complain in the name of the Captains, as finding themselves griev-
ved, that he had forsaken Capua, and in a manner delivered it into the Romans hands; and with all, to beseech him earnestly that now or never, he would relieve and succor them; being not only beseeched, but also that up and almost trenched about, as within a prison. T. Cornelius likewise the Prefect of the City of Rome, sent his letters unto the Consuls, advising them before they had fully invested Capua round about, to make offer unto the Campans of this liberty. That as many as would, might depart with bag and baggage out of Capua; and whatsoever went forth before the

\[ \text{15, of March} \]

* Idea of March should enjoy their freedom and all their goods and lands: but as many as after that day, either departed or tarried there still behind, should be reckoned no better than enemies. These intimations were made known unto the Campans, but so light they set by them, that they'll a railling, talking, and menacing the Romans, with most reproachful taunts and frightful terms. Annaulus was departed from Herdonia with his legions unto Tarentum, hoping either by force or fraud to gain the Castle. And seeing little prevailed, he turned from thence and took his way to Brundisium, supposing that Town would be betrayed into his hands. While he lay there also and lost his time in doing nothing, the Embassadors of the Campans arrived and came unto him, with complaints and humble requests both at once. Unto whom Annaulus made this glorious and like answer with a Majesty: Once already have I raised the siege and never will the Consuls, I trespass on my second coming. The Embassadors have receiving their dispatch, departed with this hope: but much ado they had, to put themselves within Capua, so enclosed round was it (by this time) with a double trench and a rampier.

It fortuned at the very same instant, when Capua was thus freewill beseech'd, that the siege also and assault of Syracus should come to an end: helped forward and hasted by intemperate heat, and treason within, as well as by force of army and valour of Captain abroad. For Maccellus, in the beginning of the spring, doubtful in himself and hanging in suspense, whether to bend his whole forces toward Agrigentum against Himilco and Hippocrates, or still proceed to besiege Syracuse: albeit he saw the City might not possibly be won either by forcible assault (considering it was by situation both by Sea and Land invincible) or pineg'tamine, by reason the passage in manner lay open to it and into it and Carthage, for late transporting of all sorts of victuals: yet because he would leave no stone unrolled, but try all ways that could be devised, he commanded certain retorts of the Syracustians (for there sided with the Romans some of the noblest persons of the City, who at the time of the first backsliding from the Romans, because they mistified and abhorred all rebellion and change in the state, were driven out and banished the City) to deal with their bend and fiction by way of conference to sound the hearts (Tay) such as were their followers, and to follow them to their part: and with all to allure them (upon their warrant) that if by their means Syracuse were betrayed, they should live in freedom, and enjoy their own Laws as they would themselves. But no opportunity could they elope for to part and talk with them. For by reason that there were many suspected to encline and draw that way, every man had a careful eye and regard unto them, that there could be no treachery practised, but loon it would be found out and detected. Yet a bond-servant toward one of the banished persons above-said, hapned to be let into the City, pretending that he was run away from the adverse part unto them: who hapning to meet with some few, begun to move and broach such a matter. After which certain others lying close hidden under the nets in a fisher boat came about by water to the camp of the Romans, and had conference and communication with those former fugitives and exiled men. And thus from time to time this was practis'd in the same manner, by divers and sundry persons, until at length they were a crew of four persons in all. Now when all things were concluded for the betraying of the City, near upon the point of execution, it chanced that one Astalas (a false brother among them, who took snuff that he was not specially trusted in the matter) disclosed the conspiracy unto Epideus, and appeache the parties: whereupon they were all put to extreme torture, and suffered death every one. When this plot would speed no better, they conceived hope another way, by a new occasion and occurrence that presently offereth it fell. There chanced one Domenippus a Lacedemonian, lent from Syracus, as a messenger to King Philip for to be taken prisoner by the Roman armado. Now both Epideus was very desirous and exceeding careful how to ransom him, and also Maccellus was not unwilling for his part to grant the same. For even then the Romans began to affect the friendship of the Astalians, with which Nation the Lacedemonians were confederate, and in league. So, when there should be commissioners and delegates sent on both sides to parle and treat about his redemption the most indifferent place for them to meet in, was at the key or wharf of "Trogili," built by a turrect which they call "Cadagea," as being in the midst between, and most convenient for both parties. It hapned now, that as they had recourse oftentimes thither about this business, one of the Romans well viewed the wall next by the thorne the stones that appeared in the forefront of the wall and made estimate to himself of their quadrature and proportion; and withal, giving a guess as near as he could of what height (by his reckoning) and measure, the wall might be: and supposing it was a good deal lower than either himself or others, had always before taken it to be and only to be scaled with ladders, even of a mean size and middle fort, he relathed the matter, and his conceit of it to Maccellus. And in his opinion it was a thing not to be neglected, but to be thought upon. But for affin'd how there was no access unto that place by reason that for the lowness thereof it was the more care fully guarded and defended, it was thought good to wait for some opportunity and advantage to help that difficulty. Which, as good hap was, offered it itself presently unto them by
A means of a fugitive: who gave them intelligence, that they held a solemn feast of Dionysus at that time within the City; and the same continued three days together: also he said that for want of other things, during this siege to make good cheer withal, they spared for no wine, but made merry therewith in great plenty and abundance. For why not only Epides made bountifully belovled wine upon the whole Commons, but also the great men of the City, had in every ward and parish where they dwelt, allowed a proportion besides, of their own charges. When Marcus had heard this, he called unto him some of his Colonels and knight Marshals, and conferred with them: and when they had joined certain choice and elect Centurions and foildiers, fit and sufficient men to adventure and execute to great a piece of service, and withal provided ladders B secretly: to all the rest he commanded a watchword and warning to be given, That they should become their rejection of meat and repose of sleep, for that in the night they were to be employed in an expedition and action of service. After this, when he thought it was about the time, that they (as having feared all day long, and well filled their bellies with meat, and their heads with wine) were gone to rest, and newly fallen sound asleep, he commanded one enigma or company of soildiers, to carry ladders; and besides them, there were upon a thousand well armed and appointed, marching with silence and in thin ranks, brought thither to the place, When the formost without any stir or noise at all, had scaled the top of the wall, others followed in their course. For the forward and solitary boldness of the former, was able to animate and encourage the rest, if they had been false-hearted. By this time now, the thousand armed soldiers had feized C that part, when the rest of the ladders were set to; and upon more ladders still they got up to the wall in diverse places, upon a signal given them from the gate Hexaplex. Unto which places the Romans were now come, and found no stirring at all, but exceeding silence and defolation, for as much as a great part of them had made good cheer within the turrets, and either were fast asleep with drinking wine already, or else were bubbling full, notwithstanding their eyes were heavy, and their hearts asleep. And yet, some few of them they took in their beds, and killed. Neer unto Hexaplex there is a little wicket which with great violence, they began withal, to break it open. So as now, both from the wall (as before appointed) they gave signal by sound of trumpet: and allo from all parts they went not to work any more by stealth, but plainly and openly without diffimilation. For they were come already as far as Epides, a place full of D watchmen and warders. And the enemies were to be terrified now and then into fear, and no longer to be dealt withal by craft and guile, And it fell out so indeed that they were mightily scared. For they heard not to soon the sounding of the trumpets, and the shouting and outcry of them that were polleefed of the walls and one part of the City, but the warders, thinking all was gone, some ran along upon the wall, others leapt from the walls, or else were born down head-long, with the prefs of others that were affrighted, And yet many there were, who were not ware at all of this misery and extremity, both because generally they were all dead asleep, and also by reason that the City was so wide and large that a thing felt and seen in some remote parts, reached not firefightways throughout, to all the rest. The gate Hexaplex was broken down somewhat before day, at which Marcus with all his power entered the City. He wakened them all, and E set them to their business: he made them take weapon in hand, and to help (what they could) a City in a manner wholly purified and taken, Epides made half from the Island (which they themselves call Nafsos) with a company of soldiers about him, making full account to drive them out against: as supposing that they were but few men, who through the negligence of the watchmen and warders were got over the wall: and ever as he met with any that were scared and in fear, he fliouted to them themselves, that they themselves made more ado, and every thing worse than there was cause, reporting all in greater measure and more fearful manner than need was in very truth. But when he saw all places about Epides full of armed men after some small volley of shot, and little skirmish with the enemy, (whereby he provoked them rather than did any good else) he turned back again with his companies, and retired into Acrisium,not fearing to make the violence and multitude of the enemies, as left some intestine mischief by this occasion might arise, and that he should find in this tumult and hurlyburly the gates of Acrisium, and the Island that again against him. Marcus being entered within the walls, took his prospect from the higher places, and when he beheld under his eyes the most goodly and beautiful City of all others in those eyes, (by report) he wept and shed tears abundantly, partly for joy that he had brought his purpose to good a pas, and partly in compassion and remembrance of the ancient glory and renown of that City. He called to mind the navies of the Athenians by them sunk and drowned: he thought upon the utter overthrow of two puissant armies, together with the loss of two most noble and famous Captains of theirs: moreover, there came into his memory so many wars fought against the Carthaginians with so great peril and hazard; so many and so mighty Tyrants and Kings that reignned and kept their seat and royal court thereand amongst the rest he could not but think of King Here, of fresh and famous memory, a Prince, who above all other gates which his own fortune and fortune had grace and ended him withal was recommended especially for his many favours and good turns done unto the people of Rome. When all these things presented themselves to his remembrance, with this cogitation besides, how all that beauty and glory within one hour space was ready to burn on a light fire, and to be consumed into ashes: before he advanced his enigne against Acrisium, he sent before, those Syracusians who had converted (as is aore- said) amongst the guards and garrison of the Romans to persuade the enemies with mild and gen-
The five and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

The speech, yet, to yield the City. It fell out, that the most part of them that warded the gates and walls both, of Acradina, were certain fugitives revolted from the Romans, who had no hope at all, upon any condition whatsoever to be persuaded. These would suffer none, either to approach the walls, or to passe and speak with any. And therefore Marcellus, after he had once frustrated and disappointed, commanded to retire with the ensigns unto Euryalus. This Euryalus is a little mount and fort, situate in the utmost quarter of the City, remote far from Sea, and commanding the high way that leadeth into the fields, and the middle parts and the very heart of the whole Island, a place very commodious for the taking up and receipt of all victuals. The Captain of this bold was Philodemos, an Argive, placed there by Epicides. Unto whom there was sent from Marcellus, Softi, one of them that murdered the tyrant: and after long communication, with partly words abused by him, and colourably put off until another time, made relation unto Marcellus, that Philodemos had taken a farther day of reprieve and deliberation. But he put off still from day to day, trilling out the time of purpose, until Hecocrates and Himilco might come with his forces and legions, making no doubt but if he might receive them into his territories, the whole army of the Romans being now enclosed within the walls, he could be overthrown, and utterly defeated. Marcellussembling that Euryalus was not delivered up, (and forced possibly he could not be) encompassed himself between Neapolis and Tyre (for these two parts of the City named, and may for their bigness go well enough for two entire cities of themselves;) for fear lest he it he once entred into the populous and most inhabited places of the City, his soldiers greedy of pillage, would not be kept together, but run too eagerly up and down to pill. Thither came unto him from Tyre and Neapolis, Embassadors and Orators, with olive branches adorned with sacred veils and insuluses, humble beseeching him to hold his hand from effusion of blood, and bring the City, Marcellus calling his Council about these their petitions, rather than demands after mature deliberation, by general consent of all, gave express and strict commandment to the soldiers, that no man should offer abuse or violence to the body of any free-born person whatsoever: as for all besides, his will and pleasure was it should be their bowty. Now was the camp of Marcellus defended on both sides with housing in deed of a wall, and he believed a good corps de garde at the gates thereof, lying open over against the streets: left when the soldiers ran to and fro in the City, the camp in the mean while might be affailed. Then upon the sound of Trumpet the soldiers fell to their business, ran into all parts, brake open doors, set all on a fearful hurry, but spilled no blood: and they never gave over ranfackling and rilling, until they had call out and carried away all the riches and goods, that had been a gathering a long time, during their wealthy and prosperous estate. Amid these affairs, Philodemos also seeing no hope of succours and refuge, after he had covenanted for his security, to return safe and without harm to Epicides, withdrew his garrison away with him out of the fort, and rendred it up to the Romans.

Now while every man was turned another way, and buried in that part of the City which was forced, Boninrat taking the advantage of one night, wherein the Roman fleet by reason of a violent tempest could not ride at anchor in the main Sea, gartoth of the haven of Syracuse with 35 ships, and having Sea room, hoised up sails, and away he went with a merry gale of wind, leaving 4th behind for Epicides and the Syracusians: and after he had informed the Carthaginians in what danger the state of Syracuse fell, returned within few days with a fleet of a hundred sail, rewarded for his labor (as the report went) by Epicides, with many rich gifts, which the treasurers of King Hiero paid for. Marcellus polled now of the foremost Euryalus, and having planted there a garrison, was well rid of one care yet: for he doubted, left if a new power of enemies had been received behind his back into that fort, they would greatly have annoyed his men, encouered now as they were, and encumbered within the walls.

After this he beleaged Acradina, and invested it round about, and fortified three several camps (in meet and convenient places) against it, hoping to shut them up in such fortharts, that they should be driven to extremity and want of all things. Now when as for certain dayes, the guards of the one side and the other had relented quieter, suddenly upon the arrival of Hecocrates and Himilco they within began from all parts to set freshly upon the Romans. For, first Hecocrates after he had encompassed and well forrihned himself both by the great key, and given a signal to them that kept Acradina assaulted the old camp of the Romans, where Crispini lay with his guard for the defence thereof: then Epicides also fell forth, and brake upon the Comps de guard of Marcellus: and within, the Carthaginian fleet approached close to the land that lieth between the City and the Roman camp, to hinder that Crispini might have no aid sent unto him from Marcellus. And yet for all this ado, the enemies made a greater stir and tumultuous alarm, than any sixtimes to speak of: for Crispini nor only gave Hecocrates the repulse, and drave him from the defences of his own camp, but also followed him in chase, as he fled fearfully in half way: and Marcellus forced Epicides to take the City again, and get it over his head. So as now they seemed very sufficiently provided and appointed against all dangers from thence forth, of their luddain failies and intrusions.

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Over and besides all these troubles, there hapned a common calamity unto both, the plague and pellengue: in such manner, as might it seem have withdrawn the minds, as well of the one part as of the other, from thinking any more of war. For besides that it fell out to be the Autumn or harvest season of the year, the place it fell by nature unwholesome, flowering and corrupt (though much more without the City than within) the extreme and intolerable heat of the weather.
A weather mightily distempered all their bodies generally, in the camps both the one and the other. At the first, by occasion of the distemper of the air, and corruption of the place, they both fell sick and died: but afterward by visiting and tending one another that were infected, the disease grew catching and contagious, and so spread and increased more and more: in such manner, as either they that were sickly perished for want of looking to and diligent attendance: or if any came about them, to keep them and minister unto them, they were infected and endangered also as deeply as the other: so as every day a man could go nowhere, but either death, or cories carried forth to their graves, were presented to his eyes: night and day in all places there was nothing heard but weeping, wailing, and pious lamentation. In the end their hearts were so hardened and made savage again, by continual usage to this misery, that not only they gave over to weep over the dead, and to accompany them into their sepulchres with due mourning and doleful plains but also to carry them forth and to inter them: so that the breathless bodies lay scattered all abroad on the ground in the sight of the living, that looked every hour for the like miserable death themselves. The dead killed the living: the sick in cited the sound, party with fear, and partly with the corruption and pestiferous stench that came from their bodies. And because they would die rather upon the swords point, than of this maladie, some of them made offer to go alone among the armed guards of their very enemies, to be killed out of hand, and rid out of their misery. However, the plague was hotter by far in the Carthaginian camp, than among the Romans by reason of corrupt water and much slaughter committed there.

C. 5. And so long siege about Syracuse. For of the enemies army, the Sicilians at the first, so soon as they saw the sicknesse to spread commonly, and increase by reason of the corruption of the place, got themselves away, and fled every man home to the cities nearer adjoyning. But the Carthaginians were fain to lie still, as having no place to retire themselves unto, and so, they together with their Generals themselves Hippocrates and Himilco, died all of them, and not one escaped, Marcellus, when he saw this mortality grow thus hot, brought his people into the city, where the houses and shadowy streets yielded some good refreshment to the sick and weak bodies: howbeit, many also of the Roman army went of it, and turned up their heels. Thus when the Land-fouldees of the Carthaginians were all gone and consumed of the plague, the Sicilians whom had evied under Hippocrates, withdrew themselves into certain Towns, which were not great, yet rare and strong, both by natural situation and also by strength of walls and other defences: the one of them three miles from Syracuse, the other fifteen miles distant from the haven mouth: and thither they conveyed from out of their own cities adjoyning, all manner of victuals and lent abroad for aids of men.

In the mean while Bonarco sett sail once again with his fleet for Carthage, where he made resolution of the state of their confederates in such terms, that still he fed them with some hope, That not only by their help they might be saved, but also that the Romans (notwithstanding they had in some (for forced and taken the city) might be surprized and taken there themselves: and in conclusion perfir'd and prevailed fo with them, that they granted not only to fend with him a great number of ships and caracks, laden with store of all things, but also to furnish him with more ships of war, to enshape his Armado. Whereupon he departed from Carthage with 130 Gallies, and 70 ships of burden, and had forewinds good enough to let him over into Sicily. But those winds kept him from doubling the point of the Cape Pachyrus.

The same and rumor first of Bonarco his coming, and then his delay above mens expectation, that checked it again, wrought diversly in the minds of the Romans and Syracusians, ministring one while fear, another while joy into them both. Whereupon Epicydes fearing left if the same Eadrytters which then stood, and were settled in that corner, should continue many dayes more, the Carthaginian navy would return again into Aeffrick, leaving the guard of Aradus to the Captains of the waged and mercurial fouldiers, failed to Bonarco, riding still with his fleet in the rode that looketh toward Aeffrick, and hearing a conflict at sea, not so much because he was inferior to the enemies either in force or number of ships (for he had more ships than could the Romans) but for that the winds flood more favourably to help the Roman Armado than his: howbeit, in the end he persuaded him to try the fortune of a battaile at sea. And Marcellus for his part, seeing both the Sicilian forces gather and assemble together from all parts of the island, and understanding that the Carthaginian fleet was coming with great store of victuals: for fear left at any time whiles he was shut up within the enemies City, he should be assailed both by Sea and Land: albeit he was short of them in number of ships, yet determined to hinder Bonarco for arriving at Syracuse. Thus rid two armadas of enemies affronting one another, about the head of Pachyrus, ready to play battaile, so soon as the calmes of the weather would give them leave to advance into the main and open Sea. Therefore when the Ealt wind began to lie, for certain dayes had blighted and raged hir Bonarco weighed anchor: and the vanguard of his Armado seemed to gather fill into the deep, only because he might more easily gain the Cape and promontory aforenaid. But so soon as he saw the Romans ships make way toward him, (I wot not what fuddain accidenct it was that affrighted him) he let up all his falls and fell off, into the main Sea: and after he had lent certaine messengers to Hermolaus, willing them for to let again their hulks home into Aeffrick, himself coasted all along Sicily, and shaped his course for Tarentum. Epicydes disappointed thus on a fuddain, of so great hopes that he had, because he would not return again to the siege of a City, whereas a great part was left already, failed to
Agrigentum, there to abide and expect the event and small issue, rather than to stir himsell and try any more, how to help them with any succour from thence.

These things being reported in the camp of the Sicilians, to wit, that Epicedes had quit Syracuse; that the Carthaginians had abandoned the whole Iand of Sicily, and in manner yeilded it again into the hands of the Romans: after they had founded first their minds who were beleagued, by talk and conference with them; they sent Embassadors unto Marcellus, to treat about conditions of surrendering the City. When they were grown in a manner to this point, without any squaring or difference at all; That the Romans should have the signory all and wholly which belonged unto the Kings: and that, all the rest the Sicilians should enjoy, with liberty and their own proper Laws: the Embassadors stoueheld called forth to a parley, those unto whom Epides at his departure had committed the government of the affairs, and declared unto them, that as they were addrest Orauts unto Marcellus, so they were from him sent unto the army of the Sicilians: that generally all, as well the beleagued, as those who were without the danger of the siege, should be comprized within the treaty, and abide one and the same fortune; and that neither the one side nor the other should capitulate or enter into any covenant for themselves apart, without all the rest. Who being received and admitted, for to salute and speak unto their kinsfolk and friends, made them desire with the agreement and composition between Marcellus and them: and so after they had presented unto them some good hope of their safety, they periwaded with them so far forth, as to join with them, and all together, for to set upon and assail the bodies of the Captains depurued by Epicedes, namely, Polycleist, Philistus, and one Epides surname Sydus. When they were once made away and killed, they called the multitude together unto a general assembly: where they complained greatly of their poverty, and penury of all things (for which they were wont to murmur secretly among themselves:) "And albeit ye are dilated (as they) with so many miliaries and calamities, yet are ye not to blame for your tune therefore, so long as it was in your own power and choice, either to be delivered from them, or to endure them longer. As for the Romans (said they) it was not hatred, but meer love and charity that moved them to come against Syracuse for to assail it. For when they heard that the government of the state was turfed by Hippocrates and Epides (the ministers first belonging to Anniball, and after to Hieronimus) then they began to lay siege unto it intensing not the overthrow and destruction of the City it self, but to put down and depose the coarse tyrant that rul'd the state. Seeing then, that now Hippocrates is dead, Epides excluded from Syracus, his Deputies and Captains killed, and the Carthaginians driven out of all their hold and possession of Sicily, both by Land and Sea, what reason have the Romans, but to be willing and well content, that Syracuse should continue in peace now as well as if Hiero himself were living, the only maintainer and obfervant upholder of the Roman amity? And therefore, if ought but well should happen, either to the City, or to the Citizens sye may thank your selves, and none else, for letting slip opportunity now offered, of reconciliation and attenment with the Romans. Never look to have the like occasion hereafter, to that, which at this instant is preterred: if ye had the grace to see what a door is opened for you, to be delivered from the yoke of most insolent and proud tyrants. This speech they gave ear unto with exceeding accord and general applause. But before that any Embassadors were nominated to be sent unto Marcellus, it was thought good that new Pretors should be created. Out of the number of which Pretors, there were Orators addrested unto Marcellus. And the principal man among them spake in this wise. "Neither we Syracusians (quoth he) O Marcellus, the first recovered from you Romans; but Hieronymus, impious and wicked Prince as he was: yet nothing to much hurtful to you so as: nor afterwards when peace was knit again upon the murder of the tyrant, was it any citizen of Syracuse, but Hippocrates and Epides (the Kings right hands and ministers, who oppressed and kept us under, with fear of one side, and with despicable dignities on the other) that made the brack, and were the troubler and disturbers of this peace. Nor yet can any man come forth and lay truly, that ever we were at our own liberty; nor entertained not peace and amity with you. And now also I assure you, so soon as by the massacre of these, that held Syracuse: in such oppression and bondage, we began again to be our own masters: and to have the law in our own hands: the first thing you that we do, is this, to come and present our selves unto you, to deliver up our armor and weapons, to yeeld our bodies, our City, the walls, and all the strength thereof, and to refuse no condition, that it shall please you Romans to impose upon us. As to your self, O noble Marcellus, the Gods have given you the honour of conquer, over the most noble and beautiful city of all other in Greece. Behold now, what memorable acts soever that we have at any time achieved, either by Land or Sea all makes to the advancement of the glorious title and dignity of your triumph. See you then, that another day it be not known by bare hear-lay and the trump of fame, how great and mighty a City you have won, but rather that it may stand still and remain for all posterity, for a mark and worthy spectacle to behold: to the end, that whosoever hereafter, shall reform this by Land: who over shall arrive there by Sea, it may present unto them, both our Trophies and worthy victories over the Athenians and Carthaginians: and also this of yours over us, the bravest conquest of all the rest. See (I say) that you leave for your house and family, the City of Syracuse whole and sound, to do homage and fealty ever hereafter, to the name and image of the Marcellus, and to hold of them as of their sovereign LL, in chief and in villegage.

"That
A  "That all the World may see, that the late remembrance of Hieronymus, beareth no greater stroke "with the Romans, that the ancient name of King Hiero, a noble Prince of famous memory, "Much longer was he a friend, than the other an enemy. His good deeds and many favours ye "have tafted and felt with great contentment: the folly and madness of Hieronymus, hurt none "of you, but wrought his own confusion and overthrow. There was nothing but they might "have obtained at the Romans hands: all was cleer there, and no danger from thence. But a "mong their own selves they were at more war: there was the peril, there was all the mischief, "for the Roman rebels, who were run from them, doubting that they should be delivered over "into their hands, and not comprized within the terms of the composition and protection, drove "the auxiliaries also that were waged foildiers into the fame scruple and fear, They hastily there- "fore took arms, and first killed the Pretors: and afterwards, ran all about to maleface the Syra- "cutians. Look whom they happened to meet, them they murdered in this furious fit of choleric. "Whatever came next to their hands, and lay handfome for them, they rifled. And because "forsooth, they would not be without their leaders, they created his prohols or Captains, that "three should govern Acradina, and other three Noftos. At the last, after the uprore was "appealed, the mercenary foildiers afoead, followed the matter throughly by leach and "diligent inquiry, what were the capitulations indeed agreed upon with the Romans: and "then began the very truth to appear, namely, that their condition and the fugitives were far "different, C  These Embassadors in very good time returned from Marcellus, and certified them that they "were carryed away with a wrong fumme and tale imitation, and the Romans had no just caufe to "punith them. Now there was one of thole three Prohols of Acradina, a Spaniard named Meri- "mus. Unto him there was sent for the none among thole of the retinue and train of the Emba- "sadors aforefaid, one of the Spaniards, who were auxiliary foildiers, ferving under the Romans, "who finding Meriues alone without other company, gave him to underftand especially above all "things, in what terms he had left Spain (and from thence he was newly come) namely, how the "Romans there were grown mighty, and held great hand over them with their forces. And "that himself, in cafe he had a mind to do and worthy deed, might alone rife, and be a great man "in his country: chufe whether he lift tofe under the Romans, or return again into his own "D  Home, Contrarywise, if he went on thill in this confue he liad begun, and minded thill to be "beguiled, what long abiding place could he have there, flutt up as he was from Sea and Land? "Meriues pondered well thefe reafons: and when it was agreed, that there fhould be addreffed "new Embassadors unto Marcellus, fent his own brother with them, who by the felf fame Spani- "an was brought forth from all the rett unto Marcellus: and after he had a proteftation granted, he "laid the plot, and ordered all the matter how it fhould be done, and fo returned to Acradina. "Then Meriues becaufe he would withdraw mens minds from all fupposition of treason and that he "intended nothing lefle, than to betray Acradina, gave it out. That he liked not, and would no "more of this recurrence, ever and anon, of Embassadors between: and therefore as he would ad- "mit of none to come from Marcellus, fo he would fend no more to him. And to the end, that "all the guards fhould be kept more diligently, he thought it good to divide conveniently among "the Prohols, the quarters of the City, and allign to every one his ward by himself, and that each "one fhould be bound to answer for the fafe keeping of his own division, and for no more. Then "all gave their content to part accordingly, and to himfelf befel the charge of that quarter which "reacheth from the fountain or well Arthebus unto the mouth or entry of the great key or haven. "And hereof he gave notice and intelligence to the Romans, Who upon Marcellus caufed a great "Hulk, laden with armed foildiers, to be baffned by an halting rope unto a Gally of four conie of "oars, and fo in the night by strength of oars to be tewed and drawn up after it unto Acradina, and "lindeth the foildiers over again the gate, that is near to the fountain Arthebus. This being done "about the relief of the fourth watch, Meriues received the foildiers that were fett afore at "the gate, according as before it was agreed. And Marcellus by the dawning of the day, with all "his forces gave a Camifado upon the walls of Acradina, in fuch manner, that not only he turned "thither unto his affualt all thole that kept Acradina, but also from Noftos there came running "whole squadron and companies of armed men (leaving their own wards) for to repel and put "back the violence and affault of the Romans. In this turmoil and trouble, certain Barges ap- "pointed and fubmitted thereto afoead, were brought about to Noftos: and there fett other foildiers "and who coming at ennuers upon the corps of guards that were left halfnaked and very weak, "by reafon of the departure of their fellows, and finding the gates wide open, at which ewehile the "foildiers ran out, with small ado were matters of Noftos, left, as it was, forborn of warders, "who in fear made halt to run away and escape. And none of them all had lefle means to de- "fend themselves, or smaller mind to tarry still, than the fugitive rebels, for they durft nor well "trust their own fellows, and fo in the hottest of the skirmiff made an escape. Marcellus fo "soon as he understood, that Noftos was won, and likewise that one quarter of Acradina was held "and kept for him, and that Meriues with his guard had joyned to his foildiers, founded the re- "treat: for fear, that the Kings treasure, which was more in name than in deed, fhould be rifed "and spoiled, Thus by suppressing the violence of the foildiers, both the rebel fugitives that were in Acradina, had good time and place to fhift for themselves and get away, and also the Syracusians de-
livered now at last from fear, opened the gates of Acrocidia, and sent Orators unto Marcellus, H craving nothing but life for themselves and their children, Marcellus called his Councel together, and those Syracusians likewise, who in the time of civil dissention, were driven to forsake their houses, and remained among the garrisons of the Romans: and then he made the Embassadors this answer. "There have not been (quothe) more benefits and good turns for the space of fifty years received at King Hiero his hands by the people of Rome, than detriments and mischiefs intended against them within these few years, by them that have feized and possessed the City of Syracusa. But most of those mischiefs in the end, have lighted upon their heads right justly, who duly deferred the fame: and for the breach of league and covenant, they themselves have suffered at their own hands more grievous punishment by far, than the people of Rome I would willingly ever have required. As for me, this is the third year that I lie in siege before Syracusa's: nor, I assure you, with this intent, that the City should not be relieved safe and sound for the natural people thereof to keep and inhabit, but that the Captains and ring-leaders of fugitives and rebels might not seize it, and to hold it in captivity and oppression. How much the Syracusians might have done with me at first, may be easily seen by the example either of those Syracusians who converted among the guards of the Romans, or of the Spanish Captain Meriones, who yielded up his garrison. Yea, and the hardy and resolute course in the end taken (although it were with the latest) by the Syracusians themselves, may sufficiently relieve the fame. Whereby also it may appear, that for all my travel and pains which I have undergone, for all the perils which I have adventured and passed through, about the walls of Syracusa, both by Land and Water, this long: I have gathered no fruit so sweet and pleasant as this, that it may be said, how I was able, yet at last, to win and conquer Syracusa."

Then the Quoeter was sent, attended with a guard, unto Naos, for to enter upon the Kings treasure there, and to keep the fame in safety. The pillage of the City was given to the soldiours: but there were appointed certain warders over every house of theirs, who were among the garrisons of the Romans, for to keep the same. Amidst many cruel, frightful, and foul examples of anger, malice, and covetouness, which happened to be committed during the time of this laccage, it is reported, that in so great hurlyburly as possible might be, when a City is newly taken, and hungry soldiours run to rilling, Archimedes was busily occupied, and studying upon certain Geometrical figures that he had drawn out in the dust, and happe'd to be slain by a soldiour, that knew not who he was. Whereat Marcellus was much offended and displeased: and therupon gave especial order, that he should be honorably enter'd: yes, and caus'd his kinfolks to be sought out; and all they in remembrance of him, and for his name fake, were not only laid but also well accounted of, and had in good reputation. Thus you see in what sort, and by what means especially Syracusa was won. A City wherein was found such store of wealth and riches, as hardly would have been gotten in Carthage, if it had been forced then: notwithstanding it was able to hold out with Rome, and maintain war with equal force and power. Some few days before the winning of Syracusa, T. Othoelius with fourkore Gallies, of five ranks of oars, crossed the Seas from Lilybcum to Ierica, and being entered the gate before day light, chanced to take by the way certain Caeticks charged with corn. After he was disembark'd and set a Land, he waited grievously part of the territory about Ierica, and returned to the City with booty and prizes of all sorts. And the third day after he went from Lilybcum he returned thither again with 30 caracks full of corn and other booty: and that came forthwith to Syracusa: which if it had not come as it did in good time to help the present necessity, the conquerors as well as the conquered had felt the smart of most extreme and grievous famine. In the same summer, the Roman Generals in Spain (who almost for two years had done nomemoa but there but warred by policy and stratagemes more than by force of arms) dislodged from their forces and winter harbours, and joynd their armies together. Then they called a Councel, where they jumped with one general accord in this opinion. That considering all this while they had effected this much only, as to empeach and stay Aesralbal from all means of passing over into Italy, it was now high time to make an end at one of the war in Spain. And to effect and bring this to passe, they inpepted verily that their strength was well amended and sufficient, by reason that in the winter time they had levied and put in arms thirty thousand Celtiberians. Now the Carthaginians had in Spain then no fewer than three armies. Aesralbal the son of Gisco, and Magn, were encamped with all their forces together, distant from the Romans almost five days journey: Aesralbal the son of Amilcar, an ancient warrior, and an old Captain in Spain, was somewhat neeterer with his whole power, before a City named Antigros. Him the Roman Generals were desirous to defeat and vanquish first: and in good hope they were, that they had strength enough and to spare, for to accomplish that: marly, this was their only doubt and fear, left upon the dilcomfiture of him, the other Aesralbal and Magn would for fear retire themselves into the insuffable woods, and take the wilds and mountains, and so maintain a long war. They suppos'd therefore it was the beft course to divide their power between them in two parts, and at once to compass the whole war of Spain. And thus they agreed to part their forces: namely, That T. Cornelius should lead two third parts of the army, consisting of Romans and allies, against Magn and Aesralbal: and that Cn. Cornelius with the other third part of that old army should joyn with the Celtiberians, and war against Aesralbal the Barchine [i, son of Amilcar above-said,] Both their Captains with their hosts set out together in their journey, putting the Celtiberians
berians before in the vanguard, and encamped near the City *Armorgis* in the fight of their enemies, having but the river running between. And there *Ca.Scipio* laid behind, and made his bode with the power aforesaid: but *P.Scipio* went onwarde to perform that part of the war which he purposed and intended, *Asdrubal* after he perceived that there lay in camp but a small power of Romans, and that their whole hope reined upon the aids of the Cimbrians: as one that could well skill of the fallhood and treachery of the barbarous people, but especially of all those nations, among whom he had been so long a founder: by reason that both camps, as well his own as the other of the Romans, were full of Spaniards, he used by the means of reciprocal commenece of their language for to have secret speech and conference with the principal heads of the Cimbrians, and so treated with them, that in consideration of a great sum of money, they were persuaded and yielded in the end to withdraw all their forces from thence, and give the Romans the slip. And this they propos'd was not so heinous and odious a fact. For why? they were not dealt withal to turn their swords upon the Romans, and to war against them: again, they were to have as good pay and wages to fill their bellies, and not to serve, as was sufficient to bind them for to bear arms, and fight: and last of all, rest it fell, and sleeping in a whole skin, together with their return home to their own, and the joy and pleasure of visiting their friends, and seeing their goods and lands, were plausible and pleasing inducements to every man. And therefore the Captain: the milties were no sooner drawn thereto, than the very multitude, Over and besides, to strike it dead sure, they stood in no fear of the Romans (being so few as they were) that they could possibly keep them perforce. And surely, this might well serve, to be a Caelest for Roman Captains ever here after, and such precedent examples and instances as this, may stand in stead of good leasons indeed, to teach them how they must trust again the aids of foieiners: and never to relieve themsoe much upon them, but that they always have in their camp the greater part of their own forces, and the more number of their natural foildiers. All on a Judain therefore the Cimbrians dislodged, plucked up standards, and departed from them, and never bad them farewell. And when the Romans demanded the cause of this change yes, and befought and importun'd them to tarry, they made them no other answer but this, That they were called and sent for home by occasion of wars in their own country, Scipio seeing that these Allies of his were so slippery, and could neither be intended nor enforced to stay: and that himself alone without them was not able to make his part good with the enemy: and to joy again with his brother, was a thing impossible; for want of other good means, for the present, when he saw no remedy else, determined to retire himself as far backward as he could: having this especial care above all things, not to encounter and joy with battle with the enemy in plain feld, without some advantage, who now was passed over the river, and traced him hard at heels in his_church.

About the same time P. Scipio stood in the like terms of fear, but in more danger by the coming of a new enemy and that was Mosquitus the young Prince whom then was a friend and penionary foildier of the Carthaginians: but afterwards mighty and renowned for his amity with the Romans, He with his Numidian Horsemen first encontrol'd P. Scipio, as he marched on his journey, and afterwards both day and night molested and troubled him very severely: in im. fort, that not only he would intercept and catch up those that were gone out wandering and bragging far from the camp, a fueling or foraging, and send them short of home: but also ride braving even before the camp. Many a time would he venture, yes, and enter upon the thickest of the landing corps de guard, and make fencet work and trouble among them. By night also he used oft to make many starts upon a fuddain, and silence the gates of the camp and the rampart, and put them in exceeding great frights. So as the Romans at no time, nor in no places could be at rest and quiet for him, but ever in fear and doubt of some fureweld turn or other of him: so as they were driven to keep within their rampart cut off from the use of all commodities abroad, and in a manner as good as besieged: and more frightly yet were they like to be beleaguer'd, in case Indubius, who was coming (as the rumor went) with 7000 Sefellatans, were once joyed with the Carthaginians. Whereupon Scipio a wary warrior and prudent Captain otherwise driven to the hardest extremities, and forced to make shifts, entr'd into a rath and inconsiderate assignmen, even to go on and meet (forsooth) Indubius in the night, and in what place forever it should be his hap to encounter him, there to bid him battle, and fight with him. Leaving therefore a gueard to keep the camp, and T. Fonteius his Lieuenent, as Provoif and Captain, he let out at midnight and meeting with his enemies, joyed battle with them: but they skirmished rather by loose companies in their march, than with their united forces in set and right field. Howbeit, the Romans had the better hand so much as it was, considering what a conuiled and disorderly conflict there might be. But the Numidian Cavalry, whom Scipio thought he was secured of, and that they were not aware of him, all on a sudden flank'd the sides of the Romans, and mightyli terrified them. Against theire G Numidians, whiles Scipio made head again aforeth, behold a third fort of enemies also charged upon his back, even the Carthaginian Captains, who by this time while the other were in fight, had overtaken their allies and were come thither. So as the Romans were to mainist battle on all hands and were at a stand and in doubt with themelves against which enemy to turn first or what way with a close confined squadron to give the venture for to break through. As the General was thus manfully fighting, and encouraging his foildiers, presenting and opposing him forward, where was most need and danger, his chance was to be run through the right side of the body with a Lance: and that maffive band of the enemies which had charg'd upon the thick
The five and twentieth Book of L. Livius.

...battle, which environed their Captain, seeing Scipio falling from his Horse ready to die, in great joy and mirth let up a cheerful shout, and ran all over the army, and carried glad tidings that the Roman General was slain. This noise being once spread all abroad, caused both the enemies to take themselves undoubtedly for victors, and the Romans to make no other attempt but they were vanquished. Whereupon they having lost their Leader, began forthwith to fly out of the field. But as it was no hard matter for them to make a lane and break through among the Numidians, and other auxiliary soldiers lightly armed; so to escape and go clear away from so many Horfe, and Footmen also, who were as swift on foot as the horsemen, it was almost impossible. Thus they were more in manner slain in their flight now, than in their fight before. And there had not one remained alive, but that the day being far spent already, and toward evening, the night came on space and overtook them. The Carthaginian Captains, and those also of Afric, taking the full benefit of this their good fortune, slept not their business, nor made delay; but presently after the battle, stately allowing their soldiers so much sleep as would content nature. marched in great haste toward Africas. the son of Amilcar: making an accompart astirly, that when they had joined their power with his, they should break the neck of this war, and end it once for all. When they were come to him. great joy and gratulation there was between the Captains and the hoots of both sides, for this fresh victory newly archived: and seeing they had already defeated so brave a warrior and great commander, together with his whole army, they made no doubt but expected certainly to have another hand as good as this.

The news verily of this so great a foil and overthrow, was yet not come unto the Romans: but yet they were strucken into a sad dump and deep silence, and more than that, into a secret prejudice and fore-deeming of some unlucky tidings: as commonly mens minds are to fore-give and tell aforehand, when there is some mischief and ill toward them. The General himself besides that he saw he was abandoned and forlorn of his associates, and knew the forces of the enemies so mightily reenforced by good opportunities and gueyies, yea, and by very reason, was induced to suspect some loss and calamity received already, rather than enclined to hope after any good successe and happy speed. For thus he discoursed with himself: How is it possible that Afric and Mago should bring their armies together without conflict, unless my brother be slain in fight, or have forgotten to be a warrior? how cometh it that he withflood them not? or how happeneth it that my brother followed not hard after them fift upon their backs? At lastwise, if he had not been able to keep them afunder, but that both Captains and armies mutt needs meet and joyn in one, yet he him elfe thinks, at lastwisefould have come by this time to his brother, and brought his own power to his. In this perplexity and anguish of spirit, he thought yet, for the present time, that the only good course he could take, was to withdraw himself back from thence as far as he could, and to all that one night unawares to his enemies (who to long only were quiet) he marched a great way and won much ground of them. The next night, as soon as the enemies perceived that the Romans were dislodged and gone, they sent out the Numidian light Horsemen and began to follow after them spaece, and put them as fast as possibly they could: and before night the Numidian Cavalry had over taken them, and skirmished one while with the tail of their march, another whiles at their sides and flanks, and gave them no rest: whereas the Romans made as it were a stand, and began to defend and save their army as well as they could: yet with great warines and regard of security, Scipio encouraged them so to fight, as they might march on ftil and gain ground, before the Infantry overtook them. But as one while the army was one foot, and another whiles ftood still, in long time they rid but a little ground. And Scipio seeing the night draw on space, reclamed his soldiers from farther skirmishes: and after he had rallied them together, he retired with them up to a little mount, no sufficient place (God wot) of safe retreat for an army especially so troubled and affrighted already, yet higher than any other place all about. There the first thing that he did, was to beftow the baggage and cavalry in the midst within his forces: and at first the infantry ranged round about in a circle, made no difficult matter of it to put by the violent charge of the Numidian Horsemen. But afterwards when the three Generals marching with three full armies approached their Captains, Scipio perceiving that he was never able to keep that place without some fortification, began to call his eye about, and to bethink with himself, by what means possible he might empale himself round about as it were with a rampier: but the hill was so naked of wood, and the soil of the ground besides to fiery and craggy, that he could neither finde any underwood fit to cut out stakes for a palisado nor earth meet to make turfs for a bank, or minable for a trench: and in one word, all things onward and unhandsome for a mount, and to fortifie withall. Neither was there any place there, to speak of, so steep and upright, but the enemy might at eafe mount up and limb it. All the hill on every side, had a gentle rising and ascent up to the top. Howbeit, to represent some flew and remembrance yet of a rampier, they were for ed to take their pack saddles, with their packs tied fast to them, and to round about to pile them and raise them to the utmost height of a mount: And where these wanted pack saddles to make up the work, there they were fain to heap together, all sorts of fardels, trusses, and other carriages, and to put them between the enemies and them. The Carthaginian armies when they were come, marched very easily up against the Hill. But the new fashion and manner of their defences and fortifications, was very strange unto them, so as at the first the fouldiers marvelled much...
A and were attionied thereat, and stood still. But their Captains on all sides cried out upon them, and why tland ye gaping (lay they) so and do not pull in pieces and pluck away that foolish ba

table there, good to make sport with? A very toy, that women and children would dare hand about thus long? Why, the enemy is taken already in a pinfold, and ieth lurking and hiding himself behind the hurdles and other carriages. After this manner (I say) the leaders rated at the

foulators. But it was not to easy a matter, either to get over that Barricado of the packs or to re

move and rid them out of the way, as they lay piled close against them: nor yet to unfold and un-

wrap the pack-ladders, lying overwhelmed as they did, under the packs, and entangled together

with them. Thus they were hindered and held a long time: and when at length they had put this

bag and baggage aside that was set in their way, and made passage and entrance for the armed men, B and that in divers places, the camps and tents were soon taken on all sides; ere a man could turn

about: and so being few to many, and frighted men to late conquerors, no marvel if they were

killed and hevno in pieces in every place. Howbeit, many of the fouldiers: having fled for refuge

into the forret's near by escaped into the camp of P. Scipio, whereof T. Fontius his Lieutenant

had the charge. As fo Co. Scipio: (some write that he was slain upon that mount at the first onfe

and affault made by the enemies: others report that with a few others he fled into a Tower hard

by the camp: and that there was a fire made round about it, and so when the gates thereof were

burned, which by no violent means otherwise they could break open, the enemies enter'd and

took it, and they within were killed every one. Captain and all, Thus Co. Scipio came to his end, in the seventh year after that he went into Spain: and on the

nine and twentieth day after that his brother lost his life. Their death was bewailed and lamented

no less on all Spain than at Rome. For among the citizens at Rome one part of their sorrow

they took for the los of the armies, another part went for the distraction and alienation of the

Province and a third again was spent in the cogitation of the publick calamity: but Spain from

one end to the other, mourned only for their Governors and Captains, and had a great miff of

them. And Co. of the twain, was more bewailed, becaused he had been longer time their rul-

er, and had won the favours and affection of men, and polished their hearts before the other:

and was the first that ever gave them in those parts a proof and tail of the Romans just and tem-

perate government;

When the army was thus defeated and brought to nothing, so as Spain seemed litterly loft,

there were one man yet, that recovered all again, and brought the decaied state to the former

perfection. There was in the army one L. Martius, the son of Septimius, a Gentlemen and Knight

of Rome, a forward young man, meritorious courage and wit, far above the degree and condition wherin he was born. Besides this excellent and most toward disposition of his by nature, he had great

helps by the discipline and instructions of Co. Scipio: under whom, for so many years he was

trained and had learned all military knowledge and skill meet for a soldier, This Martius what

by rallying the dispered fouldiers who were fled, and what by drawing others out of fuddry gar-

rions had rais'd and assembled together a reasonable good power, and prov'd, in with T. Fontius,

the Lieutenant aforesaid of P. Scipio. But the Roman Knight, above all others, grew to so great

credit and reputation among all the fouldiers, that when they had forti'd their camp within the

River Tiberis: and were determined among themselves, to chuse one General over the armies, in a

solemn assembly of fouldiers, even by their own military election: they went one by one in course

one after another, unto the main corp de guerard that defended the rampier: and to the other wards

belonging unto the camp until they had all given their voices: and so by general consent created him their General, At which time they had ather and that was but small) they employed in

fortifying their hold, and conveying thither corn and videl: and what chargeover was imposed

by him upon the fouldiers, the fame they executed readily and willingly, and without any

threw that their hearts were dismayed, and cast down any jot at all. But after that news was

brought, that After the the son of Gisago, was coming against them, to dispatcch clean the relics of the

war that he had pass'd over Tiberis: and approached near: and the fouldiers saw once the

Foggia of battle put forth unto them by this new General: calling to mind, what noble warriors

they had served under but a while before: what worthy leaders they were wont to have, and with

how puissant armies they used heretofore to go to the field: they fell a weeping every one, flan-

king and beating their heads: some lit up and stretched out their hands to heaven, blaming and

accusing the Gods: others lay along upon the ground, calling every one upon his own Captain by

special name. Neither could their piteous moans and plaints be hid: notwithstanding the Cen-

tuctions: encouraged what they could the fouldiers of their companies: notwithstanding (I say)

that Martius himself sometimes spake them fair, sometimes rebuked them, for giving them-

selves to such foolish and vain putting-like women: and not rather resolve to raise up their hearts,

and with him to quicken and whet their pomacks in defence of themselves: and of the commo-

G wealth: and not to suffer their former Captains and Leaders to lie dead and unrevenged. By this
time now all on a sudden, the shout of the enemies was decliv'd, and the sound of the trumpers

were within hearing being come close under the rampier. Whereupon all at once running their

forrow and weeping into anger and indignation: they ran every man to his armor and weapon: and

as if they had been no mind they hali'd from all parts to the gates and entries of the camp,

and charged upon the enemies as they came careless and without order and array. Imme-

diately this unexpected and fuddain object, stroke an exceeding fear into the Carthaginians:
as wondring from whence so many enemies should start up so soon, considering the armies were not lately clean in a manner destroyed: and how it came to passe, that being newly vanquished and put to flight, they should be so soon, so bold and confident of their own selves: who a Gods name, should be his General, after the two Scipios were slain: what Captain and Governor had they over the camp: and who gave out the signal of battle: marvelling (I say) at these premisses, and so many particulars, that they once imagined not afore, at first hand they wift not what to do, but as amazed men, began to give ground and retire; but afterwards, being still fiercely followed upon with a violent charge, they were plainly beaten back and put to flight.

And verily, either there had been a foul havoc and slaughter of them that fled, or a rash and dangerous enterprise for them who would have followed the chase: but that Marius having to found the retreat, and opposing himself against the foremost ensigns of the vanguard, yes, and taking hold of some of them himself, laid the main battle and reproved their violence, who were upon the point already to pursue them with heat. And so be reduced them back again into the camp, as greedily as they were full of murder, and thirstily of bloodshed. The Carthaginians, who at the first were driven from the rampart, and for fear hasted away: after that they saw none to follow them, supposing they had been afraid, and therefore (said full: whereupon they departed to their camp again in relentless manner, fair and softly. And as careless as they were in their retire thither, so negligent were they in guarding the same: for although their enemies were near, yet they remembered and thought again, that they were but the tail and relics of two armies, vanquished and defeated a few days before. Upon this resolute pervasion of theirs, and bale conceit of the enemies, they were very negligent every way within their camp: whereof Marius having by his epial, certain intelligence, resolved upon a desigination, which at the first sight seemed more like a project of hazard, than an enterprise of hardiness: and it was no more, but even upon a bravely to set upon the enemy in his own camp, and give him a camilado. For as he thought it an easier emprise, to force the hold and pavilions of Aframuli, being but one, than to defend and keep his own, in case three armies and three Captains should join together: so he considered withal, that either if he sped well in this exploit, he should restore and let up again unto the Romans, the decayed and prostrate State of Spain: or if he were discomfited and put back yet by giving the adventice first upon the enemies, he should not be altogether contemned: and of no reputation. But left this attempt so sudden, and the terror and error which may fall in the night-time, should happen to trouble this his designed plot, and the course of his good fortune: he thought it not amiss, to make a speech unto his fellow-soldiers, and to exhort and encourage them aforehand. And therefore calling them together to a general audience, in this manner he discoursed unto them of his intent and purpose.

"My valorous and loyal soldiers, either the reverence and affectionate love of mine, towards our chief Captains during their life, and after their death; or the very present condition and fate wherein we all now stand: may be a sufficient testimony and proof to any man whoiover, that this charge and government of mine, as it is in regard of your judgement of me right honourable, so it is in truth, and in very deed, to me most weighty, and full of care and trouble.

"For at what time as (but that fear took away all fence of terror) I was not so much matter of grief to minifie consolation unto the common misfortune and calamity of you all. And surely I have no litt at all (the harder is my cafe) to avert my mind from continual grief of heart, not so much as even then, when as I am to live and die, by what means I may be able to preserve (for the behoof of my country) these small remnants of two armies. For why the grievous and bitter remembrance of calamities past, is ever before me. The two Scipios trouble me all the day time with careful thoughts, they disquiet me in the night season with fearful dreams, they make me oftentimes to start out of my sleep, willing and charging me, to suffer neither them nor their soldiers, (who were your fellowes and companions) and for the space of eight years in those parts where they served, never received foil nor yet the Common-wealth, to continue unrevenged: warning me withal, to follow their discipline, their precepts, rules, & good instructions. And like as whiles they lived here among us, there was no man more obedient than my self to their directions and commandments: even so after their decease, whatsoever in my conceit, I judge they would have had especially done in all occurrences, the fame my define is, that you also (my fellow-soldiers) would like of and approve for the very best, I would not have you to weep, wail, and lament still for them, as if they were extinct and gone for ever; (for they live still, and shall, so long as the world endureth, and continue immortal in renown and fame of their worthy and noble acts) but rather so often as you remember and think of them, to go like hardy and valiant men to a field, even as if you heard them speaking unto you, or saw them giving the signal of battle. Neither was it (I assure you) any other object but that, presented yesterday unto your eyes and minds, which effected so memorable a piece of service as it was: by which ye have made good proof into your enemies, and given them to understand, that the Roman name did not together with the Scipios: and that the vigour and virtues of that people which was not extinct and buried, by the overthrow at Cannae, will ever rise again (ye be may be sure) out of all adversities, let cruel fortune storm and rage alms as ever she can. And now, since ye have shewed such valour and hardines already of your own accord, I have a mind, and
A and would gladly fee, how bravely ye will bear your felles upon the direction and command-
ment of your Captain. For yesterday, when I founded the retreat unto you, at what time as
you followed freely upon the enemy, being troubled and disheartned: my desire and meaning
was not to reprefs and abate your bold courage but to defer and relieve it against some greater
opportunity or advantage, and for a more honourable and glorious exploit: which upon the
first occasion, you advantage and prepared, might surprize them at unawares, and not flan-
ding upon their guard, armed and well appointed, affall them dismayed & naked and that which
more is, whiles they are in their bedstaff and sound asleep. And the hope that I conceive of this
good opportunity and effect thereof (my fouldiers) arife not upon some fantastical imagina-
tion of mine own brain by hap-hazard, and upon vain presumption, but grounded upon good
reason and present experience. For verily if a man should demand even of you your owne,
What the reason was, that being but few in number, and lately diffumated, ye were able to de-
fead your camp against many more than your felles, and those harteneed with treflis stories, ye
would make no other answer but this, That you fearing that which followed, had both forti-
ced your camp in every repect with strong munitions, and were your felles well appointed and
furnished, yes and ready to receive them when ever they came. And surely, by this, and we find
it true by experience: Men are least sure and respectfull against that which fortune fainth is fcarles,
and need not to be prevented, because that which we neglect is evermore open and exposed to
all dangers. Now the enemies doubt nothing lesl at this time, then that we, who were so lately
our felles besieged and affallied by them, will now come to give an affault upon them in their
hold. Let us adventure to do that which no man would beleve that ever we durft entreprize.

B our felles besieged and assallied by them. we will now come to give an affault upon them in their
hold. Let us adventure to do that which no man would beleve that ever we durft entprise.

C the selfsame cause which teemeth to make the thing most difficult. shali effect it looneft
of all others. At the change of the third watch I will lead you forth without any noise at all in
garments silence. Well entombed and retired I am, that in the camp the Sentinels are not relieved
in due course and order, neither yet the ordinary corde de guard kept as they ought to be. Your
hour and order shall not to soon be hazed at the gates, nor your first charge and affall given,
but ye shall surely be matters of the camp. Then let me fee you perform that daunger and exec-
tution among them heavy and dead asleep, affrighted with an unexpected siren, and taken on
a sudden unarm'd and in their beds. from whom yesterday ye thought me, that ye were cal-
led away and reclaimed, I wot well that this teemeth unto you an indirect entubre and full
of hazard, but when things go crofs and stand in doublt terms and when other mens faint the
hardest attempts, yes, and the most venturous and desperate couries, are over fated and speed
best. For that a man fly not to little at the very instant when a thing is to be done (whereof the
opportunity passeth and flie away ere one would think) immediately when it is once gone, he
may fling his cap after well enough, and complain thereof and say, I had but, but never the
nearer, One Army they have hard at hand, and two more are not far off: now if we venture of
them here, our opportunity and advantage is as good as theirs. And once already ye have
made trial of their forces and your owne: put we it off another day, contenting our felles with
the bare name of yesterdays fall, and give over so, it will be great doubt and danger, left all
E the Generals with all their armies be rallied and re-united. And shall we then be able to hold
our owne against three Generals and three hots, whom Cn, Scepius having about him his whole
princedom, forth and in good plight, could not withstand nor abide? Our Captains by dividing
their forces, and dissipating one compleat army, were defeated and outworne: iemblably
may our enemies, part while they be, and forced tondaver be dissimulated and brought to
thought. Lo, this is the only way for us to ware and none other. And therefore let us wait no lon-
ger than the commodities opportunity of the next night. Go ye then a godbelling make man y
of your felles, take your repat and repose, that ye may be ftreth and lusty to break into your ene-
emies hold with the same resolute courage, wherewith ye defended your owne. The
fouldiers, as they gladly gave ear to this new counsell of their new captain, to the more and ac-
Fous and adventurous that it was, the better it pleased them. The rest of the day behind they spent
in furnishing and making ready their harness and weapons, and in cherishing their bodies, yes, and
the better part of the night they slept quietely. And so at the relief of the fourth watch they
felt toward.

Now were there other companies also of Carthaginians, beyond this nest camp above said, ab-
out six miles distant from them. A hollow way and valley there lay between, standing thick of
trees. In the midst of this wood, for a long space well near he hallowed closely a cohorte of foot-
men, yes and certain horfe-men of Romans: but by his leave this was but a caffy and life trick,
borrowd of the Carthaginians. Thus the middle way being intercepted and taken up, the rest of
the forces were conducted in a still march toward the enemies in the nest camp. And finding no
G guards before the gates, no Sentinels upon the rampier, they entered in as it had been into their
own holde and no man made resistance: then they sounded trumpets and gave the alarm. Some fell
killing of the enemies half asleep: others fying dry hither and thither for to kindle fire upon their
huts and pavilions: others some again keep the gates, that none should line forth. So the fire the
outer and middle all together put them out of their right wits: and made them as it were be-
sides themselves: that neither hear they could, nor yet make any hit for themselves. Unarmed
and naked men fell among the bands of armed fouldiers. Some run in battle to the gates, others
finding the wails and pavilions befire run upon the rampier: and look as any escaped and got away

S f

c from
from thence by that means he fleith straightways directly toward the other camp. Where they H were caught up by the cohort of footmen, and the coret of horsemen, which role up suddenly out of their Ambulaco: and being enclosed on every side, were killed to the last man. And yet, if it had been any ones good hap to have escaped from thence with life, so swifly, and with so great expedition, the Romans after they had got the nearer camp, piped themselves to the other, that he could not have recovered it before them, to bring news of the defeat. And even there likewise, the farther they were off from their enemy, the more negligent they were: and because some also a little before day were lift away a foraging, fueling, and plundering, the Romans found every thing more loible and out of order, than in the other camp. Their weapons only stood reared up in their corporis guard, thebufilders themselves were unarmed, either sitting and lying all along on the ground, or walking up and down before the gates, and under the rampier. With these fouldiers to lecture, to rob, to steal, is disarmed and disordered (the Romans being yet in their hot blood, and not cooled upon their fresh merchandise, and more than that, lusty and brag for their new victory) began to make a fray, and to skirmish. But the Carthaginians were not able to keep them out of the gates. And so within the Camp there was a hot and cruell fight: for, from all parts thereof, they ran together upon the first alarm that arose in the beginning of the tumult and sfielling. And long had that skirmish continued, but that the Romans bucklers and targets seen al bloody were a pattern unto the Carthaginians of former execution; and thereupon drove them into a mighty fear. This fear full sight causeth them all to turn back and take their heels: and thus as many of them as escaped killing got out by heaps wherefoever they could make shift to find way and were clean turned out of their camp, and all that they had. So in the compass of one day and night, by the conduct and direction of L. Martius, there were two encampments forced and won from the enemies: in which there were 37000 of the enemies slain, Faith Claudia, who translated the Annals of Acilius out of the Greek tongue into the Latin, and 1830 taken prisoners besides the gain of a mighty rich booty, in which pilage there was found a shield of silver weighing 138 pound, with the image and portraiture of Afric[u]n the Barchine, Volturn Annius recethed, that the camp only of Mage was taken, and seven thousand men slain: and that in another battell with Afrinc, l upon a tally forth, there died ten thousand, and 4230 were taken prisoners. Piso writeth, that when Mage followed after our men in an hot and disorderly chase (for they seemed to give back and retreat) there were five thousand men killed by the train of an ambusc. But all writers do blesse on the great honour and fame of Duke Martius. And L. bel des the very truth of his glorious name, they make mention also and speak of some miracles: namely that as he made the Oration unto his foildiers, there was seen a flaming fire burning from his head without any lense and feeling of his to the great wonder and fear of the foildiers that stood about him: and that in the memorials of his brave victory over the Carthaginians, there remained in the temple of Jupiter, until the Capitol was burned that foreaided shield, with the Image of Afrinc, and it was called Martius his shield. After this, Spain was quiet for a long time, whilst both sides after to many overthrows given and taken between them, were loath to hazard the main chance in one battell.

In the time that these affairs passed in Spain, Marcellus upon the winning of Syracuse, having fet all other things in order throughout Sicily, with great felicity and uprightness, that not only he greatly augmented his own city but also enlarged the majesty of the people of Rome, brought over to Rome, all the goodly and beautiful ornaments of that City, their g-images and molten images their pictures and painted tables, whereof there was great fore in Syracuse. These braveries (no doubt) at the first were no more but the spoils of enemies, and lawfully acquired in right of war and conquest. But from thence began our great love and liking to the cunning workmanship of Grecian Artisans: and from hence came afterwards our licentiousness and outrage in spoiling and robbing, so commonly & ordinarily, all sacred and profane places, whereof these things were to be had: which flaid not so, but proceeded and turned at length to the spoiling of the Roman gods themselves, and to that very first Temple, which Marcellus was beautified and adorned principally above the rest. For strangers and forrein travellers used in pilgrimage to visit the Temples which were dedicated by Marcellus at the gate Capena, in regard only of the most rare and singular workmanship of the ornaments in that kind, of which at this day there is very little or nothing to be seen.

Now from all City well near of Sicily, there reformed Embassies unto him: as ther causes were divers and unlike; to their conditions were not all one. As many as before the winning of Syracuse had either not rebelled at all or became reconciled and in favour again they were accepted in the quality of faithful Allies and made much of: those who for fear after the loss of Syracuse yielded were esteemed as conquered, and received laws and conditions at the will and pleasure of the Conqueror. There remained yet no small relieves of war about Agrigentum for the Romans to dispatch: namely, Epicles and Himera the Captains of the former war and a third, a new from Annibail in the room of Hippocrates, a Citizen of Hippis (his countrymen name him Mutti) seduced from the Labini, with an army of Action, and one who under Annibail had been brought up, and taught all sorts of arms and skill of warfare, unto his charge were committed by Epicles and Himera the Numidian Auxiliaries, with whom he over ran all the countries belonging to the enemies; he went unto all the Confederates, and so brought with them to continue satt in their allegiance, and to send aids to every one in due time accordingly: in such fort, that within
A within short time he got himself a great name throughout all Sicily, as the favorites and faction of the Carthaginians had no greater hope in any than in him. And therefore both Captains, as well Hann, the Carthagian, as Epictetus the Syracusan, for a time had been pent up within the walls of Agrigentum, bearing themselves as well upon the fidelity as policy of Mutinian, boldly advenccd to come forth of the walls of Agrigentum, and upon the river Himera encamped themselves. Whereof Marcellus having intelligence, forthwith removed with all his power, and took him down encamped, almost four miles from the enemy, minding to wait and expect what they were to do and went about, but Mutinian gave him neither opportunity of place to call him long, nor repulse of time to take counsell in, but crossed the river, and with exceeding terror, and tumultuous noise affaid the standing guards of his enemies; yet, and the morrow after gave them batteall as it were in a pitch field, and drew them within their folds and fortifications. But being called from hence by occasion of a mutiny of Numidians within the Camp (who to the number almost of three hundred were departed to Heraclea Minor) he went to appeale them, and to reclaim them to due obedience: but he gave the rest of the Captains (by report) a great charge and express warning, not to fight with the enemy, however they did in his absence. But both the Captains were greatly offended thereat, and Hann especially, who was already malecontent, and repined at his glory. What? faith he, thinketh Mutinian, a base African, and not of the right hand neither, to rage and rule me a Carthagian General, sent with Commission from the Senate and people? He prevailed therefore Epictetus effectually to pass over the river, and to strike a batteall: for quoth he, if we should stay for him, and then hap to have a fortunate day of it and win the victory, then no doubt shall redound to Mutinian.

But here, Marcellus thought this a great indignity, that he, who had repulsed at Nola Anabal, even when he bare himself bravely upon his preth victory at Conae, should give one foot to thee petty enemies, vanquished already by him both by sea and land: whereupon he commanded his soldiers to arm in all haste, and to bring forth the standards and ensigns. But as he was arranging his men in batteall array, there came riding unto him all on the spur, with bridles on the horse neck ten Numidians from out of the army of the enemies, with these tidings and intelligences, affurming them, “That their countrymen, who first were offended and discontented by occasion of that mutiny aforesaid, wherein three hundred of their company departed and went away to Heraclea; and then afterwards, because they saw their own head and leader, by the practice of those other Captain, who maligncd and envied his glory, sent far enough out of the way, even against the very day when the batteall should be fought: were not disposed at all to fight, but would stand still and not stir. A kind of people these were, deceitfull otherwise, and used to break promises howbeit now, they were just and true of their word. Upon this, as the Romans took better heart unto them; for there was a speedy purveyor or courier sent throughout the batteallion, from company to company, for to signifie unto them, that the enemy was disappointed and abandoned of his Cavalry, whom they feared most of all other, the enemies were mightily dismayed and put in fear: for over and besides, that they had no help from them who were the greatest strength of their army, they were in a deep fear left their own horsemen would fret upon them. By which occasio the conflict was not great, for at the first sliote and thckck given, well it was seen which way the game would go, and the matter was soon determined. The Numidians, who at the first encounter, and during the conflict, had stood quiet in both points of the batteall, seeing their own fellows turn back and flee, bare them only company for a while, as they fled: but after that they perceived them all to make haste forwar to Agrigentum: fearing also themselves there to be befoged among them, flit away every one to their own Cities. Many thousands were there slain and taken prisoners: and eight elephants besides taken alive. This was the last field fought by Marcellus in Sicily: upon this victory he returned to Syracuse. By this time now was the year almost come about and growing to an end. And therefore at Rome the Senate decreed, that P. Cornelius the Prtoor should send letters to the Conuls, lying before Capua, purporting this tenor: That forasmuch as Anabal was far from them, and no great matter of consequence like to be performed the while at Capua: the one of them (if they thought to good) should repair to Rome, for to create new Magistrates in the room of the old. The Conuls having received the letters agreed between themselves and took order, that Claudius should go to hold and accomplish the solemn election of Magistrates: and Ennius remain still at Capua, So Claudius created new Col. Gn., Ennius Centumaldus; and P. Sulpisius Galba the son of Servius: a man that had not borne any curule office of state before. After these there were Prtoors chosen, 1. Cornelius Lentulus, 2. Cornelius Veturius, 3. Sulpisius Caelum, 4. Sulpisius Cae, Unto Pto at this time held the jurisdiction within the City. Sulpisius had the government of the Province Sicily. Caelum of Apulia: and Lentulus, of Sardinia. The Conuls had the government of their Provinces proregu for to continue one year longer.
The six and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the fix and twentieth Book.

Annibal encamped himself at three miles from Rome, fast upon the river Anio. Himself in person, accompanied with two thousand men of arms, rode to the gate Capena, to review the city. And was standing there for three days, that the army of both sides were come into the field ready to be attacked, yet they were joined in conflict, by reason of the tempestuous and stormy weather: But even as they were returned again into their camps, presently it proved fair. Capua was won by Q. Fulvius, and Appius Claudius the Pro-Consul. The Nobles and principal Citizens of Capua present the life of their Jews. When all their Senators stood bound to stakes (for to be whipped) and then to lose their lives, there came letters from the Senate of Rome unto the Pro-Consul Q. Fulvius, with directions and orders, that before he would read them, he should put them up into his bosom and himself K. the winds from the windows, to let the Law bare the course, to do his office, and so he went through with the execution. It seemed that in a solemn assembly of the people there was much debate and question, who should govern. L. Dupius, the Pro-Consul of Spain, and now was not willing to undertake that charge. Publius, one of the Senators, with certain people, who was in Spain, made offer to go that voyage, and by the way generally of the people, and with one accord, all was better set. In one day he assaulted and overthrew New-Carthage, being a young man, not fully 24 year old. And there went an opinion of him, that he was descended of some heavenly race: both for himself, of he was come to seventeen years of age, and had put such as many steps, covered within the Capitol, and also because there was a lack of soldiers, few officers in his masters bedchamber. This book contains besides the affairs in Sicily, the army concluded with the Macedonians and Philip King of the Macedonians.

The six and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

Cnæus Fulvius Centumalus, and Publius Sulpicius Galba the Consuls, when they had entred into their Magistracy upon the Ides of March, assembled the Senators into the Capitol, where they coniured with the LX. about the state of the Common-wealth, concerning the administration of the war, and the Provinces and the Armies. Q. Fulvius and Ap. Claudius, the Consuls of the former year, continued till their rule and full command, with the charge of the same forces which they had before under their hands. And over and besides, they were expressly commanded, not to depart from Capua (before which they lay at siege) until they had forced and won the City. For at that time the Romans among all their other affairs were much amused upon it: not so much for anger and malice, (whereof they had never against any one City greater and fuller cause) as in this regard, that being a state so noble and mighty, like as by revolting itself it had drawn and induced certain other Cities to do the same, so if it were recovered and regained, like it was to reduce their affections again to look back and return unto their old allegiance and obedience to their wonted deńomy, from Rome. The Praetors also of the former year, M. Junius in Tuscany, and P. Sempronius in Gaul, continued in their places of regiment, with two legions a piece under their conduct the same which they had before. And so M. Marcellus remained as Pro-Consul behind in Sicily, for to finish and dispatch the reliques of the war there, with the power of that army which he had already; and had commission (if need were of new supply) to make up the number of his companies, out of those legions which were commanded by P. Cornelius the Vice-Consul in Sicily, that were divided to such effect, that he chose no fodder out of those bands, unto whom the Senate had already denied, either licence to be discharged, or pay to return home into their country, before the war was fully ended. Unto C. Sulpicius, whole lot it was to govern the Province of Sicily, were assigned those two legions, which P. Cornelius had before: with a fresh supply out of the army of Cnæus Fulvius, which the last year was shamefully defeate and beaten and put to flight in Apulia. Thesewoulders, all the lot of them, had the time limitation of six, ten and no other, appointed and let down by the Senator, that the latter who remained after the overthrow at Canus, and this disgrace they had besides, as well the one company as the other. That they might not winter within any town nor build them any standing camp for wintering harbours within ten miles of a City. L. Cornelius the Lord Deputy in Sardinia, was allowed to have the conduct of those two legions which were under the leading of Q. Minucius. And order was given unto the Consuls, to levy and enroll a new supply thereto, if need required. T. Oebeliuins and M. Valerius were appointed to guard and defend all the sea-coasts of Sicily and Greece, with the
A the help of those Legions and Armadoes which they had already. The Greeks had fifty sail in their fleet, and were manned with one Legion. The Scilians had one hundred ships, and two Legions to furnish them. So that in this year the Romans maintained three and twenty Legions, to wage war both by sea and land.

In the beginning of the year, when the letters of L. Marcius were read and fanned in the Senate house, the II. there assembled, liked well of the contents, and spoke highly in the praise of his worthy acts: but many of them were offended at the superficition, because he took upon him the honourable title of a Pro-Praetor in his title, and wrote thus: [L. Marcius the Pro-Praetor to the Senate] considering, that his command was neither granted by the people, not allowed and confirmed by the Senate. An ill precedent (lay they) it is, and of bad contention, that Generals of the field should be chosen by armies, and that the solemnity of Elections, do devoutly begin in the name of the gods, and with the religious observation of the Bird-flight, should now be transferred into the Camps and Provinces, far from Laws and Magistrates, and committed to the inadvertent wills of rash affectionate fouldiers. And when some there in place were of opinion, that the matter should be put in question at the Council Table, it was thought better to defer that contafation, until those gentlemen of service, that brought the Letters from Marcius, were gone and departed. As concerning corn and apparel for the army, they agreed to write back unto him, that the Senate would take order and provide for both: but they would not allow in any case to give him this addition, and to write [To Marcius the Pro-Praetor] lest that they might seem to approve the very same thing by their prejudice and doom elsewhere, which they had left for to be decided and determined afterwards. When the Gentlemen aforefaid had their dispatch, and were dismissed, the first thing that the Consuls propounded was this, and no other: and generally they jumped in this one point, for to deal with the Tribunes of the peoples, that with all speed possible they would move the Commons, and propound unto them, for to know, who their will and pleasure should be sent L. Deputye into Spain, for to have the government of that army, whereof Con. Scipio L. Generally had the conduct.

This matter, I say, was treat of with the Tribunes, and a bill preferred thereof unto the Commons: but there was another greater contention in terms, that had perplexed their minds already. For C. Sempronius Blafiae had commenced a criminal action against Cn. Fulvius, accusing him for the loss of the Army in Apulia, and cited not in all the terms of the people to make invective against him, charging him. That being Captain General through his much folly, ignornace, and rashness, he had brought his Army into a place of danger, repining him more over and saying, That never any Captain but Cn. Fulvius had corrupted, marred, and infected his legions with all kind of vices before he had beat them to the enemies, to such a degree that he might be well and truly said, that they were altogether spoilt and defeated before they had a fight of their enemies: and were not vanquished by Aemilius, but by their own Colonneal and Commander. See (quoth he) the disorder that is in Elections; and how no man, when he is to give his voice doth well weigh and consider, who it is, that elechs a General & unto whom he commeth the charge of an Army. Behold the difference between Great Fulvius, and T. Sempronius, This man having the leading of an army of bondlives, by discipline, good order and government, within short time brought his fouldiers to that good paft, that there was not one of them all throughout the army remembered and regarded how barely he was born, and of what parentage defcended, but all in generall bare themselves so, that they were to their friends a great service, and to their enemies a terrible terror: and after that he had recovered them at Beneventum, & other Cities, (as it were), out of the jaws of Aemilius, he restored and delivered them safe & sound to the people of Rome. Whereas contrary wise Cn. Fulvius having received an army of Roman Citizens, well and worshipfully born, liberally and honestly brought up, had taught them servile vices fit for slaves, and trained them, that with their friends and allies they were proud, and unruly; and among their enemies were cowards & very dastards: & so far short they were to bear off the violence of the Carthaginians that they were not able to abide so much as their first cry and shout, And no marvel I affire you that the fouldiers could not stick to it in the battle, and hold out manfully; when the General himself was the first that ran away beastly, I rather wonder at it, that any of them fled to it and died in the field, and were not all of them as fearful as Cn. Fulvius, and took not heed with him for company. Yet C. Flaminius, L. Paulus, L. Postumius, both Scipios as well Cn. as Pub. chose rather to lose their lives in battle, than to forsake their armies when they were environed round with enemies. But Cn. Fulvius, he was in manner the only man that returned to Rome with news of the army defeated and overthrown, Now verily a great indignity it is, and a flame indifferently of proceeding, that the residue of the army, after the overthrow at Comae, because they fled out of the field, were confined and transported over into Sicily, with express condition, not to return again from thence, before that the enemy were clean gone and departed out of Italy: & that the very fame rigorous and heavy decree was like to have been executed against the Legions of Cn. Fulvius, and Cn. Fulvius himself, who fled out of the battell, which was through his own folly and rashness begun, should go away clear, and escape without all punishment; that himself. I say should lead his old age in taverns, before and brothel-houses, where already he hath spent his youthful days: while his poor fouldiers (who had faured in nothing, but that they were like unto their Captain) be sent far enough off, and packed away (as it were) into exile, and endure fame.

The Oration of T. Sempronius Stellae against Cn. Fulvius.
The answer of Calpurnius.

The six and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

"Full and ignominious fouldiery. I. o, how unequally at Rome the freedom of the city is parted H between the rich and the poor; between men of nobility and high calling, and those that are of mean parentage and low degree.

Thus much spake the plaintiff C. Sempronius Bifius, The defendant on the other side shifled all the blame from himself, and laid the whole fault upon his fouldiers, alleging and pleading thus, "That when they called upon him hastily, and with great wilfulness for to give battle, he brought them forth into the field not on that day which they would themselves (for it was late in the evening) but the morrow after when both time and place were meet and convenient for the purpose: and notwithstanding they were well appointed and orderly embattled, yet were they not able to sustain, either the fame or the fury of the enemies, I know not whether. And when they all fled away amain, he also was carried away in the throng of the rout, like as Virro the Consul, at the battle before Camna, and as many other Generals elsewhere. And what good could be done to the Common-wealth, in case he had laid behind alone? unless peradventure his death might have cured and remedied the publike ills and maladies, or made his allowance for the common loss. Neither was it for want of victuals, nor for that he lighted unaware upon places of disadvantage and danger: nor yet, because he was entrapped within the trains of an ambush, marching on end forward, without sending his epilates before, that he was overcome: or that even by mere force, by dint of sword, in open field, and in a sight battle. And it was not he could do withall, if his own men were fearful and timorous, and the enemies hardly and venturous, he had not the rule of their hearts. It is long of every one his own nature to be either bold or heartless.

Two several times was he judicially accused, and at both times a fine of money only set upon his head in case the matter should go against him. At the third Session the witnesses were produced forth, to be depos'd and give evidence: and after that he had been shamefully revil'd, and charg'd with all manner of reproaches there were very many upon his oath testified, That the first beginning of the fight and flight both, was occasioned by the Pretor himself: and that the fouldiers being themselves forsaken by him, and supposing verily that their Captain and Leader was not afraid of his own shadow but had great reason to fear, they likewise turned their backs and fled. Upon which evidence, the whole Court was so incensed against him with anger, that they cried all with one voice, to commence a capital action, for that he was worthy to die. Whereupon arose a new debate and controversy: whereof the Tribune had twice before laid L a penal action upon him of money, and now at the third time said that he would have a jury of life and death go upon him: then he called upon the other Tribunes for their helping hand to mitigate this rigour of the Court. But when they did not come to this suit, and said they would not oppose themselves nor hinder his course, but that he might proceed in the fair at his own good pleasure, more mea non, i.e. [according to the ancient manner used by their forefathers] neither by order of law, or rule of custom, and bring him being but a private person to the trial either of a capital crime, or penal tr踩ps: then Sempronius spake and laid flatly, that he laid upon him a criminal action of treason against the State: and required of C. Calpurnius the L. chief Judge of the City, to hear a day of hearing and judicial trial by the people. Then the defendant cast about to help himself by another remedy, namely, in case he could compass that M Q. Enius his brother might possibly be present at the Session when he should be judged: who at that time was a man of great credit and reputation, in regard both of the name that went on him for his noble acts, and of that great hope which men had of him, that he was like presently to be Mæfler of Capna. But when this said Q. Enius had requested so much by letters, endorsed to that purpose as effectually as he could devise, and to move commissation and pit in behalf of the life of his brother, the LL of the Senate returned this answer unto him again, That it was not for the good of the State that he should depart from Capna; thereupon, before the Sessions day was come, Cn. Enius departed of his own accord into exile to Tusculumni, and the Commons made an act and confirmed that banishment of his to be a just, due, and sufficient punishment for his offence.

During these busineses at Rome, the whole strength and force of war was bent against Capna, and yet the City was rather straitly beleaguered than forcibly assailed; insomuch as neither the servantes or bondmen, nor the common people were able to endure the famine any longer: and send unto Ambulud any emissaries; they possibly could not, by reason of the strict watch and ward that the Romans kept, so near one unto the other. At length there was a certain Numilien offered to go and to escape clear away, who having taken letters unto Ambulud to put him in mind to be as good as his promise, departed in the night, and passed through the midst of the Roman camp, and put the Companys in very good hope, to fly forth at all the gates, and to make a full upon the enemy, whiles their power and strength served them. And verily in many scurries and skirmishes which they made, they got the better for the most part in borse-fight but lightly their footmen had ever the worse. The Romans for their parts were nothing so much pleased when they had the upper hand at any time, as they were diddodmented and ill spair'd, to receive a load in any kind of service of them, who were not only beleaguered, but in manner overcom already and conquered. So they devised a means in the end, to make up and supply by industry and policy the defect they had in strength and force. They chose out of all the Legions certain huy young men, such as for clean strength of body, and lightness withall were most nimble and swift,
Afright. They had every one of them, a light buckler or target, shorter than commonly horsemen have; and seven javelins or darts spuce, four foot long, with iron heads at one end, like as those Javelins have, which they call lance, that are lightly armed, and begin skirmishes. And every horseman took up one of these behind him on horseback, and tied them, both to fit the horse and ride, and also to leap down on foot, with great agility and agility, at the signal and token given them. Now, when as, after daily practice and exercise, they were able to do it nimble enough, and without fear, they advanced forth into the plain, springing between their camp, and the wall of the City, and affronted the horsemen of the Carthaginians as they stood arranged in battle array: and to foos as they were come within a dart's call, the light javelottiers advanced, fell dismounted from their horses, at a sign given them: and behold, all of a sudden, one of the Cavalry there was a battallion of footmen arranged, who charged the men of arms of the enemies, and let fly their darts with great force, dart after dart, which they hasted to think, that they galled many a horse, and wounded also many horsemen. Howbeit, their fear was much greater by reason of the strange and unexpected manner of fight. The Roman horsemen seeing their enemies thus affrighted set too hard, and charged them upon lightly, and beat them down even to the City gates. After this the Romans were the better in horsemanship. And hereupon began the manner from henceforth to entertain such light armed javelottiers called Felicers, even among the Carthaginians. The first devise of this mingling of footmen among the horsemen they say was one C. Numa a Centurion, and that he was highly honoured by the Generall for his invention.

Whiles things stood thus at Capua, Annibal was greatly distressed in mind, and pellotted with two contrary cogitations, whether he should go to gain the Cattle of Tusculum, or to relieve and save the City of Capua. At last the regard of Capua prevailed with him: for he saw that as well friends as enemies depended thereupon, and had their mind and eye wholly bent that way; as being a City like to give the very trial and proof, what would the issue be generally of all the revolt and rebellion from the Romans. Leaving therefore behind him a great part of his carriage in the Britanni country, and all his footsoldiers heavily armed, he made haste into Campania with an elect power of foot and horse, such as he tipped off most meet and best appointed for expedition and readiness of way: yet as fast as he marched, there followed after him thirtieth and Phoons, and so he fate him down closely in a立刻 valley behind the mountain Tifata, which overlooked the City of Capua. At the first coming he pointed the fort called C. Judir, and compelled the garrison there to quout the place, and then he turned and opposed himself against the enemies who belonged to Tifata. But he dispatched certain couriers thereunto Capua to signify unto them at what time he minded to set upon the camp of the Romans: and they also at the very instant might be ready to issue forth at every gate of the City to do the like. The Romans having no fore-knowledge by their epipals of this occurrence; were mightily terrified: for Annibal himself suffred them one way, and all the Campans as well foot as horsemen (together with the garrison soldiers of the Carthaginians under the leading of Ptolemy and Hannibal their captains) rallied out another way. The Romans therefore being driven to their fizzes as well as they might, no longer delay'd each before the fire, but came together, and marched by the Capitol, as far as the Campans. But Felicio i. e. the Captain of the troops, caused the men to go slowly, that they might not lose the fire. The Carthaginians turned to flee, and the footmen made light to run away, and the horsemen to fly. But after the latter part, they made a great battle, but could not be assailed in any way, or driven. But yet when the Carthaginians were driven to their last ditch, and found themselves not able to escape thence, then Appius Claudius opposed himself against the Campans, and Fulvius against Annibal. Claudius, the Vice-Prator, with the horsemen belonging to the sixth legion, quartered upon the way leading to Scaccia; and C. Fulvius Flaccus, the Lieutenant with the horsemen of Allies, took up his standing and planted himself over against the river Valentinus. The battell began not in the usual manner, only with showers and outcries, but besides all other clamours of men neighing of horses, and, yelling, and roaring, there was a multitude of Campans good for no other service of war, placed upon the walls, who together with ringing and sounding of basons and vellums of braze (as the manner is in the still dead time of the night, when the moon is in the Tropic) made such an hideous noise, that it cauased even them that were in fight to be assuited thenceupon, and to listen after it. Appius with small ado repulsed the Campans from the trench and rampier, but Fulvius on the other part had more trouble to deal with Annibal and the Carthaginians, who charged fiercely upon him, that the sixth legion there gave ground and retreated: which being once beat back, a Squadron of Spaniards and three Elephants fellow for as far as the rampier, and had already broken through the main battell of the Romans: but they were in happle between doubtfull hope and present danger, thinking one while to break through and pass into the Camp: and still another while to be excluded from the rest of their companies. Fulvius seeing this fear of the Legion and possible where in the Camp, stood encouraged and exhorted Q. Numa and other principal Centurions, to affail valiantly, to kill and hurt in pieces that one company of the enemies which were fighting under the commander. For all now lieth a bleeding, quoth he, and in extrem hazard: for either you must give the enemies way, and then will they more easily enter into the camp; then they had already pierc'd through the thick squadron of the battell; or else ye must defend, and fly them in the place even under the trench. And that quoth he were no difficult piece of service, considering they are but few in number; feuered and shut one clean from the in course of their fellows: and the same Roman battallion which fcameth now disbanded and open, whilst it is alighten, if to be it would make head and run both sides upon the enemy, were able to com-
"compels round and environ them, and put them to a doubtful hazard, yes, and cut them in pie-
tcases within the midst, Numius had no sooner heard the General speak these words, but he caught the ensign of the second band of Hosts from the ensign-bearer, and disposed it in the faces of the enemies, threatening to fling it among the midst of them, unless his soldiers made the better hate to follow him, and settle themselves to fight. He was a goodly tall and personable man of body, his brave armor besides set him out and beautified his person; and withall, the advancing of his ensign on high, drew every man's eye upon him as well enemies as friends. But when he was approached once to the banners of the Spaniards, then from all hands they spared him not, and lifted at him their barred javelins, and the whole battell in manner was bent only against him. But neither the multitude of enemies, nor the volley of their shot, was able to repulse and rebut the violence of that one man. Likewise M. Atius a Lieutenant, caused the ensign-bearer of the first band of the Principes, belonging to the same Legion to enter with his ensign upon the cohort and troop of the Spaniards. The Lieutenants also L. Polcris Licinius and T. Popilius, who had the guarding of the camps fought valiantly upon the rampier in defence thereof, and killed the Elephants upon the very counter-scarp, as they were passing over and entering the camp. And by occasion that their bodies filled up the ditch, the enemies had a passag made them into the camp, as if it were over a cauay or bridge raised of purpose to give them way: and there over the very car-kazes of the Elephants there was a cruel slaughter committed. But on the other side of the camp, the Campans and the garrison of the Carthaginians had the reptiles already: and under the very gate of Capua which openeth upon the river Vulturas, there was another skirmish, where the K Romans fitting to enter the town, were not so much put back and withfoord by force of armed men, as by brakcs, scorpions, and other engins of ordinace, which being mounted and planted upon the very gate, dischargetl hot so violently, that they drive the enemies farther off. Over and besides, the terrible and furious assault of the Romans was danted and suppresst, by reason that their General himself, Ap. Claudius was hurt; who as he was encouraging his men to fight in the very forefront of the vanguard, hapened to be wounded with a dart above in his brest under the left shoulder: yet there were an exceeding number of enemies there slain before the gate. And the reit were driven for fear to make haste and get the City over their heads. Anniul also perceiving the Cohort of the Spaniards lying along dead, and the camp of the enemies so manfully defended even to the death, gave over his affault, and began to retire his ensigns, and to turn backward T. all his footmen, intercepting his horsemens behind them, for fear the enemy should charge them on the till. The legions were exceeding eager to pursue after the enemies: but Flaccus comman-ded to found the retreat, supposing they had done well enough already, and effected two things, to wit, that both the Campans law in bow little speed Anniul left them: and also Anniul himself knew and perceived no less. Some writers that have recorded this battell, set down, that of Anniul this Army there were slaine that day eight thousand men, and of Campans three thousand: that the Carthaginians lost fifteen ensigns, and the Campans eighteen. But in others, I find that the conflict was not so great, and that the fight was much more than the skirmish: for when as the Numidians and Spaniards together with the Elephants brake at unwares into the Roman Camp, those Elephants as they paied through the midst thereof, overthrew and laid along many of the tents and pavilions: and the Sumpter-horses and other beasts there for carriage, with great noize brake their halters, and collars, fled for fear, and bare down all afore them as they went. And that besides this tumultuous fright and confusion, Anniul dealt fraudulently, by lending in among the rest certain that could speak the Latin tongue (for some such he had about him) who in the Consuls name gave commandment (since the Camp was lost) that every loundier should make shift for himself, and flee to the next mountains, But this deceit was soon eipied and prevented with the loss and slaughter of a number of enemies: and the Elephants were cou'ded out of the Camp with fire. But howsoever this battell was either begun or ended, the lat it was fought there, before that Capua was yielded up and surrendred.

The Meditations (so they call the head Magistrate and Governor of the City of Capua) for that year, was one Seppus Lefius, a man of base parentage and mean calling. The report goeth, that his mother upon a time as she made satisfaction in the name of him (being then fatherless and under age) by a purgatory sacrifice, for a prodigious dometical portent, that hapned in her house, was told by the Soothsayer out of his learning, that one day the chief government of Capua should belon to that child: whereas, the feeling no likelihood nor hope at all of any inch matter, said thus again, You talk of a poor City of Capua when that day comes: and God fave all, when my Ison shall be advanced to the highest place and government thereof. But these words spake at random and in jest proved afterwards good earnest, and true indeed. For when as the Citizens were driven to great straitures, through sword and famine, and were past all hope of recovery in such fort, as they that were of service and worth or honour, redued to be in place of authority, this Lefius complaining that Capua was fostered, betrayed and abandoned by her own nobility, took upon him the chief Magistracy, and was the lait of all the Campans that bare soveraign rule in that City.

Anniul perceiving that neither his enemies would be drawn forth any more to fight: nor possibly he could break through their camp for to come into Capua: for fear lest that the new Consuls from the other passages, and intercept his purvasance of victorious, determined to dislodge without
A without effecting his purpose, and to remove from Capua. And as he call and tosed to and fro in his mind what course to take, and whither to go; it came into his head to make no more ado, but to march directly to Rome, the very head and feast-City of the whole war. This was the upshot of all, and the emprise that he most defined. Howbeit as others much grieved and greatly blamed him that he had over-flipp'd the opportunity when it was even presently upon the barbells at Cannae: so himself acknowledged no less that he was mightily overtaken. And yet the thing was not so far past (he thought) that he should despair, but upon one hidden at last and unexpected tumult he might feize of some quarter of the City or other. And if Rome were one in that hazard, then either the Roman Generals, or one at the least, would immediately leave the siege of Capua.

B Who if they had once divided their forces, both of them would be the weaker, and minifter either unto him or to the Campans some occasion of good fortune. The only thing that troubled his mind was this, for he left that as soon as his back were turned, the Campans would yield themselves unto the Romans. He therefore with large and liberal rewards induceth a certain Numidian (an audacious and adventurous fellow, one that cared not what dangers he undertook) to be the carrier of certain letters, and to enter into the camp of the Romans, counterfeiting him to be a fugitive, from the adverse part unto them: and so when hefreed his time to slip secretly from the other side of the camp to Capua. The letters were very comforting, importing unto them, "That his remove and departure from thence was for his good and safety, whereby he "meant to withdraw the Roman Captains and their forces from Capua to the defence of their own City of Rome; willing them not to let fail their hearts and be discouraged; for by patient "abiding some few days they should be wholly freed and delivered of the siege. Then he made "stay all of the shipping and vessels that he could find upon the river Volturnus, and commanded "them to be brought to Cannina, which he had fortified aforesite with a pile or Castle to guard "and keep the place with a garrison. And having intelligence that there was much store of barges and bottoms upon the river, "as would serve to transport in one night his whole army: he made "provision of victuals for ten days, brought down his army by night to the river side, and "crossed the water with all his power before the next day-light. But this was not carried so secretly, but "before that it was effectecl, intelligence was given thereof by certain runagate fugitives: where "upon Volturnus Flaccus addressed his letters unto the Senate of Rome, and gave voice thereof. At "which tidings men according to their fundry fancies and humour were diversly affected: and as "so fearfull an occurrence inconspicuously the Senate assembled.

P. Cornelius, unsometer Afrons, was of opinion, that all the Captains and Armies whatsoever "should be called home out of all parts of Italy, without regard of Capua or any other exploit be "sid, save only the defence of the City. Fabius Maximus thought it was a disfashion, lewd, and a "thefameful part to depart from the siege of Capua, and to be scare to turn here and there, and to be "carried away with every copy of Anniubal his countenance, and with his vain threats and "menaces. He that won a victory at Cannae, and durft not then go forward to the City, hath he "conceived any hope now to win Rome, being also repelled from Capua? No, he marcheth to "ward Rome, not minding to besiege it, but hoping to split the fiege from Capua. And however it "be, I am allureth (quoth he) that Jupiter (the witness of covenants broken by Anniubal) and oth "ers gods besides, will defend us with the help of that army which we shall find at home in the "City. Between these two opinions P. Varus Flaccus held the mean, and prevailed: for he had a "regard and due consideration, both of the one and the other: thought good to write unto the Colonels that lay before Capua, and to certify them what strength they had of able men to de "fend the City: as for the forces of Anniubal, and what power was needful to maintain the siege "at Capua, they themselves knew well. Therefore in case that one of the Pro-Conuls there, and "part of the army might be spared from thence and sent to Rome, and nevertheless, the fiege con "inue with the conduct of the other Pro-Conul, and the rest of the army: then Claudius and Ful "vious should so order the matter between themselves, that the one of them might remain still be "fore Capua at siege and the other repair to Rome, so to defend and keep their native country from "the same danger. Hereupon the Senate agreed, and made an Act: which being brought unto Capua, Q. Fulvium the vice-Conul who was to go to Rome, by reason that his Colleague was sick of "his hurt, chose out of three armies certain companies of soldiers, and with fifteen thousand "footmen, and one thousand horsemen, passed over the river Volturnus. Then having certain intel "ligence, that Anniubal minded to march along the Latin street way: he took his journey through "the towns and burrtrs, and matters in the way Appia, and sent his couriers before unto Setia "Sa "a and Latinaim, which are feared near unto it, not ony for to lay provision of victuals ready for "him in their Cities and towns, but also from the country villages farther out of the way, to bring "their provision to that port through-fare: and to draw forces into their own defence, and every one to stand upon their good guard, and to look unto their place, as well pub like "Gas private, Anniubal the same day that he had crossed Volturnus encamped not far from the river. And the "morrow after entered into the territory of the Sidicins, and led his boll near unto Celes. There, "after he had laid one day, foraging and spoiling the country, he marched by Scefiila, into the terr "itories of Albus and Caphenn, by the way of the Latin street. Under the town Caphenn he "abode in camp two days, and raised hostages here and there in every place. From thence leaving Interamnna and Aquinum, he came into the country about Frasello, as far as to the river Lucus, where
where he found the bridge cut down by the Fregellans for to impeach and let his journey, Fulvialikewise was slaid at the river Tiberinus: by reason that the barges and bottoms were burnt by Annius: and much ado he had, for the great city of timber and woods, to make punts and boats for to let over his army. But Fulvia, after he had once transported his men in such boats and planks as he made shift withall, had afterwards no hindrance in his journey; but found not only store of viuitals in the Towns and Cities as he travelled, but also plenty thereof brought ready for him to the waies side right curteously. Then the soldiars as they marched on foot cheered and encouraged one another to mend their pace and make speed, considering they went to the defence of their natural country. Now there was a poft lett from Fregella, who rode night and day and never made stay, and he put the City in excceeding fear. The running together I besides of the people, that ceased not to make everything more than it was, and to invent some what of their own fingers ends, and put it to the news that they heard, made a greater hurry than the messenger himself: and set the City in an uprour. And not only the women were heard to weep and weep in their own private houses: but also from all parts the Dames of the City came flocking into the streets, running about to all the Churches and Chapells of their gods and goodeffes, sweeping the Altars with the trefles of their hair hanging down, kneeling upon the bare ground and streching out their hands uppe in heaven unto the gods, pouring out their prayers and supplications. That they would vouchfaile to preserve the City of Rome out of the hands of the enemies, and to save the Roman wives and their little children from harm and all abufe. The body of the Senat gave attendance upon the Magilitrates in the common place, ready to give K them their advice and counsell. Some receive of them direction, and departed every man to execute his charge; others offer themselves to the Magilitrates, to be employed in any service whatsover. Snidry guards were betollow in the Cottage, in the Capitoll, and upon the walls: all places about the City were well manned. The Alpine mountain also and the Castle of Tusculum were fur nishe with good garrisons. Amidst this alarm tidings came, that Q. Fulvia the Pro-Conul, was departed from Capua, and onward on his journey to Rome with an armie. And because he should not be abridged of his power and authority, after he was come into the City, there was a decree gamed out of the Senat-Houfe, that Q. Fulvia should have as large a commissione of rule and comand as the Conuls themselves. Annius, after he had made fouler work and havock in the territory of Fregella, than in other places, for anger that they had cut down the bridges against his coming, led his army through the Frutina, Ferentina, and Anganigne countries, and came forwards into the territory Lucina: and to by Adjutae he marched toward Tusculum. And when he could not be let in there within the walls, he defended beneath Tusculum, on the right hand to Cabi: from whence he conducted his armie into Pupiniana, and eight miles from Rome encamped. The nearer the enemy approached to the City, the greater slaughter was made of the peafants that fled from him, by his vancouers, the Numidian light-horfeomen whom he sent alore to make riddanne. And many there were of all conditions and ages that were taken captive.

In this tumultuous trouble, Fulvia Flacca with his armie entred Rome at the gate Capena: from whence he went through the midit of the City, along the street Carina into the Exquilia, and from thence he went forth, and between the gates Exquilina and Collina pitched his tents, Thither the Ediles of the Commons brought viuitals: the Conul and the Senate refered to him into the camp, which they gave in Council about the State of the Common-wealth. And agreed it was, That the Conuls should be encamped likewise about the gates Collina and Exquilina: that C. Calpurnius, Praetor of the City, should have the keeping of the Capitoll and the Castle with a guard, and that the Senators keep residence continually in good number within the compas of the Forum, what need forever should be of their counsell and advice, against all sudden accidents. By this time Annius was come forward as far as to the river Anio, and within three miles of the City lay encamped, where he kept a standing Leaguer. But himselfe in person with 2000 horfeomen advanced forward toward the gate Collina, even as far as to Hercules his N Temple, and rode about as near as he well could, to view the waies, and the situation of the City. Flacca took foul dispair theras, and thought it a shamefull indignity, that he should brave it at his pleasure loflornfully without revenge, whereasupon he sent out certain of his own Cavaly, and gave commandement, that they should let the enemies horfeomen further off, and chase them back into their Camp. Whiles they were in skirmish together, the Conuls gave orde rs that the Numidian horfeomen, such as were fled from the enemy, and turned to the Romans (who were at that time to the number of twelve hundred upon the Aventine hill) should pass through the midit of the City to the Exquilia: supposing that there were none more meet than they, for to fight among the valleys, the garden houes, the lepulchres and hollow waies on every side. Whom, when some from the Castle and the Capitoll, espied riding down the Q. decifent of the hill, called Clivus Pupilina, they ran crying about the City. The Aventine istaken, The Aventine is taken. Which alarm caused a tumult, and gave such an occasion of fear, and running away, that if the Camp of Annius had not been without the walls, the fearfullmultitude doublets would have abandoned and quit the City. But they took their houes, and got every man up to the terraces and lead thereof: from whence they pelted with stones and other shot, their own friends instead of enemies, as they rode scattering one from another in the streets. This tumult could not be restrained, nor the error appear, by reason that the waies were so pestered with
A with a number of the country planters, and of cartell besides, whom hidden fear had driven into the City. Howbeit the horsemen fought fortunately, and the enemies were removed and set back. And because it was necessary to stay all disorders and uproars that attended upon small occasions to Nine, it was thought good and agreed upon, that all those who had been either Dictators, or born the office of Centurions, should have their full power and authority until such time as the enemy was well departed from about the walls. And that was to good purpose: for all the rest of that day, and the night following, there were divers and sundry garboiles, without any cause or occasion raised, and the same filled and appeased by that means.

The next day Annibal took over Rome, and brought forth all his whole power into the field. Neither were Florence and the Conti's behind hand for their parts, but ready for battle. When both armies stood in order on both sides, aimed upon the site and event of one fight, which was for no less a prize and reward to the victorious part, than the very City of Rome; there fell Such a mighty storm of rain and hail together, and so troubled both rolls, that they could scarce hold their weapons in hand, but were driven to retire themselves for safety into their several camps, fearing not less than their own enemies. The morning after likewise, when they fell in the same place in battall array, the like tempest parted them asunder. And they were not to soon retired into their Camp, but the day was wonderful lairs, and the weather calm again.

The Carthaginians took this as an omen of preface to them of ill luck. And Annibal was heard (by reports) to say, That one while his mind another while his fortune would not give him leave to win the City of Rome. There were other preages besides, as well small as great that discouraged him and abated his hope. Of more importance was this, that whils he lay with his host in arms before the walls of Rome he understood there were certain companies with banners displayed went into Spain, to supply the armies there. Of less reckoning was this, that he was advertised by a certain captive, how the very same plot of ground whereon he was encompassed, happened at the same time to be hid; not underfoot, but at the top of, and nothing abated. This he took to be of premonitions a part, and such a temporal indignity, namely, that there should be a chapman found at Rome to make purchase of that piece of land, which he was polluted of and held in right of arms, that presently he called for the publike crier and trumpeter, and gave commandment to him, to proclaim port-sale of all the shops of Bankers and money changers at that time about the Forum in Rome. Nevertheless, hereupon he was moved to chide, and retired his camp towards the City to the river limit, six miles from Rome. From where he took his way to the grove of Fornins, where stood a Temple, in those days much renowned for wealth and riches. The inhabitants thereabout were certain Catanians, who used to buy in the first fruits of their corn and revenues year, and many other oblations besides according to the stole; by means wherefore they had adorned and garnished it with much good and silver. Of all those gifts and offerings was this Temple then robbed and spoiled, but after the departure of Annibal from thence there were found great heaps of brasse, by reason that the soldiers upon touch and remove of confidence, had cast in many brassen pieces. The king and pilage of this Temple.

All writers do agree upon, and make no doubt thereof, that an oi faith. The chief cause he went towards Rome from Etruria, turned thither and he let them down the beginning of his journey from Rome Celi and from Annimania, and that out of Capua he came into Sannio, and from thence into the country of Puglia, and forthof beside the City Sulmona, to the Maritime and then by the territory of the Albinei into the Maritanian land, and from thence he hast run to Upano, and toward the town Fornis. Neither is there any certain or doubt in it, but that the marks and tokens of the voyage of so great an army could not with in the memory and compass of so small an age be confounded and worn out. For certain it is, that he passed that way. The only difference herein wherein he came to the City of Rome, or returned from thence into Campina, by that way aforesaid.

Now was not Annibal to resolve to defend Capua, but the Romans were as fully bent, and more eager to continue the siege and affaint thereof. For he held himself to fall another way in his voyage back, fail out of the Latins country to the Etruscan, and so on till to the bright (of Sicy, and to Rhegium, that with his sudden coming thither he surprised them at unawares, even before they heard of his arrivals. As for Capua, all in the time of Eurithe his absence it was no lea silently beleaguered, yet it felt the coming again of Florence: and besides, there was much marcell there, why Annibal returned not back as well as he. Afterwards, they understood, by conference with some that were without, how they were forsaken and left of Annibal, and that the Carthaginians were put all hope to keep and hold Capua till to their own use. There was an edict moreover of the Pro-Comtal, passed by order from the Senate, and the same published and divulged among the enemies. That what Citizen leaver of Capua would turn to the Romans before such a certain day, he should have a general pardon. But there was no coming in, nor ranging to the Romans side; for fear of punishment at the Romans hands, more than for any regard of their allegiance to the Carthaginians: because their transigion and reli-pas in their former revolt was so great, that it might not be abandoned. And as one man all privately on his own head came over to the camp of the Roman, so there was no good order taken by publike council for the benefit and safety of the whole City. The Noblemen had given over managing of state matters, and could not be brought by any means to assemble in the Senat.
And in chief place of government was he, who had not won to himself any honour thereby, but his unworthiness was derogatory to the authority and power of that Magistracy which he bore. For now there was not one of the chief Citizens and Noblemen that would be so much as seen in the Market place or Common Hall or assemblies; but shutting themselves within doors in their private houses, they expected every day for the declination of their country, together with their own undoing and overthrow. The whole charge and care lay upon Beitar and Hannu. Captains of the garrison in the fort there of the Carthaginians and more careful were they of their own welfare, than fearful for the jeopardy of their friends and Allies. These two wrote letters unto Amilcar, endited not only in plain terms and frankly, but also sharply and bitterly: wherein they laid unto his charge, "That he had not only betrayed Carthage into the hands of the enemies, but also delivered and exposed them and the garrison to the cruel churls of the Romans to be murthered and executed. That he was gone his wares, and departed into the country of the Brittons, one that turned away his face of purpose because he would not see with his own eyes the loss of Carthage. But I wot the Romans contrario could not be withdrawn from the siege of Carthage, no, not by the assailing of the City of Rome: so much more were the Romans resolute enemies, than the Carthaginians constant friends. But if he would return again to Carthage, and bend the full force of his war thither, both they and the Citizens also of Carthage would be ready to fully forth and encounter the enemies. For why, they paffed over not the Alps with intent to war with the Rhegins and Tarentins: no but where the Roman Legions were, there ought the armies of the Carthaginians to be. Thus at Carthage, thus at Thapsus were the victories at Kailach, by affronting and meeting the enemy, by joyning camp to camp, and by hazarding the fortune of the battell. To this effect were the letters penned, and given to certain Numidians; who for a good reward had offered their service before, for the safe carriage and delivery of them, these fellows preferred themselves before Flaccus in the Camp, in habit and quality of fugitives into his side-hoping to spy out some convenient time when they might give him the slip and be gone. Now by occasion of the famine which had continued long in Carthage there was none but might pretend a good and reasonable cause to depart thence to the adverse part. But behold there happened a Captain wench to come into the legtur (a naughty-packet and an harlot), that one of the flapoped counterfeit fugitives aforesaid kept, she informed the General of the Romans, that those Numidians, fraudulently and by covin pretended to flee unto his part, and had letters about them unto Amilcar. This would the hand to, and be ready to answer to the very face of one of them, who betrayed & discolored the plot unto her. At first, when he was brought forth before her, he set a jolly countenance of the matter, & made it very strange & pretending flouly that he knew not the woman, but by little and little he was convicted by manifest truths, and especially when he saw that they called for the rack, and that he was upon the point to be put to torture: and to the end confessed that all was true, and therewith brought forth the letters. Over and besides another thing was now revealed, which before was kept close and secret: to wit that there were other Numidians besides, who under the colour of fugitives had gone up and down in the Roman camp: of these there were apprehended not so few as three hundred and ten, and they together with the new were whipped with rods, had their hands cut off, and sent back again to M Capua. This pithy spectacle and sight of so fearfull execution killed their courage, and brake the very heart of the Campans. Whereupon the people ran together unto the Council-Houfe, and compelled Lepidus to assemble a Senat and openly threatened the Nobles (who a long time had abstained themselves from publick conlutations) that unless they would now repair into the Senat, they would go home to their very houses, and pull them out by the ears into the street. For fear hereof the chief Magistrate had a frequent and still assembly of Senators. Whiles all the rest were of opinion to send Embassadors to the Roman Generals, Vibius Paterculus (who had been the chief cenfe and principal author of their first revolt from the Romans) being demanded his advice, flocke to the point in this manner: "They that talk of Embassadors of peace, and of yielding, little consider and remember either N what they would have done in case the Romans had been at their devotion and mercy, or what themselves must endure and suffer. For what think ye will become (quoth he) of this present surrender of ours, in comparison of that whereby in times past we freely gave unto the Romans our selves, and all that we had, for to obtain their aid and succour against the Samnites? And have we to soon forgot, at what time, and in what condition and state we were when we forook and abandoned the people of Rome? Also, after our revolt, how we most cruelly and flamefully killed their garrison, who we might have dismissed and sent away with their lives? Moreover, how oftentimes we have illused forth against them lying at siege, and how mischievously minded we were unto them yeas, and how we have falled upon them in their camp? Over and besides, call ye not to remembrance, how we called for Amilcar to surprize and defeat them? O and (that which of all other is most fresh in memory) how we sent him from hence to give the afflant to Rome? On the contrary side mark well and call to mind, how maliciously they have attempted and practisf all hostility against us: by which ye may well know what accounts to make of them: and what ye are to truft unto. For when they had a stranger and forraine enemy within Italy, nay, when they had Amilcar their enemy: when the wars were so hot, that all was on a light fire: they pased by all other affairs, yea, they let Amilcar himself alone, and sent both their Consuls with two compleat Consular armies to besiege and force Carthage. This is the 4 second
The six and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

A second year that they keep us entrenchd round about, penning us up, and pinning us with extremities and hunger: during which time they themselves as well as we, have endured the utmost extremities and dangers that are, and sustained most grievous and miserable evils: ofentimes being killed and cut in pieces about their rampiers, trenches, and ditches, and finally driven alone out of their Camp and hold. But to let pass and speak more of these ordinary matters, seeing it is an old and usual case for them to abide painfull toll, and incur many perplexities, who besiege and assault any Cities or towns of their enemies? See a manifest sign of their deadly feeld, and execrable hatred against us. Annabed with a plentiful power of food and horsemen both, assaulted their Camp, ye, and in some part was Matter off. Think ye that in so great danger of theirs were one jot withdrawn from the siege? He passed over the river Volturnus, and burnt the territory of Ciles: yet for all that calamity and loss, which their allies received, they not only whit, nor gave over their entreprise. He commanded to march forward with banner displayed against the very City of Rome: they made as little account of that dangerous tempest towards, as of all the rest. After he had passed over the river Anio, he pitched his tents within three miles of the City; nay, he approached to length the walls, and made a bravado even under the gates: to before, he preferred unto their eye his resolution, and menaced to make Rome too hot for them unless they leived the siege before Capua: and yet they gave not over but beleegarde us still. The very wild and savage beasts be they never so fell, be they maddened never so much with blind rage and woodness against one, yet if another go to their dens, and offer to take away their whelps, they will turn again to succour and help their young ones: but the Romans, notwithstanding Rome was beleiged, their wives and children in danger; whose pitious cries and lamentable plaints were heard almost even in his ear; not withstanding their alarums, their sacred fires, the temples of their gods, the monuments and sepulchers of their Ancestors, were profan'd, abused, and polluted: could not be drawne away from Capua. So eager, so hungry are they to be revenged of us, so thirty are they to drink our blood, and so good reason, so happy, they have to do. For would not we also have done the rememb'able, if fortune had given us the opportunity? But seeing the will of the immortal gods is otherwise: and considering that I owe a naturall death: in my power it is (whiles I am at liberty, whiles I am mine own man, and master of myself) to avoid torments, to shun shamefull ignomines and reproaches (whereof the enemy hopeth I shall feel the smart): and that by one kind of death, which as it is honest, so it is also eatie and gentle: Never will I endure to see Ap, Claudius and Q. Fufius proudly and insolently bearing themselves upon their conquer over us: never will I be led and hauled round with chains through the City of Rome, to make a show, and to serve for a spectacle and gazing stock in their Triumph: and afterwards either in dark prizon, or tied openly to a stake, yield my back and side to be tewed, whipped, and mangled: and then lay my neck upon the block, to have my head cut off with the bloody axe of the Romans. Never will I behold my native country, taked, spoiled, and put to fire and sword, nor the chief married dames of Cauca to be forcibly ravished the fair and beautifull maidens shamefully deflor'd and the well-faoured young boies and freeborn, unnaturaly abused. They raised Alba in times past from the top to the very foundation, and left neither stick nor stone thereof, Alba left from whence they had their off-spring, and were first defended to the end that there might remain no memory at all of their stock and first originall. And shall I ever believe they will spare Capua, & receive into mercy against which they are more hatefullie and mortally bent than against Carthage? Therefore, my masters and friends, as many of you as are minded and resolved to die before ye see these so many miserable and wofull calamities. I have at home a stipered this night well furnished and provided for you all: and when ye have eat meat your fill, and drunk wine to it liberally, the same wasfell cup that first will be present'd unto me, shall go round about to you all: and that one draught deliver your bodies from torments, preserve your spirits from anguish and contumelious disgrace: keep your eyes from beholding all cruell acts, your ears from hearing all shameful indignities which follow and attend upon conquered persons. There shall beallow F in readiness certain liberators of purpole to make a mighty great fire within the bate court-yard of mine house, and to call our dead bodies thereunto. This is the only honest way to death, and beleeving us who are free born and gentlemen indeed. In which doing, our enemies will wonder at our vertue and valour: yea, and Annabed himselfe shall well know that he hath losstaken and betrayed his truft and magnamious allies.

This Oration of Virius, there were more men present that heard with applause and good liking than could find in their hearts to put that in execution which they so well allowed & approved. The greater part of the Senate, not deparing, but that the clemincy of the people of Rome, which had been tried and seen oftentimes in many wars, might be gained and extended also unto them: concluded, to send Embassadors with commission to yield Capua into the Romans hands. Some seven and twenty Senators there were that accompanied Virius home to his house, and lapped with him: and after they had done what they could to drink themselves drunk, and to intoxicate their brains with freely taking their wine (thereby to withdraw their minds from the sense and apprehension of their imminent harm and misery) drunk all of the poysoned cup above said. This done, and the banquet ended, they rode from the table, took one another by the hand embraced each other, taking their last leave, bidding a final adieu and farewel, and bewailing together with plenteous tears their own misfortune, and the miserable state of Virius and divers Senators of Capua poysoned themselves.
The day following, the gate of Jupiter which stood next over against the Roman Camp, was by the commandment of the Pro-consul opened. Thence entered one legion and two cohorts of horsemen, under the leading of C. Fulvius the Lieutenant: who after he had first above all other things given express order, that all armor of defence, and weapons of offence (which was to be found in Capua) should be brought forth and presented unto him; placed and disposed at all the gates, warders sufficient to see that no petition might possibly go forth, or be let out: then he laid hold upon the garrison of the Carthaginians, and commanded the Senators of Capua to repair into the Camp, before the Roman Captain Generals themselves. So soon as they were therewith some straightforward they had ironed slapped upon them, and were commanded to make tenders unto the treasurer of all the gold and silver they had. The gold amounting to seventy pound weights: the silver rode to the weight of three thousand and two hundred pound. Five and twenty of the Senators were sent to Cales, eight and twenty to Theaumus, to be kept safe in ward. Even those who were known for certain to have principally moved and persuaded the revolt from the Romans, concerning the punishment of the Senators of Capua, Fulvius and Claudius could not agree, Claudius was more tractable and exorable; and might have been soon entertained for a pardon, Fulvius was more rigid, and proceeded to a harder course. Whereupon Aippus put over the whole deciding and determining thereof unto the Senate of Rome. Alleging that it was meet and requisite that the L. of the Council should have the examination of the cause, and namely upon these points. "Imprimis," whether they had confessed and confessed in this action, with any of the free burthens and cities belonging to the state of the Latins, Iemen, whether they had any help and relief from them in the time of the war, or from any other towns whatsoever? But Fulvius in no case would confide end thereto nor suffer that the minds of faithful and loyal allies should be disquieted with doubtful surmises and suspicions of any crimes; and called in question upon the appearance and declarative information of those that never yet made reckoning or confession, either what they did, or what they said. And therefore he proceeded to [hispers that manner of proceeding, and truth that inquisition for patience. After this communication they departed alander: and Aippus made no doubt but that however his College lared and took on giving it oth throwed and bitter words. he would yet take patience and say the letters from Rome concerning so weighty a business as this was. But Fulvius, because of his deignment, brake up his keeping of State in his royal pavilion, and sent his officers and ordinary train out of the way, because he would not be hindered and empeached by them, in the course of his deignment: and commanded the Colonels and Captains of the Allies, to give warning into two thousand chosen men of arms, to be in readiness and present themselves at a third sound of the trumpet. With this power of horsemen he set forth by night, and maned to Theaumus: and by break of day entered the gate and kept his way on into the market-place. At the first entrance of the horsemens, the people ran together from all parts: then he called the chief Magistrate (a Sidicin) to be called, and charged him to produce his prisoners the Capuans, whom he had in custody. When they were all brought forth, they were first whipped with rods, and then beheaded. From thence he rode upon the spur to Cales: where so soon as he was set on the Tribunall seat, in place of judgement and the Capuan prisoners likewise presented in place and bound to the stake: these came a horseman in poll from Rome, and when he had delivered letters from C. Calpurnius the Consul, and the people of Rome unto Fulvius: there ran a rumour from the Tribunall through all the assembly, that the whole process against the Campans was to be put off and referred entire to the senate and doom of the Lords of the Senate, and Fulvius supposing it to be no less indeed after he took the letters, never brake them up, but bestowed them in his bosome, and gave commandment to the Crier, to charge the Lieutenant or executioner to do his office, according to law. Thus they also that were at Cales were executed and suffered death. Then he read the letters, and the order let down by the Senate: but it was too late now, to lay that which was done already and part which indeed was hasted with all speed that might be, for fear it might have been crost and prevented.

Now as Fulvius was arising from the bench, Taurca Jubellius, a Campan, passing amidst the throng, called by name aloud upon Fulvius. Whereas Flaccus wondering what the man meant, fit him down again upon his seat and demanded what he would: Marv. (quoth he) command me also to be killed that thou mightest boast and glory another day that thou hast done to death a better man by far and much more valiant than thyself. Surely (quoth Flaccus) this fellow is humane and not well in his wits: and again, were I minded to take his life from him, I am inhibited by virtue of the act of the Senate, "Then (quoth Jubellius) since my country is for ed and oil, my kinsfolk and friends made away: seeing also that I have with mine own hand mordred my wife and children, because they should suffer no villainous indignity; and may not my self so much as die this death which my countrymen have here suffered before my face. I will feck by virtue and manhood to save my self of this light, to redie and to rise, and odious unto me: and
A with that, he drew forth the skin which he had hid under his garment, and flabb'd himself in the breast quite through his body, and there at the feet of the L. General fell down ready to dye in the place. Forasmuch as both the execution of the Campans, and also the most part of other matters were performed according to the will of Plaetor alone: some there be that write how App. Claudius died about the time that Capua was yielded. And that this very same Tarentus neither came to as of his own accord, nor killed him; but that as he was a binding to the stake, because the words which he uttered could not be heard for the confused noise of the people, therefore Plaetor commanded silence, and then Tarentus spake those words before rehearsed, namely, That himself a right valiant and hardy man was put to death by a meaner person than himself, and much inferior to him in valour and vertue, Whereat by the commandment of the Pro-Con.

But the crier pronounced and said: Go to Serjeant, let this brave and valiant man have the more store of rods bestowed upon him, let him have good quarter, lay on load, and let the ladies limbs truly on, and let him be the first that you proceed against, let him have the law to the full, Some there be that have written, how the act of the Senat was read before he proceeded to the beholding; but because there was this branch clause within the act, That if he thought so good he should receive the whole deciding of the matter unto the Senat he continued it thus, that it was put to his discretion how to weigh and consider what was more probable to the Common-wealth. This done, he returned from Caius to Capua. Ail'ects, and Calvia were both surrendered into his hands; so where all who were the chief heads of the states suffered the like punishment. Thus there were about four score of the Senators put to death: and to the number well-nigh of three hundred.

Capua, (born of noble blood) committed to prison. Others of them were bestowed in fate custody within divers Cities of the Latines, and came to funeral unhappy ends. The multitude besides of the Campian Citizens were held outright.

It remained now to put an end to and debate, what was to be done with the City and the Territory thereto belonging. And some were of mind, that a City to exceeding mighty, to near a neighbour, and so dangerous to Rome, should be utterly vext and destroyed. But the consideration of a pleasant commodity and gain, took place and prevailed. For in regard of the territory and land lying about it (which was well known to be the most fertile soil in all Italy, and yielded all manner of fruit) the City was saved: whereinto those husbandmen that tilled the grounds might retire themselves and dwell. And for the peopling and inhabiting thereof, there was a multitude relieved of the inhabitans which were there already, namely of Libertines and enfran bondslaves, Merchants, traders, artizans, and craftsmen who kept there till and remained. But the whole territory, and all publick edifices were zeal'd to the use of the people of Rome. Moreover, order was taken, that Capua should be inhabited only, and replenish'd with people like a City: but no form of Common-wealth; no Corporation no Senat, no assembly of Commons nor Magistrates of their own should be allowed there. For without a common Council of State, without magistracies and government, without intelligentes and reciprocall commerce, as in the body of a Commonalty, they supposed, that they would never agree together in any complot, but be far unmeet to contrive a conspiracy and complot alteration. As for a Provost or Governor to minister law, and execute justice among them, they purposed to send them one yearly from Rome.

Thus were the affairs ordered and composed at Capua, by a good policy and commendable course every way. For those that were most in fault and guilty were punished with rigour and that speedily. The number of Citizens were scattered and dispersed lawful ways, without all hope to return again. The bare houses and walls that had not offended they were spared, and neither burn'd nor pull'd down. And besides the commodity and gain that accrued unto the Romans by this manner of proceeding, they won some name of clemency and mercy among their Condecdates and Allies: in that they saved a most noble and wealthy City, at the ruins whereof all Campaii, and as many States as bordered about Campania, would have grieved much, and groan'd again. By this means also the enemy was constrained now to coniue, and could not otherwise chuse, how powerful and mighty the Romans were to chastifie and punish their faithless stoitants, yet, and how terrible Annibal was, and not able to defend and maintain they whom he had received into his protection.

The Roman Pro-Conuls after they had finished and performed their charge at Capua assigned unto Claudius Nero his thousand footmen out of those two Legions which he had before Capua, and three hundred horsemen which he had chosen himself: also of Latin Allies as many foot in number, and 800 horse besides. This army Nero embarked at Puteoli, and transported into Spain. When he was arrived at Narbon, after he had there landed his footmen, and laid up his ships in dock and armed with all his mariners (to make the greater number) he marched to the river Tauris, where he received the forces of T. Fonteius, and L. Martinus, and from thence advanced toward the enemies.

Astebul, the son of Amilcar, lay encamp'd at a place called the Black-stones, in the Antilans country: it lieth between the towns Liturgias and Mentisca, Now Nero kept the narrow firkights of the forrest there, Astebul, because he would not be pent up in so strait a room, sent an herald or messenger of peace to him, who should make promise in his name, that if Nero would remit him to pass peaceably from thence, he would withdraw all his forces out of Spain. The Roman Captain took this message joyfully: and Astebul requited, that they might part the next day, and devise together how the Romans would let down conditions and articles in writ-
The six and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

ing, as touching the tenderly and delivery of the fortresses in every City, and likewise of prepa-
ing some day, by which time the garrisons should be removed and displaced, and the Carthag-
ians have away all their bag and baggage without fraud and covin. Aferhbol having obtained
his request, presently commanded, that in the very evening, and all night long the heaviest and
most cumbrous part of his whole army should escape what way soever they could out of the
guller of the forest. But he gave especiall direction, that they should not over many of them
that night go forth, because their small number was not only litter to deceive the enemy, and
not so soon to be discovered, but also might more easily pass through those narrow and diffi-
cult passages. So the morrow they came to an interview and parli, where the time was spent of
purpose in much needles talk, and drawing of books, more than cause was whereupon the day
being large gone, the builnels was put off unto the next day. And the night ensuing, between mi-
niftred Aferhbol more time to send others away. And yet could they not make an end that day
neither. Thus there passt certain days, employed in open whev about dispute and reasoning
of the articles and conditions of agreement, and the nights were bestowed in letting out the
Carthaginians closely out of their Camp. Now, after that the greater part of his hold was gone
away clear, then he began to wrangle and jarr, yea, and to go from some offers that he had
voluntarily made, and ever they were further and utter more in agreement. For Alerobil the
lens that he feared, the lens also was to be trusted. And by this time in manner all his Infantry
were got out of the forest, and the next morning, not only the forest, but all the plains about
were overcast, and covered with a thick and foggy mist. Which Alerobil perceiving, he sent
a messenger to Nero, requesting to deliver their farther conference and communication to the
enemies, pretending, that the present day was a festival holy-day among the Carthaginians,
and therefore they made a pause upon it, to follow any other business but serve God. All this while
there was no fraud so much as one inspected. Alerobil had no sooner obtained reprieve for that
day, but forthwith he and all his Cavalry, together with his Elephants, dislodged, and without
any noise or stir recovered without any harm a place of security. By the fourth hour of the day
the sun had dispatched and scattered the mist, and cleared the sky, and then the Romans might
discover the Camp of their enemies empty, and no creature sit therein. Then at length, Clun-
dius perceiving that Alerobil had shewed him a Carthaginian trick, and that he was at length
thus over-ran by his falsehood and cunning practice, began to make our after him, minding
to bid him batall. But the enemy would none of that, and fell off. Howbeit there passt some L
small skirmishes between the rewer of the Carthaginians, and the forlorn hope and van-
couriers of the Romans. Amidst these affairs (the States of Spain) neither they who revolted
after the overthrow of the Romans returned again unto them; nor any new fell away, more than
before.

At Rome, the Senate and people afier the recovery of Capua, took as great care for Spain now,
as for Italy it fell. And agreed they were in general, that the army there shoulc be strengthned
with new forces and a Generallthiter iem; but who should be the man was not yet concluded.
Forasmuch as they were to take some extraordinary care in the chusing of one to be sen
thither, where two singular and renowned warriors were flain within the compass of thirty days; and
to succeed in the room of that great man. While some nominated one, and some another, at length
they grew to this point, that the people should hold a solemn assemblcy (as it were, purchased
for election of a Pro-Consul to go over into Spain. And the Consuls accordingly proclaimed
a fea day for the said assemblcy. At first there was great expectation that those persons who took
themselves worthy of so great command should put forth themselves, and prefer their own
names beforehand. But when this expectation failed, and came to nothing, every man began aTRIES
retire to reticre and renew the former jyiet, and moun again for the looses received, and to find
the want and misf of so valorous Captains whom they had lost. Whereupon the whole City being
sad and penifive, and in manner destitute of all good conncill, and not resolved what to do in this
hard case, came yet down into Mass field upon the day appointed for the election. Every
mans eye was upon the Magistrates, and beheld the comnenences of their great men and Ru-
ers, how they looked one upon another, grieving and grumbling that the State was at so low
an ebb, and the Common-weal grown to so delicate a case, that no man durst be seen to take
upon him the government and Province of Spain. Then all of a sudden, P. Corinellis (his fon
that was slain in Spain, a young Gentleman, not fully four and twenty years old) shewed him-
self, and said, That he would undertake that charge upon him; and therewith stepped up into
an higher place, from whence he might bee seen and there he stood. Upon whom, when all men had
cast their eyes, and viewcd him well, in a general acclaim and favourable affection unto the man,
they wisht unto him straitways a happy and fortunate government. And when the assem-
bly was willing to give their suffrages, and go to a crutiny, there was not one City from the
frnt to the laft, nor one person from the highest to the lowest, but gave their voice with P. Sciri-
pio for to take a voyage as L. Deputy into Spain. But after the thing was passed, and their pas-
tionate heat of affection once allied, they were on a sudden driven into a still silence and deep
dump, to think what alteration and new deed they had done. And that which they behought
themselves most oft, was this, that favours had carried them away in this action more than the
due consideration and regard of his age. Some there were that had in dread and horror the omen-
ous fortune allo of that family; and the name of him that out of two mounfull hours was to

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Ago into those Provinces where he must fight amongst the Sepulchres both of father and mother. When Scipio perceived, that presently upon the election passed in to hastily a fight, the people should be heavy and penitent; he called them to an open audience, and there before them all openly and in his young age, of the government committed unto him, and of the future war that he would manage: and that with so noble courage and hasty spirit, that he renewedareth and kindled again the former zeal and heat that was so cooled; and polemized men minds with more admired hope than usually many faithful promises, or reason grounded upon the confidence of precedents past, or any earthly thing is wont to afford and maintain. For Scipio was a rare and wonderfull man, not only in regard of those true virtues inherent in him, but also for that he had framed himself as his young and tender years, by arithmetical means, to the better setting out of those inbred parts and qualities of his own: making them and emblem before the multitude, that the most things which be did, were either represented unto him by night-siennes and apparitions, or else insugetted, as it were, by revelation from the gods above; were it that he was in perpetually given, and his mind wholly polemized therewith, or by that his policy he might effect his deligements, and have his commands performed with more expedition, as if they were directions delivered from the Oracles and the very mouth of the gods. Over and besides that, he made this overture to credit and reputation, and prepared men minds in this sort from his very first beginning. From the very time that he once put on his man's gown, there was no day went over his head, but before he began his own private business, or excepted any publick affairs, he would go into the Capitol and so soon as he was entred into the Temple, there in head down, and alone by himself belowe a good time in some secret and corner thereof. This ordinary manner of his, which he continued all his life long, (were it of purpose considerately, or by chance unduly,) made divers men believe veryly, that it was a truth indeed, which was commonly supposed and reported, That the man had a god to his father, Which deep and setted imagination of the universe, relumed and renewed again the like fame (in all the world) to that which went before and was bruited abroad of Alexander the great, and for the vanity and fabulous speech of folk, was the very fame and all one in every respect; namely, that his mother conceived him by a mighty great serpent: for that very often in her bed-chamber there was seen some such prodigious and wonderfull thing, and ever as any body did see it, it would wind away of a sudden, and vanish out of sight. These strange and miraculous conceits he would never himselfe elevate and diffuse as tales and vanities, but rather cherish, and create the opinion there of, by a certain certain call of his own, in that he would neither deny and disallow any such matter, nor yet affirm plainly and verify the same. Many other devises he had of like sort, partly true indeed, partly unleon and counterfeit, which called men beyond all measure to have this young man in wonderfull admiration. Upon the strong and grounded premption whereof, the City at that time conferred upon him (far unmeet, I wot, in regard of his untimely years) to great a government, and a world withall of weight and important affairs.

Besides the forces which remained in Spain of the old army, and those which were transported over from Puteoli with Claudius Nero, he had a supplement also of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horsemen: and to afflict in the conduct of his wars, he had as conductour appointed unto him M. Junius Sylla, the Pro-Prætor. This with a fleet of thirty ships, (and Galley there were all of five banks of oars,) he took the less, and fell from the mouth of Ypres, and coasting along the Tuscan seas under the Alps, and through the gulf of Gallia, he doubled at length the point and cape of Pyrene, and disembarkt the City of Greeks; (for defended they are also from Pheaces) and there left his people a lind. From thence, having taken order that his ships should follow after, he marched by land to Taracou, which he appointed for the rendezvous, where all his allies and confedera!s (for at the wonder and fame of his landing, there blocked Embassadors unto him from all parts of the Province) should meet together at a regular Diet. There he commanded that the ships should be bellowed in their docks; save only three Galleys of three ranks which came from Maffileg, and upon curtesie and kindness accompanied him from home, and there were sent back again. Then he gave audience to the Embassadors, who hinging in doublest suspension by reason of the variety and of hurry changes and chances that lately had hapned, and to them he began to return anweter, and give them their several dispatches: but with such spirit and boldness (upon confidence that he had in his own rare virtues) that he let not fall in all his speech one word that might move quarrell, and favoured of rigour; and yet whatsoever else him itake, it carried an exceeding majesty with it and a singular credit. Being departed from Taracou, he visited both the States of the Allies, and also the landling wintering camps of the army: where he highly commended the fouldiers, for that notwithstanding they had received two thousand blows, upon two so great defeates one in the neck of another, yet they held the Province full, and kept the field, and not suffering the enemies to rest and sithe the fruit of their fruit, and the victory, and kept them out of all the countries lying within Iberus, and defended faithfully all their confedera!s according to the truth reported in them. Martius he had in his train always about him; whom he so highly honoured: that it was very well seen, he feared nothing less than that any other man should equal or shadow his glory. Then Sylla succeeded in place of Nero, and the new foudiers were brought into the flanding winter leagurers, and Scipio having reviewed all the Cities and the States that he was to turrey, and performed all other affairs that were then to be done, retired and withdrew himselfe to Taracou.
The fame of Scipio was no less bruited among the enemies, than it was rife with his own citizens and loving allies: and a certain preface went with all the future event, which carried (as good hap was) the greater fear and dread with it, as there was less reason that could be rendred and given thereof. They had betaken themselves into their wintring harbours far distant and remote sldner. Afterward the son of Grisco even as far as to the Ocean, laid unto Cades: Magus into the midland parts, and especially above the forest and chafe of Castile, and afterward the son of Amilcar, wintred nearest unto Iberus about Saguntum.

In the very end of that summer, when Cipas was won, and Scipio came into Spain, the Carthaginian Armado which was sent for out of Sicily to Tarentum, for to intercept the视觉s, and empeace the fame for coming to the Roman garrison that held the Castle of Tarentum, had very loth all the passages from the sea to the said Castle: but by their long abode in those parts, and keeping the seas so slightly, they had caused a greater death and fastness of visuals among their own friends than their enemies: for there could not by the help of those Carthaginian ships so much corn be along the river that was postlided by friends, nor from the open ports, for to furnish the townsmen of Tarentum, as the army it fell consumed and spent in maintenance of that rabble of men, sailors, guards, and mariners, mingled of all sorts of people. So as the garrison of the Castle being but few in number there was able to be holdfast by the provision they had aforehand, without the help of any new brought in unto them: whereas the Tarentines and the Navy could not have sufficient conveyed unto them: by reason whereof, at length the Armado had leave to depart thence with more thanks in the City, than they had for their first seem-venement. And yet visuals were not much cheaper, because when the help by sea was gone there could K no corn at all be brought from other parts abroad.

At the end of the very same summer, when M. Marcellus was come to the City out of Sicily, his own Pro-ince, C. Calpurnius the Prator assembled the Senate for his fake in the Temple of Bel- Jone. Where, after he had discoursed of the acts by him achieved, and complained after a mild and modest fort, laying open his griefs, not so much in the behalf of himself, as of his souldiers: in that way he had performed and accomplished his charge and commission in his Province, he could not have been to bring home his army with: he demanded that he might be allowed to ride in triumph into the City: but he could not obtain it. This matter was much canvased and debated, pro & contra. Whether it were less meet and convenient to deny him triumph being now present, in whose name whiles he was absent for the Fortunes succes and good speed of all affairs under his conduct and government, there was a solemn proceeding decreed, and sacrifices done to the honour of the immortal gods: or to grant him triumph (as if the war were fully finnished) whom the Senate had commanded to make over his army to his successor; which surely they would never have decreed, but that the war remained still within the Province: and especially seeing the army itself was away, the beeft witness simply, whether he had deserved a triumph or no. At length, a middle and indifferent course between both was agreed upon, namely, that he should enter the City ovant in a petty triumph. And the Tribunes of the Commons, by the approbation first of the Senate, proposed unto the people, that M. Marcellus should the same day that he came ovant into the City retain still his full authority and government. The day before he entered the City, he rode in triumph upon the mount Albanus, and from thence, in ovant with which he sent a rich bootie before him into the City. There was carried in this pomp the counterfeits of the City Syracusa won, crossbows, brakes, landing flings, and all other warlike instrument; besides, the ornaments testifying long and continentall peace, and the great wealth and treasure of the Kings; as divers vesseract of silver and brass curiously wrought: other household furniture alse, rich hangings of tapistry, and garments of great price; many goddy images and right noble statues, wherewith Syracusa was adorned and beautified, even with the belt and principal Caires of Greece. In token also of a victory over the Carthaginians, there were eight Elephants brought in a flock. And that which was not the least sight and spectacle to behold, Sopha the Syracusan, and Mercian the Spaniard went before with crowns upon their heads. The one of them was the guide when Syracusa was entred in the night season: and the other betrayed Nopsas, and the garrison there. Both those were enfranchised Citizens of Rome, and had fifty acres of land a piece granted unto them for ever. So had his land left out in the territory of Sicily, which either belonged to the Kings or to the enemies of the people of Rome, and a dwelling house (chuse where he would in Syracusa) of all those that were seiz'd upon by right of conquest.) As for Mercian and the Spaniards that with him fled from the enemies, and deced unto the Romans, they had assigned unto them a City to inhabit, and land to occupie in Sicily, which sometime belonged to them that had revolted from the people of Rome. And order was given to M. Cornelius for to appoint them the said City and land whereever he thought good. And in the same territory there were allotted and set out four hundred acres of land unto Belligens, by whose means Mercian was allured and induced to leave the advetis part and turn to the Romans.

After that Marcellus was departed out of Sicily, the Navy of the Carthaginians disbark'd eight thousand footmen and three thousand Numidian horsemen. Unto them revolted the Murgantine land, and Hylas, together with Magellus and other small pilies of base account, took example by them and followed after. The Numidians with their Captain Mutines ranged over all Sicily, and rided the towns and villages belonging to the Scottolani of the people of Rome. Over and besides all this the Roman army there, being discontented and angry, parly, for that together with their General,
A neail, they were not licenfed to go out of the Province: and partly, for that they were forbidden
and debared, for wintritg in any good towns; demeaned themselves factly and lazily in their
military service: in fuch fort, as if there had been a head to lead them as they had a heart to move
them, they would have mutined and rebelled. Among these troubles and difficulties, M. Corneliu
as the Prefect, both appealed and mitigated the tomacks of the fouldiers, as well by comfortable
words, as by rebukes and checks: and also brought under his obedience and subjection, all those
Cities which had revolted. Of which he according to the former act of the Senate, allotted Men-
gentius to the Spaniards, unto whom both a City and land to it was by order aforefeid due. Both
the Comitii who had the government of the Province Apulia, seeing there was leis cante of fear
and terror now from the Carthaginians and Annibals, were commanded to cut lots between them
for the Provinces of Apulia and Macedon, so Macedon, befit into Sulpitius, and he inc
ceeded there instead of Lenius. Fulvius was sent for home to Rome, about the election of the
Comitii. And when he held the solemn afemblies of the people, for the choice and creation of the
ditto, The Century of the younger Citizens, which had the prerogative to give their first voice, de-
declared T. Maelius as Torgatus, and T. Oelius for Comitiis. Maelius being there present in place,
when the multitude came about him to congratulate with God, give you joy, &c. (for that there
was no doubt, but the whole body of the people would approve this choice of the first Century.)
came with a great company about him to the tribunal fear of estate where the Comitii sat: and
made request unto him, that he would give him the hearing of some few words, and command
C that prerogative century which had given their voices to be called back again to a new scrutiny.
And when every man was attentive and expected what he should demand, he alledged for his ex-
cuse a pair of ill eyes. "For a famleles Pilot of a ship is he and imputid a General of an ar-
my (quoth he) who having to do all by other men’s eyes, would require to have the goods
and lives of other men to be put into their hands. And therefore may it please your honour
to command this Century of the younger fort to give their voices anew, and in creating Comitiis,
to remember the war that is in Italy, to consider of the troublesome state of the Common-
weal, and to think of this, That it scarce yet men ears have had any rest, since they refounded and
run again with the noises and alarms, that the enemies raised within these few months, when
they lay in siege neer unto the walls of Rome. But after these words, when the said Century
D with one accord, that they were of the same mind still, and would nominate the same Comitiis ag
ain, and none other; then Torgatus, Neither (quoth he) shall I be able, if I were Comitius
to bear with your fashions and conditions, nor you again endure my rule and commandment. To
the scrutiny therefore once again, and think how the Carthaginians war within Italy, and Anni-
bals the Generali of the enemies. Then the Century moved as well by the authority and revere-
ce of the same person, as by the applaus and admiration of the people, who wondered at his
venue, behoght the Comitiis to call forth and cite Century of the elder band; for that they would
willingly confer with more ancient men than themselves, and by their sage advice and good di-
rection nominate the Comitiis. When those elders were called to this Century, there was some
time allowed for to commune apart secretly with them, within the place raifed in, called Osile.
E Those ancians said (towards them, that they were to consult of three persons, wheto of two already
were full of honourable dignities, which they had born to wit, Q. Fabius and M. Marcellus. But
they lay (tay they) in case ye would have some new Coi, to be choosen, for to be oppid against the
Carthaginians, ye have M. Valerius Lenius, a notable man, one who hath performed singular
good service, and achieved many noble deeds, both by sea and land against King Philip. So when
they had three in proportion unto them, the elder were dimmited, and the younger entred into a se-
cond scrutiny; and declared for Comitiis. M. Claudius Marcellus (glistening then in the prime of his
brilliance, for the late subduing and conquest of Sicily) and M. Valerius, who was abled, Thisfore-
dom and choice of the prerogative Century, all the rest followed after, and by their signatures con-
firmed. "Let them mock on now and so forth hereat all they that have nothing in admiration but
fancy and things done in elder time. For mine own part, if there be any iinch City and Com-
mon-wealth at all, consisting of wise men and Philosophers, a some great Clarks have rather
imagined in their families, than found in effect; I dare be bold to think & lay, that in it there could
not possibly be either rulers and Magistrates more grave and temperate in their desire of dignity
and government, or a people better mannered, nurtured, and instructed. But that it shoule be
thought an unlikely matter and scarce credible that a Century of younger person were willing
to confer with the elder, and be advised by them to whom they should give their voices: for to
be created the chief Magistrates; it is the corruption of this age is that the cause: wherein
"we see how small reverence and authority even parents themselves have, and of how slender
and base account they be amongst their own natural children.
After this account the Election of Prefectors, wherein were created P. Maelius Volfio, and L.
G. Maelius Acidinius. C. Leculum, and L Cincius Alimentus. When this Election was finished it for-
tuned that news came, how T. Oelius (whom the people, as it seemed, would have chosen in his absence to match T. Maelius in the Comitiiship, but that the ordinary course of the election
was disturbed and stopped) departed this life in Sicily. The Apollinaire games in the former year
had been exhibited: and when Calpurnius the Praetor put up a bill, and moved the Senate, that
they might be celebrated again that year also, there passed a decree, That they should be vowed to
continue from time to time for ever.

The Oration
of T. Maelius
at the Comitii.
The same year certain prodigious tokens were seen and reported. In the Temple of Concordia the Image of Victory, which stood upon the lantern and top thereof was lit by lightning, and being shaken and driven from its own place, reeled fast upon those other Images of Victory that were fixed in the forefront of the said Temple, and fell not down from thence. Word also was brought, That in Cappadocia and Persia the walls and the gates were likewise blasted and bruised with fire from heaven: and that in the market place of Sidon there ran dreams of blood a whole day together: That in Eretum it rained stones: and that in Rome a female mule brought forth a foal. These strange and wonderful signs were purged and expiated with greater sacrifices: and a solemn supplication proclaimed: wherein for one day the people should wholly attend their devotions, and pray unto the gods: and likewise a Novendiall sacrifice. In that year died I certain publick Priests of State, and new were chosen in their stead, Caius Livius in the room of M. Pomponius Mius the High Priest: and M. Servilius, to supply the place of C. Carvilius Maximus, the Arch-Augur. And forasmuch as T. Ocelius Maximus, the Prelate or Bishop, died when the year was expired, there was none nominated for to succeed him, C. Claudius the Arch-flamine of Jupiter left his Flaminship, and was deprived of that Sacerdotal dignity, because he had committed an error in tactrifying, when he should minister and distribute the inwards of the beast.

About the same time M. Aemilius Levianus (after he had by secret conferences founded aforehand and solicited the minds of the Aetolian Princes and great L. L. came with a small fleet of ships lightly appointed, to their general Diet or Council, summoned before for that purpose only. In which solemn assembly, after he had made declaration, 'That Syracusae and Cappae were won, and under the protection of the people of Rome, and what good successes they had in the affairs and wars of Italy: and distingued besides, That the Romans, according to their ancient custom, received by tradition from their forefathers, used to respect and make much of their Allies: and namely, That either they received them into the City of Rome, and endowed them with the fame fran bies that they themselves enjoyed, or else dealt so liberally with them otherwise, that they liked of their condition so well, as they chose rather to be allies than Citizens: he protested and said, That the Aetolians should be much more honoured amongst them than all others, for that they were the first that of all forren nations beyond sea, entertained league and amity with them. As for King Philip and the Macedonians, their heavy friends, & dangerous L. neighbours, he had so daint their courses, abated their forces, and driven them to that place, that not only they were forced to abandon those towns, which by violence they had taken wrongly from the Aetolians, but also had much ado themselves to keep Macedonia itself quiet, and without peril of hostility: promising withall, That he would bring and reduce the Aetolians (for whom the Aetolians were so diffident and grieved, that they were disinclined from the body of their State) under their ancient form of jurisdiction and feigning again. These relations and promises made by the Roman General, were confirmed and affixed amongst them by the authority and comenence of Sopas (who for the time was the Praetor or head Magistrate of that State) land of Dorimichus a Prince of the Aetolians, who with less modedly and greater affervation and confidence enrolled and magnified the greanles, power, and majesty of the people of Rome. M.

The principal matter that induced and moved them was the hope of recovering and keeping Aetolia. Whereupon, there were conditions drawn & engrossed, under which they should joyn in league and friendship with the people of Rome. And this branch was added to the rest of the decazances. That if they were so pleased, and liked well of it, there should be comprised in the same league and privileges the Eleans and Lacestramionians, together with Attalos, Pherennus, and Scerdiltes: of which three, Attalus was King of Asia the lefts, the other were Princes and Potenates of Illyricum. The articles ran in this form, Imprimis. That the Aetolians should immediately make war by land with King Philip, Item, That the Romans at sea should help with twenty galleys at the least bearing five ranks of oars. Item, Attouching all the Cities that should be conquered (beginning from Aetolias, so far as to Ceregy) that the ground wherein the Cities were situated, the edifices, the walls, and the lands thereto belonging, should be seised to the use of the Aetolians: all other goods and chattells else, should be a prize for the people of Rome. Item, That if the Aetolians happened to make peace with Philip, it must pafs with this clause and proviso, that the peace should stand good upon this condition. That Philip abstain to make war upon the Romans and their Allies and all those that lived under their dominions. Item, In case the people of Rome fortunate to piece again, and be confedrate with the King, they should put in a caveat and proviso, that he might have no liberty to war upon the Aetolians, or their associates. Thee were the covenants agreed upon: and being fair engrossed two years after into a piece of indentures the one of them remained for the Aetolians in Olympia, the other for the Romans in their Capitol, among other facre records and monuments, for a perpetuall memorial to all posterity. The occasion of so great delay was because the Embassadors of the Aetolians were thaid and kept very long at Rome. But that was no lettor hindrance at all to the proceedings in the wars. For the Aetolians sencely made war upon Philip: and Levianus conquered Zacynthia (a little Iland near to Aetolias, having a City within it of the same name, which he forced by allians, all the Castell) likewise Oeniade and Nasus, which he won from the Acarnanians before: and all theie he gave to the Aetolians. And supposing that Philip having his hands full of the war upon his owne frontiers had no time to think upon Italy, and the Carchaginians; and to mind the
The sixth and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

A the covenant that passed between Annibal and him, he retired himself into Coreia.

Philip, lying in winter harbor within Pella, was advertised of the "Aréolians revolt. Therefore he minded at the prime of the Spring to conduct an army into Greece, to the end that Macedon and the Cities bordering thereupon, should not be molested by the Illyrians, whom he supposed would be at quiet and not far, if they were once frighted with the harms of others, he made a sudden rode and expedition into the marches of the Orient and Appoloniats: and when the Appoloniats issued forth against him, he repelled them, and with great fear and terror drove them within their walls. After he had wafted the confines next to the Illyrians, he turned his forces with like celerity and speed into Pelagonia: and then went by assaunt a City of the

B Dardanirians, situatet in the frontiers of Macedon, through which the Dardanirians meant to have their passage. And when he had performed these exploits in great haste, not forgetting how the Aréolians and Romans, both maintained war against him joyntly, he descended through Pelagonia, Nymphaeum, and Bolae, into Thessalys; supposing very that the people of those countries might be incited to wage war together with him against the Aréolians. And leaving there behind him (at the height of the Thebians) Persenum thousand strong, to debar the Aréolians entrance that way: - himiis in person, before that he should be occupied in greater affairs, led forth his army into Macedon, and from thence into Thracia, and forwarded against the Medians. That nation was wont to make incursions, and to invade Macedon, whenever they could perceive that the King was either banished in other wars, or his Realm disturbed and slenderly provided

C of good guard and strong garrisons. He began therefore to tierrage and spoil the territories about Phragana, and to affult Lamphorina, the principal City and chief strength of that Region Medea.

Scopu having intelligence that the King was gone into Thracia, and kept there occupied in the wars, put all the serviceable young men of Evodia in arms, and prepared war against Acranius. The nation of the Acranians, albeit they were both in strength unequal, and allow already, that they had lost the wall City of the Odontis, and Nuza, and knowing well that the Roman forces would come upon them besides: rather upon anger than any good counsel and advice, made preparation for war, and resolved to meet them. Their wives and children, and elder persons such as were above forty years of age, they sent away into Epirus, and joyning near unto them.

D Of all that were fifteen years old and upward unto three score, they took a solemn oath that they would never return back without victory. They bid also a heavy curse and cruel malediction upon all those of their own nation: and framed a most humble request in such effectual terms as they could devise, unto all their friends, that none of them should enter within their Cities, their doors and houses, nor admit with to their table, any one of them that were unhonored, and fled out of the field: yea, and besought with the Eprius to gather together the dead bodies of as many of them as should chance to be slain in battell, and to inter them all in one grave, and erect a tomb and monument over them, with an Epitaph and inscription to this effect: Here lie buried and entombed the Acranians, who fighting in defence of their country, against the violence and injuries of the Aréolians, lost their lives manfully in the field. By this means, when their courages were enkindled and incensed, they encamped themselves in their utmost frontiers, abiding the coming of their enemies. And having dispatched messengers to Philip, to give notice to him in what jeopardy they stood, they constrained him to give over that war which he had in hand, considering that Lamphorina was surrendered up into his hands, and that he had spied well otherwise in the reit of his affairs. The Aréolians, upon the first fame that was blown abroad of that solemn oath taken by the Acranians, were well cooled, and not so hastily to set forward but hearing once of Philip his coming, they were driven to retire again as far as possibly they could within their own confines. Neither Philip for his part marched on further than to Clote (norwithstanding that he made great speed afore, and took long journeys: for fear that the Acranians should be surprized, before he could reach unto them) for so soon as he heard that the Aréolians were retir'd, he himself also returned unto Pella.

Levius in the beginning of the spring took the sea, and loosed from Coreia, and having doubled the point of Leucate, and sailed as far as Nauplia, there he publish'd and gave knowledge, that he would shape his course from thence for Anticyra: and that Scopas and the Aréolians should there meet him, and be in readiness. This Anticyra is situate in Lucris, on the left hand, as ye enter into the gulf of Corinth. By land it is a small journey thither from Nauplia, and as short a cut by sea. So within three days after they began to affult the City on both sides. The fiercer assault was from the sea-side, both because they had in their ships engines of batterie, and other ordnance and artillery of all sorts; and also, for that the assailants from that part were Romans. So within few days the City was yelded up, and delivered again unto the Aréolians, the pillage thereof fell to the Romans share, according to covenant. There Levius received letters from Rome, specifying thus much, That he was declared Consul in his abstinence, and P. Scopas was coming to succeed him in the Province: but by occasion that he lay there sick of a long diseaie, he came to Rome later than all men expected.

M. Marcellus entering his Consulship upon the Ides of March, assembled the Senate that day, only for form and order sake: for he made open profusion there, that during the absence of his "Colleague", he would treat of no matters, either concerning the State of the City, or the Provinces. But this protestation he uttered withall, and said: That he knew well that there were "many
many Sicilians in the towns and villages near unto the City, backbiters and flanders of him. H who lit his own part he was so far off from hindring, but that they might freely for all him, diuulget and publish abroad in Rome all thole crimes which were devised and spoken against him by his adversaries, that were it not that they pretended some fear for both, to charge the Conful with any matters, in the absence of his Collegues he would straightways give them audience in the Senate: but to soon verily as my brother Conful is come home, I will not quoth he, 1 I salute you suffer any one matter to be debated here, before that thole Sicilians be lent into the Senate house. And I understand that M. Cornelius hath taken general search like a matter over all Sicily, to the end there might come a number to Rome with complaints of me: he also with letters full of unruthe hath buzzed into all mens ears, and born the whole City in hand. I that the war continueth still in Sicily, and all to diminish and abridge my glory. The Conful having that day won the commendation and name of one that knew how to rule and govern his affections dissimil'd the Senat: and it seemed that there would be a general vacation not of law matters only, but of all other things & as it were holyday till, until the other Conful came unto the City. This rest and idleness (as the wonted manner is) let the Commons having nothing else to do, a talking: and now their tongues walked space, ceasing not to spread rumours. That by this long and continuall war, not only the lands and territory about the City of Rome (especially where Annius had marched with his cruel army) were wasted, but also Italy was in a manner dilipated and laid desolate, by reason of so many multitudes and levies: complaining, that whole armies were defeated and put to the sword at Cannae in defence of the Common-wealth: and K that there were two Conuls created, both martiall men, and warriors, over-foerce and eager of fight, of as time of peace and quietness were able to find occasions of war: so little was it to be looked for at their hands, that in time of war they would seek for peace, and suffer the City to have any breathing time and intermission. The like speech has rumoured among the common people were interrupted and laid by occasion of a sacred fire that began in fundry places together about the Forum, in the night of that day, which was immediately before the festival dais of Minerva, called Quinquatrus. At one and the self-same time the seven merchants shops and ware-houses, which afterwards were turned into five, and the shops of the Bankers and money-changers which now are called Notez (or the new-shops) were on fire. Divers private mens houses also the fire caught: for as then there were no flately Halls and Palaces of the City there built. Likewise the L fire took hold of the common prison, called Launia the Fith market hall likewise, and the toy-gallery or walking-place. Hardly could the Chappel of Pomf place be saved, and that by the good help and pains-taking especially of thirteen bondilaves: whole bondage was bought out at the Cities charges, and they made freemen. The fire continued one night and a day: and no man made doubt, but it came by mans hand, and was the practice of some few persons: for that the fires began in many places at once and those far distant alducer. Whereupon the Conful by the advice and direction of the Senat, made proclamation in a solemn assembly of the people, that whosoever would come forth and give notice by whole means that fire was procured, he should be well rewarded: if he were a free-man, with a piece of mony; if bond, with freedom. In hope of which recompence, a certain slave belonging to the Cal-wit the Campans, (his name was Mann) was induced to bewray the matters whom he therfor, and five other young Gentlemen of Camp was fathers had left their heads by the commandment of Q. Fulvius. Tho[e he apprehend to have made the laid fires: and he gave them a warning besides, that they intended to do more mischief about the City, if they were let alone, and not apprehended: so they were attached, and their household-servants. At the first, these persons made account both of the informer, and the information they made, and elevated the credit that was given thereto: alledgeing, that the day before the party himslef being chatified and scourged by his Masters, ran away, and so upon an anger and giddy fit devy'd (by occasion of this misfortune which was meer casual) to frame an accusation against his masters. But when the matter was averred to their teeth in open place, and the, by whole ministrity the feast was done, were in the midit of the Forum put to N the rack for to utter a truth, then they all made confession of the fact. As so well the Masters that were the letters thereof, as the servants that were privy and accelliatory thereto, had their deferts, and suffered for it. The informer who disclosed the villany, was made free, and had 20000 asses for his labour.

As the Conful Launia passe d by Capua in his journey [ homeward, ] there flocked about him a number of Campans, and belought him with tears, that they might have leave to go to Rome, and present themselves before the Senat, there to make suit (if happily there any pity and commination in them) not to destroy them utterly, nor suffer Q. Fulvius to confume the name and generation of the Campans from off the face of the earth. Now Fulvius, in part denied therein that he bare them any private grudge by malice: but only hated the Campans as the common enemies to the state, and so he would do ever so long as he knew them to full affect ed as they were to the people of Rome: for there was not a nation upon earth, nor a people under heaven more frightfully & deadly bent against the Roman name than they were. And that was the cause (faith he) that he penned them up within their walls. For who soever of them chance d any way to make an escape, they ranged about the country like brute and savage beasts, rent ing, tearing, and killing who so ever came in their way. Some of them are fled to the adytic side unto Annibald others are gone to Rome to set fire on the City, and there (quoth he) shall the Con
A full find the market place half burned, and the very prints and tokens remaining fresh of the
Campbell's blessings, cleansing; There should be clear that they minded to have done violence
upon the camp of VelPhi, and to have put out those curtails in, and utterly defaced the first
pledge of the Roman Empire, bestowed and laid up here in the midst of the camp
pell, Neither thought he it was false for the City to permit the Campans to come within the
walls thereof, Then Lucius having caused the Campans to take a corporal oath, and swear unto
him, that they would make return to Cypar before the two diseases were expired, after they
had their answer, and discharge from the Senate; commanded them to come after him to Rome.
Attended thus as he was with his company, he encountered the Sicilians, who came further to
be met, and with this multitude he entered the City, accompanied (lately) with the Campans
and Sicilians: both vanquished and subdued, was as acusers of two mistrustful persons,
Marcelliuns and Fulvius, who had conquered two most noble and renowned Cities, Sycany; and
Campus.

But both the Consul treated and consulted with the Senate, about the State of the Commune,
and the government of the Provinces: Then Lucius related what terms stood Macedon and Greece: the Eolians also, with the Acanthians and Locrians: likewise what acts
he had achieved in those parts both by sea and land; and how he had repulsed Philip back into
Macedon, when he began to make war upon the Eolians, who now was retired and gone
into the utmost parts of his Kingdom: so as the legions might be withdrawn from thence, for
that the Armado was insufficient to keep the King forth of Italy. Thus much spoke he of himself;
and of the Province whereof he had been governor. Then both Consuls in common, proposed
unto the Senate, concerning the Province. And the LL, decreed that one of the Consuls should
take the charge of Italy, and of the war with Annibal; and the other should have under his
hand the Armado, whereof Lucilius was the Admiral: and together with L. Cincius the Praetor,
govern the Province of Sicily. They were allowed the two armies which were in Tuscany and
in France, consisting of four legions; whereas two of the former year, that were of Citizens
should be sent into Tuscany, and the two, which the Consul Sulpius had conducted, should
be led into France. Moreover that he should have the government of France, and the leading of the
Legions there, whom that Cof, would appoint, whose lot it was to have Italy for his Province.

Into Tuscany was C. Calpurnius sent with Commission after the term of the Praetorship expired,
to have his full jurisdiction to continue for a year. Likewise to Q. Fulvius was intrusted the keeping
of Cas-pus, and his rule prorogued for another year. The armies, as well of Citizens as of
Allies, were by commandment of the Senate abridged and made less: so that for two legions there
should be but one, and that consisting of five thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen:
that they should be discharged of old soldiers, who had served long: that of Allies there should
be left seven thousand foot, and three hundred horse: with the same respect and consideration of
service in disbanding the old footmen. As for Cn. Fulvius the Consul of the former year, he
ruled the same Province of Apulia still, without any alteration of his forces: only his govern-
ment was continued unto him another year. And P. Sulpius his Colleague, was commanded
to send away all his army, only the masters and payers excepted. Likewise order was given that
to so soon as the new Consul was arrived and landed in the Province of Sicily, the army there,
which was commanded by M. Cornelius, should be sent out of Sicily. Into L. Cincius the Praetor
was assigned the legions that remained after the defeat at Cannae, for to keep Sicily in order,
and those two to legions. And as many legions were appointed for P. Manlius Vulso the
Praetor, to go into Sardinia, even those whereof L. Cornelius had the leading in the same Province
the former year. As for the legions of Citizens, the Consuls were enjoined to levy and
enroll them so, as they entertained no noisier of all those who had served in the army, either of
M. Claudius or M. Valerius, or Fulvius: nor exceeded the number that year of one and twenty
legions of the Romans. When those Acts were passed in the Senate-house, the Consuls called
their several Provinces, Sicily, and the Armado fell to Marcellus: Italy and the war against
Annibale, to Lucius.

This let that fell to Marcellus so struck the Sicilians dead, (who stood in the presence of the
Consuls, looking for the effect of the lottery) as if Sycany had been lost again in such sort, as
their pitull amotions, and their wofull plaints, for the present turned all mens eyes upon
them, and none after ministered cause of much speach and talk, For they were about to
all the Senators: some one to another in poor and vile array, protesting, "That if Marcellus came
amongst them again as L. Denteus, they would not only for take every man his own country
where he was born, but also abandon on the whole Island of Sicily: complaining that without any
deed of their parts, herefore he had been cruelly bent against them, and his heart was irre-
considerable: and what should he now do in his choler, and knowing that the Sicilians came to
Rome of purpose to make complaints of him? The Island were better (say they) to be on a light
fire to burn with Etna, or to be all a very lea, than thus to be expos'd as a prey unto a mor-
tal enemy, for to be devour'd. Their grievous moans and pitiful complaints of the Sicilians
first carried to the houses of the Nobles and great men of the City, and there taken up and much
talk'd of by many, whiles some pried the Sicilians, others envied Marcellus, spread abroad at
length for far, until they came to the Council-Table. And the Consuls were dealt withal, to
propose it unto the Senate, that they might exchange their Provinces one for another. Then Mar-
Surely to heir, defences—AQQ ot the te, of matter, brake yielded of 'f^/ifjvfhenthey •'f/^ifjvfhenthey notfo for their owners, if we were unflable, did and nothing in found, and Confni after. After the Romans, and turning to Annibal, were odiouf and bafeiful unto them, For which cann and nothing else Hieronymus was by the hands of the chieftains of their young gallants, as it were by a publike decree of the flare made away and killed, and the nobleft of their young gentlemen, to the number of feventy, confipled to murder Hippocrates and Epicides who being dif- appointed and put by the effecting of their detignment, through the delay of Marcellus, (who at the time before appointed, came not with his power to Syracus/) were appealed, their inten- ded plot revealed, and they all by those tyrants puro death, And yet to speak a truth, Marcellus himfelf was he that gave the first occafion of the tyrannizing of Hippocrates and Epicides, in that more cruelly he facked and fliled the Leonine. But from that time forward, the Nobles Ef Synaffe never ceased to come in unto Marcellus, & promised to deliver the City into his hands, whenever he pleaded. But he, forsooth, at first, ftood upon those terms, that he would raider force it by aduart but afterwards, feeing he could not effect that his purpofe, notwithftanding he had worked all the devices he could, both by fœ: land; he made choice of one STATES a copper- smith & Meritus Spaniard, to have them to work and confive the betraying of the City, rather than of the principal of the Syracufian Nobility, who had to often offired that service, and never yet would it be accepted & all. It was because he might pretend some colourable cause of justice, to proceed in all rigour against the moft ancient allies of the people of Rome, for to malifice them, and make spoil of all that they had: See cafe that Hieronymus had not reverted and gone to An- nibal, but the whole people and Senat of Syracus: appolle, that the Syracufians in general, by M a publike confent had flung the gates againft Maccellus, & not their Tyrants Hippocrates and Epicides, when they had the Syracufians fure enough under their own hands: Say they had warred againft the people Rome with as lightfull and cankerid malice as the Carthaginians do, and ever did: what greater hotlihity could Marcellus possibly have exercifed againft them more than he bath unlefs he would destroy and rafe the City to the very ground? Surely he bath left nothing in Synca, but the bare walls, the naked and empty houses of the City, the temples and chapells of the gods defaced & broke open, the gods themselves, with all the rich & gorgeous ornamens are carried away. Many a man is fpooled and robbed of his goods, in fuch fort, as having nothing left him but the bare foil: they are not able when all is gone, with his leavings to main- tain themselves, and fatisfy their wives and children. They were humble petitioners therefore, and impliant suiters unto the LL. of the Senate, to take order, that reputation might be made into the rightfull owners, if not of all (for that is impossible) yet of fo much at least, as was to be found, and might be truly owned again.

After thefe and fuch like complaints, Lettus the Conful commanded them to go forth of the Concill-Houfe to the end that the LL. might be confulted with, and deliver their opinions concerning their demands. Nay my (quoth Marcellus) let them (ay till rather, that I may answer to their very faces: feeing my LL.our cafe and condition is fo hard, who are war and fight for you, that we my have those to contend againft us, and be our accusers, whom we have conquered and bribed by martial arms: Let it even be to that two Cities, to wit, Caput and Synca, won this year, may conveit judicially both their conquerors, the one Felicius the other Mar¬cellus. When the Embafiaors were brought back again into the Senat-Houfe, then begin Mar¬cellus the Concil, and flake in this wise.

I am not to far overcon, and forgetfull, my Lords, either of the majesty of the people of Rome, or of this place of command which I now hold, that I would plead mine own cafe. Conful as I am, against the Crecians, my accusers, in cafe the queftion were of any crime or fault of mine own. But all the controversy be difcufed, flandeth not upon thefe terms, to examine what I have done, whom the right of war will juftifie and bear out, howsoever I have proceeded
The six and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

A proceeding against enemies: but what these men have deferred to suffer. If they were not enemies, nor to be reputed, then it mattered not, and it had been all one, either now or in the life time of King Hiero, to have forced Syracuse. But if it appear, that they have revolted, that they have evill treated our Embassadors, threatened to lay violent hands, and to run upon them with word and force of arms, that they have manured their walls, and shut their gates upon us; that they have maintained the army of the Carthaginians against us: who can be grieved and offended, if they have suffered as enemies, who fluck not heart to offer all holliety whatsoever? Rejected the Nobles of Syracuse when they would have delivered the City into my hands? And made I more account of Sopher, and Mercurius the Spaniard, and thought them worthy to be trusted in, in such a matter? Ye are not, I am sure, the meanest of the Sicilians, that thus to reproach others with baseflift of fortune: Who was it of all you here, that permitted to open me the gates of, that undertook to receive my armed soldiers into the City? Nay, nay, ye have and made it in your heart, who have to do, and even in this place cannot forbear to give them hard terms, and revile them: to unlike it is, that you your selves ever meant to have done any such thing. Even this project condition and base calling of theirs, my L.L. which these men twist them with, is a manifest, and a most evident argument, that I refused none, that was willing to do good service into our state and Common-wealth. At the very first, before I laid siege unto Syracuse, I declared by all means to have peace; one while lending Embassadors unto them, other whiles going in person to parle with them. Afterwards, seeing that without all reverence of Embassadors, they shamed not to offer them abuse; without regard of my self, they designed me no answer when I came to the gates, and conferred with their chief Nobility: after much travel, and inpatient times, outstayed both by Land and Sea, at length by mere force and hot allure, I became Master and Lord of Syracuse. Now as touching that which hath befallen unto them, since they were overcome, and lost their City, I would suppose they had more reason, and further cauter to make their mean, and complain unto Embasal and the Carthaginians, those that are likewise conquered than before the Senator of the people of Rome their Conqueror; for mine own sake, my L.L. if I had ever meant to deny and disavow the spoiling and taking of Syracuse, and not to lant it for when I had done, I would never have been till advised, as to beauty and adorn the City of Rome with the polibraries, And what I have given or forgiven unto any particular person, I am assured that I may well Jullify and show the blame, both by the law of war, and also by the detest of every one. Now, my L.L. whether ye will approve and ratify my doings or no, it concerneth and toucheth the Commonwealth rather than to my self: my part I have done, and discharged my duty faithfully. It much importeth now the state, that by revealing (as it were) and disavowing mine actions, ye make not your other Generals from henceforth, to be more slack and backward in the like employment. To conclude my L.L. since ye have heard both my self and the Sicilians speak our minds face to face; we will all together go out of this Temple, that in my absence the Senate may more frankly speak to the point, and deliver their opinions. Thus the Sicilians were dismissed, and he himself went forth also to the Capitol, for to take a levy of soldiery.

The other Consul in the mean time, put to question the demands of the Sicilians before the L.L., Much canvassing a long while, and discourse there was of the matter, and divers opinions passed. Many of the Senators following T. Manlius Torquatus the head and principal man, that maintained a side, were of this mind, that they should have made war against the tyrants the common enemies as well to the Sicilians, as to the State of Rome. And as for the City, it was (say they) rather recovered and received, than won by force: and being to received, it was to be re-established in her own ancient laws and freedom, and not after it was so wearied with miserable servitude, to be cleared and affiected with war upon it. But between the warring of the City, and the Roman General of the other, a most beautiful and noble City, standing in the midst (as a prize and reward for the winner) is undone by the means; even that City which sometime had been the garner (as it were) and the Treasure house of the people of Rome by the munificent liberality and bounty whereof, by whose rich presents and good marriages, our City many a time and oft, and yet at late dates in this Punick war, hath been relieved and admonished. If King Hiero should arise again from the dead and come among us, Hiero (they) the most faithful maintainer of the Roman state, with what face could we shew unto him without Syracusae or Rome? When he should come to one of his own country, half rated and wholly despised; and on the other side, coming to Rome, in the very centre of the state, and at the gate, should behind the spoils of his own City? Notwithstanding these and such the speeches call out among them, to procure ill will and hatred to the Consul, and to move pity and compassion to the Sicilians, yet the L.L. of the Senate in favour of Marcellus, agreed upon a milder decree:

C and eras. That whatever he had done, either during the war, or after the conquest, should be rated and allowed for good: Item, for the time to come, the Senate would take order and provide for the good of the Sicilians, and give the Consul Legum special charges, to have regard of the welfare of that City, so far forth, as might not be prejudicial to the state of Rome. There were two Senators sent into the Capitol to the Consul, to request him to repair again unto the assembly of the Senate; and after the Sicilians also were admitted into the place, their act and decree stood as was openly read. The Embassadors had good words given them, and were dismissed: whereupon they tell down prostrate at the feet of Marcellus the Consul, becometh
him to pardon that which they had spoken, either to bewail, or to censure their calamity; and Core Hecate both them in particular, and the City of Syracuse in general, unto his merciful protection. After this, the Comitium with gracious words licenced them to depart.

When the Sicilians had their dispatch, the Campans had audience given them in the Senate; and as their speech was more lamentable, so the caustic was heavier, and harder to be digested; for neither could they themselves deny, but that they deserved condict punishement: nor Tyrants had they any, upon whom they might lay the blame. But they thought they had suffered enough for their foes already, in that so many of their Senators died by poison, and so many left their heads.

Some few of their nobility and but a few remaining yet alive, who as they were not touched in confidence, nor so fatal, as to lay violent hands upon themselves, to the Conqueror in his furious wrath, as judged them not worthy of death; they therefore made humble suit for themselves, their wives and children, to obtain freedom, and to enjoy some part of their own goods, being as they were, mere citizens of Rome, and most of them by affinity and near kindred, upon mutual and eternal marriages, linked in alliance and blood to the Romans. After that they also were willing to void out of the Senat house; for a while, there grew some question and doubt, whether Q. Fulvius should be sent for from Capua (for presently upon the taking of the City, Claudius the Comital died) that this matter might be argued and discussed in the presence of the General himself, like as the other had been reasoned of and debated between Marcellus and the Sicilians. But afterwards when they saw in the Senate house M. Attilius, and C. Fulvius, the brother of Fulvius; both his Lieutenants: likewise Q. Minucius, and L. Verres Philus, Lieutenants unto Claudius, who had been prefect in all actions, and were eye-witnesses of every thing; and besides, were unwilling that either Fulvius should be called away from Capua, or the Campans longer delayed: M. Attilius Regulus, who of all them that had been at the service of capua, was of greatest authority and reputation, being demanded his opinion, spake in this wise.

"I take it (quoth he) when Capua was newly won, I was one of Council with the Comituls there, when question was asked, and enquiry made. Whether any one Comitius had derogated well of us and our Common-well. And found it was, that two women only, viz. Popa Oppia, born in Atella, but dwelling then at Capua, and Flaccus Clavius, sometime a common trumpeter and curator, were well willers unto us. The former of these twain daily sacrificed for the welfare, life, and victory of the Romans; the other, secretly sustained the poor and needy Roman captives with food and victuals. As for all other Campans, from the highest to the lowest, they were no better affected unto us, than the Carthaginians. And even thence, who were beheld by Quintus Fulvius, suffered death, not because they were more faulty than others, but for that they were of greater mark and calling than the rest. Now, that the Senate should decide the caustic of any Campans, who are enfranchised denizens of Rome, without a grant from the people, I see not how it can be. For in our fore-fathers time the like case was of the Satrians that rebelled: and then M. Attilius, a Tribun of the Commons, first put up a bill, and the Commons afterwards passed it, namely, That the Senate might have power and authority, to give their opinion, and determine of the Satrians. Therefore I am of mind, that we deal with the Tribunes of the Commons, that one or more of them, prefer a bill unto the Commons, by virtue whereof we may be authorized to let down some order for the Campans. Then L. Attilius, a Tribun of the Commons, by leave and advice of the Senate, proposed unto the Commons a bill in this form and manner. Whereas the Campans, Atellans, Calatins, and Sabellans, who have yielded themselves unto Fulvius the Pro-confual, to be at the pleasure and devotion of the people of Rome: all that also which they have surrendered, together with themselves, as well their territory as their City, as all menots both faced and prophaned, their necessary implements, and all other things whatsoever, I demand your will and pleasure, O Quiairs, what shall be done with the premises? The Commons after deliberation, gave their voices to the said bill in this form. Our will and pleasure is, that whatsoever the Senators, who now are set in Council, or the most part of you think, good and determinate, shall stand for just and lawful. Upon this grant or Act of the Commons, the Senate by a decree awarded unto Oppia N. and Clavia, half their own goods and liberty: and moreover if they were defirous to crave further reward at the Senate hand, they were bid to repair unto Rome. For every family and several house of the Campans, there were special acts and decrees made, all which to repeat and rehearse, would not quit the labour. Some had their goods confiscate: themselves, their Children and Wives were to be sold, excepting those their Children which were wedded, before that they came under the subjection of the people of Rome. Others were to be clapt up in Prison, until farther order were taken for them hereafter. Moreover, of some Campans they made distillation by valuation of their wealth, whether their goods were to be confiscate or no. All their beasts and cattle which were taken, save Horses; all their bond-slaves, but males fourteen years of age and upward, all moveable goods also which were not annexed or failed to the foil, they awarded for to be retorted to the true owners. All Campans, Atellans, Calatins, Sabellans, excepting those, who either themselves, or whole parents took part and sided with the enemies, they judged to be free: provided always, that none of them were either Free-denizens of Rome, or of Latium. Item, it was enacted, that none of all them who had been at Capua whiles the gates were shut, should remain either in the City or territory of Capua, within a certain day prefixed: but should have a place set out unto them for to dwell in, on the further side of Tiberius, so it were not upon the very bank close unto Tyber.
Tybr. As for those that during the time of war had been neither at Caput nor in any other City of Campan, which revolted from the people of Rome, they should be removed to inhabit on this side the River Lyric between it and Rome: but such as were burned and palled to the Romans side, before that Annual came unto Caput, they should be transplanted on the hither side of Vetus the River: provided, that none of them should possess either house or Land within fifteen miles of the Sea. As concerning them who were displaced and confined to inhabit beyond the Tybr, neither they nor their heirs and successors for ever, should purchase and hold house or Land in any place, but in the territory either of Vetis, Sutrium, or Nepetium: but so, as they exceeded not the limit of five hundred Acres of ground. As touching the goods and chattels of all the Senators, of such as had been Magistrates in Caputa, Asella, or Calatia, they were awarded that sale should be made thereof in Caputa. As for those that were free born, and whole bodies were to be told, they should be sent to Rome, and there set a-sale. Finally, the Images and Statues of bulls, which were said to have been won and taken from the enemies, whether they were sacred or profane, they referred to the Colledge of the Prellis and Prelates, to determine thereof at their discretion. Thus the gave the Campanes their dispatch, and fent them away much worse spared for these theacres, than they were when they came first to Rome. And now they complained no more of the cruel proceedings of Q. Fulvius against them, but blamed the iniquity and unjust dealing of the very Gods, and their own cursed fortune together.

After the Sicilians and Campanes were dismiffed, there was a mutter taken: and when an army was levied and enrolled, there began some question and reasoning about the mariners and Gaffles to furnish the Gallies. For the accomplishment whereof, when the Consilis could neither raise men now, nor yet find mony at that time in the Chamber of the City, for to prefile and hire them, and pay their wages withal: they published an edif, that private men according to the rate and proportion in the Subsidy book, out of all orders, degrees, and companies, should at a certain time find Rowers at their own charges, and maintain them with meat and money for thirty days. Upon which edif and Proclamation, all men to grumble and muttered, and were so highly discontented and angered, that they wanted an head and Captain, rather than matter and occasion of a mutiny and insurrection: giving out, That the Consilis had taken a course, and were in the very train to plague, undo, and destroy the Commons of Rome, like as they had already the Sicilians and the Campanes. For thus many years they have been pilled, polled, clean spent and confum'd with exaction of tribute; and had nothing left them but the bare ground, and the same lying waste and untill'd. As for their Houses upon their Lands, the enemie had burn'd: their servants and bounds, such as should husband and till their grounds, the Common-wealth had bereaved them of: one whiles buying them up to the war, for some small piece of mony: other whiles levying and profling them to the Seas to be Gally-slaves, for a thing of nothing. A man could not to soon get one bras farthing, or single silver denier before-hand, but it went by and by either for Gally-pay, or for yearly Tribute. And to give that now which they had not, they might never be brought by any force or for any mans commandament whatsoever. Let them fell and make an hand of their goods, impiion and punish their bodies too, when all is gone besides; seeing there is nothing left them to ransom and redeem the same.

Again. Those and such like words were not only mutter'd in huggermugger, but uttered also and given out in broad terms even in the market place and before the Consilis, by the multitude that flock'd and gathered together in exceeding great numbers: in such sort, as the Consilis were not able with all that ever they could do, to appease the mutiny, neither by sharp rebukes, nor fair words and comfortable speeches. Then they said, that they would give and allow them three days reft for to think and consider of these matters: which they themselves bestowed wholly and employed in taking a view and survey of their goods, and making dispatch and rendezvous thereof out of the way. The next day the Consilis called the Senate together to confult about the supply of Rowers and Gally-slaves: where, after much debating and arguing, that the Commons had good reason to make demand; at length the drift of all their speech was this, That whether it were right or wrong, the burden must lie on privit mens shoulders, there was no remedy but for seeing there was no mony in the common chest, how should Mariners and Rowers else be gotten and levied? And without Armmdoses, how possibly should either Sicily be held still in possession, or Philip be kept out of Italy? or the seas coasts of Italy remain in safety and security? In these diversities and difficulties the Council being perplexed, and to seek for remedies, and whiles every mans wits was in the way collated, as if they were bemused and flown cold: Then Lætus the Consil, As the Magistrate (as he) goeth before the Senate in place of honor, and the Senate likewise before the common weight of burdens and dignity, so they sought in all difficulties and hard occurrences to undergo the weightiest burdens first, and be the Foremen and Leaders in all dangerous adventures whatsoever. For if a man would enjoy his

The Speech of Lætus the Consil.
The sixth and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

1. The fix, that be Senators, bring abroad in common all the gold, all the silver, all the dracan coin that we have, so as every man referreings only for himself, his wife and children: and a little tablet or jewel for his son, as a pendant to hang about his neck. Also let all them that have wives or daughters, retain still one ounce weight of gold, and one pound of silver: and as many as have been born of State, and eaten in the Ivory Chair, keep still the trappings and capitation of their Horse; and two pound weight a piece, the one of gold, the other of silver; for to have a Salt-sellar, and a little boll or cup, to sacrifice and offer unto the Gods withall. As for the rest of the Senators, let us leave them but one pound weight of silver, and no gold at all, and five thousand * fine in coin, to every householder a piece. * All other gold, silver, and dracan money being, let us forthwith bring abroad and present unto the Triumvirs or publick bankers, before that we make or enact any decree of Seisat: to the end, that our good example in this voluntary benevolence and contribution, and our earnest endeavour to help the Common-well, may stir up and provoke the hearts and affections, first of those that are by calling Gentlemen and Knights of Rome, and then forward the rest of the commons, to imitate and follow us with some emulation. This is the only means which we that are Conuls have thought upon and devised, after much talk and conference together. Set to therefore, my masters, in the name of God, and lead the way: God will bless your good beginnings. So long as the City standeth on foot, and holdeth up the head, no man need to fear his private face; but it shall do well enough. Go the publick to wreak once, and decay, let no man ever think to save his own. All the whole house liked so well of their motions, that not only they gave their accord and consent thereto, but over and beside, yielded hearty thanks unto the Conuls for their good advice and counsel. When the Senat was dismissed, every man for himself brought forth his gold, his silver, and dracan money, and laid all together in common: and that with such speed, that several who could go before another, and have his name entered first in the publick Rolles and Registers: as neither the foresaid Triumvirs were able to receive it fast enough, as it was tendered unto them: nor the ordinary Clerks and Notaries to let it down in writing, and take note thereof accordingly. This consent and agreement of the Senators, the Knights and Gentlemen of Rome in their place and calling seconced; and the commons for their parts were not behind. So without any constraint of law, without edict, without any exhorstion made by the Magistrate, the common-weal wanted neither Rowers for to furnish the armades, nor money to pay the Rowers. And thus when all things were provided necessary for the wars, the Conuls went forth to their several Provinces.

Never was there any time of this war, wherein Carthaginians and Romans together, had more tryal of the alternative and variable change of fortune: never hang they more in equal balance, between fair hope and terrible danger. The Romans, in their Provinces salted both of sweet and sour. In Spain on the one side, they sped ill and loft: in Sicily on the other side, they sped well and won: so as their sorrow was interlaced still and mingled with joy. Also in Italy, the battle of Tarentum turned to their woe and damage: but the keeping of the Calle there with the garrison, beyond all their hope and expectation, brought them joy and comfort for their sorrow. Also, their fudain fright and fear, for the siege and downfall of the City of Rome, was talved and eured again within a few days after, by the forcing and winning of Capua: and all that had been, was mingled and mingled into mirth and gladness. The affairs also beyond Sea, were check'd with interchangeable turns and courtesies. Philip became their enemy in an ill time, and when they had little need thereof. Contrary-wise, the Attolians and Attolus the King of Africa the less, proved to be their new friends and loving allies: whereby even fortune, seemed to smile on the Romans, and by that overture, promised as it were, unto them the Empire of the East. Sembly the Carthaginians, as they lost Capua, so they won Tarentum, and made a saving game of it. In like manner, as they took no small pride and glory, in coming to the walls of Rome without resistance; so they were danted and disinmnd again, that this their enterprize took no better effect in the end: and held themselves much disgraced and dishonoured, that whilsts they fated themselves before one gate of Rome, there was an army of Romans led forth at another, and sent into Spain. And even in Spain also, the greater hope men had there, that upon the death of two so noble and valiant Generals, and the defeat of two so puissant armies, the war was come to a final end, and the Romans driven from thence for ever: the more fright it was, and the greater grief and vexation they conceived again, when by the valour of L. Martius a tumultuary Captain, chosen in hal the knew not how, their former victors turned to vanities, and came to nought nothing. Thus fortune was indifferent, and all things doubtful and wavering in suspenso, both on the one side and the other. Their hope all one as it was at first: their fear, the same still, neither more nor less: So as between hope and fear, they fasted, as if the war at this time were new to begin. Annual above all other things, was vexed to the heart, that Capua being more hotly and eagerly assaulted by the Romans, than manfully and faithfully defended by him, had diverted and turned away the hearts of many States of Italy from him. For neither was he able to hold them all with sufficient garrisons, unless he would dismember into many small portions, and mingle by piece-meal his army; which to do then, was no good policy: nor be it thought it late and good, to withdraw his garrisons from thence, & leave the indelity of his allies at liberty, either to depend upon fickle hope, or to sway with fudain fear. And as he was by nature covetous and cruel,
Aly minded) he resolved at length upon this course, to make spoil of those Cities which he was not able to keep, and to leave them wast and empty for the enemy. This disposition was not so dishonorable and shameful in the first enterprise, but it proved as bad and mortally to himself in the effect and conclusion. For he left the hearts clean, not only of those that were the parties grieved, and suffered these indignities, but also of all others besides. The present calamity and loss touched but some few: but the precedent and example reached to many more. Neither was the Roman Coun his behind hand for his part, to follicuce and found those Cities, from whence he left none light appear, and any hope to gain them upon him.

There were in Salapia two noble men above the rest, Dafins and Blabis. Dafins was friend to Amabilis Blabis (as far as he might with safety) effectually and favoured the Romans. And by enter-

of the people a good way, Blabis went in hand again with Dafins, and solicited him to deliver the City to the Romans. With that, Dafins (as if the matter had been too apparent) tried out and laid, that he ballots not to break upon him and move him, even in the presence and light of Amabilis, for to pacify and betray the City. Amabilis and all they that were there present, gave little credit unto Dafins: and the more audacious the thing it self was, the less likely it was, the less likely it was, the less likely hood it carried with it of a trust. Every man supposed verily, it was nothing but emulation, envy, and enfeated malice, that caused Dafins to charge upon him that crime, which because there was no witness to the contrary, he might untruly devise and more freely enforce against him. And so for that time, they were both discharged the court. But Blabis never gave over to follow still this bold enterprize, but best still upon this one point, the seeing how good and commodious the thing would be, both to themselves in private, and to their country in common, until he had wrought him to, and won him to grant, that the Carthaginian garrison, (and those were Numidians) together with the City Salapia, should be rendred unto Marcellus. But without much bloodshed they could not possibly be thus betrayed and delivered: for they were the most hardy and valiant bottlemen by far, of all the Carthaginian army. Wherefore, albeit they were taken on a sudden unprovided, and had no use of Horaces within the City, yet with such weapons, as in such a sudden tumult and uprore they could catch and come by, first they delayed and gave the venture to break through and escape away: and when they knew that they could by no means save themselves and get forth, they bought it out to the last manfully, even unto death: so as there were not of them above fifty left alive, and came into the hands of the enemies. And surely, the loss of this corner of Horlaen, was a greater dammage unto Amabilis, than the forgoing of Salapia: for never from that day forward, had Amabilis the upper hand in cavalry, which was the only service whereby ever before he was prevailed for.

Much about the same time the Castle of Tarentum was fiercely distress'd for want of victuals, and hardly could endure and hold out any longer. The only hope that the Roman garrison had, which lay there, and the Captain thereof M. Livius the Contiale of the Castle, was in the provision lent out of Sicily. For the safe convey whereof, along the coast of Italy, there ride at anchor a fleet wellmen of twenty sail before Rhetium. The Admiral of this fleet appointed to wait there vio's from time to time, was one Decius Quinatus, a man of obscure birth and base parentage, bowdew, for many worthy acts and feats of arms, much renowned in martial glory.

At the first he had the charge but of five ships, whereof two of the greatest, which were three banked Gallies, were allowed him by Marcellus: afterward, upon his good service, when he had born him till bravely in many conflicts, he had three more comminuted unto him, and those were of five banks of oars, until at last himself, by calling upon the confederate Cities, as Rhégium, VeLED, and Pallaen, for the ships due by covenant unto the people of Rome, he had made a prty Armado, as is above laid, of twenty sail. As this fleet had disanchored and was gone from Régium, Democrats with the like Armado for number of Tarentum ships, encountered almost five leagues from the City of Tarentum, at a port called Sacrario. It formed at that time, that the Roman Admiral, little looking for any battle, came forth under sail only, but about Cerone and Sibari, he had furnished his ships with Rowers also, and to his fleet for the bigness and calmer of the Veils, was well appointed, and sufficiently armed and manned. And even then it happened at one time, that with the bottommost wind lay, and the enemies also were within heaving, so as they had scarce time enough to fit each sacking, to make reay their Rowers, and to get in order their fighting men against a skirmish that was to meet toward. There was not lightly seen a greater to fight, fought more hotly and fiercely between two so valiant Armados that afforded one another, than between those small fleets. For why, the battle was for a greater matter, than all
their ships came to. The Tarentins maintained the fight more eagerly, because they were desirous to recover their Cattle out of the Romans hands, as they had done their City, after one 100 years almost, during which time, they had been out of the possession thereof: hoping thereby, if they could be masters of the Sea once by some fortunate and victorious battle, to cut off and intercept all hope of virtuals from the enemies. The Romans on the other side beheld themselves as sufficiently and by keeping the possession of the Cattle, all the world might see, that Tarentum was not lost by force, clean strength and valour, but betrayed by flesh and treachery. So they joined the battle from both parts, and ran affront one another, with the beaks and flams of their prowes, and neither side bowing amin forward, nor suffered their enemy to part or go side from them, until they cloed and grapled their ships together, by the means of iron hooks like bands, and to neer they buckled, in hot and furious fight, that not only they discharged short alcoone against another, but also they coped together (as it were) hoot to hoot, at band strokes with fword fight. Their prowes and fore-ships fluck grapled together, while the poops and hind-decks were driven about with contrary oars of the adverse part. So neer and so thick withal did the ships and within to narrow a room, that scarce one dart light into the water in vain, and did no harm. With their beak-heads they staid one another, as it had been on land fight, and so close they were, that the soldiers might pace out of one ship into another, as they fought. Howbeit, two ships there were above all the rest, that maintained a notable fight, and in the vanguard and forestem of the battle, invloled one another most furiously. In that of the Romans was Quintus himself in person, and in that of the Tarentins, was one: Nicus, remarried Perso, a man not only out ofius into the Romans, for the publick quarrel between both states, but also maliciously bent, upon a private theft K and rancour, as drinking with that faction, which had betrayed Tarentum to Amathus. This Nicus elboing Quintus both neeting and also encouraging his men withal, charged them unsawares, and ran him quite through with a partian, who was not so soon fall forward headlong upon the fore-deck, armour and all bat the Tarentin following the train of his victory, and seeing the ship divided and troubled for the loss of their leader, hamently came forward, and boorded her, laid about him manfully, and put by the enemies out of his way, until the Tarentins were masters of the prow and fore-cattle. While the Romans had much ado (so they troubled they were and thrust together disorderly) to defend and keep the poop and hind deck; with that, another gally of the enemies appeared on a sudden, and charged the hind part, so the Roman ship in the midst between both, was boorded on every side, and taken. Whereupon all the rest were greatly terrified, seeing the Admiral-ship was won by the enemy: and they fled on all hands. Some were sunk in the deep Sea, some made hails with their oars, and deserted to the land, but none were a prize and prey to the Thurins and Muramonins. But of the Hulls and Caricks, which were fraught with victual, and followed after, very few there were that fell into the hands of the enemies the rett shifting and turning their tails cros, this ways and that ways, according to the inconstancy of the wind, recovered the main Sea. 

But about Tarentum at the same time, their fortune was nothing so good. For whereas there went out of the Town upon a four thousand men a foraging, for to purvey corn, Livius, Contable of the Cattle and Captain of the garrison, lyng his time (as he waited ever for all opportunities) made out of the said Cattle 2000 armed loudiers, under the leading of C. Perius a valourous and indomitable man, who let upon the Tarentins stragling out of order, and disperset in wandering wife over the fields; and after he had followed a long time the execution, killing them here and there as he encountered them; the rest, which were but few left of so many, he chased to the Town: for they made hails in great fear thisibe, and were let in at the gates standing half flout, for fear left at the same random the Town should have been lost. So the Tarentins and Romans, whom they had made the reckoning, put up all on even hand. For the Romans were winners by land, the Tarentins at sea: and both of them disappointed alike of their hope of corn, which was pretended to their eyes but they never tasted thereon.

At the same time Laevinus the Conful, after a good part of the year was gone about, arrived in Sicily, greatly expected and looked for, as well by the old allies as the new; and the half thing of all other and most important, he suppoed, was together with this new peace, to fellte and compose the State of Symna, to much dorgered and out of frame. After that, he led his legions to Agrigentum, where only there remained the relics of war; which City was kept by a strong garrison of Carthaginians. There fortune favoured his other designis, Hanno changed to be the General over the Carthaginians, but he wholly relied and reposed all his hope in Mutilius and the Numidians. This Mutilius had raged all over Sicily at pleasure, and raft bootees out of the territories and Lands of the Florulians, and by no force or policy could he be intercepted of his passage back to Agrigentum, nor yet be pinned within the City, but that he would illt forth whenever he liked. This glory of his, because now it checked (as it were) the fame an honour of the General, turned the man strength to dilapidus and danger. So as what good service ever was achieved, it was never well taken by Hanno, nor joyously accepted, in regard of the person, who was a prick always in his eye. Whereupon in the end he gave away the Captainship of Mutilius from himself, and beftowed it upon his son: thinking, that together with his government and command, he should lose all his authority and repuration also among the Numidians. But it fell out otherwise. For the more that he was in disgrace and disfavour with Hanno, the greater grew the old favour and love of the Numidians toward him. Neither
A. Neither could he himselil endure any longer the unworthy wrong and indignity offered unto him: and therefore in revenge he presently dispatched certain secret messenger unto Leptis, with credeiit, that he would betray and deliver Agrigentum into his bands. By the mediation of these couriers, there past sufficient security and assurance between them: and the matter being concluded, the manner also of contriving the plot, was agreed upon. Whereas therefore the Numidians were professed, and had the guard of that garrilion toward the sea: after they had driven out the old warders from thence, or killed them, they let in the Romans at the same gate into the City, who were sent of purpose, according to the former agreement. And when they marched up into the midst of the City, even to the market place, with banner displayed, and with great sound and noise: Hamma supposing it was nothing else, but a sedition applying of the Numidians (like as they had done sometimes before,) came forth so as to appease and stay a rumour and commotion. But discovering a greater multitude afar off than the Numidians were and hearing withal that the Romans to thout, with the manner whereof his ears had been well acquainted before time, he took him to his heels ere he came within the dart-shot. And being let out at a back postern gate, asking with him Epictetus, he recovered with some few other the Seaside, where, a good way past, they light upon a small rack or pincers: and leaving Sicily to the enemies, for which there had been much strife to many years together, they passed over into Africk. The multitude besides both of Carthaginians and Sicilians, without any skirmish either begun or intended, fled like blind men they will not whither: and finding no ways made up, and no passage forth, they were miserably slain and beaten pieces about the gates. Leptos being professed of the Town, called all the chief men and rulers of the City, to be beaten with rods, and to lose their heads: all the rest together with the pilage he held in port-side, and the money that was maltreated in it, he sent to Rome. Where the news of this misfortune of the Agrigentins was blown over Sicily: all at once returned Roman and Asinbal fort all. For in short space there were 20 Towns betrayed and yielded, six forced by captious, and to the number of 40 voluntarily surrendered to the devotion and protection of the Romans. The principal noble men of which States, after that the Consuls had either rewarded or punished according to their several merits, and compelled the Sicilians generally to lay by arms and weapons, and to take them eloses to the plough, for to ear, till, and low their grounds; to the end that the land might bring forth fruit, not only to subsist and maintain the natural inhabitants thereof, but also to tale the price of corn and victuals in the City of Rome, and throughout all Italy, like as it had done many times before: he transmitted over with him into Italy a rabble and damned crew of unruly people from Agrigentum. Some four thousand there were of them, a confounded multitude of all sorts, a very much math and mark, doting of vile and wretched persons, most of them Outlaws, Bankrupts, and notorious malefactors, in danger of death by the laws of their Cities where they lived. And being fled their countries, some for one cause, some for another, they chance all upon like fortune to resort themselves (as commonly birds of a feather will flock together,) and at Agrigentum, they made choise like outlaws, to live by robbing and poaching: and this was then only proselation and trade. Leptos thought it no good policy to leave behind him these fellows in an island, which began but now upon new peace to kind and unite again; for fear lest they would mutiny, matter of innovation and change; and besides, there was some good use of them among the Kephys, for to forage and rove about the triestian country: for such they found in need of, and had laid for a company which were acquainted with the reviving and healing. And to this year made an end of the war in Sicily.

P. Scipio I. Deputy and General in Spain, having in the prime and beginning of Spring put his ships to Sea and set them adriu, and by an edict illuminated all the sides of the allies to repair to the Reklesestam at Terracina, gave order and commandment, that as well the ships of war as of charge and burden, should from thence set forward, and shew themselves at the mouth of the River Tiber. And after he had given direction and charge, that the legions from out of their winter barracks, should there meet together, himself accompanied with five thousand of his allies put himself on his journey to his main army. Being thinner come, he thought it good to make some speech to the old soldiers especially, as many as remained alive after to great defeats and overthrowers, and when he had assembled them all together to an audience, in this wife he take up unto them. "Never was there new General before me, that could by good right, and in regard of desert, render thanks unto his soldiers before he had employed them, and made them fresh of their good service. But as for me, before I ever came within sight of this Province, before I entered my government and saw the camp, fortune had obliged me, and made me beholden unto you. First, for your kindness and zealous affection to my father and to mine uncle, both while they lived, and when they were dead. Secondly in that when the possession of this Province was lost; after to great foils and overthrowers, ye have of your valiance and valor recovered the same again, and kept it close to the midst of the people of Rome, and my self, the next successor in place of sovereign rule and command. But I must now set up a purpose and present resolution, by the leave, favour, and power of the Gods, not to much to hold the possession our allies and armed in Spain: but to follow the last business, that they may have no bearing nor trade at all there: and since the thing that we go about, is not to land keeping the bank of Herul, for to stop the passage of the enemy; but to give the utmost attempt to pillage our selves by force yea, and there unto to transport the war over with
us into his own country, and to come home unto him. I fear me greatly, left this will seem
unto some of you a greater detraction, and more andsacrous enterprise of mine, than may ei-
thc late and not with the fresh remembrance of those late defeats, or, fland well with my young
and uncircum cision. The foils and unfortunate lost branch in Spain, can be of no man in the
World forgotten later than of my self, worse father, worse uncle, were within the space of
so days there flain, to the end that sorrow upon sorrow, funeral upon funeral, one mouful
death after another, should unfortunately be heaped upon our house and family. But as this de-
sole fate and defeat almost of all my house and name (wherein I only, in manner, am left alive
of my race) woundeth my heart and makes it bleed, as often as I think of it: to the publick fort-
tune and virtue of the Common-wealth, reviveth my spirit again, and will not suffer me to de-
pair totally of this State: considering the destiny and Providence of the Gods, I
whereby it is a thing giveth unto us, and our luck hath ever been, that howsoever we have recei-
ved overthrows in all great wars and dangerous battaies, yet in the end, we have gone away
with the victorie. I omit to speak of old examples, of Forcina the Gauls, and Surnites: and
I will begin at the Punic wars. How many armadde, and fleets, how many brave Captains,
how many valiant and puflibant armies were there lost, and misfortuned, during the former? And
what should I say of this in our days? In all the defeats and overthrowes, I was either present
my left in person; or if I were not in any of them, yet I am, I was. I he that felt the smart of
them, more than any man else whatsoever. The River Trebia, the mere Thrasiumen, the Town
Caucar, what are they else, but the very sepulchres and tombs of the Roman armies there shewn
in pieces, and of their Conuls flain. And there too, the general revolt of Italy, the rebellion of
Sicily, the falling away of the greater part of Saradina. Moreover and besides, this last straight
and terror; namely, the Carthaginians camp pitched between Asia and the walls of Rome, and
Annibal been well neer, as conqueror at the very gates of our City. In these to great ruines and
adventures of our state, yet the Venice alone and undeprifion of the people of Rome, whose
providence, upright, sound, and immovable: yes, and hath raised up again and set on foot, all that lay
along on the ground. You only, my valorous fouldiers, were the first that: after the discomfiture
of Caucar, under the leading and good fortune of my father, without Abluutal in his journey and
expedition toward the Alps, purposing to go down into Italy; who in he had joyed with his
brother Annibal, certainly by this day, there had remained no memory of the Roman name.
And in very truth, these affairs falling out to prosperously, made amends and recom pense for all
the former losses. But now through the goodnes of the Gods, all things prosper and go well
forward: and the affairs of Italy and Sicily both, mendidly, and are every day better than
before. In Sicily, Syracus and Agrigentum are won and wholly ours: the enemies be driven
eut of all the land, and the state is reduced into the form of a Province, subject to the people of
Rome, and under their obedience. In Italy, the Town of Apul is recovered by surrender, the
City of Capua is forced by siuitat. Annibal himself, having measured all the way, (but in fear-
ful late and in manner of a fight) as long as it is from Rome to the Bruttian country (in high
Calabria,) is there driven up into the fasthelt angle and corner thereof, nothing much es wishing
and praying for at Gods hands now, than to be able to retire and get away late out of his ene-
 mies land. What thing then were relief beneficing, my hardy fouldiers, than this. It you who
have subdued and upheld the decaying and down-falling estate of the Roman Empire in this
Province, you (I thm) together with my two parents (who man for the reveronce that I owe to
them, give me leave to make equal, and to honour with that name:) at what time as calamities
and losses, hapned suddenly one in the neck of another, and the Gods themselves seemd to make
part and start with Annibal; should now let fll your currencies, and be fain-hearted, because in
these Provinces storenid, all things go well to our hearts desire and great contentment. As for
the late misfortunes and adversities, which have hapned here, would to God they had passed over
without sorrow, as well of my part, as yours. But for the present, the immortal Gods, Prote-
CTors and Governors of the Roman Empire, who inspired into the minds and hearts of all the
Centuries, to wish and chuse me to this place of sovereign honor, even the fame Gods by augu-
nties and auspices, by all tokens of the birds either by flight or flight, yes, and by visions also in the
night vision, do portend, signify and promise unto me, all good speed and happy success: yes
and mine own mind gives me, (when ever hitherto, hath been to me the true prophec, and
never deceived me,) that all Spain is ours and within short time the whole Punic campaign
nation, being expelled and driven out from hence, shall fall all Seas and Lands with their shame-
full and dishonorable flight. That which my spirit and soul of it self pretight, the same doth re-
tion also conclude by most certain and intollerable demonstration. The allies and subjects here of
the Carthaginians, oppreseed and wronged by them, have humbly by their Embassadors crave
out and succour. The Captains General of their forces, being at difference and odds all three
among themselves, intomuch as they had like to have departed and revolted one from the other.
O
have distracted and dismembered their forces into three parts, and belowed them in three sever-
all countries, molt removed and distant atuand. And no doubt, the like for worse is ready to fall
upon their heads, which lately was our undoing and overthrow, upon the same occasion. For
ven as we were before were taken of the Celtiberians, for are they now abandoned of their allies.
Besides, they parted and divided their armies atuand: which was the only cause that brought
the utter ruin and destruction upon my father and uncle. And be ye sure, that their intestine
A "discord and disunion, will never suffer them to join friendly and unite again in one. And thus
"angled as they are, they cannot possibly withstand our valour. Now my soldiers, for your
"part, do but favour the name of the Scipios: do but affect and love me, the faire and off-spring of
"your noble Generals, budding forth again (as it were) out of the old stock, cut down to the root.
"Go to, old soldiers, and redoubled severors, with bon-courage let over the River Iberna a new
"army and a new Captains pass over with them those Lands, which ye have often conquered,
"and wherein ye have achieved many valiant and memorable acts. And for my part, I will do
"endeavour and effect, that as ye now agnize me, the reten-blance of my fathers and uncles
"vitage and countenance, the fame feature, proportion, and lineaments of the body: so I will shew
"and represent unto you, the true pattern and portraiture of their spirit, wit, falsehoods, and ver-

B atue, even as the express and lively image taken and drawn from their own selves: in inch fort, as
"every man may lay, That Captain Scipio is either riven from the dead, or new born again. Hav-
"ing by this Order, incensed and inflamed the courage of his soldiers, and left Sullus with a
"guard of three thousand horse, and three hundred Horse, for the defence of that coast: he transpor-
"ted over the River Iberna, all the rest of his forces, amounting to the number of five and twenty
"thousand foot, and 23 hundred Horsemen. There he was advised by some about him, seeing the
"Punic armes were departed into three countries to free remote and dissile auster, to let upon
"and assail that which was next: but he doubting and fearing left by that means he should fall
"together, and knowing that he was not able alone to match and make his part good to do
"many boats as once, determin'd in the mean while, to be doing with new Carthage, and to believe
"and assail it. This City, as it was rich and wealthy in it self, to it was full of all the enemies furni-
"ture and provision for war. There was their ammure kept, there was their money laid up, there re-
"main'd the holigays of all Spain. Besides, as it was feared commonly, not to cross over from thence
"into Sifricie to it stood upon a convenient and large haven, able to receive and harbour the greatest
"navy at Sea, and the only haven (if I do not deceived) of all that coast and tract of Spain, which
"boundeth next upon our Sea. But no man was made privy to his determination, or knew whither
"they should take their journey, save only Lelius. He being tent about with the armado, had di-
"rection to temporize and guide his course by fail and oar, as at one and the self same instant, both
"Scipio might present his land forces in the view of Carthage, and the fleet enter the haven. So
"they departed from Iberna, and within seven days came before the City of Carthage, both by Sea
"and Land. His camp he pitched on the north-side of the City: which he entrenched and fortifed
"on that outward back part, that stood fast from the City: as for the forefront, it was by natural
"situation of the ground, defended surely enough. For the site of Carthage is in this fort. There is
"a gulf or creek of the Sea, in the middle coast and river well near of Spain, opposite coast to the
"South-west wind, running & retiring in length within the Land half a mile, but lying out in breadth
"somewhat more. In the very mouth of this creek, there is a little Iland from the open Sea; which
"favelh, isleterth, and defendeth the haven from all other winds, but only the Southwet. From the
"inmost nook of this bay, thither breaeth out a promontory like a demy iand, which is the very Hill or
"Cape whereupon the City is built. The same on the East side and the South is compassed with the
"Sea: from the West, it is enclosed with a lake or standing meer, which also precedeth to new what
"E toward the North, of an uncertain depth; which altereth according to the tide, and as the Sea ei-
"ther ebbeth or floweth. Now, there is an elbe or bank of firm ground, somewhat less than a quar-
"ter of a mile over, that joyneth the City with the main or continent. To that side (notwithstanding
"it had been no great piece of work there to fortifie) the Roman Generel calt no trench, nor
"raised any rampier: either upon a brave and bauy mind, to slew the enemy how confidently he
"trusted in his owne strength; or because, whenever he advanced to the walls of the City (as
"oftentimes he took occasion to do) he might have open recoure and regrets against into the camp.
"But when the utter side, which required fortifications, was finished, he let the ships in order within-
"in the haven, making a shew, as if he would beleive them also on the water side. And when he had
"gone through all his armado, and given the Captains of the ships in charge, to look well to their
"F caraffo and watches in the night (for that commonly enemies at their first beleiging, make what
"attempts and adventures they can in every place) he returned into his camp. And because he
"would not only yield his soldiers good reacon of this his disignement, in that he began war first
"and principally with the beleiging of that City: but also encourage them, and put them in good
"hope of the winning and conquest thereof, he assembled them together, and discoursed before
"them in this manner,

"My valiant soldiers and truely friends, If any man here thinketh, that ye are brought hither
"to affail a City only, and there an end: be therfore maketh reckonng of your present pain and
"travel, than call eth the profitt and commodity thereof ensuing. For ye shall in very truth give
"the assault to the walls but of one City: but in that one City ye shall be masters and conquer-

ors of all Spain. Here lie the holigays of all their Nobles, their Princes, and States. And no
"fooner shall ye be Lords of them, and have them in your rule and custody, but presently, all that
"now is under the handes of the Carthaginians in Spain, will be surrendered unto you, and at
"your devotion. Here is all the money that the enemies have: without which like as they are not
"able to maintain war, (as who wage and entertain all their armies for paie) so it will mightly
"lead us (if we light upon it) in gaining the hearts of the barbarous people. There are their engines
"and stilly, here is their armour, here is their tackling and provision for their navy, and all

other
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other munition and furniture for war: wherewith we shall both furnish our selves, and disfurnish the enemy. Gain we shall over and besides, not only right fair and beautiful, but also a most rich and wealthy City: yes, and more than that, of right great importance and consequence, in regard of a goodly and surpassing commodious haven: by means whereof, we may be provided both from Sea and Land, of all things needful and requisite for the wars. Which, as they will be of great moment to us, shall have them, so they will be the greater lost to the enemy that shall forget them. This is their Capital for strength, their garner for corn, their treasury for money, their armory, their arsenal and in one word, their very flower-house of all things whatsoever. Neither is the direct passage and freight cut out of Affrick, here is the only port and harbor for shipping, between the Islands of Gadet, or Gebraldr, and the mountains Pyrenais: from whence all Spars overlooketh (as it were) and commandeth Affrick. But knowing that you are well appointed already, and prepared to the service, I will say no more but this: Now for the honour of the Romans, let us go courageously to it, and with all our might and main assault new Carthage. And when they all with one accord cried unto him, to do and indeed, that no other thing was first to be done: then he advanced before Carthage, then he gave commandment to assail it at once, by Land and Sea. Mago the Captain of the Carthaginians on the other side, when he saw preparation made by Water and Land to give the assault; for his part ordered his forces and disposed them in this manner. To make head against the Romans on that side where they lay encamped, he opposed two thousand Townsmen: with a guard of five hundred foanders he kept the citadel: other five hundred he placed upon a little hill belonging to the City which looketh to the East: all the other multitude whatsoever, he appointed to make resistance in other places, where any enteries, thouts, or sudden alarms should be given. Then having set open a gate, he sent forth those forth, whom he had arranged in that street which ledeth directly to the camp of the enemies. The Romans (according as they were commanded by their Leader himself) in the beginning gave ground a little and retired, to the end, that during the time of skirmish and conflict, they might be nearer to the supply of succours, which were to be lent to fecound them from behind. And verily at the first they stood to it stoutly on both parts, and there was no odds perceived. But after wards, the Romans being still freshely reinforced from out of the camp, not only discomfited the enemies, and put them to flight, but prefixed on them hard, as they fled disordered and out of array, that if Scipio had not founded the retreat, it seemed, that they would have intermingled themselves peltem with those that ran away, and rushed into the City with them. Without the City throughout there was no less fear than in the battle. Many courts of guard and other places were abandoned, the curtian of the walls was left naked, and every man made what shift he could to leap down and escape. Which when Scipio perceived (who now was turned to a mount which they call Marcus Turrata) and namely, that the walls were void of all the defenders, he commanded all his foanders to run forth of the camp, to let forward to the assault, and to bring ladders to scale. Himself in person, defended with the shields of tall lusty young men going before him (for by this time they let their arms from the walls a mighty volley of shot or all sorts) approached the City. There he exhorted, encouraged, and commanded them to do what was requisite in this service. And that which made most to enkindle the courages of the soanders, he was there personally as an eye-wit tness and beholder of each mans valour or cowardice. Wherupon they fluck not to run upon the very shot, but to receive many a wound: and now nothing could keep them back; neither the strength of the walls, nor the armed men that flower thereupon. But they scaled striving who could mount upon the walls first. At the same time, that part of the City which the Sea beat upon, began to be assailed by the ships. But from thence, it should seem, they made more ado with houting and hurrying, than effected ought by any forcible assault. For whilsts they came close to the walls with their ships, whilsts they put forth their ladders and their foanders whilsts every man laboured to gain the Land, the nearest way be could, what with their striving and hark-making, they hindered one another. And by that time Mago had filled the walls full of armed men, who let fly arrows, Javelins, darts, and all kind of shot, whereof they had gathered together exceeding great store, but neither men, nor arrows and darts, nor any thing else did defend the wall so much as the very wall itself be given. For few ladders they had that could reach up to the longer: and any of them be, the more weak and feeble they were. Whereupon, by reason that they who were climed up to the highest rounds, could not gain the parapet and discharge the ladder, and yet some or other still clambered up after, the ladders being overcharged with the weight, brake in pieces. Some again there were, that notwithstanding the ladders under them held still and food unbroken, yet when they looked down from on high, their eyes did dazzled, and were overcast with a mist, that they lost their sight, and fell from the top to the ground. Thus when ladders here, and men there, came tumbling down, and the enemies upon their good speed grew to be more harty and hardy, the retreat was founded which gave to the besieged within the Town not hope only of present relief and intermission of great labour and toll, but also shored them in manner, for the time to come, that the City was tenable against all CCaldes, although it were invested therewith round about. And as for fabrics and mounds to be raised and planted against it, they were not only difficult and hard to be performed, but also would ask some long time: and Minster in the mean while, space sufficient for the other Generals of their own to come to the rescue. But secure was the first assault fully sealed, when Scipio commanded other fresh and unfoened soanders, to take the ladders of them that were weared already and wounded, and
A with greater violence to give a new Carthag. Himself, so soon as he understood that it was ebbe and low water, having been advertised by certain fishermen of Taracum (who sometimes with light boats used to row, and others when their velums touched the ground, to wage all over the lake upon firm ground) that men might easily pass to the walls on foot: thither to that place he brought all his soldiers to the assault. It was now almost moon-tide of the day; and besides that the water of the ebb naturally fell with the ebb into the Sea, there was a good round northern wind arose, which drove the water out of the lake (which now was well fair) after the tide, and discovered such shallows, that whereas in some places thereof they went up to the navel, in some again they waded (racee knee deep. Which after Scipio knew to be an ordinary thing in natural reason, and therefore with good foresight had made provision accordingly to take that advantage, yet he turned it into a miraculous and prodigious accident, attributing all to the immediate handy-work of the Gods: as who to give passage and footing to the Romans, had turned back the course and current of the Sea, discharged lakes of their water, and opened ways unto them, that never before were troden with the sole of man's foot; and there with he willed his soldiers to follow Neptune, the guide and Leader of the way, and to passe boldly through the mids of the lake close to the very walls. On the land side the assailants had exceeding trouble in standing under the walls: for not only they were hindered by reason that the ebb was too high; but also as they went, they lay open and under their shot, and were wounded both ways, lo as their flanks and sides were more annoyed as they approached under, than their faces and forefront of their bodies. But on the other part, as they went quietly and easily through the meat to the wall, so therefore they climbed forward so securely to the very top thereof. For neither was it strongly fortified with bul-warks, nor ruled to any height by industry and art of man, as being dispute by natural situation of the place, and the standing lake besides, strong enough and sufficiently defend'd: nor any guard of a med men were there in watch and ward, opposed against the assailants: while every man was wary, and wholly intended to help there, from whence some danger was seen, the Romans being thus sent the City over the walls without any skirmish, marched from thence with what speed they could, unto that gate, about which all the light and hot skirmish was already begun: for there not only all their minds were bent and aimed, but also their eyes and ears were occupied and poissled; whiles some fought, others looked on and encouraged the light: in such sort, that there was none of them all once perceived or know, that the City was taken and surprised behind them, before the darts flew about their ears and light upon their back parts, and until they had the enemies both before and behind. Then not only the walls were taken (when the defence upon a twofold fear, were driven to abandon them) but also the gate iron within forth and without, began to be broken down: and soon, after continual running and beating against it, the leaves thereof perfurce fight speecies, because there might be nothing to impeach or let them in their granite: then the armed soldiers brake in most furiously. Many already had scale the walls, and got over, but they turned and betook themselves everywhere where to masacre and make havoc of the Townsmen. But the main battel, which ented in at the gate with their Captains, orderly by companies and ranks in their array, marched forward through the midst of the City to the market place, from whence Scipio might see the enemies flee two ways, some to the forrest upon the hill aforeaid, which slanted to the East, and was kept with a guard of five hundred soldiers: others into the citadel, into which Magus himself, with all the armed men in a manner, who were driven from the walls, had retired and fled for to save himself. Whereupon he rent a part of his forces to win the said hill, and himself in person led the rest to the Calle. And as the fort upon the Hill was taken at the first assault and oner given, to Magus, after he had a white made some means to defend the Calle, taking all places full of enemies, swarming everywhere, and no other hope, yielded himself, the citadel, and the garrison. Untill the Calle was surrendred and given up, there was nothing but murdering and killing all over the City, and not one spared that seemed to be fourteen years old and upward, if they came in their way. But then, F upon the found of Trumpet the execution ceased, and the Conquerors fell to caseage and pillage, when of all sorts rote to a mighty thing. Of free born, such as were of male sex, there were taken prisoners 10000. Then, so many of them as he found to be natural citizens of Cartage, he dismissed and let go free, and resoluted unto them not only the City, but also their own goods, which the first fury and rage of warroirs had left untouched. There were of Artians and handicraftsmen, some two thousand: thofe by an edict he pronounced to be bond, and adjudged them conscription, to serve the Common weal of the people of Rome: yet with some hope, that shortly they might obtain their freedom again, in case they performed good service, and shewed themselves diligent in all ministeries and offices of war. The rest of the multitude of inhabitans, such as were able and young lumpy men, as also the flout and flundy bondmen, he awarded them to the ships, for to furnish up the number of forty fleets, and latter, and with the eight ships of war, which he took captive in the haven, he increased his own Armado. Besides all this multitude, there were also the hollages of the Spaniards above written, of whom he took as great care, and as good regard, as if they had been the children of Allies and associats. A mighty deal of warlike artilery and ordinance was there found and seiz'd on. Of Catapults of the greatest (i.e. 120, of a letter foot 281. Balis some greater, some smaller, of them 33, of these 52. Of Scorpions and Crossbows to shoot quarrels as well great as small, and likewise of defensive armours, and offensive weapons, a huge deal, and a marusselous quantity. Military enligins 74. Of gold and silver there
was a mighty main brought unto the General. Golden cups or balls there were 276, every one H weighing almost one pound. Of silver tried, wrought, and coined, 18300 pounds weights: and much plate and vessels of silver. All this C. Flamininins the Treasurer, received either by weight or tale. Of wheat there was 30000 Modii, or barely 270000. Of barns and ships of burden, there were in the haven won by force, and taken, 113. Some were fraught with corn, armour, brails besides, and iron, fail-cloth, and hemp, or part for cables and ropes, also with timber for shipwrights. Carthage the Town it felt, in so great store of wealth and warlike provision, was the Lesset of all other.

That day Seipio, having committed the charge of guarding and keeping the City unto Lelius and the mariners, brought back the legions into the camp, and commanded the fouldiers to refresh their bodies with food and rest, weared as they were, and over-laboured in one day with all manner of toil and work that belogneth to war-service: as who had, both fought a battle in the field, and also taken to great pains, and undergone so much hazard and danger, in assailing and forcing the City; yea, and after it was won, had fought with disadvantage of ground, with those that were fled into the Calle.

The next day, after he had called both fouldiers and mariners together, first he rendred laud and praise, yes, and thanks unto the immortal Gods, who in one day had not only made him Lord of the most mighty and wealthy City in all Spaim, but also had laid up for him there against his coming, all the riches well-need of Affrick and Spains whereby as the enemies now had nothing left them, to he and his had all things plentiful. Then he commended the virtu and valour of his fouldiers, whom neither the fallowing out of the enemies could fright, nor the mighty height K of the walls fears, nor the blind and noticeless hoards of the lake could once dismay, nor the situation of the Calle feared upon a high cliff terrific, nor yet the Calle it felt most strongly built and fortified, was able to daunt and make afraid, but that they would pass over all and break through all. And therefore albeit every one of them deserveth at his hands all rewards, yet, the principal honour of a mural crown and garland, belonged properly unto him that first seized and mounted over the wall. Come he forth therefore (quoth he) and shew himself, who taketh himself self worthy of that gift, and let him claim his due. Whereupon there were two that put in for it, and demanded the same. Q. Trebellius, a Centurion of the fourth Legion, and Sextus Digitius, a Servitor at the sea. Neither refused these parties themselves to look after the matter, as the love and favour of them let all the whole army divided into legiinion fouldiers, and servitors at Sea, in an L heat of contention to laboule for him that belonged to their side, and was a member as it were of their body. C. Lelius Admiral of the fleet, went with the Sailers and Seamen. M. Sempronius Tudurans was altogether for the legiinion Land-fouldiers. This debate was like to exceed a cab, and to raise a very menacing host. Whereupon Seipio pronounced that he would appoint as Delegates three Commissioners, to sit upon the cause who should take the deposition of witnesses, and give their verdict accordingly, whether of these two persons entered over the wall into the Town. Now because C. Lelius and M. Sempronius were Advocates to the one party and the other, he therefore adjoineth unto them a third person, one P. Cornelius Caeginos, to go as an indifferent Mediator between them two: and gave order and commandment, that those other three commissioners above said should fit together, and hear and determine the converse. When as M. the matter grew to a greater heat of contention by reason that men of such mark and worth were acquainted with the action, and had their hand in it, who were not so much Advocosse to plead, but moderators and judges to hear down a side; C. Lelius, sitting out from the court, came to the Tribunal seat unto Seipio: and informed him that the manner of proceeding in this matter in quission, was without all good order, modesty and reverence; and so handled, that they were like to go together by the ears, and try it out by knockes. But, be it quoth he, that no blows be dealt, yet it is a most fainleal example and detestable precedent, that the honor and guardon due to virtue, should be carried by fraudulent coven and godless perjury. For quoth he, the legiinion fouldiers (land of the one hand, the Sea servitors on the other, and ready they be to invest on both sides all the crops of God, and to that rather which their will and heart enthrall them N to, than which in their conscience they know to be true. By which guilt of forswearing and perjury, they will not only bring a curse and vengeance upon themselves and their owne lives, but also upon the ensigns, standards, and very Eagles, yea, and their religious military Oath and S sacrament. Thus much I thought good to give you advertisement of aforesaid hand and that by the ad view of P. Cornelius, and M. Sempronius, Seipio after he had highly praised Lelius, called the fouldiers to an assembly, and there with a loud voice pronounced, and said thus: I am sufficiently informed upon certain relation, that Q. Trebellius, and Sext. Digitius we scaled the wall both together, and therefore I award as well to the one as to the other a mural garland, in token of commendation of their singular virtu. Then he rewarded the self also, according to every mans deser and valorous service. But above all other, he honoured C. Lelius Admiral of the fleet, not only in matching him equally with himself in all commendable parts and qualities, but also in proportioning him with a coronet of beaten gold, and thirty Oxen. Then he gave commandment that the hostages of the Cities and States of Spaim should be called forth. What a number were of them, I am such that the Patrician garrison were ten thousand: another 7000, and
and a third comes with his two thousand and no more. I meet with one record which reporteth, that there were 10,000 taken prisoners: and another that there were above 25,000. Of Scorpion s or Crocobies, great and small, I should say there were gained some 60; if I would take for mine author Silenus, a greek writer: but if I follow Valerius Antonius and go by him I should tell you a tale of six thousand of the greater, and thirteen thousand of the smaller. See how little rule they had of their tongues to overreach, or lay of their pens to set down so loud lies upon record. Nay, they are not well agreed as upon this point, who were the great Captains and Commanders. Moll of them say that Lucius was L. Admiral: there be again that would have M. Junius Sullanus to be the man, and Armes was Captain of the Pamph grain, and yielded to the Romans, if ye like to believe Valerius Antonius: but by the testimony and credit of others, it was

Mogg, Moreover, over the records accord not about the number of ships that were taken nor of the weight of gold and silver not yet of the sum of money that was raised of the pillage. To conclude, if we must needs believe some one or other the mean between is the belt, and carrisht most likelihood of the truth.

But to return again to Secipio: "When he had called forth the hostages into his presence full he had them all in general to be of good cheer: for why? they were now in the hands of the people of Rome, who ever desired to bind men unto them by favors: and good turns more than to awe them with fear and dread; and to have sovereign nations knit and joined in faithful amity, rather than held in subjection by heavy servitude. Then after he had taken the names in writing of their leverall Cities, he also reviewed the number of the prisoners, and counted just how many belonged to every State. Which done, he dispatched messengers home into their countries, willing their parents and friends to come and receive every man their own, if haply any Embasadors of their Cities were present, he restored unto them their own hostages without delay: for all the rest, he gave express charge to C. Flaminius the Treasurier to see unto them in all kind, courteous, and liberal usage. While he was busie in taking this order, there hapned to come from among the hostages even out of the midst of the company, an aged gentlewoman, the wife of M. Modiniius, brother to Indibilis, a Prince and great Lord of the Lepetites, she flied tears, and fell down prostrate at the feet of the L. General: and with all began to beseech him most importunately, to give a more special charge, concerning the custody of the women, lest and to recommend them to their keepers, so to be guarded with a careful eye, and to be kept and attended on more tenderly. Why? quoth Secipio, I warrant thee good woman, they shall want for nothing that is meet for them. Then replied this Dame again, We stand not so much (quoth she) upon these terms: for a little thing, God wot, may serve and content them in this poor estate and low condition: my care is for another matter, when I consider and behold the young and tender age of these maidens here. As for my self, I am now past date, and without danger of that injury, which our sex is subject and exposed unto. Now therefeoulb about her the daughters of Indibilis, virgins in the fresh prime and flower of their age, and passing fair and beautiful: withall besides some other Ladies as nobly born as they: who all honoured her as their natural mother that bare them. Then Secipio, I would (quoth he) in the ordinary course as well of mine own discipline as of that which is established by the people of Rome, have a respective consideration, that no one thing among us should suffer abuse, which elsewhere in any place of the world is held inviolable: this would I do, I say, for mine own credit, and for the honour of Rome: but to have a more special eye that way, your own virtue alio and worthinesse bindeth me: who in the midst of these your calamities and miseries have not forgot your womanly carriage and the honour of your sex. And thereupon he delivered them over to the custody of a man of approved honesty and integrity, commanding him to guard them with no lefs reverence, modesty, and continency, than if they were the wives or mothers of your nearest friends that gave them entertainent. Rather this, there was presented unto him by his soldiers a damoelle and virgin of ripe years, taken alio prisoner: but so well favoured and surpassing in beauty, that whereofover the went every manus eye was uppon her, in admiration of so rare and perfect a creature. Secipio having enquired of her country where she was born, and likewise of what parents she was defended: among other things learned, that she was espoused and affiociated to a young Prince of the Celtiberians, whose name was Alucina. Forthwith he sent home to her parents and forefather, for to repair unto him: and in the mean time he understood that her husband that should he was wonderfully enamoured of her and ready to die for her love. So soon as the young Gentleman was come, Secipio entered into a more familiar speech with him, than he did either with the father or mother of the maiden, and in these terms he entertained him: "I am a young man (quoth he) as well as your yeft. Come on therefore, let us young men both devise and comminge together more freely and not be too nice, coy, and bashful one to the other. If your espoused wife, taken captive by your soldiers, was brought unto me, and that I heard of the exceeding faine and affection that you call upon her. I believed it full well; for her singular beauty defereth no less. Now forasmuch as my feft, it might be allowed to use the palestimes of youth, (I mean no otherwise than in honest and lawful love) and were not called away by the Common-wealth, & employed wholly in other affaires of state. I would think to be pardoned and held excused, if I had an extraordinary liking to a singular of mine own, and loved her extremelie. I must therefore needs favour and render your love, which is the thing I can considering that I may not the other in any wise. Your sweet-heart and beltehoved I have entertained as well, and as respectively, as she should have been

The rest con-
been with your father and mother in law, who are her own kind and natural parents, Referr'd H if the hath been, and kept for you alone, that you might receive her at my hands, unpolluted and un- touched, and aprent becalling me and you both. In lien and recompence therefore of this I boon and gift which I now bestow upon you, I require at your hands again this only pro-i mis, and faithful covenant, that you will be a friend and well-willer to the State of Rome. And if 5 you take me indeed to be a good and honest man, such as these nations and people here have K known my father and uncle to have been before me, know you thus much, that in the City of Rome there are many more like unto us: and that there cannot at this day a nation in the world, L be named, which you would be to be an enemy to you and yours, or define more to en- tertain as your friend. The young Gentleman being abashed for very modestly, and yet right glad and joyful withal, held Scipio by the hands, called upon all the gods, and befought them in his behalf to thank and recompence him therefore, since it lay not in his own proper power, in any proportion or measure to be thankful and make requital, either as himself could with, or as Scipio had deserved. Then were the parents and kinsfolk of the maid called for who seeing the damo- fell freely tenderd and given them again, for whose ransom and redemption they had brought with them a sufficient sum of gold; fell to intercating and requiting Scipio to vouchebar for to ac- cept the same at their hands, as a gift and token of their good will: affuring him, that in no doing, they should take themselves no less bound and beholden unto him, than for the restorine and delivering of the virgin untouched and undefiled; Scipio seeing them so earnest and importunate, promised for to receive it, and with all, commanded that it should be laid down at his feet: and calling Althius unto him, Here (quoth he) over and besides all your other dowry which your father in law may pay you, have from me thus much more money to mend your marriage with, M take this gold therefore to your self, and keep it for your own use. And so after this rich reward given and great honour done unto him, he was dismissed, and departed home with much joy and hearts content: where he made report unto his countrymen and people of the praiseworthy virtues of Scipio, and the favours from him received; saying moreover, there was come into Spain a young man resembling the immortal gods in all respects; who as well by bounty, liberality, and belowing benefits, as by martiall provests and force of arms is in the very way to win and conquer all. So when he had assembled and mulled all his vassals and tenants, he returned within few days accompanied with a train of fourteen hundred of the best and most choice horsemen of his country.

Scipio keeping Lelius still with him, until by his advice and counsel he had disposed of the captives, hostages, and other prizes and pillege: after he had settled all in good order, appointed a Galiace of five banks of oars, wherein he embarked the prisoners, with Mace and some fifteen Senators beside, who together with him were taken, and sent them to Rome with a messenger to carry tidings of this victory. Himself determined to joyn a few dates in Carthage, which time he spent in training and exercising his soldiery, as well of land service as at sea. The first day he called the Legions to run and tro in their armour four miles out in length. The second day he commanded them to four and furnish their harness and weapons before their tents. Upon the third day they joyed and encountered in battle-wife, and practised to fight with blunt waffers and battions; yes, and lanced one at another darts and javelins, rounded at the point end with bals in manner of foils. The fourth day they refited and repossed themselves. On the fifth day again they ran at turnament as before armed. This order they kept, exercising, labouring, and retaine by turns, so long as they abode at Carthage. And thus much for the Legionary soldiers. The fea-servitors and mariners used in calm water and still weather to row up into the sea, and there to make trial of the nimbleness and agility of their ships, representing shews of sea-fight and skirmish. Thus without the City, they trained their bodies, and quickened their spirits and courage both on land and water. Within the town there was nothing heard but preparation of war-furniture. All the publicke shops and work-houses full of smiths, engineers, and all other artificers for the purpose of supplying their work, and never going from it. The General himself, as superiour, with equal and indifferent care over all. One while he would be with the Amado in the harbours: another while, he conversed among the Legions, and turneyed with them. A time he would set by to visit the works about the walls, and see how they went forward. Other wise he would be in the shops abroad, among the multitude of the Carpenters, and Smiths and other Artificers, viewing what they did there; and in the seven and ship-docks, offering and marking how much they went forward day by day striving by way of emulation as they did, who could do most and quit him self best. Having thus set them a work, repaired the walls which he had bastarded and shaken, and placed certain guards there, for the defence of the City: he took his journey to Tarracon: and all the way he was visiried and plied with sundry embassages. Some of them he answered and dispatched as he was in his journey: others he put off to give their attendance at Tar- racon: for thither he had summoned all the allies and comedates, both new and old, to meet him. And in manner, all the Cities and States on this side Iberia, and many also of the father Province of Spaunt there assembled.

The Carthaginian Captains and Commanders at the first of set purpose, suppressed and STOP- ped the rumour of the winning of Carthage. But when the thing was too too apparent, could not be hidden even mother, they used all the words they could to elevate it and make the matter less than it was. To win, that by a sudden invasion and expedition of the Romans in one day
The seven and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The seven and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

Thus fled the affairs in Spain, in Italy the Consul Marcellus having recovered Salapia by composition, won by force two towns from the Samnites, Morena, and Metes. Where there were slain three thousand of Annibal his fouldiers, who had been left there in garrison. Some good portion of the village was shared among the fouldiers. Of what besides there was found there 24,000 men called Modii, and of barley 11,000. But the joy from hence was not so great as the losses and damage received within few days after, not far from the City Herdona, Cn. Fulvius the Pro-Consul by there encompassed upon hope to regain that City, which after the defeat at Canae, had revolted from the Romans: a town neither feared in a place of fury, nor yet well furnished and manned for defence. The Captain thereof (Cn. Fulvius Storefid) was by nature ever negligent, but grown much more reckless now, precluding upon a vain hope that he had of them within, in that he perceived how the townsmen already began to fall in their devotion and faithfulness allegiance to the Carthaginians, especially, after they heard, that upon the losing of Salapia, Annibal was departed out of those parts into the Britten country. Annibal had intelligence of all this brought unto him from Herdona by secret messengers, which, as it cauht him to have a careful eye to the saving and keeping of a friend City, so it minuted good hope unto him for to surprize his enemy at inuaires and undisposed. Whereupon with his army lightly appointed, he took long journeys and made haste to Herdona, so as he prevented almost the same and brisk of his coming. And to strike the more terror into his enemy, he thither marched in battell array. The Roman General, as adventurous and bold as he every way but nothing at all for politick, so to strong brought his forces forth in more haste than good speed, and gave him battell. His fifth legion, and the left wing or corner of Cavalry began the skirmish, and charged hotly. But Annibal had given his horsemen direction that when the Infantry was in the midst of skirmish, with mind and eye wholly occupied that way, they should whirl about and rush a compass, and whiles some of them affiled...
the Camp, the rest should play upon the back of their enemies: himself iterating eulogies unto his men the name of Cn. Falcius, for like neat's sake, because two years before in the very same quarters, he had vanquished another Cn. Falcius who was Pretor also, affurred them of the like success now in this conflict. And verily this content hope of his proved not vain and fruitless. For when as in close fight and skirmish of the footmen many of the Romans were slain down and slain, but to, as yet the ranks stood unbroken, and the enemis upright, beheld a sudden fresh charge of the hzramen on their back, and a great host of the enemies with all delict and heard from the camp, first discomfitted the 1st legion, which being marshalled in the second bataillon, had been put in disarray before by the Numidians, & then the fig, & to consequently even those that fought in the forefront of the vanguard before the enemis, Some fled amain, others were killed in the midst, between where Cn. Falcius himself with twelve Tribunes of Knight marshals were left dead in the place. Of Romans and Allies how many died in that conflict, who is able to set down for certain: seeing in Homer's records I find the number fifteen thousand, and in others not above seven thousand?

The conqueror Anunah was Maiter likewise of the Camp and all the pillage there. As for the town Herdane, because he understood for truth, that it minded to have revolted unto the Romans, and would not continue taft in their fidelity, if his back were once turned: after he had conveyed away the multitude of the inhabitants to Metapolum and the Thians, he set it on fire and burnt it quite. The Nobles and principal Citizens, who were known to have had secret talk and conference with Falcius he put to death. The Romans, who out of so great an overthrow eschaped, made shift by divers and dusty waies to fly, half naked as they were, to Marcullus the K. Col. into Samnium. But Marcullus nothing dismayed and affrighted at this so great defeat, addressed his letters to the Senat at Rome, with advertisement of the los of the Captain General, and the army at Herdane: giving them yet to understand how himself, even he who after the Camilyan field had named and dared Anunah, as lusty and proud as he was upon that victory, was minded presently to encounter him, and make him take no long joy and pleasure, wherein he now so vanted and exalted himself.

And at Rome verily, as they mourned much for the los of paft, so they feared as greatly the future dangers. The Consul having passed out of Samnium into the Lucan country, late down before Numistro, in the very sight of Anunah, and there in a plain encompassed himself, notwithstanding the enemy was posted before of the hill, and had the vantage of the ground, and for to make mere of his own confidence, and how little he feared, he first brought forth his men, and marshalled them in order ready to bid battell, Anunah so soon as he saw the enemys advanced forth of the gates, ftaid not behind. And they arranged their battels in such manner, as that the Carthaginians with the right wing took up part of the hill, and the Romans displaced their left wing in length, to the very walls of the town. After they had continued fight from the third hour of the day unto night, and that the vanguards on both sides were weary with maintaining of skirmish so long: then the first legion of the Romans, with the right wing of their horsemanship, the Spanish fouldiers also of Anunah his part, the Eelearian faders likewise, together with the Elephants, began the fight, whiles the rest were already in hot conflict and close together. For a long time the light shrunk not of any hand. The first legion of the Romans was seconded with the coming in of the third: and among the enemies likewise there came in new fouldiers that were luftye in place of the foiled and wearied. Whereby, of a lingering and long skirmish, there began all on a sudden a new, hot, and cruel battell, by reason that their courages were fresh, and their bodies in heart. But the night parted the fray and left the victory doubtful in the midst. The morrow after, the Romans from sun-rising stood arranged in the field until it was far day: and seeing none of the enemies appear and shew themselves, they fell to gather up the spoils by leisure, and hesped up in one place all the bodies of their own men that were slain, and made one great fire, and burnt them to ashes. The night ensuing Anunah did dilodge secretly without any noise, and departed into Apulia. And Marcullus, so soon as day-light discovered the flight of his enemies (leaving his hurt and wounded people at Numistro with a small guard, and L. Furius Purpurg a Col. leman to be their Captain) followed him by his steps, and at Venusio overtook him. There for certain dyes passed some sallies from the guards of both armies, whilsts both horse and foot one with another rather made flight skirmishers, than any few battels; and lightly the Romans had awaies the better hand. From thence the armies were conducted through Apulia, without any memorable fight at all, by reason that Anunah in the night feared ever far forward, seeking some opportunity of forelaying and entrapping his enemy; and Marcullus never followed but in broad day light, and sent out his epials before to clear the coasts.

In this mean while Paccur spending the time at Capea, in making port-fale of the noblemens goods, and in setting and letting out to farm the land which was confiscate and forfeit to the common-wealth of Rome (and all for a rent of corn) there haped a new complot and practice, which lay hidden for the time, to be detected and come to light, to the end that he might never want one matter or other to take occasion for to plague and torment the Campanians. He had taken order that his souldiers should remove out of the houses within the town, partly for that as well the tenements of the said town within as the lands without should be rented forthand partly for fear left the exceeding pleasantries and delectable feat of that City should effeminate his army, as it had done the holl of Anunah before time: and commanded them to build themselves
about the gates and along the walls, courtyards and fields in warlike fashion, and only to servé for
foundries. There were most of them made of bards and boards, some walled and walled with
weeds, and all of them thatched with straw and fluffe, as it were of purpose to miniture tell for
fire. Now there were some hundred and seventy Camphans had on pierced at one certain hour
the night to set al a fire; and the principal heads and Captains were certain brethren of the
Moors: and it turn'd that by tome of the same house and family, the comet y was disclosed.
Whereupon on e of the gates were made fast by the commandement of the Pro-Consul: and the
alarm being tir'd up npardom all the foundries ran together. All thòse that were partie of
privity to the intended treason were apprehended, and after rigorous examination had by torture,
they were condemned and executed: the intoners were made free, and had each one a reward.

When the Ne. ermes and Acretes made many, who wanted place of habitation, forasmuch
Acraea was in part burning, and Neera utterly raz'd and destroy'd: Mæcelius refered them
over to the Senat of Rome; and sent them thither. The men of Acraea had leave granted to
re-edifie again their own edifices which were burned: But they of Neera, according to their
own desire, were integral to Acræa: and the Acræans commanded to remove unto Curatia there
to dwell.

At the miniding of many and weighty affairs, which falling out variably, one while well,
another while ill-omen and ammied the minds of men yet the Romans forgot not the Cliche of
Tarentinum: for M. Octavius and P. Agrippus, went as Embassadours into Acræa, for to buy up
corn to be carried and brought to Tarentinum: and a thousand soldiers out of the City
army, whereof the number of Romans and Allies was all one, were sent with the laden corn
thither to be in garrison.

Now was the summer at an end and the time drew near of the Consuls election, but the letters
of Mæcelius unto the Senat (wherein he signified that it was not for the good of the Common-
wealth to depart one from Amala, whom he himself pursu'd still at Highs, and so much to the
more locally because he was off at Pres in Generality, and to either to call away the Consul from the wars,
especially now in the midst of his belt and to be without Consul the next year. But it was thought in the end the belt course,
that he was for the Consul, although he were not in High, but beyond sea, should rather be sent for,
called forth of Syria. So by order from the Senat, there were letters dispatch'd unto him,
from L. Maecenas, the Praetor of the City, together with those other letters of M. Mæcelius the
Consul: to cause him to understand what the nation was, why the LL. called him rather out of
his Province then his Colleage and Companion in government.

At the same time therefornt Embassadours to come unto Rome from King Syphan, "Re-
counting what prosperous was his King had fought with the Carthaginians, aluring the Sen-
ate, that their Lord and Master, as he was not a greater enemy to any nation than to the Car-
thaginians, so he was not more ready to friend any State than the Romans: laying moreover,
that he had sent aforetime his Embassadours into Siam unto the Roman Generals Ca. and P. Scel-
pus, and now was most willing to seek the intimacy and friendship of the Romans even at the
very fountain and well head. The Senat not only returned answer to those Embassadours in most
gracious and courteous terms, but also addressed Embassadours of their own with rich gifts unto
the King, and by name; L. Gemellus, P. Petellius, and P. Popilius. The presents which they carried
were a hide robe, and a kittle of purple, an Ivory chair, a boll or cup of beaten gold, weighing
five pound. Those Embassadours had in commendation and charge, presently after they had dispatched
with the King, to visit other Princes and great Lords of Africa: and to bettow on them also,
they carried robes purified and embroidered with purple, and golden bowls of three pound
weight. Likewise there were sent as far as Alexandria (in Egypti unto King Ptolemaus and Cleo-
patra the Queen, M. Attillius and M. Aelia as Embassadours; for to call to remembrance, and re-
new the old friendship: and to them also they presented gifts, namely unto the King a long robe
and a kittle of purple, with an Ivory chair: unto the Queen a rich mantle of Bæthnic, wranght
with hundy colours, with a vall of purple.

In this summer time, whilst these foresaid matters palled, there were from out of the Cities
and country towns adjoyning many prodigious lights, and earthfull tokens reported, At Taphon-
ium, there fell a Lamb, having an under yielding milk: the lower and lantern of the Temple of
Jupiter was strucken with lightning and in manner all the roof uncovered. And much about those
days at Amara, the very lowl and ground before the gate thereof caught fire with lightning and
for one day and night burn'd: with any matter of mill: and the stones and birdes of the air
forsook their nests which they had built in the trees of the grove consecrated to Dard near unto
the carrefour or cross way of Amara. Near unto Tarentin there were seen in the sea, not far
off from the haven, serpents of an huge and wonderfull bignesse to leap up above the water: and
doport and play like fishes. At Tarqurm a swine farrowed a pig with a mans face. Also in the ter-
ritory of Capena, about the grove and temple of Mercur there were four Stanes: wherein much
blood a day and a night. These earthfull tokens were by a decree of the Princes past and expire
by greater facillities. And a solemn Supplication proclaimed one day at Rome in every Chariot and
Chappel before all the shrines of the gods: and another day in the territory of Capena, at the
said grove and chappell of Ferona.
The seven and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

M. Valerius the Consul, called by the forefaid letters of the Senate, after he had recommended the charge of the Province and the Army, unto Cicero, the Praetor; and sent M. Valerius Messala, the Admiral of the Navy, with a certain number of ships into Africk, as well to fetch in prizes, as to enquire and learn what the people of Carthage did and went about: himself with ten sail took the seas, and having a prosperous fore-wind arrived at Rome. And being come, presently he assembled the Senate, where he declared what acts and deeds he had performed in his Province, namely, "Whereas for the space almost of threecore years there had been war in Sicily both by land and sea, and the same oftentimes fought with great losses and many offenses; that he now had brought those troubles to an happy end, and let the Province in quiet. That there was not in all Sicily one Carthaginian left, nor one Sicilian, of all them that for fear had been chafed and driven from thence, but was returned and there replanted: that they were all brought home again to their own cities to inhabit to their own lands, to plough and sow; that now at last the fore-let and waste ground was husbanded again, and made fruitful, not only for the profit and convenience of the occupiers and tenants thereof, but also for the most affured relief and subsistence of the people of Rome, both in war and peace. After this, Mutius, and the rest who had deserved any thing well to the City of Rome, were brought into the Senate: unto whom, both all and some (for the credit of the Consul, and to diffuse his promise unto them) there were rendered all forts of honorable recompence. Mutius also was enfranchised Citizen of Rome, and a Bill was prefented in that behalf to the people, by the Tribune of the Commons, and with the grant and authority of the Senate."

During these affairs at Rome, M. Valerius Messala arrived in Africk with a fleet of 50 sail, and being landed one morning before day, suddenly and unawares to the people of the country, made a roade into the territory about Utica: and having forced it far and near, taken many men and women prisoners, and raised a great booty of all forts of things besides, returned to the Armado, and crossed the seas back for Sicily, and arrived again at Lilybaeum upon the thirteenth day after he loosed from thence, and took the seas first. Of the Captives (after strict examination) he learned thus much (which also he set down orderly in writing, and sent unto the Consul Lepidus, that he might be acquainted likewise with the state of the affairs in Africk), namely, that these were in Carthage five thousand Numidians, under the conduct of M. Antonius the son of Galaba, most forward young man, and a right valiant warrior; that there were other officers also throughout all Africk wages and levied for money, ready to be transported and sent over into Spain, into Africabac, to the end that he with a most puissant power might with all speed pass over into Italy, and join his forces with Amilus: that in the effecting of this designum, the Carthaginians were affuredly perswaded of the victory. Moreover, that there was a mighty na\"vy a rigging and deckin for to recover Sicily again, and as they verily thought, it should pass the seas very shortly. These news being read by the Consul, troubled and disquieted the Senate, that they thought there was no resting for the ordinary election of Magsistrates, summoned and called by the Consul, but that they should nominate a Dictator of purpose to assemble that solemn Seffion, and the Consul immediately to return again into his Province. But hereupon grew some debate and question for a time, while the Consul faid, that he would nominate and create Dictator M. Valerius Messala, who was then in Sicily, and Admiral of the fleet: but the LL. replied again and laid, that a Dictator might not be elected or declared without the Territories of Rome, and those were all within the limits and marches of Italy. But after that M. Laerciatus (A Tribune of the Commons) had put this controversy to question before the Senat for to be cist and decided by their opinions; then the Senate granted out a decree, That the Consul before he departed from the City, should put up a bill of supplication unto the body of the people, that it would please them to elect a Dictator and whomsoever they by their suffraages chose, him should he pronounce and declare for the Dictator and in case the Consul refused to do so, then the Praetor of the City should propose the same unto the people: and if not he neither, then the Tribunes should propound it unto the Commons. But when the Consul denied flatly to put it unto the people, being a thing merely belonging to his authority and place, and likewise expressly forbid the Praetor to do it; N then the Tribunes of the Commons took the matter upon them, whereupon the Commons granted that Q. Fulvius, who then was in Capua, should be nominated Dictator. But the night before that very day that this assemblie of the Commons was to be holden, the Consul departed privily, and took his journey toward Sicily. The Nobles thus being disappoinited and disquiet, thought good to send letters unto Marcellus, for to lend his helping hand now unto the Common-wealth, thus foraken and abandoned by his College, and to declare him for Dictator, whom the people had by their voices elected. So Q. Fulvius was pronounced Dictator by Marcellus and the Consul: and by virtue of the said act of the Commons, P. Licinius Crassus the Arch-Prelate, was by Q. Fulvius nominated General of the Cavalry. The Dictator after he was come to Rome, sent Cn. Sempronius Blafus his Lieutenant, whom he had at Capua, to the Army into the Province of Heruria, in stead of C. Galphnnius the Praetor: whom by his letters he moved to take the government of Capua, and his army there. And himself sent out precepts for the solemn elections of Consuls, against the first Comital day that he might by Law, But by reason of a contention that grew between the Tribunes of the Commons and the Dictator, it could not pass and be performed, For the Century Galeria of the younger fort,
A fort, which by lot had the prerogative of giving their first voices, elected for Consuls Q. Fulvius and Q. Fabius: unto whose election no doubt, the rest of the Tribes called forth in right course and lawful order would have escorted, but that C. and L. Arrius, the Tribunes of the Commons came between with their negative voice: who said, it stood not well with civility, that one man should continue ever still in Magistracy, and besides, that it was a more shamefull example and foul precedent, that himself should be created Consul, who assembled the election: and therefore, if the Dictator would admit of his own name, and allow himself eligible, they would not suffer the assembly to continue any longer: but if there might be some other propounded besides him, they would not hinder the proceedings thereof until all was finished. The Dictator alledged

B in the behalf of the election, and maintained the cause by the authority of the Senate, by the grant and act of the Commons, and by sundry examples of former times. But when Cn. Servilius was Consul, at what time as Flamininus the other Consul was in Italy, C. and L. may by order of the Senate granted, out of the Commons, there was a bill preferred to the Commons, and the same passed by their voices. That so long as the war continued in Italy, it might be lawful for the people to chuse and create Consuls again, as often as they pleased, whatsoever they would, out of the number of them that had been Consuls. And as for examples (quoth he) in this case, I can alledge both old and new: to wit, long ago L. Postumius Megellus being Interrex, was even in that very election which he called and held, created Consil himself, with Cn. Jun. Brutrus: and of latter daries Q. Fabius likewise, who verily would never have accepted of the Consilship, and

C inferred it to be hung upon him so continually, if he had deemed it to be against the good of the common-weal. After much debate and long alteration, entertained with sundry like speeches, at length the Dictator and the Tribunes agreed to this point, and agreed of this issue, That they would stand to the award and judgment of the Senate. The LL. of the Senate were all of this mind, that the present condition of the common-weal required no less, but that the State and the affairs thereof should be managed by old and experienced Captains and Generals, and such as were skillfull in feats of arms, And therefore they utterly mistilked that the election should be hindered and disturbed. Thus the Tribunes relented, and the election went forward and was finished. So there were declared Consuls, Q. Fulvius Mas, the fifth time, Q. Fulvius Flaccus the third time. Then were created Praetors, L. Veturius Philus, T. Quintius Cripus, C. Hafius Tolumnius, and C. Auruns Cn. Arrius, When the Magistrates were once elected for the year, Q. Fulvius resigned up his Dictatorial

4. In the very end of this summer, a Carthaginian fleet of forty sail, under the conduct of Amilcar the Admiral, passed over into Sardinia, and at first invaded and wasted the territory of Ohisia: then, after that P. M'anius Veio the Praetor there, shewed himself with an army, they sent a compass about, and failed to the other side of the Island, and foraged the lands about Caralis: and so returned again into Africa, enriched with prizes andbooties of all sorts.

5. In that year divers Priets died at Rome, and new substituted in their rooms, C. Servilius the Praetor Pontifices was invested and installed instead of T. Ocladius Carus. In like manner T. Sempronius Longus, the son of Caius, was chosen Decemvir, deputed for holy ceremonies, in place of T. Sempronius Lomius, the son of Titius, M. Martinus the King of Sacrificers departed this life: and M. Anquius Pappus likewise the grand-Curio or Priet of the Curia: but to succeed them, were no Priets deputies that year. In this year also were Censoris created, to wit: L. Veturius Philus and P. Licinius Carus the High-Priet, As for Carus Licinius, he had neither been Censor nor Prefet before he was made Censor, but stepped straight from his Ediles room into the place of Censor. But these Censoris neither made choice of new Senators, nor yet did any publick act: the reason was, because L. Veturius died, whereupon Licinius also gave over the Censorship. The Ediles of the Chair L. Veturius, and P. Licinius Varus, exhibited the Roman games, and renewed them again one day more than ordinary, The Ediles of the Commons, Q. Cn. Cn. and L. Portius Licinius, set up in the Temple of Ceres, the molten images of brash, which were made of the money taken for fines and amencements; and represented the plates and patties to their office belonging, right stately and with great furniture and preparation, as the wealth and plenty of those times would afford.

6. In the end of this year C. Lolius the Lieutenant of Scipio arrived at Rome, the four and thirtieth day after that he looght and took seat at Taracass: And as he entered the City with a mighty train of Captives, he let the people on running out all of parts to see that sight. The morrow after he was admitted into the Senat-House; where he related, that new Carthage, the head City of Spain, was forced and won in one day: that divers Cities which had revolted were received upon surrender; and other new entered into society and friendship with the people of Rome. And by enquiry of the Captives they found their intelligences to agree in manner with the advertisements and tidings contained in the letters of M. Veralius Maffida. But the thing that troubled the Lords most was the voyage of Adenanl Into Italy, which hardly was able to withstand the forces of him and Ammaus together. Lolius being brought into the general assembly of the people, disconfounded the same points which he had related in the Senat-House. And the Senat, in regard of the happy issue of P. Scipio, granted by a decree, a solemn procession for one day: and gave order that C. Lolius with all convenient speed should make haste again, and repair into Spain with the very forces that he brought from thence.

The winning of Carthage I have set down in this year, having the warrant of many writers: and
yet I am not ignorant, that some there be, who have affirmed that it hapned the next year following. But me thinkes, it was an unlikely matter, that Servius should spend one whole year in Spain, in doing just nothing.

Now when Q. Fabius Maximus was Consul the first time, and Q. Fabius Plautus the third time, on that very day upon which they entered their offices (which was in the Ides of March) both of them by decree of the Senate, had the government of the Province in the city, but to their jurisdiction was set out by the countries: as to Fabius should war about Tarrentum, and Fabius in the Lucan and Brittan countries, M. Claudius continued still ingovernment one year longer. The Pr etors had their Provinces parted between them by lot, unto Caio Hestius Tulpus to tell the jurisdiction over the Citizens, but to L. Veturius Philo, over foreigners, together with Caius Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus, and C. Aurelianus governed Sardinia. The armies were divided among the I Provinces in this wise: Unto Fabius were assigned the two legions which M. Valerius Leventius had in Sicily: Unto Q. Fabius, there in the same, which were commanded by C. Calpurnius. The City army was appointed to succed those legions in Hetruria: and C. Calpurnius was ordained to be in the government of that Province, and have the charge of that army which Q. Fabius had. It was agreed moreover, that T. Quintius should be Lord President of Capea, and have the charge of the army there. And that C. Hestius should receive the jurisdiction of C. Leoitus the Pro-Pr etor, over the province at Ariminum, and likewise his army, Unto M. Marcellus the same legions were allowed, whereas he had warred so fortunately when he was Consul, Unto M. Valerius and L. Cincius (for they also continued one year more governors in Sicily) was the army remaining after the battetl at Cannae granted: and they were commanded to supply and make up all the companies thereof, out of those forces that were left of the legions of Cn. Fabius. For the Consuls caused them to be fought out and gathered together, and sent them into Sicily: and disfranchised them with the same kind of ignominious disfranchisement, in which the Cannians served as also those who remaining of the army of Cn. Fabius the Pr etor had been thither sent by order from the Senate, for anger and displeasure that they fled like as the other, Unto C. Aurelianus, the same legions were given by decree in Sardinia, wherewith P. Mamilius Volso had sued and engaged that Province, and P. Sulpicius having his government prorogued for one year longer, was commanded to rule Macedonia with the same legion and Armado Hill, Thirty Gallices of five banks of oars were appointed to be sent out of Sicily unto Tarentum, to Q. Fabius the Consul, With the rest of the native it was agreed and order set down that M. Valerius Leventius should either himself or self pass over into Affrissa, to forrage and spoil the country, or send L. Cincius or M. Valerius Melfus, whether of them he would, for the government of Spain, where there was no alteration, have only this that Servius and Sylla had their commission continued not for a year as the rest, but until such time as they should be called from thence by order from the Senate, Thus were the Provinces divided and thus were the forces believed for this year.

Among other affairs of greater importance, the Election of the high Curia, or chief parish-Priest who was to be elected in the room of M. Aemilius late deceased, renewed and set upon again an old contention between Commons and Nobles. For the Parthians denied, that C. Mamilius Atilius was (who was the only man of the Commons that stood for it) was eligible, and therefore not to be pricked for affinities, nor never any before him obtained that sacred and stately dignity, but M. one of Senators calling the Tribunes being called unto for their advice referred the matter to the Senate, and the Senate put it unto the people, to be decided by them, So C. Mamilius Atilius was the first Commoner that ever was created Maximum Curio, i.e. the grand-supervisor over all the Curia in matters of Religion. And P. Licinius the Arch-bishop constrained C. Valerius FlACCUS to be initiated and inaugurate the Flamen of Jupiter against his will. And C. Licinius was created Decemvir for holy rites and ceremonies, and for sacrifices instead of Q. Marcius Secundus late deceased, The cause and occasion of inaugurating that Flamen by constraint and compulsion I would willingly have concealed and smothered in silence, but that the ill name, wherein he was turned afterwards to good fame and reputation. This Flaccus for his carded, lofty and riotous demeanour in his youth, in regard of which vicious course of life he was odious to his own natural brother L. Flaccus, and other his kinsfolk, was for the same cause chosen Flamen by P. Licinius the said Arch-bishop. This man to soon as his mind was employed about Church matters and religious ceremonies, so suddenly all at once altered his life, and cast off his old behaviour, that there was not one of all the young men in Rome in more account and credit, nor better liked of the chief of the Nobility and I. of the Senate, as well those of his own house and lineage, as others that were strangers unto him. And when he saw himself generally into this good opinion and reputation among men, he began to have a very good conceit of his own parts and worthiness, inflaming, as he brought up in old custom again, and was so bold as to take his place in the Senate-House (a thing, that for many years space had been intermitted and discontinued in regard of the base unworthiness and insufficiency of the former Flamine.) When he was Q. entered into the Senate-chamber, C. Licinius the Pr etor willed him to go forth, as being no place for him, and therewith drew him out, whenupon the Flamine called for help of the Tribunes of the Commons pleading the ancient right and preheminence of that Priestly dignity, and alleging, that C. Flaccus in times past enjoyed that place, together with the pall, embroidered rich robe, and the Ivory cible. The Pr etor on the other side came upon him again, and said, That right was not grounded upon old examples; past all date, set out of Chronicles time out of mind: but
but he would needs have it to be carried by the most fresh practice of the newest and latest curfome, a Fleming. That by prehension of the time, either of our fathers or grandfathers diies, there was no Flemine of Jupiter troubled that privilege. The Tribunes, who were to moderate this question, gave their judgment thus, That if any thing were foreseen, and discontinued through the ignip negligence of some Flemines, it was not for themselves and they deemed it no reason, that it should hurt or prejudice the whole priesthood, Whereupon, the Pretor or himself forced not greatly upon the point, nor stood much with him, and so they admitted the Flemine into the house with great content of the Nobles, as well as of the Commons. And all men thus conceived of it, That the Flemine had obtained the thing, rather in regard of his sanctimony and holiness of life than in the right of his facerdotal dignity.

The Consuls before that, they went into their Provinces enrolled two legions of Citizens, for to supply and make up sufficiently the defect of all the other forces. The Old City army Fulvius the Consul committed unto C. Fulvius Flaccus his Lieutenant; and brother he was besides to the Consul, for to be led into Apulia with direction, that the Legions already in Apulia should be brought to Rome. And Fulvius the Consul called the residue of the army of Fulvius to be fought up and raised, which served to the number of 3500: and commanded his son Q. Maximi to lead them into Sicily, unto M. Valerius the Pro-Conful, and of him to receive the charge of two Legions, and the thirty galliasses storefaid, bearing five ranks of oars. The withdrawing of these Legions out of the island, nothing diminished nor abridged the garrisons of that Province, either in strength or show. For besides the two old legions, well and sufficiently filled and furnished, he had a great power, as well horse as foot, of Numidians, such as were fled from the adverse part into the Romans: and took up and levied besides for new foundiers, even those Sicilians also, who had been of the army of Epicides and the Carthaginians, men of approved valour, and skilful warriors. These for their aids, when he had put to each of the Roman legions, he kept still the form of two compleat armies. With the one he gave order to L. Cincius to defend that part of the Island which had been the Realm of King Hiero; with the other he maintained the rest of the Island, divided sometimes by the confines of the Roman and Greek dominions. There was a fleet also rigged and trimmed, consisting of seventy ships, for to guard and defend all the maritime coasts, along the tract of the sea side. Himself in person, with the horsemen of Muziums, rode about all the Province, for to visit the lands and grounds, and to take note which were tilled and well husbanded, which lay forefet and untillled, and to commend or chastifie, and rebuke the landlords and owners thereof accordingly. The care and regard of coin, thus far forth did good, that the Province was able both to send good store to Rome, and also to convey unto Catana sufficient to maintain the army that was to lie in standing Camp that summer about Tarcentum.

But the foundiers who were transported over into Sicily (and for the better part they were Latines and other Associats) were like to cause a great rising and commotion: whereby we may see, that of small occasions and beginnings oftentimes arise great matters of important consequence. For the Latines and Allies in all their Diets and Councils at home, began to mutter and grumble, "That now for ten years space they were with continual mutterings and payments of foundiers wages consumed and spent, that there was not a year in manner went over their heads but it cost them some great losses and overthrow in battell. Many were slain in the wars, other died of diseases. So that a Citizen oftentimes, if he were taken and preft once by the Romans, for to be a foundier was more sure to perish, than if he were taken prisoner by the Carthaginians: for the enemy lent their captives back again gratis, and without ransom, home into their country: the Romans posted and packed them away out of Italy, as confined to a place of banishment (to speak truly) rather than appointed to live in warfare. For see how the foundiers, remaining after the field of Cannae, have continued there, and waxen old these eight years already, and no doubt there were they like to lay their bones before that the enemy (who never fo flourished, nor was so strong as now) would depart from thence. In case then that old foundiers return not into their country, and now still be chosen, within a while there would be none left behind, and therefore bel it were for them before they were come to extream poverty and destitution, presently to deny the people of Rome that, which whilst somewhat is left, which thready they must be driven to do of very necessity when all is gone. And if the Romans see their Allies once agree together, and take this course, they will then verily be think themselves and grow to some terms of making peace with the Carthaginians. For otherwise be sure as long as Annibal hath a day to live Italy will never be clear of war. Thee and such like specchess passed in their Diets above said. There were at that time thirty Colonies of the people of Rome: and whilst the Embassages from them all were at Rome, twelve of them denied the Consuls flatly, and laid they were not able any longer to find either men or money. And those were these, Arces, Nepet, Sinuabri, Circens, Albis, Casculs, Sestis, Soras, Setis, Cales, Narvius, Interamnas. The Consuls amazed at this strange and unexpected accident, being desirous to drive them out of that mind, and to scarce them from so detestable a resolution, stopped they should prevail more by chaffing and rebuking, than by fair and gentle dealing: and therefore told them again, that they had presumed to speak that unto the Consuls, which they again were abashed and could not find in their hearts to deliver and relate in the Senate-house. For surely (say they) this is not a refusal of foundiery and war service, but a very meerevolting from the people of
of Rome, and no better than an open rebellion. Therefore they were bent to return again speedily into their several Colonies, and to contend with their neighbors &countriemen, while the matter remained yet all whole as men who had rather let fall some words rashly at adventures, than resolved indeed to attempt and commit to hainous an act yet and to tell them, and put them in mind, that they themselves were neither Campani nor Tarentini, but mere Romans, from them descended, and of their race; from thence let as Colonies into the lands that were won by conquest, for to breed, increase, and multiply; and to admonish them. That whatsoever duties children owe to their parents, the same they owed unto the Romans, if there remained in them any kind and natural affection, any remembrance of their ancient native country: and to exhort them to consider better of the matter, and to lay their heads together anew, forasmuch as whole devotions of theirs tended to betray the State and Empire of Rome, and to deliver the victory of all unto Annib as. When the Consuls, one after another had dealt and been in hand with them a long time in this manner; and the Embassadors nothing moved with their words, made answer again. That neither they knew what other meassage to bring home; nor their Senate what new counsel to take; since that they had not any more men to be mulled for fooundiers, nor money to be paid for wages: the Consuls seeing them so stifly and obstinately bent, made relation thereof before the Senat, whereupon every man was strucken into such fear and trouble of mind, that many of them gave out, that the Empire of Rome was come to an end. The like, say they, will the rest of the Colonies do, and surely all our confederates and allies are combined and agreed to betray the City of Rome unto Annibal. But the Consuls comforted the Senat, and had them be of good cheer laying, That all the Colonies besides would continue loyal and fast in their duty and allegiance: and even those also which had failed in their obedience, if there might be Embassadors sent amongst them, to rebuke and challice them, and not to speak them fair and entertain them by way of prayer, would no doubt have a respective reverence of the majesty of the Roman Empire. Now when the LL. of the Senat had committed the ordering of this matter wholly unto them for to manage and hard e, according as they should think good for the well-publike: after they had thoroughly sounded the hearts and minds of all the rest of the Colonies, they called and cited all the Embassadors, and demanded of them whether their fooundiers were in readiness, according to the capitulations of the covenant. Then M. Sexilius of Fregelae made answer in the behalf of eighteen of them, That not only their fooundiers were ready according to the form of the covenant, but also if more were need, more they would allow, and whatever else the people of Rome imposed upon them, and wished them to perform, the same would they strain themselves to do to the utmost, as yet they had people, and a purse good enough; and as for their hearts, it was much better than their ability. The Consuls after they had made a short speech unto them by way of preamble, laying, that they thought it not sufficient for their desier to be commended from their mouth only, unles all the LL. generally in the Senate-house gave them condign thanks with one voice and common accord, wished them to follow after them thereafter. The Senat having thanked them in as honourable terms as they could possibly devise, and entertained them with most gracious words, gave order to the Consuls, bringing them forth also in the face of the whole people of the City: and before them, among other singular favors and kindnesses, which they had showed both unto them and also unto their ancestors, to make rehearsal of this late good desier of others, which they afforded unto the Commonwealth to the end that now also after many ages and lives of men past they should not be forgotten and buried silence, nor destroued of their just praise and due commendation. And there were they that remained true hearted and fast unto the City of Rome: The Signiers, Nolans, and Norbans; the Sarculians, Brundins, and Fregelians; the Lucerins, Venuins, and Adrians; the Firmans and inhabitants of Ariminum, And from the other side the Pontians, Pelrians, and Cuffians; and of mid-landess, the Beneventins, Efevens, Spolets, Placentins, and the inhabitants of Cernona. Upon the aid and succour of these Colonies, the Roman State at this time refted and stood maintained: and these all were highly thanked both in the Senat, and in the assembly of the people. For as the other twelve Colonies, which had refused to do their obedience, the LL. of the Senat gave express commandment that they should not be so much as once minded or named: and that the Consuls should neither give them their dispatch, nor retain them full nor to much as speak unto them. This silent kind of rebuke without word giving, seemed to stand molt with the majesty and grandeur of the people of Rome.

While the Consuls were diligent in providing and making ready all other things requisite and meet for the wars, it was thought good to bring abroad the venefary gold to win, the twentieth part of all their tributes and revenues which had been laid up and reserved apart in a more secret closet of the City-chamber against an hard winter (as they say) to serve for what need forever the Common-wealth should stand in. So there was taken forth four thousand pound weight of gold, whereof three hundred pound was given to the two Consuls apiece, and likewise to M. Marcellus, and M. Sulpicius the Pro-Consuls; and to L. Veturius the Praetor, unto whole lot the Province of France beliell, And Fabius the Consul had an addition besides himself above the rest of one hundred pound weight of gold for to be carried into the Castle of Tarantum. The rest of the gold they disbursed for to make ready payment down upon the nail unto them that undertook to provide apparel for the army in Spain, which to their own fame, and the honour of their General, served therein in the wars.
Moreover, it was thought good, that before the Confuls departed into their Provinces the prodigious tokens should be purged and expiate. On the Albaen mount there were smitten with fire from heaven: the Image of Jupiter, and a tree standing near into the Temple: likewise the lake at Hybla, the wall at Cupra, and the Church of Fortune: and at Simessa the wall and gate of the town. These, I say were, blazed with lightning, and smitten with thunderbolts. There were some also brought word, that the water at Albac in Blood, and at Rome within the sanctuary of the chappel of Fortunatus, a little image that stood upon her crown, fell of its own accord from the head of the goddess into her hands. And at Portunus it was for certain reported and known of a truth, that an Oxe spake, and that a Vulture or Gripe flew into a shop in the market place.

When it was full of people. And at Simessa there was an infant born of doubtful sex, between male and female, (which the common fort tell Androgynus, as for the most part Greek names, admit more ease composition of two words than the Latin) and there it raised milk, and a man child was born with an Elephants head. These strange and fearfull sights were expiate, and satisfaction made for them with greater lattices: and a solemn procession in all the Churches and Chapels, with prayers and supplications was proclaimed for one day. Besides, a decree was granted, that C. Hestius the Praetor should vow and let out the games and festivals of Apollo, in such manner as of late years they had been vowed and let forth.

About the same time Q. Publius the Conful held an assembly for the creation of Censoras, and elected Censoras were M. Cornel, Cnelicus, and P. Scipiones T. Crudus, who neither of them had ever had been Conful. And by a grant or commissio from the Senat, there was a bill preferred unto the Censors, and the same passed, that these Censoras should let, and to farm let the territory of Cupra. The review of the Senat and choice of new Senators was hindered and lated, by reason of a contention between the two Censors, who should be the president of the Senat. Now the choosing of him lay in Scipion in his hand. Howbeit Cornelius alleged, that the cullomne and tradition of fore-fathers should be followed, namely, to elect him for President, who of all them that were now living had born first the office of Conful. And that was T. Modius Foro, Scipion replied again and said, that as the gods had given him by lot the first place, so they had granted him free liberty to choose whom he would, and therefore he would elect Q. Fabius Max. whom at that time he was able to prove to be the principal of all the City, without exception and take Annibals himself for the Judge. After much variance and contolling of words, at length Scipion by relenting and permission of his Colleagues elected Q. Fabius Max, the chief Senator. Then the Senat was changed, and new Senatours chosen, and eight were overpafted and left out, among whom was L. Cæcilius Metellus, that he gave the infamous and flamellul counsell to abandon Italy, after the defeat at Canna. In voting likewise and discharging the Knights and Gentlemen, the same canon was considered of, and took effect, but very few there were of them that were touched with that infamy: but all those hoffemen belonged to the Campanian legions who were in Sicily and no small number there of them had their horses taken from them. And to aggravate this sharp punishment and note of disgrace, they were plagued also with time of long warfare: so for many of them as had lived with horse allowed by the City, it should not reckoned upon the years passed already, but were to follow warfare ten years forward, and find themselves hores. Moreover, these Censoras after diligent search and survey found out and met with a great number of those that ought to have lived on horseback: and look how many of them were sixteen years old and upward at the beginning of the war, and had not been employed in the wars thofe all they discharged, and made Fasti or contributaries. After this, they bargained by the great for the repairing and re-edifying again of the edifices which had been consumed by fire about the Forum, or market place, namely the seven shops of the fish shambles, and the Kings Hall, or royal gallery.

Thus when all things were finilished which were to be done at Rome, the Confuls set forward to the war, and first Publius went before to Cupra and some few days after Fabius followed who behoght both his own Collegue by word of mouth most earnestly, and also Marco by effectual letters, to make sharp war upon Annibal, and to keep him occupied, while he assailed Tarraconum which City, if it were once taken from the enemy he were then driven out of all and having no place to put his head in, so that he might make account to stand near and truly upon him, he should have no reason at all once to stay in Italy. He despaired also a messenger to Rhogium unto the Captaine of the fort and garrision, which by Leman the Conful was there placed against the Brittish; and those were eight thousand men. The greatest part of them were thee good fellows, and that damned crew, whereof we spake before, who used to live by robbing and filching, and were brought thither from Aquitania out of Sicily, Unio whom there were adjouneyed many of the Brittish also fugitives from them, and as good as themselves every way, both for audacities, and also for neediness to let upon any bold adventure whatsoever. This power of men he commanded should be lead to waste and spoil the Brittish country first, and then to lie against the City Carthage, and to assault it. They having performed this service, not only willingly and cheerfully, but also with greediness, having also chased away and rifed the husbandsmen and peasants of the country, assailed the City with a forcible means, Marcellus stirred up and provoked by those letters of the Conful: and having a good opinion of his own that of all the Roman Captains there was not one able to match Annibal as himself, left his wintering standig Camp, the sooner as ever there was lorrage and grain in the country, took the field, and encountered Annibal
at Cannæ. Now was Anniбал in hand with the Cannibals, and intollid them to revolt. But hearing one that Marcellus approached, he dislodged from thence. The country thereabout was plain and open, without any covert places to betake an ambush, and to lay trains in therefore he began to retire himself from thence into the woodland parts, Marcellus tracked him still, and followed him hard at heels, and encamped close upon him: and ever as he had fortified and entrenched himself, he brought forth his men into the field, ready for battle. Anniabal entertaining small skirmishes with certain Cornets and troops of horsemen, and with light appointed footmen, that lanced darts and javelins, thought it not necessary yet to come unto a pight bet bat the ventu are all upon one throw. Howbeit he was drawn to a fight, maugre his head which he had laboured to avoid it. For being gone afore one night, Marcellus overtook him upon a plain and open ground: and so he was pitching his tents he kept him from fortiifying, by charging his pion-ners and labourers on every side. Whereupon they came to a very battal and fought with all the forces they had on both sides: and when it grew toward night, they departed alander on even hand: but before it was dark they had encamped not far on one another, and in great hale made flut to fortiﬁsh themselves. The next morning by day light Marcellus came forth into the field with all his power: neither refused Anniabal the challenge, having with many words comforted 4 him and encouraged his soldiers to remember Thraemomus and Cannæ, to cut the comb and bear down and come this fell stomack and lusty courage of the enemy: who preferveth still (quoth he) and seeketh upon, nor suffering unto march on quietly in our journey, nor to pitch our tents: giving us no leave to breath ourselves, nor to time to look about us. There is not a morning but to soon as the sun is up in the horizon to give light to the world, the Roman army is out in the K 5 ﬁeld to give us battle. If we could draw blood of him once: and set him out of the ﬁeld with bleed about his ears, he would for ever after fight more quietly, and take better leisure with him. With their and such like comfortable words and effectual remonstrances they were very animated: as a very provoking seeing themselves thus molested by the enemy, who day by day nev-er ceased to challenge and brave them still: whereupon they began a fierce and cruel battel. They had now continued ﬁght two or two hours and then began the Roman Cavalry from the right wing, and the extraordinary soldiers that ﬂanked the main battel, to give ground and dismount, Which Marcell, perceiving he brought forward the eighteenth legion in the vanguard, and whiles one retreated back fearfully, others came forward but slowly, the whole battel was put out of order, and disarrayed: and at length it was discomfited: and for that fear surmounted shame, L 6 they turned their backs and fled away again. S lain there were in the conﬁdence. and in the rout together some 2700 Citizens and Allies one with another: amongst them, there were four Ro- 7 man Centurions, and two Colonels, Marcus Licinius, and Marcus Fufius. Of military geniuses, there were four loth of that right wing which ﬁrst shrank and lost ground: and two other's of that legion which came to succour their fellows that gave back and retreated. Marcellus after that he was returned into the Camp, welcomed his soldiers with such a bitter and sharp Oration, that the very words of the Generall in his anger and wrath were more heavy and grievous unto them, than the conﬁdence it felt, which they had unfortunately endured all the day long before, "I yield praise yet, and render thanks to the immortal gods, (quoth he) as I may in such a case, that our 8 enemies having vanquished & conquered you in the ﬁeld, and driven you so great fear to run M headlong within your trenches & gates, came not with all at once to affall the camp. For surely in the same manner, which you found for battle, ye would likewise have abandoned your tents & pavilions, What is the provocation of your enemies? How cometh it to pass, that ye should so forget all on a sudden, both your own selves and them with whom ye have to ﬁght? Why surely, they are the same enemies & no other. Whom the summer past, ye did nothing but either vanquish & overcome, or else pursuit & follow in chase: whom for these certain days past, ye have been ready to tread on their heels as they fled and ran away before you both by day & night; whom in light skirmishes ye have discomfited: whom no longer ago than yesterday, ye suffered neither to march forward, nor to pitch your camp. I fear not to speak, and I praise in silence those things which in good right ye may stand upon & make N your boast. I say nothing of that which ye ought to be ashamed & displeased with your selves, namely, how but yesterday ye brake off the ﬁght on even hand, and retired out of the ﬁeld, when the enemy had got no advantage? What hast this one night, or what hast one day cut you off? Are either your forces in this mean time abridged & diminished, or your enemies aug- mented & encrated? Now ﬁrly, I think, I speak not to mine own army, nor to Roman fou- diers, Only ye carry about you the fame bodies & armour that ye were wont. For if ye had born the same minds and hearts with you, should the enemies ever have seen your backs? Should they have taken either banner from any company, or ensign from cohort & squadron? Are you 0 yet the enemy never wanted and made boast of the defeat of our Roman legions. You are the very ﬁrst that this day have given him the honour of discomfiting and putting to ﬂight our army. Then they all cried out and besought him to pardon that day's defect, and to make trial once again of his soldiers courage when and wherefoever he would, Mary, and that I will (quoth he) my soldiers: I will put you to it; even to morrow I will bring you abroad into the field, and after we have got the victory ye shall obtain that pardon which ye now crave. So he gave order, that those cohorts which had lost their ensigns should have the allowance of barley in head of wheat: and for those Centurions of the bands or companies, whose banners were
A were loft, them they degraded in this manner: he caused them to be disarmed, and their skins to be drawn naked and taken from them, and let them go and thike their ears. And withal, he made proclamation that the next day they should all present themselves in readiness, as well footmen as horsemen. Which done, he dismissed the audience, and they all confessed and acknowledged, that they were justly and worthily thus checked and rebuked: and that there was not that day one man in the Roman army, sitting aside the General himself only, but he was bound to make amends and satisfaction, either with a sending heart-burn, or acquiring a noble victory. The morrow after they all threw themselves unto him in their armor, and well appointed, according to his commandment. The General commanded them for their forwardness: and gave them to understand, that he wou'd set those in the forefront of the vanguard, which the day before being to run away as also those cohorts like wise that lost their ensigns. And now he gave them warning, and charged them all to fight it out bravely, to win the field: and to endeavour and strain themselves, both all and some, that the news of yeilding eyes flight came not to Rome before, and presented the same of this dayes victory. Then he willed them to go to their meat: and to strengthen their bodies: that in case the fight should hold long, they might be able to endure to the end. Now when all was said and done, that might encourage and stir up the hearts of footmen: they went out & advanced their ensigns into the field, Annibal being advertis'd thereof. Now believe me (od, he) we have to deal with an enemy indeed, who is of that nature, that he can neither brook his good fortune, nor away with bad. If he hath won at any time, he pursueth those whom he hath vanquish'd cruelly. Contrary-wise if he have lost, he beginneth to fight with the consternation. Querus again right freely. Then he commanded the trumpeters to sound, and brought forth his power in battle array. A field was sought there on both hands more sharly a good deal than the day before. The Carthaginians strived to keep the honor and reputation of yeilding eyes flight the Romans strained to wipe away the ignominy and shame of that dayes lost. On the Romans side, the Cavalry of the left wing, and those cohorts which had lost their ensigns, fought in the vanguard, and the twentieth legion was marshalled and ranged in the right point of the battle.

L. Corn. du Lentulus and C. Claudius Nord had the leading of both these wings, M. Marcellus himself commanded the main battalion, and within his personal presence encouraged them, as witness of their valour and courage. Now, when as the fight had continued long, and the victory inclined no way, Annibal commanded the Elephants to be put forth upon the very forefront of the battle, to see if that object might possibly work some terror and confusion among the Romans. And at the first they disordered the ensigns, and troubled the ranks; so as partly by treading under foot, and partly by battering them for fear that were all about them had laid naked and open the battle in one part, and in more places than had the Romans fled but that C. Decimus Flaminus, a Colonel, having from the first band of the Hattari, caught up the banner in his hand, commanded the company thereto belonging to follow him: and thither he led them where the foresaid Elephants were gathered round and made foulest work, and charged them to fling their darts and javelins at them. All this shot light fire, and milled them not, yea, and some stuck in them: and no marvel, for the beasts were near at hand: the bodies great and standing thick in a plump together. But as they were not all wounded, so they that had the darts fell in their backs and sides, were as ready (such is their nature, dangerous to meddle withal) for to hurt their own masters, as the enemies: and all turned upon their fellows that were unhurt, and drove them back. So as now, not that entire band only, but every foeldier els for his own part, who was able to reach the herd (as it were) of the Elephants as they fled, did his best to lance javelins and short darts at them, and so much the more furiously ran the beasts upon their own, and made a far greater havoc there than they had done among the enemies: by how much more fiercely fear and fright let them agate, and sent them forward, than the will of their masters that fell upon them, was able to move and restrain them. The Roman footmen, enjoyng this advantage, came forward with their ensigns and banners upon that battaillon, which was put in distanter by the running to and into these mutually dumb creatures: and without much ado and further skirmish, put them to flight, after they were once broken out of their ranks, and fell in a fright. Then Marcellus lent his Cavalry after them as they fled, and to follow the chace, and never gave they over hunting and courting them, until they had lodged them in great fear within their camp. For besides all other things, which made them thus scared and affrighted, there charged two Elephants to fall down in the very gate & entrance thereof; so that the foeldiers were forced to rush into it over the trench and rampier. In that place was the greatest slaughter made of the enemies. For there were slain eight thousand men, and five Elephants. Neither had the Romans a blinding victory of it: for of the two legions, there died fai'd upon 1700, and of the Allies more than 1400. Besides many a citizen and confederate force wounded. And Annibal the next night dislodged and departed, Marcellus although he was devious to follow upon him, yet he could not for the multitude of his hurt men. The spoils that were sent out to pursue him in his march, brought word back the next day, that Annibal took his way into the Bruttian country.

Near about the same time, the Hirpines, Lucanis, and Volcensis, after they had deliv'd up the garrison of Annibal: which they had in their Cities, yeilded themselves also to Q. Fulvius the Consul: and were received to mercy with great clemency by the said Consul, after some rebuke given them in words only for their trepangs and errorfull part. The Bruttian also had the like hope of pardon, when as Vibius & Fulvius, two brethren, of the noblest house of that nation, came from them.
them to sue for the same condition of yielding and surrendering themselves, which was granted unto the Lucanes.

Q. Fabius the Consul, won by assault a Town in the Salentins country called Manduria. Prisoners were taken there 4000, and some good store of other pilage. From thence he went to Tarentum, and in the very mouth of the haven, lay against the City. Those ships which Livius had for to wait the convey of victuals, he partly charged with engins, and other ordnance to assault Towns withal, and partly furnished with artillery, with stoves, and shot of all sorts: the ships of burden likewise, and not the Gallies only which were guided by oars: to the end, that some might bring Engins and Ladders unto the walls, and others aloof from out of the ships, wound and hurt those that defended the City. Those ships were ordained and appointed from the open Sea to assault the City. And clear was the Sea of all danger from the Punick navy, which I was sent unto Corcyra, at what time as Philip minded to affail the Ecelians. In this mean while, the assailants of Cambyses, a little before the coming of Amal vid, for fear left they should be surprized betokk themselves to a little hill: which as it was (for the present danger) a place of safety, so it wanted all things else. Fabius, as he lay at siege about Tarentum, was much helped to the achieving of a matter of great importance, by a trifling thing to speak of, and of small moment in it self. The Tarentins had a garrison of the Britians, sent from Amal vid to defend the City. The Captain of this garrison was greatly enamoured and ready to die for the love of a woman, who had a brother that served in the army of Fabius the Consul. He being certified by letters from his sister, of this new acquaintance that she had with that forraimer and stranger, so wealthy and so honorable a person among his country-men; conceived some hope by means of his sister, that her lover might be brought to any thing, and wrought as they would: and so acquainted the Consul with his conceived hope. And this seemed no vain imagination. Whereupon the young man was sent to Tarentum in habit and quality of a fugitive, and by the mediation of his sister, grew into some favour with the Captain aforefaid: and at first practised secretly to underciele and found his mind, and afterwards seeing the weakness and inconstancy of the man, he prevailed with him so much. through the flattering speeches and allurements of the woman, as to betray the keeping and guard of that place whereof he had the charge. After that the manner how, and the time when this plot should be put in execution, was agreed upon, the said fouldier was let out of the City close by night in a place between the corpor de guard and informed the Consul what was done already, and in what sort every thing was to be done. Fabius at the first watch, after he had given a token and watchword to them in the Caflle, and to those likewise that had the keeping of the haven, himself set a compass about the said haven, and lay as close as he could to that part of the City which lieth to the Eaf. Then all at once the trumpets sounded from the Caflle, from the haven and ships, which in the open Sea rid neer at hand. Great houting there was, and much ado on lest purpose from all these quarters, whereas indeed there was left danger or none at all there. In the mean mean the Consul kept his men in. Whereupon Democrates, who had before time been Admiral of the Armado, and whose chance it was to have the guarding of that place, against which the Consul lay close, seeing all thereabout quiet enough, and no stirring at all, and hearing all other parts toiring again and refted with such alarms as otherwheres it seemed the City was taken and won, and fearing lest if he war till and befirver not himfelf, the Consul would make some Camidado, and give the allay to enter the City with banner displayed; withdrew his guard toward the Caflle, from whence was heard the greatest and most terrible noife. Fabius, when he perceived once by gueffing at the time, as also by the silence it fell in that place (for where but a while before they kept much ado, raising up one another, and calling to arm, there now all was hufht and not a wordl) that the guards were had away from thence, he commanded that the ladders should be brought to that side of the wall, where the brocher & broker both of the trea- ron, had brought word that the cohorts of the Britians were quatered and kept their guard. Thus on that part was the wall won by the means of the Britis, who were ready to help and take them up, and so they got over into the City. Then was the next gate broken open, that the army might come by companies under their several colours. Whereupon they let up a shout, and a little before break of day, they marched as far as into the market head, and met with none to make head against them, and cauld all them that fought at the Caflle and the haven, to turn upon them. There, in the very entrance of the market place, began a great skirmish, rather fought hotly than mainained thorowly. For the Tarentin fouldiers were nothing comparable to the Romans, either in courage of heart, or goodness of armours; in skill and knowledge of war, or in lutfines and strength of body. And therefore when they had only fhot their darts, even before they came to handtohand, they turned back and flunk away through the lanes of the City, where with they were well acquainted, came to their own home and fome to their friends houses. Two of their Captains, Nice and Democrates, fought manfully, and were slain. Philomenus, who was the principal head that wrought the revolt unto Amal vid, fled out of the skirmish as fast as ever his horse would carry him: but a while after his empty horse was seen & known wandering alay in the City, but his body could never be found. It was commonly believed, that he flung himself headlong from his horseback into a certain open pit, As for Carp holo, Captain of the Punick garrison, he cast away his amour and weapon, and as he was coming to the Conful with a godly tale, recounting and remembering his fathers friendship and entertainment to the Romans, there hapned a fouldier to meet him and strike off his head. Then by some or other in every place, the Carchaginians and Tarentins
Tarentum, both went to wrack, and were killed without mercy and regard, as well unnarmed as armed. Yes, there were many of the Bruttians also fell upon the edge of the word, were it that they were mislikken, or for an old grudge and in-bred hatred: or to suppreffe and extinquish the bruit and rumor that went of betraying the Town: so that Tarentum might seem from the other won by assault and force of arms. Then from murder and slaughter they fell to lack and spoil the City. There were taken prisoners by report thirty thousand head of slaves: a mighty mass of silver tried and coined: of gold 87000 pound weight. Images and painted tables or pictures, to as many near amounted to the number of Syracusas, But Fabius of a braver mind, abstained from that kind of prize and pillage, which Marcellus for bare not. For when his Scribe or Secretary asked him, what his pleasure was, should be done with the images (and the Statues they were of the Gods, of a mighty bigness and proportion, portrayed every one in their own habit like warriors): Mary (ed he) let the Tarentins have their angry Gods kill among them, for me. After this, the wall which divided the City from the Cattle, was dismantled, raited down, and laid even with the ground.

Whilest these things happened at Tarentum, Archid (after they had yeelded themselves unto him that beheld Coranias) hearing of the siege and affaynt of Tarentum, went night and day and made all the hall he could, with a running mat. to rescue & scour the City: but hearing by the way that it was forced and gone, * Ali, I fee welléd he, the Romans also are not without their Armful, In good faith, fo was Tarentum won, and to lost again, by treachery and treason. But be-cause he would not be thought to turn back & file, in the very same place where he made the fall down, and encamped almost five miles from the City: and after he had abode there some time, he retirèd himself to Metapontum. From thence he sborne two Metapontins, and lent them to Fabius at Tarentum, with letters desised from certain principal men of that City, wherein they promised to betray Mepontum, and the Pennik garrison into the Cornifi his hand, upon assurance made unto them, that all former trepacket & elinces should be forgiven and forget ten. Fabius supposing all was truit and plain-dealing, appointed a certain day where he would come to Metapontum, and lent his letters also to those principal citizens, which letters were brought unto Metapontines, where he was right glad and took great contentment that his fraud passed so well, and that Fabius also might be entraped caught, and overftaken by his wily felches as well as others.

In the beginning of that summer wherein these occurrences happened, after that Scipio had be- stowed the whole winter, in winning and reconciling the hearts of the barbarious people, party, withagists and rewards, and partly with enlarging and rendering back their boughes, and the prisoners there came unto him one Edesio, a noble and famous Captain of the Spaniards. His wife and children were in custody with the Romans: but besides that occasion which brought him to Scipio, there was another cause, even a general inclination of all their minds, that they saw that changed I wit not, which withdrew and estranged whole Spain from the Carthaginian Empire, unto the Romans. The same season moved indultus also and Mardonius, the greatest I., and Princes no doubt of all Spain, to leave Africa, and with all the power they could make or his followers and kaffals, to depart into the mountains standing just over his camp, from whence they might from hill to hill continually retire themselves in fcury to the Romans. Archid supposing the pittance of his enemies to grow and increase still more and more by little and little, and his own to diminish; and fore-seeing, that unless he made some hardy adventure and prevailed that way, all would be nauful and all to the ground, as it was beginning already to reed, determined to put it to a battaille with all speed possible. Scipio also was sharpset, and the more detrons of fights well for the good hope, which the succèw of his former affairs confirmed and creasted; as also because, before the armes of his enemies should joyn together, he was more willing to fight with one General and one army than with all them joyntly at once, and yet he had well amended and encaled his forces politickly & purposely, against the worst, in case he should be driven to fight with them all together. From seeing ther was no vale of ships, because all the River and seas along Spain, were cleared of the Carthaginian navy, he withdrew his fleet upe into the harbor at Tarraco, and joined his Sea-serviters to his Land-soldiers. For liberty did more enough, which was either taken in the pillage of Carthage, or newly made after the winning of the Town, by to many Artificers and Craftsmen that he kept there hard and close at work. With this pow-er, Scipio in the beginning of spring departed from Tarraco (for now by this time was Lutre ex- turned from Rome, without whose company he was not willing to enterprise any service of great moment and importance) and led forward against the enemies. As he journeyed peaceably all over the country, and passed through the territo ries and confines of every City and State his Allies were ready to entertain and accompany him, Indubius also and Mardonius among the rest, with a great power met him. Then Indubius in the name of them both, spake, not like a forthright barbarian inoffibly & incensurately, but rather with a modest kind of gravity; more like one that

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excised his revolt and running from the adversie part upon contenst and necessity, than made it a boil of catching and embracing the vantage thereof upon the first opportunity presented. I
know well (quoth he) that the very name of a fugitive revolt, it is odious and detestable to old Allies, so it is puerulent to new. And I cannot greatly blame the manner of men in so doing, in case it be not the bate name, but the double dealing that causeth the hatred. Then he recked up his own good turns and desires done unto the Carthaginians on the one side: and recounted their covetousness and pride on the other side; together with their injurious dealings with himself and his people. And therefore, quoth he, this body of mine only hath converted among them until this day, but my heart and affection hath long since been with them, where I believe verily, that right, justice and religion is regarded and maintained: for even to do we file as suppliants in humble manner to the Gods also, when we can no longer endure the vio-
cence and wanton outrages of men. Beleewing Scipio this one thing withal, that this his start-
ing from the enemy, and ranging with him, he would neither blame and condemn presently as a trangression, nor honor and commend as a good defect of his: but as he should find both him and the ret, by good proof from that day forward, even so to make reckoning of them accor-
dingly, and not otherwise, Scipio made answer again: That in truth he would so do: neither would he take them for fugitives and runaways, who judged that they were not bound in con-
science to maintain the society and alliance with them as good and lawful, who made no count at all to observe inviolable, any promise or duty to God or man. Then were their two wives and children brought forth into their sight, and delivered unto them, whom they received, and shed tears abundantly for joy, and so for that day they were had to their lodgings. The morrow after, faith was light and contracted between them, and the same confirmed by covenant: and they were diffusified to bring their forces, and to shew them before him: and so they quartered and lodged in the same camp with the Romans, until by their guidance and direction they came unto the enemy. The army of the Carthaginians next unto them was under the conduct of Ahenobar, near unto the City Batula. Before his camp, he kept certain standing guards of horsemen. Upon them the light armed forlorn hope of archers and darters of the Roman host which went before the battaill to skirmish, likewise they of the forefront and vanguard, charged forcibly with their short-sword to contemptuously, and in forcible wise, even presently upon their travail in journey, and before they had chosen a piece of ground to encamp in, that it was soon seen what heart there was in both parts. For, the Cavalry of the enemies fearfully fled, and were drien into the camp: but the Romans advanced with banners displayed, hard to the very gates: and so for that day their flamacks were only up and provoked to a fight, and then the Romans pitched their tents. Ahenobar in the night retired his army to a mount, which in the top had a broad plain. Behind this hill there ran a river the fore-front thereof, and the sides all about the skirts were compassed as it were with a steep bank (standing plumb upright), there lay under this hill top another plain, lower than the other which also was enclosed round about with the like bank, as difficult for ascent as for descent. The next day Ahenobar, after he saw the enemies standing arranged before their camp, fell down his Numidian-horsemen, the light armed lancers also of the Balears, and likewise the Africans. Then Scipio rode about all the regiments, envoys, and ranks of his army, marshalled as they stood in battail wise, and shewed unto them their enemies, how they de-
spaired afore-hand to fight on equal and even ground, how they taking the vantage of the hills, bravely and fearfully, and trusted upon the place, and not upon their own valor and strength of arms. Howbeit (quoth he) Carthage had higher walls, and yet the Ro-
man souldiers were able to scale and get over: neither Hills nor Castle, no, nor the very Sea, stood in their way then, nor stopped them of their entry. And as for these high places which the enemies were poised of, they hapy may serve their turns well, when they shall take their flight, and leap from off the steep banks, and run down-hill space, and so get away. But I trow, I shall debar them there, and lay a block in their way on every side. Whereupon he com-
daded two squadrions, the one to keep the strifes of the valley, through which the river runneth: the other to bect the passage that leadeth from the City into the fields, and crostheth overwaft in the hill side aforesaid. Himself led the light appointed vancurriers, who the day before had dis-
comfitted the guards and wards of the enemies, to affront the light armed souldiers, that were quartered in the nether brow of the hill, And first they passed through the roughs, and were not impeached nor hindered other wise than by the difficult passages. But afterward, when they were come within shot, at the very first they were welcomed with a mighty volley of allsorts, pouring (as it were) like hail upon them. Himself answered them again, and recharged upon them, letting drive and discharging the stones which lay strewed all over the ground, and were such in manner all, as might be welded and flung from them with ease. And not only the souldiers, but lackies and horse-boyes, &c such as followed the camp, were intermingled amongst the armed companies. And albeit the ascent up the hill was hard, and they were pelted and almost overwhelmed with darts and stones, yet being so inured as they were to clime walls, and resolute withal, they mounted up swiftly to the top: and so soon as they had got some even ground, where they might have sure footing, they found the enemy, (who was light and nimble, and able to run to and fro, and to save himself, and shift well when he was far off, all the time that they skirmished aloof, and paid upon one another with light shot) now that they came to close fight, and to hand-strokes, not able to stand his ground: and so they drove him from his place, and with great slaughter chased him and
A let him back to the very battel, that ftood upon the higher hill, Then Scipio having given com-
mmandment to thefe, to go to follow on the train of their victory, and to enter up till upon the main 
battel of the enemies, parted the reft of his forces, together with Lelius, willing him to coft Along 
and wheel about on the right hand of the mount, until he found some way of eaf: after him-
self on the left hand fetched no long circuit and compass, until he came crofs over thare part of the 
flank of the enemies, Hereupon fiil began their battel to be disordered, while they were defirous to 
turn their wings, and to oppofe their ranks and fquadrons againft the noife and throts which rang every where about them. In this tumultuous battel, Lelius allo was got up; and while the 
enemies drew backward and gave ground, becaufe they would not be charged behind on their 
back, the vanguard of their part was defplayed and lay open: and the Romains even of the mid-
Bdle battel allo, had a lane and spacious room to get up and enter upon them: who never had 
been able to have gained the ground, and won the plain above, (considering the disadvantage of the 
deep bank) fo long as the ranks had ftood unbroken, and the Elephants were oppofed agai-
t them before the Ensign, in the forefront. Down went the enemies now on every side, and 
were piecelfly killed: and Scipio, who with his left wing contrtuted the right, charged and plaid 
especially upon the naked fides of the enemies. And fo by this means; they had no way left them 
to fly and efcape clear. For the Roman guards on both hands, as well on the left as the right, 
had beat all the passages. And as for the gate of the camp, the General hisfelf, and the other 
Captains and officers of the Camp, had taken it up as they fled that way: besides the comber-
forme trouble of the Elephants, whom being now affrighted, they feared no lefs then their ene-
Cemies. So there died of them 8000, Asdrubal, who before the confifiic had made fure work with 
all the money, and taken it with him, fent the Elephants before, and having called as many as he 
could, of them that fled and efcape out of the camp, he made hafte along the river Tagt, to-
ward the mountain Pyraenius, Scipio being now master of the enemies camp, after he had given 
to the fouldiers all the pillage and f spoil, but only the prisoners, fuch as were freamen: when he came 
to take the number of the captives, found they were ten thoufand footmen, and two thoufand 
horfe, Of which number, as many as were Spaniards he fent at liberty and fent them home with-
out ranom. But as for all the Africans, he commanded the Treasurer to make money of them, 
Then the whole multitude of the Spaniards, as well thole that before had yeeded themfelves, as 
they that were taken prisoners the day before, valued him with great content and general voice, 
by the name and title of King, Whereupon Scipio, after silence made by the cryer, faid, "That he 
took the name of I. General or Commander, to be the greateft of all other names, by which 
his own fouldiers uscd to call him. For the title of King, howevcr in other places it was 
great and honorable, at Rome surely, it was odious and intollerable. For his own part, the mind 
indeed he caried of a King, and if they deemed it to be the highest honour that can fall to the 
nature of man, let them judge fo in their own hearts secretly, and pleafe themfelves with that 
rule: only he wished them to forbear the word and term thereof. These very Spaniards, as bar-
barous as they were perceived by this speech how haughty and magnanimous he was, who in the 
height of spirit conftained that as a bale thing, whereat in admiration only of the very title, all 
mortal men beftides are amazed and adorning. After all this, he beftowed upon the Princes and 
Great Potentates of the Spaniards, fundry gifts. And of the hories, whereof he had taken in the field 
and camp great store, he gave Indulgence the choice of three hundred where he would. When the 
treater was felling the Africians, according to the General his commandement, he happen'd upon 
a young fpringful and ftripling, of rare and singular beauty: and hearing that he was of royal blood, 
he lent him to Scipio. And when Scipio demanded of him who he was, and what country-man, 
and whereof at thole years he was in camp among rude fouldiers: he was (faith he) a Numidian 
born, (and with that his eyes fill of water) and in my country they call me Massinissa. Being 
left and orphan and fatherles, I was brought up with my grand-father by the mother fide, Gala-
king of the Numidians, And with my uncle by the mother. Massinissa who was lately come 
with a power of horfemen to aid the Carthaginians, it was my hap to fall over into Spain. And 
F never to this day, have I been in any battel, by reafon that Massinissa would not in regard of my 
tender age, interfer me in any hand to go to the wars. Howbeit that very day when the battat 
was fought with the Romans, unwares to my fad uncle, I fecretly got an horfe under me, and 
amour upon my back, and went forth into the field; where my horfe chance to fall, and call 
me down headlong on the ground: and it was my fortune to be taken by the Romans, Scipio 
gave order that this Numidian youth should be kept safe, and to proceed to finifh matters that 
were brought before him, as he faw upon the Tribunal in martial court. And after he was came 
back from thence into his royal pavilion, he called the party againefl him and asked him, whether 
he were willing to return again to Massinissa. Whereat the tears gushing out of his eyes for joy, 
yes, full fain (yd. he) and with all my heart. Then after he had given the young gentleman a ring 
G of gold, a coat embroidered with purple floud-wife, with a Spanish fouldiers cape; a golden claf 
button & a brave courefier, with all the furniture & caparifon thereto belonging he lent him away, 
and commanded certain fpartmen to fafe conduct and accompany him, fo far as he would himfelf, 
Then Scipio fell to confult about the war. Some there were that advised him, presently to purifie 
Asdrubal, but he supposing that to be a dangerous contrife, for fear left Mago and the other Asdrub-
kal should join their forces to his, he lent only a good guard to keep the paflage of the hill Pyre-
neus, and imploied the rest of the summer, in receiving homage and feality of other States of Spain, 
Within
Within few days after the battle at Baucida, when as Scipio in his return to Tarascon, was gone past the chafe or forret of Celido: Afdroul the son of Gisgo and Mago, the two Generals, arrived out of the farther province of Spain unto Afdroul the son of Amilcar, But they came a day after the fair, and too late to help an overthrow past already: yet in very good time, to give counsel for the managing and executing of the war behind, There as they conferred together, concerning the disposition of the Spaniards, and how they should affect in the countries of each province, only Afdroul the son of Gisgo was of opinion, and perfwaid, That the utmost tract and coast of Span, which lieth upon the Ocean and Gades, was hitherto unaccompanied with the Romans, and therefore fall enough and sure to the Cartaghiams. But the other Afdroul and Mago, were of another mind, and agreed in this, That Scipio with his favours and benefits had possessed the affections and hearts of all men already, both in general, and also in particular, and that there would never be an end of sliding from them, and siding to the Romans, before that all the Spanish foudlids were either removed into the farthest parts of Spain, or conveyed over into France. And therefore albeit the Senat of the Cartaghiams had not granted out any such a and commission, yet there was no remedy, but that Afdroul must go over into Italy, where Annibal was the head of the war, and in whom lay the main chance of all: by which means also he might withdraw out of Spain all the Spaniards, far enough from the naming and hearing of Scipio. For Afdroul’s army, as well by daily falling away and revolting to Scipio, as also by the late defeat much empaired, was to be replenished again with new foudlids. Moreover, that Magna should deliver his army to Afdroul the son of Gisgo, and himsell in person cros over into the Balar K Islands, with a great fum of money, to wage new aids and cources from thence. And that Afdroul the son of Gisgo, with his army should retire farther up into Portugal, and not encounter the Romans at all in any hand. And that out of all the Cavality there should be chossn out the very flower and strength, to the full number of 5000, for Mafajaffa, and that he should range and overrun all the farther Province of Span, partly to help the diffettled Allies, and partly to spoil the enemies towns, and forage their lands. After these orders and directions let go down, the Generals departed adluer to the execution of their determined deigmen, Thus yeice what were the affairs and occurrences of Spain for that year.

At Rome the name of Scipio grew greater every day then other. Fabius for the winning of Tarentum, though he get it rather by craft and policy, then by force and vertue, was glorious therefore. The name of Fabius began to age and decay, Marcellus grew also into an ill name and some obloquy, both for that at first he had a foil, and also because he suffered Annibal to range over Italy at his pleasure, and himself at mid-winter had retired his foudlids to Venufa to take up there (as it were) their winter quarters. He had a fore adversary in the City, one C. Publius Buthin, a Tribune of the Commons; who from the very time of that dissimulation, with continual speeches and Orations brought Claudius into hatred and innamy with the common people, and now was in hand with them to deprive him of his government. Howbeit, the friends and kinsfolk of Claudius obtained thus much. That Marcellus leaving his Lieutenant at Venufa, should repair to Rome for to make his purgation, and acquit himself of such crimes as his adversaries objected and laid against him: and that during his absence, they should not treat nor debate about his depravation.

It hapned much about one time, that both Marcellus came to Rome (to meet with the shamefull orders that ran on him, and to save his honour) and also Q. Fabius the Consul, about the new election for the year following. The question touching the government of Marcellus, was debated and handled in the lills of Cirrus, called Flamininus, and a great assembly there was, and much concourse of the Commons, and of people of all degrees and calling. The Tribune accocnted not Marcellus only, but all the nobility by whole grandulat praty, and by whole cold and delayful proceedings, it was come to pass, that Annibal now these ten years had remained in Italy (as it were) in his province continually, where he had had a greater part of his life, then at Carthage in his native country. And now (unto he) the people of Rome safte the fruit, proceeding of proroguing and continuing of government still in one person. For see what is come of it: Marcellus his army had been twice defeated and fallen upon the enemies sword: and now, fortooth, is houfed in Venufa for fun burning. But Marcellus to continue this acculatory speech of the Tribune, by reconning his own worthy noble acts: that not only the Bill preferted for the depoing him out of his room, was damaufled, and the neck of it broken, but also the next day after, all the Centuries with one general voice created him Consul. There was joined with him companion in government T. Quintus Cripilus, who then was Pretor. The morrow after were the Pretors chosen, to wit P. Licinius Crassus Dives, who was at that time the Arch-bishop, P. Licinius Varrus, Sex. Flavius Calar, and Q. Claudius Flamen.

During the time of this solemn Parliament or Session for the election of Magistrates, the City was much dignified for the revok of Herennius, C. Calpurnius, who ruled that province as Pro- pretor, had by his letters given notice, that the beginning thereof arose from the Aretons: and therefore immediately M. Marcellus the Consul elect, was therfor sent with commification to look into the matter, and (as he thought it requisite) to lend for his forces, and to translate the war out of Apulia into Toscan. For fear whereof, the Tuscans pul’d in their heads, and were quiet. The Tarentine Embassadors made suit for peace, and that together with their freedom they might enjoy their own laws. And this answer was returned by the Senat, That they should come again when Fabius the Consul was returned to Rome. The Roman Games, and also the players called
A called Plebeii, were exhibited that year, and rented one day apace more then ordinary. The Ediles of the chair were L. Cornelius Cubianus, and Servilius Sulphius Galba: but those of the Commons were C. Servilius, and Q. Cestius Metellus. As for Servilius, it was denied, that he had been Tri-

bun of the Commons before, or now Edile by right and order of law, because it was now for certain known, that his father (of whom the opinion went current for ten years that he was slain by the Bolans about Mutina at what time as he was Triumvir for the division of lands) was now living, and in the hands of the enemies in flavery and bondage.

In the eleventh year of the Punick war, M. Marcellus entered his comitialship the fifth time (to

you reckon upon that Comitialship which he never bare through, because there was an error com-
nitted in his creation) and with him T. Quintinius Crispinus. To both Comiti the Province of Italy

was alligned, and both armies of the Comiti the former year. There was a third army then at Venetia, whereas M. Marcellus had the conduct. Of the three, they were to choose two, which they would; and the third remaining, was to be committed unto him, who was by lot to have the government of Tarrentum, and the Salentin. The rest of the Provinces were thus divided am-

ong the Pretors. P. Licinius Varus had the jurisdiction civil, and P. Licinius Crassus, then Pontifex Max, that of the foreigners, and to go whither ever the Senate should think good to send him. Unto Sex. Julia Cesar bettel Sicily, and to Q. Claudius Flamen the City of Tarrentum. Q. Ful-

vinius Floccus had his comination renewed, to continue in government for one year longer; and he was appointed to govern Capua, which had been the charge of T. Quintinius the Pretor, and to have

under his hand the command of one legion. Likewise C. Hofilius Tubulus remained still in office,

and as Pro-pretor he should succeed C. Calpurnius, and have the conduct of two legions. Moreover, L. Veturius Philo had his authority & government confirmed to him anew; that as Pro-

pretor he should fit Lord Deputy in the same province of France, and have the same two legions as

before, when he was Pretor there. The like decree that was granted for L. Veturius, fell also in the Senat for C. Aurunculies, and a bill was propounded unto the people for the proproning and conmiinance of his office, who as Pretor ruled the Province of Sardinia, with the Strength of two Legions. And for the safety and defence of the said Province he had an addition of ships of war, which, P. Scepo had went out of Spain, P. Scepo likewise and M. Sullanis, held still, by virtue of a decree, their provinces of Spain, and commanded the same armies for one year longer.

As for Scepo, he had direction to send over into Sardinia fifty ships, out of those eighteen

which he had under his hand, either taken with him out of Italy or won from the enemy at Car-
thage, because there ran a rumor, that there was great preparation at Carthage for a navy that year, and that the Carthaginians would take up, and fill all the sea coast of Italy, Sicily and Sardinia, with an Armado of two hundred fall. In Sicily the government was divided in the same manner, Sex.

uus Cesar had the leading of the Cannian army; M. Valerius Lecritus (for his government also was confirmed for a year longer) the charge of that fleet of sewnty ships, which rid about Sicily; with

commission to add therto, those thirty ships which the former year lay before Tarrentum and this

Armado consisting of one hundred fall, to put over into Africa, if he thought to go good, and

there to forragge and fetch bootes. Over and besides, P. Sulpicius was for one year longer to

continue in office, and to govern the provinces of Macedonia and Greece, with the force of the said

Navy which he had before. As touching the two legions which remained about the City of Rome,

there was no alteration. Only the Comiti were permitted to levy and enrol a new supply as need

should require, Thus the Empire and State of Rome for that year was maintained with the power

of 21 legions, P. Licinius Varus the Pretor of the City, was charged to repair those thirty old

ships, which lay at Hipo, and to furnish twenty new built, with sjailers and mariners, that with this

Armado of fifty sail he might be able to defend all the sea coast near unto the City of Rome.

C. Calpurnius was forbidden to remove his forces from Arretium, before a successor came in his

place. The same order was given to Tubulus, and to have especially a vigilant eye, that no com-
motion arose from thence. And then the Pretors went into their provinies.

F As for the Comiti they were troubled in mind and made some request of confidence to go to

their provinces, upon the report of some prodigious and ominous signs, and because all their sacrifi-
cices they found not the gods so propitious and favourable unto them. For out of Compa-

nia news came, that in Caput two Temples to wis, of Fortune and Mars, and also some Tombs and

Sepulchers, were smitten with lightning: and besides (see how vain and preposterous superstiti-

on, impetueous the least trifling things to the hand of God) that certain Mice, toothoth, in a

Chappel of Jupiter gnawed the gold, Also that in Calpurnia, a great swarm of Bees settled in the

very market place. Moreover, that the Wall and one of the Gates at Hipo was blasted in brick

and lightning. That in Cæs, a Gripe fled into the Church of Jupiter, That at Volsci there was a

pool flowed with blood. In regard of these strange and wondrous tokens, there was a devout

supplication for one day. And for certain days together, greater beastes were killed for sacrifi-
cices, without any good token: and for a long time the grace and favour of the gods could not be ob-

tained. But yet the fortune of the Common-wealth stood full upright, and all this anger and mi-
lchief pretended by those wonders, light upon the head of the Comiti alone, and their death ex-

cluded all the rest. The Plays called Apollinariis, in the year of Q. Fulvius and Ap. Claud. Comi-

fes, had been by P. Cornel, Sulla Pretor of the City, first exhibited: after whom all the Pretors ever

after did the like. But they vowed them a year before, and performed them on a day uncertain.

The same year happened a grievous plague both in the City and in the Countrys about, which
yet in the end turned rather to long and chronick diseases, then to sharp and deadly maladies. For in this pestilence there was not only lewmen going in procession, in all the high streets, carriages, and crows ways throughout the City: but also P. Licinius Fatus Praetor of the City, was commanded to propound unto the people, that the Plays above said should be vowed for ever against a hot and determinat day. Himself therefore was the first that vowed them, and exhibited them upon the third day before the Nones of July, and the same day ever after was observed and kept holiday for that purpose.

As the rumor of the Areatus revolt encreased dayly greater, so the LL. of the Senat were careful about it every day more then other. Letters therefore were sent unto C. Helvidius, that he should without delay take pledges of the Areatus: and C. Terentius Varro was sent with commission, to receive the laid hostages at his hands, and to bring them to Rome. He was no sooner come, but Helvidius pretext commanded that one legion, which lay in camp before the town, should enter the City with banner displayed, and there he put sufficient guards in places convenient. Then having called and summuned the Senat to appear in the market place, he demanded of them hostages. And when the Senat required but two days relit to consider of the matter, he made proclamation, that either they should deliver them presently, or else the next day he would leaze upon all the Senaturs children every one. Then he commanded the Colonels, the Captains of the Allies, and the Centurions, to ward the Gates, that none might go forth of the City by night. But this was harkly and negligentely excuted, for seven principal Senaturs, before the warders were set at the gates, escaped forth with their children before night. The morrow morning by break of day, when the Senat began to be creed into the Common Hall, those parties were emiffed, and their goods confiscat, and fold in port-falle. Of the rest of the Senaturs, their children were taken hostages to the number of 150, and were delivered to C. Terentius for to be conveyed to Rome: who when he was come into the Senat, made such a great demonstration of the matter, that the imputation of their revolt was much more pregnant then it was. And therefore, as some instruction had like to come from Tuscain, C. Terentius himself was commanded to conduct one of the two legions about the City of Rome unto Areatus, and there to lie in garrison with it for to keep the town in order. And it was thought meet that C. Helvidius with the army beside, should turn and visit the whole Province, and to be careful and circumstamed, that no occasion or opportunity might be given unto them, that were minded to seek alteration and to rebel. C. Terentius so soon as he was come to Areatus with the legion, when he called unto the Magistrates for the keys of the gates, and they made answer that they were but mistafte aside and could not be found; supposing that they were rather cautiously laid out of the way for the nonce, than left by negligence, caused other keys and locks to be made, and set upon every gate: and took as great heed and care as he could, to have all under his own hand. He gave especial warning also to Helvidius as touching the Tuscan, and told him, that he should never hope to rett in security, that they would not rebel, unless he took order with them beforehand, that they possibl could not rebel.

After this, there was much debate and contention in the Senat about the Tarentins, even before Fabius, whiles himself excused and defended them whom he had conquered and subdued by force and arms: but others were mightily offended with them, yea, and molt of them gave out plainly, that they were full as faulty as the Campans, and deserved no les punishment. And so there was an act of the Senat granted according to the opinion and advice of M. Acinius, that the town should be held with a garrison, and all the Tarentins kept from flirring out of the City: and that the matter should further be debated and decided at another time, when the state of Italy stood in better terms of peace and quietness. And the like contention and variance was among the LL. of the Senat touching M. Licinius Contabile and Captain of the Castle of Tarentum, whereas some were of mind to condemn him as in great fault, because through his carelessnesses and sloth, Tarentum the City was betrayed to the enemy: others again awarded him good consideration and reward, for that he kept the fort so well by the space of five years, and by his means specially and by none elle Tarentum was recovered. But some were of opinion between these and said, that the discussing and determination of that matter pertained properly to the Centfots and not to the Senat: of which judgement Fabius also himself was. And this moreover he said, that he must needs confels, that true it was, which Licinius his friends in the Senat stood so much upon, and iterated so often; namely, that he was the only means that Tarentum was recovered: for in good faith, quoth he, it never could have been regained if it had not once been left before.

T. Quirinius Crispinor one of the Consuls, went to the army which Q. Fulvius Flaccus had with a new supply into the Lucan country, but Marcellus still was laid behind upon occasion of new scruples of confidence, and sundry objects that troubled his mind, and kept a hammering in his head one after another. Amongst which, this was one, that having vowed in the Gauls war at Clusium, a Temple to Honor and Virtue: the dedication of the said Church was hindered by the Bishops, who said, that one Chappel, by right and according to their ceremonies, served but for one Saint, and could not be consecrated unto more. For in case it should be blasted and smitten by fire from heaven, or otherwise some prodigious token hap therein, hardly could the right expiation and purging thereof be performed, because it might not be known, to which of the Saints or gods the sacrifice should be done; for by order one sacrifice could not serve twain, unless there were some particular and especial gods named. So there was pain to be another Chappel built.
A built for _Verres: _but great half there was made for the rearing thereof, and yet it was not his fortune ever to dedicate those chappels. So at length he let forward and put himself on his journey with a supply, unto the army which he had left the year before at _Vernia._

When _Crassus_ minded to assault _Locri_ in the country of the Bruttians, because there were a great name of _Fabius_ for the assailing and winning of _Tarentum_, he sent for all kind of artillery and engines out of Sicily, and ships also were brought from thence, to better that part of the City that lieth to the Sea side. But the enterprise went not forward, because _Annibal_ had removed, with all his forces to _Lacauni._ And besides, the news went that his colleague had already brought out his forces from _Vernia_, with whom he was desirous to join. And therefore he returned out of the Bruttians country into _Apulia_; and so between _Vernia_ and _Brutis_, the Consuls encamped severally, within three miles one from the other. _Annibal_ likewise was retired into the same county, considering that the war was turned from _Locri_. There the Consuls (hot men of nature both) almost every day led forth their men into the field, not doubting but if _Annibal_ once met them (having two Consular armies joyned together) to make a dispatch of the war once for all. _Annibal_ because the year before, he had twice affronted _Marcellus_, and both given and taken the field: like as he had great reason, as well to fear as to hope: if he were to encounter and fight with him alone: so he thought verily, that he was never able to make his part good with both the Consuls together.

And therefore laying off his Lyons skin, he took himself wholly to his old Foxes coat, and bought all means and opportunities to lay a train for to entrap them. Howbeit there passed some light skirmishes between both their camps, with variety of fortune and interchangeable successes. By which, the Consuls thinking that they should hold out and keep the enemies play, during the summer season, and yet nevertheless be able to assault _Locri_, wrote unto _L. Crassus_, that he should take the _Sessi_, and cross over with his fleet out of Sicily to the City of _Locri_. And to the end that the Town might be likewise assailed from the Land side, they commanded part of the army which lay in garrison at _Tarentum_ to be conducted thither. _Annibal_ having intelligence afore-hand of these things, by certain Thaurins, sent forth certain of his forces to beat the ways from _Tarentum_. And there under the side of the Petullian mount, he betook secretly in ambush two thousand horse, and three thousand foot. Upon whom the Romans (matching without their elipsals sent afore them) chanced to light, and were slain to the number of two thousand, and upon twelve hundred alive taken: the rest were scattered and fled over the fields and forrests back to _Tarentum_. Now there was a little hill between both the camps of the Carthaginians and Romans, and the fame all overgrown with wood, which at first was possessed and kept, neither by one nor other: because the Romans knew not the situation of that side which lay toward the enemies camp: and _Annibal_ supposed verily that it was a place fitter for to lay an ambush, than to encamp in: and therefore he went by night for that purpose, certain troops of Numidians, and betook them closely in the midst of the wood, and not one of them stirred all the day long out of their standings; for fear lest either their armour or themselves might be eloped a far off. In the Roman camp, every man generally was of mind, and let not to lay, that the said hill was to be seized and fortified for their use, with a good forrest built upon it, for fear lest if it were first gained by _Annibal_, they should have the enemy as it were over their heads resolute to annoy them. And _Marcellus_ himself was of the same opinion: whereupon, _Why go not we ourselves in person (quoth he, to his colleague) with some few horsemen, to view and consider the place, where our eyes shall be all our judges; and seeing the ground once, we shall resolve more certainly what course to take? _Crassus_ liked well of the motion: and so they went forward accompanied with two hundred and twenty horsemen of which forty were Fregellans, the rest all _Tucians_. There followed after them, _M. Marcellus_, the Consul his son, and _Aulus Manlius_, two Colonels: also _L. Areminius_ and _M. Aulus_, two Captains of the allies. Some Authors have set down in writing, that _Marcellus_ in the _Col_, sacrificed that day; and when the first beast was killed, the liver was found without an head: however in the second, all things appeared that were wont to be seen. In the head of that liver there shewed _Iam wot not how_, a kind of extraordinary excrecence: which the Soothsayer had no liking to, because after those inwards which seemed before short, unperfect, and misliking; now those again were seen too well fed and overgrown. But the Consul _Marcellus_ was so hot and desirous to fight with _Annibal_, that he thought himself never encamped near enough unto him. And even then also as he went forth out of the camp, he gave order to his souldiers to be ready at a short warning, and have their eye upon the place: that presently, if he liked the hill, for which they went to view, they should dislodge, turn up bag and hagase, and follow presently. Now there was a little flat and plain ground before the camp, from whence the way that led unto the said hill, was on every side very open and evident to the eye: where there lay a Scot or Spic, set of purpose to discover any of the enemies gone far from the camp, illagling and ranging abroad, either for fewel or forage; that they might be intercepted; and not for any hope of to great effect as fell out. This fellow gave a sign unto the Numidians, that all at once they should arise out of their lurking and darting holes. And they that from the top & ridge of the hill, were to ride & shew themselves about, never appeared & made head, before that they had set a compass about, for to shut up the passage at the back of the Romans, And then from all parts they began to start up & with a main shout charged & ran upon them. The _Con_, now were in that valley, from whence they neither could possibly get up to the pitch of the hill, posseted aforehand by the enemy nor had any place of safe retreat behind, for that they were invironed & hemmed in
on every side. Howbeit they might have maintained skirmish and held out a good while, but that the Tusculans began to run away, and put all the rest in a body forth. Yet the Fregellans, falling. as they were of the Tusculans, gave not over, but fought manfully, (for long as the Consul stood on foot unbear'd) and received the charge of the enemies, encouraging their people, and fighting themselves right valiantly. But when they saw once both their Consuls wounded, and Marcus also run through with the path of a lance, and falling from his horse ready to die: then they also (and few of them God was not remained alive). together with the Consul Crispinus (who was wounded with two javelins) and young Marcus, who was himself also before, fled away and escaped. There were slain in this skirmish: A. Massilius a Colonel, of the two Captains of allies, and M. Plutus was killed out-right, and L. Vatimus taken prisoner. As for the Lieutenants belonging the Consuls, five of them then fell alive into the hands of the enemies: the rest were put to the sword, or escaped with the Consul. So there were three and forty horsemen died either in the conflict, or in the flight, and eighteen taken prisoners. In the camp there was much ado, and crying out for to go and succour the Consuls; when they saw one of them, and the other his son grievously hurt, and the poor remnant of that unfortunate expedition, coming toward the camp. The death of Marcus was much pitied and lamented in many other respects, but for this especially: that he, a man of that age (for he was now above three-score years old) and who should have had more wit: an old Captain and Leader (I say) that should have had more wisdom and foresight, so unadvisedly had brought both his colleague together with himself, and also in manner the whole commonwealth into desperate a danger. I should make much circumstance, and fetch many turns and compasses about one point, if it would rehearse all that writers have diversly let down, as touching the death of Marcus. But to let all others go, L. Calvis delivereth the thing three manner of wise: the one by hearst only, and a general report: the other extant in an Oration of the praise of Marcellus, penned by his own son, that was himself present at the action: the third, which Calvis himself calleth upon his own knowledge, and after diligent inquiry into the matter.

But howsoever the voice and fame varieth in some circumstances, most of them jump in the occasion. That he went forth of the camp to view the place: and all agree of the event. That he was entrapped and so slain. Annibals supposing that the enemies were mightily terrified, as well by the death of the one Consul, as the hurt of the other: because he would take all advantage, and omit no good opportunity offered, forthwith removed his camp, and pitched upon the very hill where he had fought. There he found the corps of Marcellus, and caused it to be entered.
with punchion poles, or with darts and javelins flew them, so Amphil caught in his own shares, was fain to depart.

He went from thence to levy and raise the siege before Locri, which Town Cincius bequeathed redightly, and allotted most tolerably, having raised fabrics about it, and planted all kind of engines, artillery, and ordnance against it, which were brought thither out of Sicily, Magos who began already to distrust that he should not be able to defend and keep the City, conceived now the first hope of better, when he heard once of the death of Marcellus. And then there came also a messenger with news, That Amphil having sent afore him the horsemen of the Numidians, followed after himself in person, as falt as he could, with the power of the footmen. And therefore so soon as he perceived, by a sign given from the hill tops, that the Numidians approached him, he set to and raised the gate open, and sudainly fell on both upon the enemy with great violence. At the first the skirmish was doubtful; more because he came upon them at unawares, than for that he was equal to match them in strength: but afterwards, when the Numidians charged them besides, the Romans were so terrified, that they fled here and there in every place to the sea and their ships, leaving their fabrics and engins wherewith they had shaken and battered the walls. So by the coming of Amphil the siege brake up before Locri.

Crispiones, after he was advertised that Amphil was gone into the Britains country, commanded Marcus Macellus a Colonel or knight Marshal, to lead away unto Venusia, the army which had been commanded by his Colleague now deceased. Himself went to Capua with the legions, scarce able to endure the flogging and flashing of the horcilefter, tor pain and grief of his wounds.

C From whence he wrote letters to Rome, giving notice, That his brother Consil was dead, and in what danger himself was. Signifying also, that he could not himself come unto Rome against the election, because he thought he should not be able to endure the travel of the journey; and besides, he was in great Care for Tarentum, left Amphil from out of the Britains country would turn thither with all his power. Moreover, he gave the Senate to understand that it was requisite there should be sent as Embassadors or Agents into himmen of wisdom and discretion, whom he might confer with, and acquaint with his will and mind, as touching State-matters. The reading of these letters, caused them much to lament and mourn for the death of the one Consil, and greatly to fear what would become of the other. Therefore they not only dispatched Q. Fabius, the Senatunto the army in Venusia, but also sent unto the Consil three commissioners, Sex. Julius Caesar, L. Licinius Fufor, and L. Cencius Alcenturus, who but a few days before was returned out of Sicily. These had in commisfion to signify unto the Consil from the Senat, that in case he was not able himself to come to Rome against the election, he should nominate within the Roman territoy a Dictator for to assemble the people for the said election: also that their pleasure was, in case the Consil went to Tarentum, that Q. Claudius the Pretor should withdraw his leagions from thence into their parts, whereas he might defend most Cities of the Alliges.

In the same summer M. Valerius took the Seas, with a fleet of a hundred sail, and from Sicily passed over into Africa; and having disbarked and landed his men near the City Clupea, waited the country all about, and met no armed men, to speak of to make head and withstand his invasion. Then their scouts and foragers retired in haft unto their ships, because on a sudden there was a rumour blown abroad, that the punck Arkado was coming, consisting of 83 Sails. The Roman Admiral fought fortunately with them not far from Clupea. And after he had boarded and taken eighteen of their ships and put the rest to flight, he returned to Lilybeum, with a rich Land-boot, and much pilage found in the ships.

The same summer Philip also sent aid to the Achæi, that earily befought his help: whom not only Macedonias the Tyrant of the Lacedemonians, grievously affrighted with warring upon their confires, but also the Ätolians, who having crost the streights or narrow Sea, between Numidians and Phocias (which the inhabitants there call Ribes) and over a power of armed men, had spoiled their territory. Moreover, there went a great rumour and speech that Attalus King of Asia and the Isles, would fell over into Europe, because the Ätolians in their last Parliament or general Diet had conferred upon him the soveraigne magistracy and rule of their nation. For these causes Philip came down with a power into Greece, and at the City Lamia, the Ätolians encountered him with their Captain Phyllus, who for that year was created Pretor together with King Attalus in his absence. They had in their army certain aids from Attalus, and almost a thousand Romans out of the Roman Armado, sent from P. Sulpicius. Against this Captain and these forces Philop took two battailes with prosperos favours, and in both flew very many of his enemies: and when the Ätolians were driven for fear from thence, into the City of Lamia, and within the walls thereof saved themselves. Philip retired his army into Phalerum, this is a place situate in the gulf of Matra, sometimes much peopled and frequented for the paffing fair haven, and many good harbors and life redes for ships, besides other particular commodites as well of seas as land. Thither repaired sundry Embassadors from divers parts, to wit, from Ptolomæus King of Egypt, from the Rhodians, the Athenians, and inhabitants of Chios, and all to treat about a pacification, to take up the war between Philp and the Ätolians. And of neighbour-borders there was in the behalfe of the Ätolians as peace-maker, Aminander King of the Athamans. All of them were not so careful and earnst for the Ätolians, who were more fierce, stout and imperious than the Nation of Grecians naturally is: as they labourd this point, that Philip with his Kingly soveraigny, to the prejudice of their liberty hereafter, should not be interferred, nor meddle in
in the affair and state of Greece. As concerning peace, the confederates were put off, and re-entered the general Council of the Aetolians: and for the said Diet or Council, was a place appointed, and a certain day set down and published. And in the mean time, a truce obtained for thirty days.

Then the King departed from thence, and through Phessaly and Thessalia, came to Chalcis in Euboea, to put by Attalus (whom he heard say to be coming with a navy for Euboea) from arriving in any havens, or landing in any place on the sea coast. Then leaving a guard behind for to withstand Attalus, (if haply in the mean season he should chance to pass over) he marched himself forward with some few horsemen and light armed footmen, and came to Argo. There by the inscriptions and voices of the people, the honour of exhibiting and celebrating the solemn games, called Heres, and Nemesis, was recommended unto him; because the Macedonian Kings gave out and say, that they are descended from that City. After he had performed the solemnity of the Heres, presently he went from the very games and festivities to the Council of his allies long before proclaimed, as is above said. Much debate there was for a small end of the Aetolian war: that neither the Romans nor Attalus might have any occasion to come into Greece. But the Aetolians married all this before the time of the truce was well expired: by occasion that they heard that Attalus both was come to Megara, and the Roman navy anchored at Nauplia. For being called into the Council of the Achaians in which the same Embassadors were, who before at Phalerus had treated for peace, first they complained, that some things had been done, during the time of the truce, against the faith of the covenant and accord. But at last they flatly denied and said, That there could not possibly be an end of wars, unleas the Achaians rendered ships unto the Messenians; and peace was granted and restored to the Romans, and likewise to the Athenians, to Scecedes, Placentia, and Archides, Whereat Philip was very wrath, and thought it a foul indignity, that conquered persons should take upon them to article and capitulate with him their conqueror. * But neither heretofore (quoth he) gave I audience to the treaty of peace, nor yielded consent to truce upon any hope I had that the Aetolians would ever be quiet; but to this end, that all confederate friends might bear witness that I fought means of peace, and they fought occasions and picked quarrels for war. So without conclusion of any peace, he dissolved the Diet; leaving four thousand foudliers for the defence and guard of the Achaenians, and receiving of them five ships of war, (which if he had joyned to the armado of the Carthagians, lately lent unto him, and also to those ships which were coming out of Bilbonia from King Pyrrhus, he determined to assail the Romans with ship-fight, who had a long time been mighty masters of the seas,) himself presently from that Council departed back to Argos; for now the time drew neer of the games Nemeis, which he was desirous to celebrate and honor with his presence. While the King was occupied in the preparation of these games and festivities, and folaced himself during these festival holydays, with more liberty of mind and repose, than he should in time of war; P. Scipio having loosed from Nauplia, arrived with his fleet between Sicyone and Corinth; and wafted that goodly territory, most renowned of all other for fruitfulnes of all things. The noise and rumor of this occurrence awakened Philip, and caused him to leave his disports: and so he took his Cavalry with him in battle, and set forward, having given order that the Infantry should follow his right after: where he found the RomansGragling here and there all over the country, laden with booty and prizes, (as who feared nothing in the World left) set upon them, and drove them to their ships. Thus the Roman fleet nothing well appaid for the booty they had gotten, returned to Nauplia. And Philip greatly augmented the solemnity and magnificence of the games that were behind, by the fame of a victory over the Romans at that time, how much or little love it was, And with great joy and mirth were those holydays kept: and so much the more, because the King for to please the people withall, laid aside the diadem of his head, put off his purple tippets and other princely and royal habit, and in outward port bare himself equal to others, and no better: a thing right acceptable and pleasing to free States, as nothing can be more. By which deed of his, he had given great and undoubted hope unto all men, of liberty and freedom; but that he flained and marred all again with his intolerable lust and looseness of life. For he used to go ranging up and down with one or two of his favourites in company, and did nothing else but haunt suspected houses by the Sea side day and night in dignified manner: and thus by debauching himself to the mean estate of a private person, the lefs he was suspected and known, the more disolute he was: and whiles he pretended unto others a vain flow of freedom, he abused all to his own licentiousnes. Neither paid his purloin for all his pleasures, nor with flattering perverisions and fair speeches obtained he his desires: but to accomplish his wickednes, he used oftentimes forcible violence: and dangerous it was both to husbands and parents, to be any thing frighted, and make it goodly by tedious delay and unfeasible fevery, to seem but to stay the unbridled lust and appetite of the King. From one of the Princes also of the Achaians named Aratus, he took his wife away called Polydoritis, and upon hope and colour of marriage with the King, drew her away with him into Macedonia. Having thus with these lewd and wicked pranks pafted the time of the solemnity of the Nemean games, and some few days over and above: he went to Dyne to disjoin the garrion of the Aetolians, which they had encor and received into the City of Dyne from the Eleans, Cyclinders, who was the sovereign or chief magistrat of that state: and the Achaians met the King at Dyne: who as they hated the Eleans, because they disjoined from the rest of the Achaenians, so they were maliciously bent against the Aetolians, whom they were perfiwaded,
A to have stirred the Romans to levy war upon them. So from Dyms they departed and with joint armies passed over the river Larpis, which divided the country of the Eleans from the territory of Dyms. The first day after they were entered the confines of their enemies, they spent in foraging. The morrow after, in battle array, they presented themselves before the City, having sent out their Horatien before them to make bravo's before their gates, and all to provoke the Atolians; a kind of people full of valour, and ready enough to tally forth and make excursions. Now were they not ware all this while, that sublimis with fifteen ships had crossed over from Naxos to Cyllera: nor that he had landed four thousand soldiers in the still time of the night (because they might not be seen to march) and entered Elus. And therefore, this sudden and unexpected object put them in a terrible fear, when they saw and knew not among the Atolians and B the Eleans, the Roman enemys and their armes. At the first, the King would have had his men to retire; but afterwards seeing the skirmish was begun already between the Atolians and Triballi, (a kind of Illyrians) and perceiving that his soldiers also were put to flight and charged, then the King alfo himself with his Horatien alalled the Cohorts or Squadron of the Romans. There his Horie was with a dart shot through: and when he had once flown and left the King forward over his head, there was a cruel and deadly fight on both sides, whilst the Romans laid hand at the King, and the Kings men protected and guarded his person. Himself fought right manfully above the rest, confiding that he was forced on foot, to maintain skirmish among the Horatien. But afterwards, by reason of the great disadvantage, and seeing many about him broken down and wounded, he was caught away by his guard, mounted upon another Horse, and so fled and escaped. C And the same day he encamped his armies from the City of the Eleans. The next morning he led all his whole power to a Caille of the Eleans, natio neer at hand, called Pyrgos into which he had intelligence that a multitude of the country people for fear of being spoiled, were with their cattle driven and retired. This confided, divided, and naked company he took captive at this coming, presently upon the first charge and onset that he gave: and with that booty he3icked himself whole again, and seized the theathetical defence that he had received at Elus. As he was busy in sharing the prizes, and dealing abroad the prisoners (and there were of men some four thousand, and of cattle of all kinds one with another twenty thousand head) there came a poll out of Macedon with news, that one Lepus had surprised Lynoburum, by expending for a piece of money the Constable of the Caille, and Captain of the garrison there: and that he held in possession certain borough towns of the Doriatarians, and still called the Dardanians to Rebellion. The King therefore gave over the Acheans, and the Atolian wars: yet leaving two thousand five hundred armed soldiers of all sorts, under the leading of Memnon and Polydore to try to defend his Allies, he went from Dyms through Achaia, Aetolia, and Boeotia, and upon the tenth day came to Demetrias in Thessaly. Where other messengers also encountered him, bringing tidings of a greater interjection: namely, that the Dardanians had invaded Macedonia, and were masters of Orestis, and came down into the plains of Aestrea: and that the tumor was rise and went current among the barbarous people that Philip was slain. The truth in that expedition whereunto he sought at Sevun with those that preyed, and meddled to spoil in the country, he was carried by his hot and blood-mount Horie under a Tree, and there against a bough or arm thereof that Rod lay, he chanced to break a corner of the crest of his helmet at one end. That piece chanced to be found by a certain Atolian, and was brought into Aetolia unto Serdileus, who knew by the mark that that was the Kings helmet: whereupon the fame of the Kings death was divulged commonly abroad. After the departure of Philip out of Achaia, Serdileus who was arrived with his men at Aegina, went forward, and joyned with Atellus, The Aetioe not far from Messpons struck a forain battail with the Atolians and the Eleans, Atellus the King, and P. Scipio was wounded in Aegina. In the end of this year, T. Quintus Crispinus the Consul, when he had nominated for Dictator, L. Marcellus Turrnianus, for to hold the plebium election of Magistrates, and to set out the games, died of his hurts abroad. Some say he left his life at Taranto : others in Campaun. Thus both Cofl. being slain with any memorable battail, a thing never been since in any other war: left the common-wealth destitute, and asat were cleanathering. M. Atellus the Dictator chose for his General of the Horie, C. Serdileus, at that time Aetolian cander. The Senate upon the very first day that the L. L. were assembled, gave order to the Dictator, to exhibit the great Roman games, which M. Atellus the Pretor of the City, whilst C. Flaminius and C. Serdileus were Cofl. had represented and vowed for 5 years. Then the Dictator, both let them forth and also vowed them for the next five years. But confidering there were two Consuls arms without their General, to meet unto the enemies; the LL. of the Senate and the people let all other matters aggre, and had a principal care above all things, to creat Consuls as soon as possibly they could, and such especially, who were termine and valour should be thought secure and take enough, from Pub. Scipio, Turrnianus, and decreitfuls. For whereas during the time of all these wars, the over- all heads and hot spirits of the Leaders, had been ever dangerous and hurtful to the late: so in this very year, the Consuls upon moderate desire to fight with the enemy, was ratified, and plunged into a jeopardy and milchfire they were aware. Howbeit the immortal Gods had mercy and pity upon the Roman name, in sparing the guilds and armies, and punishing the unconiderate rashness of the Consuls, with the lofe only of their owne lives. And when the LL. of the Senate looked after every way, to see if they could spicout any to make Consuls of:
The seven and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

above all others by many degrees, C. Claudius Nero excelled and was revered by all. But H companion with him in the government they were like whale to whale. As for him, he did not, they deemed him a singular man and a brave Captain: but yet more inward and eager, than the quality and actions of this war required, or to be matched with such an enemy as Annibale was. And therefore they thought good to join with him in his policy, advice, and prudent man, who might temper and qualify that fierce nature and desperate of his. Now M. Livius, many years ago had been upon his Contuship conduced by the judgment of the people. Which ignominy and reproach he took to grievously to the heart, that he departed into the country, and for many years together, for bare not only the City, but to converse and keep company with men. And almost eight years after his conscription aforesaid, M. Claudius Marcellus, and M. Valerius Latinius the Conuls, reduced him again unto the City. But he used to go in old and worn apparel, letting the hair of his head and beard grew long, carrying in his very countenance and array, the fresh and notable remnant trace of the diligence before received. But L. Veturius and P. Livius the Centors, compelled him to cut his hair, and lay away his vile and unpleasing weed, to come into the Senate, and to meddle again in civil matters and affairs of State. And yet in to doing, he would never proceed faster, than to say amen to other men's opinions, and speak but one word, yes and no; or else nothing at all, but flew his mind obeying on his feet to one side or other. Until such time as a hint of man of his own, M. Livius Mecennus, being in trouble, and his name and honour called in question, caused him to stand up in the Consuls-house and deliver his opinion. And when after so long duration, he was seen and heard once to speak, he turned every man his eye upon him, and mistrusted occasion else of speech in the meantime, namely, "That the people had done the man exceeding great wrong, yea, and hurt the common wealth much, in that during the time of so dangerous a war, there had been no playment of so weighty a person, either for his travail and pains, or his advice and counsel. But to return again to the Lords of the Senate: they knew well, that neither Q. Fabius, nor M. Valerius Latinius, could possibly be joyned as companion in government to C. Nero: forasmuch as it was not lawful that both should be chosen out of the Nobles of Latium. And the same was T. Manlius his cafe also. Besides that, as he once refused the Conuls room, when it was offered unto him, so doubt he would not accept thereof the second time if it were tendered unto him. But if they should fort Marcus Livius and C. Claudius together, there would be an excellent couple of Conuls in deed. Neither feuded the people against this overture, this moved him by the Lords of the S. Senat. The only man in the whole City, that denied it, was the very party himself, unto whom this dignity and honourable place was presented. Who much blamed the levity and inconstancy of the City: saying, "That they had no pity of him, when it was so, whereas he was in question and accused, and during all the time of the troubled war poor and simple garments: but now against his will, they affixed him a glittering white robe to stand for a Consulship. Thus (quoth he) they punish and depred, thus they honour and advance the same persons. If they took me for a good and honest man, why concerned they me as they did, for a wicked one and a guilty? If they found me nought and faulty, what cause have they to trust me with a second Consulship, who used the former so badly, which was committed unto me? As he argued and made complaints in this wise, the Lords of the Senat reproved him, and replied again: letting before his eyes the example of M. Furius, who in times past was called home out of exile: and when the state was decayed and lying, let it upright again in her former place and prifinite glory. And like as the cautious and rigor of parents, is to be mollified by patience, even so the hard and forced dealings of a man country, is to be dulced and mitigated by bearing and suffurance. So they all flock clofe together, and chose M. Livius Conul, with C. Claudius. Three days after, they went to the election of the Pretors. And there were created Pretors, L. Porcius Licinius, Cnaeus Manlius, A. Hestius, and C. Hestius, both Caes. When the election was finished, and the games celebrated, the Dictator and General of the Cavalry surrendered their places, C. Terentius Varro was sent into Africa as Pre-petor, to the end that out of that province, C. Hestius should go to Tyrants, unto that army which T. Quinctius the Com. bad, That L. Manlius should not go beyond Sea as Embassador, to see how the world went there: And withal, considering that in former, there were to be solemnized the famous games at Olympia, which were celebrated with a most frequent resort and meeting of all Greeks, in case he might safely and without impayment of the enemy, he should visit that great assembly: to the end that if he could light upon any Sicilians, who were fled and banished their country, or any citizens of Tyrants confined thither and sent away by Annibale, they should repair home again into their own countries, and know, that whatever they were poffed of, before the wars began, the people of Rome would restore the fame, and make good again unto them.

Because it was like to be a right dangerous year, and no Conuls were invested fully in the Common-weal, men despised upon the Conuls elect, and were defirous that they should with all speed, call for their Province: and every man was willing to know whereand, what Province each one should rule, and what enemy he was to deal withal. Moreover, a motion and speech there was in the Senat-house, that the Conuls should be recoucled and made friends, and Q. Fabius Mar, pre pondered that first. For there had been notorious enmity and variance between them aforetime: and the calamity of Livius made the same more grievous and unportable unto himself; in regard that he was persuaded, how in that misery of his, he was defpised
A
depicted of his adversary. Whereupon he grew to be more implacable of the twain, and worse to
be interceded. " There needs (quoth he) no reconciliation, neither is it material and to any pur-
pole, For they will do all with more diligence and better spirit, who ever stand in fear that their
adversary and concurrent shall grow great and be advanced by their defeats. Yet the authority
of the Senate bare in a stroke with them, that they laid aside all malice and old grudge, and with
one mind consent, and counseled administered the affairs of the common-weal. Their Provinces were
not intermingled, nor their government extended into one another's country, as in former years,
but distant, and divided by the remote frontiers and farthest matches of Ithys. For unto
one of them were assigned the Brutians and Lucanian country against Amulius; unto the other, Ga-
lia against Asdrabal; who as the rumour and fruit went, was come forward near unto the Apes.

B Of those two armies which were in Gallia and in Hetruria, he whose fortune was to go into
Gallia, was to chuse which army he would, and have besides, that other of the City, And the whole
lot should be to go into the Brutian country, besides the new legions enrolled of citizens, was to
take unto him, the army of whether Conful he lift, of the former year. Alto Quintini Fatus the
Pro-conful, had the charge of that army which the Conful refused: and his authority was renewed
for one year longer. As for C. Hesillus, whose Province Tarentum they exchanged for Hetruria,
they altered his Province again, to wit, Carnuntus instead of Tarentum. Into him was allowed that
one legion which Fufius the last year commanded.

Now entered their care every day more than other, concerning the coming of Asdrabal into Ithys.
And the Embassadors of the Maffilians had brought news that, he was puffed over into
Gallia: and that the minds of the Gauls were mightily cheered up by his coming, because
the speech went, that he had brought a huge deal of gold with him, for to hire and wage foctions for
aid in the wars. Then afterwards, Sex. Antistius, and M. Recius, who were sent Embassadors
back with them from Rome, for to see whether it were so indeed, had made relation unto the Se-
nate, that they had sent certain of purpose guided by the Maffilians, who by means of their especial
friends the Princes and Lords of the Gauls, might learn the truth, and bring word back accord-
ingly. By whose report it was for certain known, that Asdrabal having levied already a pur-
nant army, was minded the next spring to piace over the Alps: and that there was nothing; else
said him, but that it had been done already, having only the patagies of the Alps, which were clo-
ded up with the winter now.

D In the room of L. Mucilius, L. Aemilius Pacu
twas created Augur, and to consecrate. And likewise Cn. Cornelius Delobellus was inaugurated or installed king of the sacrifices, instead of Marcus
Maecenas, who died two years before. In this very same year the City was purged, and there were
a general lureracy and numbering of the people, by the Censors taken, P. Sempronious Tullionia,
and Cn. Cornelius Catoque. There were reckoned and entered into the Censors books of Citizens,
1371 of A. C., A smaller number by much, than before the war. It is recorded in the Annals, that
this year after that Amulius came into Italy, the Comitium was built over head and covered,
and that the Roman Games were once renewed by the Ediles of the chair, Q. Metellus, and C.
Sertorius; and that the other Games called Plebeian, were renewed two days by Q. Mucilius,
and M. Caecilius Metellus, Ediles of the Commons: who also offered three images and let them up in
the Chippel of Ceres. And the solemn feastfull dinner of Jupiter was celebrated by occasion of
these Games.

Then C. Claudius Nero, and M. Livius the second time entered their Consulship, who (because
whiles they were but Cof. elect, they had taken lot for their Provinces) commanded the Pretors
to do the like. And to C. Hesillus fell the jurisdiction over the citizens, who had that likewise
over strangers and foreigners to the end, that the other three might go forth into their Provinces.
To A. Hesillus, was allotted Sardinia to C. Marullus, Sicilia and to L. Porcius Frsica. In sum,
the legions were in number three and twenty, divided into the Provinces in this sort: to wit, the
Consuls had two apace, Spaniour. The three Pretors for Sicily, Sardinia, and France each of them
twain, C. Tarentum in Hetruria commanded two, Q. Fulvius in the Brutian country, other

Two, C. Claudius about Tarentum, and the Salernians conducted twain: and Cassius Hesillus Tur-
entum was in Capua, one. Last of all, two were enrolled for the City. In the four first legions, the
people chose all the Colonels or Marshals, but to all the rest the Consuls left new to make up the
defect.

Before the Consuls went forth there was a Novendial sacrifice celebrated because at Veii it had
rained stones from heaven, and after one prodigious fight was once minded and spoken of; there
were (as it is commonly seen) others also reported: namely, that in Minerva the temple of Jup-
iter, and the sacred grove of *Minerva was smitten with lightning: and in Atella the wall and gate
likewise, was blasted with fire from heaven. The men of Minerva's image also of a more fearful
thing than that, to wit, that there ran a river of blood in their very gate. Last of all,

At Capua a Wolf entered the gate at night, and worried and dismembered one of the watchmen.
These wonderful signs were expiate with sacrificing of greater beasts, and a supplication
was held for one day, by venure of a decree from the Prelats. Then was the Novendial sacri-
ifice once again renewed, because it was seen, that in Amulium it rained stones; and men's
minds were no longer freed of one religious temple, but they were troubled again with anoth-
er. For word was brought, that at Frasus there was an Infant born as big as ordinary a child
is at eight years of age, And the thing was not to strange for the bigness of the body, as for

* The image
that once.
that it was born doubtful, whether it were male or female, like as two years before, at Sinisfella. The wizards that were sent for out of Homer a, said, that this of all other was a soul and filthy monster, and that it should be had forth of the Dominions of Rome, and drowned in the deep, so as it might touch no ground. Whereupon they put it alive into a coffer, and when they had carried it a good way into the Sea, they flung it in. Moreover the Prelates made a decree, that certain Virgins in three companies, having nine spoons, should go through the City, andting certain Canticles. And whereas in the Temple of Jupiter Sutorius, the Maidens were a learning their song by heart, devised and framed in verse by Livius the Poet, the Temple of Queen Juno in the Aventine hill, was striken with lightning from Heaven. And when the Artificialies had declared that this prodigious token touched the matrons and dames of the City, and that the goddess was to be pacified with an oblation: they were (by virtue of an edict granted out by the Eldies of the chair) called all into the Capitol, as many as had any house, either in the City of Rome; or within ten miles every way. And they among themselves chose five and twenty into whole bands. all the rest should form some small portion of their dowry. Of which there was made a fair and large golden bason, to be presented unto Juno: and it was brought into the Aventine: and within, the dames ordered unto her purely and chastly their sacrifices. And straight after the Decemvirs proclaimed a day for another sacrifice of the same gods, the manner and order whereof was this: There were two white heifers led from the Temple of Apollo into the City through the gate Carmentalis: after which were carried two Images, representing Juno, made of Cypres wood: then went there seven and twenty Virgins in long side-strets, chanting hymns and songs to the honour of Juno. Those songs in verse were periladventure commendable, and passed for good with those rude and gros wis within their living: but if they should be rehearsed now adays to our fine heads they would seem but simple stuff, and composed without time or reason. After this row of Maidens, followed the Decemvirs deputed for sacred Ceremonies, with chaplets and garlands of Bays, clothed in vesture and robes embroidered with purple. From the gate above named, they passed by the street Jugarius into the Grand-place, and there rested this solemn pomp and train. Then these Virgins taking hold of a cord, which went through all their hands, sang a song, and danced the measures, footing it artificially according to the note. From thence they went by the Tuscian-street and Vabalbium through the brisk market, and to forward into the Clun Publicus, until they came to the Temple of Juno. There the Decemvirs sacrificed two beasts, and the Images of Cypres wood were offered and let up in the Temple. When the Gods and Goddesses were only pacified the Conuls took quarters more straightly and with greater precisiness, than any man could remember in former ages. For both the fear of the war was two-fold, by reason of a new-eome enemy into Italy, and also there was a store of youth, out of which the soldiers should be enrolled. Whereupon they compelled the inhabitants of the Colonies by the Sea side, who were said to have an especial immunity of warfare (by a sacred law) for to find soldiers: and when they denied, and stood upon their privilege of exemption, they set them down a certain day, upon which everyman should repair into the Senate, and there what cards they had for their immunity and vacation. Upon the day appointed there presented themselves before the Senat these Commonalties following, to wit, of Hefaia, Alba, Asita, Ascur, Montane, Sessoria, and Sena, from the upper Sea. When every one of these States exhibited and read their charter of immunity, there was none of all them dispeaced with, but they of Asita and Hefaia, in regard the enemy abode in Italy: and so the young and serviceable men of those Colonies, were put to their oath and fire, that above fourty of them should lie one night forth of the walls of their Colony, so long, as the enemy continued in Italy.

When all the LT. of the Senat were of opinion, that the Conuls were to go forth to the wars with all speed possible (for that both Altienwald was to be encountered coming down the Alps, for fear, he should follow the Gauls on this side the Alps: and the Tucans likewise who hoped and looked every day for a change and alteration: and also Altienwald was to be kept occupied in his own war, that he might not go forth of the Britians country, and meet with his brother) only Livius made some lay and drew back, as reposing but small truth in the armies belonging to his own Province. And as for his Colleague, well he wist, that he had the choice of two notable Conular armies, and of a third, whereof Q. Claudius had the charge at Taurum. Whereupon he had made some motion of calling the Volones or voluntaries, again to their colours, and to serve in the wars. The Senat granted the Conuls a large and free commission, both to make supply from whence sooner they would, by chusing out of all the armies whom they pleased, and to make exchange with whom they would, yea, and to draw out of the Provinces whomsoever, according as they should think it good for the Common-weal. And all this was executed with the exceeding concord and unity of the Conuls. The Volones were enrolled into the nineteenth and twentieth legions. Some Authors have written, that Secuius sent unto Livius from out of Spain, a strong power of auxiliaries for that war, to wit, eight thousand of Spaniards and Frenchmen, two thousand legionary footmen, and eighteen hundred men of arms, partly Numidians, and partly Spaniards: and that Marcus Lucercius brought their forces by Sea: also that C. M. Martin sent out of Sicily four thousand archers and slingers.

The fear and troubles in Rome were much increased, by occasion of letters sent out of Gallia from L. Porcius the Pretor: purporting thus much, That Altienwald was removed out of his wintering harbours, and was passing over the Alps: that there were eight thousand Ligurians levied
Alevied and ready in arms to join with him so soon as ever he was come into Italy, unless some one were sent against the Ligurians, to prevent and keep them otherwise butiled with war. As for himself, he would with that weak army that he had, go forward, as far as he thought he might with safety. These letters caused the Conuls to dispatch the matters in great haste, and to go forth into their provinces, fewer than they had purposed: with this intent, that both of them as well the one as the other, might in his several province keep the enemies occupied, and suffer them not to join, and lay their forces together. And verily the thing that helped them most in this their disengagement, was an opinion and persuasion that Anabau had. For albeit he was assured that his brother would that summer pass over into Italy, yet when he called to remembrance what a toil he had himself, and how much trouble and travail he endured in the passage, one while of the river Rhodanus, another while of the mountains of the Alps, and how for the space of five months together, he was forced not only to fight with the people, but struggle also with the difficulties of the places; he never looked that Aserabau could easily and speedily pass over as he did: which was the cause that he diluded out of his winning places to much the later. But Aserabau found better expeditions, and all things more easy and speedy than either himself hoped for, or others expected. For the Arturus, and other nations (by their example) both of France and also about the Alps, not only received and entertained him, but also accompanied him to the war. Over and besides, as he conducted his army, by those passages which were prepared and made open by his brothers journey, and had been at once time impassable wilds and craggy rags: so against his coming, the Alps were much more easy, by reason of twelve years continual passage to and fro through ways, and the nature of the passers more civil and tractable. For the people before, being not used to any strangers and aliens, nor accustomed to see passengers or travellers coming into those parts, were in manner movable, savage and wild, and could not away with the society of men. And at the first not knowing whether Anabau intended to go, they suppos'd that he came; for to turbine their holds in caves and rocks, to take their forrests, and to drive away their people and cattle as booties. But afterwards, the fame that went of the Punic war (wherewith now twelve years Italy was plagued and vex'd) had taught them sufficiently, that the Alps were nothing but the way for the Carthaginians to travel through. And by this time well they knew, that two molt populous Cities and States, divided and removed: done from one another by a great space of Land and Sea between, thrived together and warred for their greatness and Sovereignty. Upon these occasions, Isy, the Alps were open and passable to Aserabau with ease. But look what time he gained by speedly journeys, the same he lost again by stay about Florence, while he lay there in vain, rather believing than disbelieving it. He was car'd away with a persuasion, that the Town lusted upon a plain and champaign country, might soon be forced and won: and the great name that were of that noble Colony, induced him to believe, that by the overthrow and raising of that City, he should strike a terror to all the rest. But inlying against, he took not only a hundred thousand more, but also told Anabau, who having heard that he was pass'd over the Alps, and come down into Italy, so much sooner than he looked for, was upon the point to dilodge out of his landing wintering camp: to be considered and cast in his mind, not only what a long and tedious piece of work it is to besiege and assault Cities, but also well remembered how himself after his victory at Trosia, afflied to force

F that colony in his return from thence, but might not prevail. The Conuls being departed from the City, and gone divers ways as it were for two hundred wars at once, distracted mens minds with many cares and troublous imaginations, as well in remembrance of those lofes and overthrows, which they had received at Anabau his full coming; as also in thinking, what gods should be so propitious and favourable to the City and empire of Rome, as to prosper the affairs of the State and Common-wealth, at one time in both places. For until then, their successes had been variable and alternative; and their prosperity always delayed with temblable adversity; and again, their losses were recompened with equal gains. For when in Italy, the Common-wealth of Rome went one way downward headlong to the ground at Trasimena and Cannae: the fortunate wars another way in Spain, fit upright again. But afterward, when in Spain one overthrow and defeat hap'n'd in the neck of another, at what time also two noble Captains were slain, and two valiant armies in part destroy'd; the happy and happy hand in Sicily and Italy, made up those breaches, and set the feeling line on foot again. For why? the very distance of the place so far remote (because one of the wars was maintained in the uttermost part of the World) yelded time and respite to breathe themselves and gather new strength. But now, two wars at once are entertained within Italy, two molt brave warriors and renowned Captains enclose between them the City of Rome: all dangers come hurdle together; all the heavy load and whole burden beareth upon one and the selfsame place; and to doubt, whether of these two Captains first shall get a victory, he will within few days after joy himself to the other. The freshest and unutterable remembrance also of the very last year, wherein two Conuls left their lives, mightily stifled the hearts of the people. So as, in these perplexities and troubles of minds, they accompanied the Conuls as they departed and went into their several Provinces. It is more over in ample records found, that when Q. Fabius adviz'd and warned AI Livius being upon his journey toward the wars, not rashly and head on hand to give battle to one enemy, before he knew his numbers and quanities. he full of anger fill and discontents with his fellow citizens, made this answer, that if a ten as ever he could have a fight of his enemies army, he would fight: and being
asked again, why he would make such a halt? Mary (you both) either shall I by victory of mine enemies win singular honor and renown: or by the overthrow of my fellow Citizens gain some hearts' case and contentment, if not honest in all respects, yet at least-wise such as they have delvered.

Before that Claudius the Conful was come into his Province, C. Hoftilius Tabulus accompanied with certain cohorts lightly appointed, encountered Annibal as he led his army and marched by the utter confines and marches of the territory of Latinum, which leadeth to the Salentins; and charging upon his disordered army, put them to great trouble, few four thousand of his men, and carried away nine Ensigns. Q. Claudius who had certain garrisons planted in all the Cities of the Salentins country, hearing of the enemies coming, had removed out of his wintring camp; and therefore Annibal, because he would not fight with two armies at once, by night dislodged out of the territory of Tarentum, and withdrew himself into the Bruttian country: and Claudius turned with his army to the Salentins again. Hoftilius in the way to Capua, met with the Conful Claudius at Venasia. There, out of both armies, the Conful picked forth forty thousand choicé Footmen, and 2500 Horsemen, for to war with Annibal. The rest of the forces Hoftilius was commanded to lead unto Capua, and to deliver them to Q. Fabius the Pro-conul.

Annibal having assembled his forces from all parts, as well those which he had in camp during winter time, as those that lie in garrison in the Bruttian country, came as far as Grumentum in the territory of the Lucans, upon hope to recover the Towns, which for fear, had revolted to the Romans. Unto the same place the Roman Coif, making out his epipals before to discover and clear the ways, marched from Venasia, and about a mile and half from the enemy, K encamped himself. The Carthaginians had fortified themselves, and cast a trench close in manner to the walls of Grumentum: and between the camp and the Romans was some half mile. A plain lay in the middle: and on the left hand of the Carthaginians, and the right hand of the Romans all along between, the hills overlooked them, bare and naked, and of neither part suspected, by reason that they had no wood growing upon them, nor any lurking places to hide an ambush in. Into the plain between they used to put out certain bands and companies from the Corps de guard of both sides, and made light skirmishes not worth the talking of. And it seemed that the drift of the Roman Conul was to keep the enemy in, and not to suffer him to go his ways. But Annibal devisous to be gone, entered the field with all his power in order of battle. Then the Conul borrowing a little of his enemies cunning, for that in to open hills there L was less fear and suspicion of ambush, gave order that five Cohorts and Horsemens, reinforced with as many bands of footmen, should by night get over those hills, and in the Valleys behind, fit down closely: with direction to T. Claudius Aelianus a Colonel of footmen, and P. Claudius a Captain of allies whom he sent to conduft them, at a certain time to arife out of ambush, and to charge the enemy: himself by day light led forth all his whole power as well foot as Horse into the field. Within a while after, Annibal likewise put forth the signal of battaile: and all the camp over they set up a cry, running all about to their armour and weapons. Then Footmen and Horsemen both rushed space out of the gates who could be soonest forth; and fattered as they were all over the plain, made halt to the enemies. Whom when the Conul saw thus disorderéd, he commanded C. Aemilius a Tribun or Colonel of the third legion, to put out the Cavalry belonging to that legion, for to charge the enemy with all the violence he could; for that like sheep they were oppressed over the plain without all form and fashion, and might be surprized, discomfited, and beaten down, before they could be brought into array and set in order of battle. Annibal himself was not come forth of the camp, when he might hear the noife of them fighting together and hard at it: and excited with this tumult, he led in great haste all the rest of his forces against the enemy. By this, the vanguard and foremost of his battaile was frigighted with the Horsemens of the enemies: yes, and the first legion of the Infantry and the Cavalry of the right wing began to charge. The Carthaginians disorderd as they were, fought as a venture, as they chance to meet either with Footmen or Horsemens. The conflict grew hotter, by reason of new supplies and fresh succours, and increased still by the number of them that continually ran out to the fight. And surely Annibal, notwithstanding this tumult and troublesome fear, had set and marshalled his men in good order as they were fighting (which had been no easy thing to do, but that the army was of old soldiers, and their Captain well-experienced and beaten to it ) if it had not been for the front of the cohorts and bands above-mentioned, which they had at their backs, as they from the hills behind ran down upon them; and let them in great fear, lest that they would thrust in between them and home, and so shut them out of their camp. Hereupon 1 say they were affrighted, and began to fly here and there. But the slaughter was the less, because the camp was near, and far they had not to run buthe and save themselves in this then fearful flight. For the Horsemens plaited upon their backs fall, and gave over not to : the cohorts from the open Mountains ran hastily down the hill, and charged chirope upon their sides and flanks. However, there were slain more than eight thousand men, and above 2000 taken Prisoners: nine Ensigns won and carried away: of Elephants also (whereof there was little or no use ) in a luddain and tumultuary skirmish four were killed, and two groath alive. Of Romans and Allies, there died two hundred. The next day after, Annibal hirled now. The Roman Conul having brought his army forth into the field, and seeing none come about and make head against him, commanded the plain enemies to be disarmed and depoistd, the
The spoils to be gathered up, and the bodies of his own men to be brought together into a place and buried. For certain days after continually, he pressed to hard at the camp gates, that he might have little of entering thither with banner displayed, In so much as Arbuth not at the third watch of the night, leaving behind him many fires burning, and divers tents standing, on that side especially which looked toward the enemies, and some few Numidians, to make a show upon the Rampier and at the gates: dislodged, and purposed to go into Apulia. The next morning by day light, the Roman army embattailed, approach'd the trench and rampier. The Numidians of fort purpose flewed themselves in the gates and upon the rampier: and when they had a good while dallied thus and played with the enemy, they mounted on Horseback, and spared no Horse-flush until they had overtook their fellows. The Consil percepting that

All was quiet within the camp, and seeing not to much as those few appear anywhere, who in the morning betimes had walked their stations, went forth two Horsemen into the camp as espials. After he understood for certain that all was safe, and the coasts clear, he commanded his ensigns to make an entry, and stay no longer there, than whiles his soldiers ran up and down to pill and spoil. He founded the retreat: and long before night, brought his army back again. The next morrow after, he let forward by the dawnings of the day, and with long journals, following his enemies by the course of the country, and tracing them by their footsteps, he overtook them not far from Venosa. There also was a skulking skirmish between them, and not so few as two thousand Carthaginians slain. From thence Arbuthnot ever marched by night, and journeyed through the mountains, because he would give his enemy no vantage of sight, until he came to Metapontum. From whence Hannibal (for he was Captain of the garrison there) was sent with some few in his train into the Bruttian country, to levy a new army. And Arbuth not after he had joyned those forces to his own, returned again to Venosa, by the same way that he came from thence: and forward he marched to Campania. Nero never left the enemy, but was ready to tread on his heels, and as he marched himself toward Metapontum, he had lent for Q. Fulvius to repair into the Lucan country, because those parts should not be dismembred of defence.

In this mean space, there were four French Horsemen, and two Numidians, sent to Arbuth not with letters from Aderbal, after he was removed from the siege of Placentia: who having travailed in manner all the length of Italy, through the middes of the enemies, whiles they follow after Arbuthnot in his retire unto Metapontum, mischief of their way, and light upon Treccumen: where they were encountered by the forragers of the Romans that ranged about the fields, and by them were brought before Q. Claudius the Praetor. At the first they entertained him with false flames, with doubtful and intricate answers: but when the fear of the rack and other tortures, had forced them to tell a truth, they confessed, that they had letters about them to deliver from Aderbal to Arbuthnot. With those letters sealed as they were, they were committed unto L. Virgi nius a Colonel, for to be conveyed unto Claudius the Consil. And two troops of Castrites besides of Samnit Horsemen were sent to guard them. So soon as they were come unto the Consil, and the letters read by an interpreter, and some examination taken of their captives: then Claudius considering that the common-wealth was not now in that good case, nor the occasion such, that each Governor needed no more, but to make war by the ordinary course of commissi on, within the compass and limits of his own Province, with the help of his own army alone, and against an enemy assigned unto him by the Senate: but that some unlooked for adventures must be enterprized, some new dispositions and unexpected put in execution, which when they were begun and attempted, might make no less wonder and fear among their own friends, that terror among the enemies: and being once performed and done, might turn the former fear into as great joy and gladness; sent the letters of Aderbal to the Senat at Rome: and withal, himself acquainted the Lords of the Senate what he intended to do. And forasmuch as Aderbal wrote unto his brother to meet him in Umbria, he advised them to send for the legation at Caepia to Rome, to take matters also at Rome, and to oppose that army of the City, against the enemy at Narbona.

Those were the contents of the letters to the Senate. He dispatched likewise messengers before, through the territories of the Latins, Marutins, Frenetins, and Pretiunians (by whom he meant to lead his army) for to give notice, that all the inhabitants of those parts, should out of their Villages and good Towns, provide and bring forth victuals into the high ways, for to refresh his soldiers; also to come with their Cat-horses, draught-oxen, and other beasts for carriage, together with wains and carts, that the wearied soldiers might ease themselves thereby. Himself out of his whole army, as well of citizens as allies, chose forth the flour and mottt picked men of all, to the number of six thousand foot, and one thousand horse, and gave it out openly, that he minded to surprize the first City that he came next unto in the Lucan country, and withal, the garrison of Carthaginians that lay there: and therefore commanded them to be ready for the Gourney and expedition. Thus when he had got forward in the night, he turned his way into Piraeum. And the Consil made no more ado, but with long journeys hied him as fast as he could, and led his army directly to his colleague, leaving Q. Tannus his Lieutenants, to guard and command the camp.

At Rome, they were no little terrified and troubled, than they were two years before. At what time as the Carthaginians were encampd before the walls and gates of the City. And men wist not well, what to make of this adventurous and audacious journey of the Consil, whether they should...
should praise or dispraise it. And it seemed that they would measure it and report thereof accord-

ning to the event, which alone, there is nothing more unjust and unequal. But thus they whispered, "That the camp was left with an army, and without their General, near unto the enemy Annabals, and the same guarded of all the strength and force thereof: that the Conflual pretending an expedition into the Lucans country, when indeed he went toward Pergamum and Galata, leaving the camp by no one thing more safe and secure, than by the creator and mightaking of the enemy, who is altogether ignorant, that the General is gone from thence, and part of the forces with him. But where would they be then, and in what taking should the camp be in case that were known abroad; or if Annabal would either with his whole army follow after Nero, being gone with more than fix thousand? or assail the camp, left as it were for a prey unto him, without forces, without conducted, and with the fortune and good luck of the General to protect it? The old defeats received in this war, the fresh remembrance of two Confluals 

but the last year, incresed mens fear. All which misfortunes happen, when there was in Italy 

but one Captain General, and one single army of the enemies. Now, of one war of the Car-
thaginians there are made twain: and two Annabals (as a man would say) be both at once in 

Italy, right valuable and renowned warriors. For even Aftribal also, was Amilcar his son as 

well as Annabal, as valiant and redoubted a Captain every way: as who for so many years to-

tgether in Spain, hath been exercized in the Roman wars, and born the name of archiving a 

world victory, and defeating two armies, with two most noble and famous commanders: and 

for expedition and speed in his voyage out of Spain, and for raising the Nations of France up 
in arms, he may be made his boal much more truly than Annabal himself. For even in those very 

places, where Annabal had left the greater part of his soldiers, with hunger and cold, (which 

kind of death of all others is most miserable) this Aftribal hath levied a power of armed men. 

Moreover, they that knew Spain well, and the affairs which had palled there, said besides, That 

he had not to deal with Nero, as with a warrior whom he knew not already; for why? he had 

when it was, made a Child of Nero, by a good token. That when Aftribal was by chance in a 

wood, and could not get out, was put to his flutes; but whiles he tripped out the time with Nero 

in booketing devious conditions and capitulations of peace; he sheathed him a confoundin 

ghigian call, gave him the fair slip, and escaped out of his hands. And to conclude, in all their 
discourses at Rome, they magnified every thing on the enemies part above all truth, and debased 
all their own means of help beneath all reason; such was their fear, which interpreteth and con-

The Speech of Nero to his 

The Confluals, 

Nero, when he had now gained to much ground, and was gone so far from the enemy, as it had not mattered much if his designs had been revealed and made known unto him, for any danger that might online thereof: called his soldiers before him, and made some few words to this or the like effect. Never was there derangement (as the General in the field, in outward flew more 

dangerous, in deed and truth more state and secure than this of mine. I lead you to a certain and 

confirmed victory, even to that war, unto which my collogue would not go before the Senate had 

allowed him to his full contentment, a greater power both of foot and horse, and the same better 

let out and more turned: so if he should have gone against Annabal himself: and therefore 

whosoever small poise and addition of forces you bring thereto, you shall way whereby the 

whole, and as it were weighd the balance. For when the enemies ready embrattled to 

fight, shall bear (and before that time, I will make that bear, that they shall not bear) that anoth-

er Conflual and another army is come, no doubt the day will be ours, and they shall yield us the 

victory. For in a name and name only, that lighteth the field & determineth battails. And small 

matters many times carry away the game, and cause mens minds both to loop for fear, and to 

take with hope, and verily, of a well bought field you are they shall reap the fruit & gain the 

glory. For alwayes it feemeth, that a little help that cometh hither, is more than all bodies & seeteth 
to effect the Whole. And you see yourself, with what concourse, with what admiration, with 

what affection that all the men do entertain & regard you by the way. And in very truth, as they 
marched along in their journey, it was a world to see, how both men & women flocked out of all 

the villages of the country to see them, how they forced themselves into companies & degrees to 
welcome them, and how they passed as it were in a lane: through them they made vows in their 

mouth, they poured out their prayers in behalf, & desired praiies among them: calling them the 

very guard & defence of the Common wealth, the lovers & redeemers of Rome & the Roman Em-

pire: acknowledging that the lives and liberties of themselves and their children, lay in their two 

right hands, and depended upon the force of their arms: praying to all the gods and goddesses, and to all 

the holy halows of heaven, to vouchsafe them a lucky journey, a fortunate fight, and speedy victory 

over their enemies with both heartily that they might be bound and condemned (as it were) to pay 

and perform their vows, which in their name they had under taken & promised & deuised earnestly, 

that as now they went along, & accompanied them with careful minds for fear of the peril which 

they went unto, after few days they might meet with them upon the way with joyful hearts, as 

they felien with Triumph for their victory. Every man for himself in particular invited them 

friendly, offered them kindly, entertained and befought them importantly, that all things whatso-

ever they flow in need of, either for themselves or their friends, they would receive at his hands 
especially, as being ready to afford them all most liberally, heartily, and with the better. The 

foildiers again, for very modestly strove to take no more than was very needful and necessary,
no day they would make with any, nor one jot depart from their colours. Their meat took by the ways as they went, journeying night and day, and scarce allowing their bodies rest and sleep to content their weak nature that looked for it. Now had Nero sent afore-hand to his brother Heliades, to give him a declaration of his coming and to know again from him his mind, whether he should come openly or secretly, by day time or by night, and lodge in one camp with him, or in another apart by himself. Livius his advice was, and he thought it the better of the two, to enter into his camp, closely in the night season and had given a postern word, and made it known throughout all the camp, that every Marshal and Colonel should lodge a Marshal or Colonel, and every Centurion entertain a Centurion, every knight or man of arms receive a knight or horseman, and every footman take unto him a footman into his pavilion and cabin.

For it was not expedient that the camp should be enlarged and set out wider, for fear that the enemy might take knowledge of another Conulis coming: and so much the more easily might many of them be brought in the fright round of their pations, because the army Conulis had brought in manner nothing with them in this expedition but their armour only. Moreover, in the very way as they came, the company was well mended and much encreased by many voluntaries that offered themselves willingly of their own accord, as well old soldiers, such as had erst out their years as young and lusty men; whom Claudius preparing so to strive for to have their names enred if he law them personable and strong of body and like to do good service, had enroiled into the mitter book. The other Conulis lay encamped before * Sena, and

A thousand foot from him. And therefore Nero was now appro'd and came near, and sat him down close among the mountains, because he would not put himself within camp before night. And when they were come thither, they were welcomed every man according to his degree, and by their own place and calling and brought into their tents and pations and with a general joy of all friendly entertained as their loving guests. The next day following they assembled together to counsel: at which meeting, L. Porcius Leopis the Pretor was present who was himself encharged close into the Conulis legion. He before their coming, by leading his army over the high places, and one while keeping the narrow heights of the forest to impeach and keep the pations; another while charging upon the flanks and sides of the upon the back and tail of the enemy, had by all the devices and policies of war, mocked him and kept him play. This man, I say, was at the forecial council. Many men were of opinion, that the day of battle should be deterred for a time, while Nero might have some few days more, for both to refresh his followers, weared with weary and much watching, and also to know the quality somewhat of his better of his enemy. Nero not only perfused till to persevide, but also began most earnestly to intract. That they would not by long delay make that design of his to seem rash and dangerous, which speedines in execution had made safe and secure. Considering this, whiles Made, upon ignorance and error (which is not to continue long with him) lay still asleep and bemummed, neither on one thought upon it, to affail the camp left without a General, nor put himself upon the way, to make prudent after me; now before he en't, I mis (quoth he) defeat the army of Afric'hal and return again into Apulia. But he that by deferring till, giveth the enemy time and rest, that they may refresh in them, the camp into Amadu' and bring the praetor him into Gallia, to joy with Afric'hal at his good pleasure and pleasure. Nero (quoth he) the signal of battle must be given forthwith, and we must to the field. We fail, I say, take the vantage and make the bell of the error and ignorant of our enemies, both absent there, and present here: that neither they with Afric'hal may know that they are to deal with fewer: nor the again beware that they are to fight with more in number, and stronger in power. Thus the counsel brake up, and the signal of battle was put forth, and presently they went into the field. The enemies were already advanced in battle array, and flock with displayed ensigns. The only day of joying in fight was this. That Afric'hal riding out with some few Horsemen before the ensigns, chanced to mark some old targets of his enemies which he had nor as yet seen, and their Horfes more lank and lean, than before came. For, and (as he was grieved) the number also was greater than ordinary and usual. Suspecting therefore, that with which was indeed, he founded the retreat in all bat; and sent out precisely to the rivers where they used to water, or else if they might either light upon some &c catch them prisoners, or at least take good mark by their eye, whether any of them had better or not at the higher and lower, looked uncumber, precisely upon their late travel. Alleo he gave them commandment to ride aloft about their camp, and to spie whether the enemy were enlarged or out either in any place, and to diligently watch whether the trumpet sounded single or double within the camp. When all other circumstances besides were related in order affirmatively, only the not enrolling of the camp, put them by their him and gave the occasion that they were beguiled. Two or all camps they were, like as before the coming of the Conulis: the one belonging to M. Livius, and the other to L. Ploctus. And in neither of them were the campers and tents let out any jot, whether they might put up more tents and quarter themselves in larger room. But this one thing troubled this old experienced Captain, and acquainted so well as he was with the Roman enemies that his epistles brought word how in the Pretors camp they founded the trumpet once, and in the Conulis twice. For surely that was an evident argument that two Conulis were there. And in thinking how the other Conulis had departed from Amadu' and given him the slip, he mightily remonstrated himself. And he could not suspect & imagine that, which was indeed the truth, namely, the
that **Ammibal** was, deluded and mocked in a matter of so great moment, as to be ignorant what he was become of the General, or of the army, to which he lay so close and near encamped. Surely (thought he) and without all question, he had received no small spoil and overthrow, and in this fright darest not make after and follow the enemy. Nay, he feared much, lest all were lost and gone, and that he should not come time enough to help and succour him: and that the Romans had gotten already the fame good hand in Italy, which they had before in Spain. Otherwhiles he was perfwaded, that his letters never came to **Ammibal** his hands, that they were intercepted, and to the Conful made shift to prevent him, and give him the foil by the way. Being perplexed with these careful cogitations, he caused the fires to be put out, and at the signal given at the first watch, to truss up bag and baggage, and to dislodge, and be gone. In this tearful, and nightly tumult, the guides while they were slenderly looked unto, and small heed was taken of them. I one of them sat down and refted close in a secret lurking hole which he had before delineed in his mind; the other waded over the river *Meamum*, through the foords that he was well acquainted with, and so got away and made an escape. So the army left at random without their guides, first waded over the fields, and then divers of them being weary and sleepy with overwatching, laid them down along here and there, and left their colours with few about them. **Ammibal** commanded them to march along the bank of the River, and to follow it, until the day-light might direct them the right way; and so going a compass in and out according to the winding reaches and cranks of the River, waded a great while, and gained but a small ground forward. Now when day light once appeared, he purpoted to spie out the first place for convenient passage and there to get over. But finding no foords, by reason that the farther it was from the sea, the higher were the banks from the water that kept in the River, he spent all the live-long day, and gave the enemy time to follow after him. And first **Claudius Nero** came with all the Horlemen, then *Percius* followed hard after with the van-corriers, and light armed footmen. Whilesthey made offer to charge their enemies in their march, every way, and paid strict upon them, into much as now **Ammibal** leaving to journey forward (wherein he seemed rather to flee than march) was defirous to take a little hill along the river side, and there to encamp and fortifie; **Livius** came alo with all the main power of footmen, so armed and so orderly appointed and marshalled, as they were not only provided to march in journey, but readily also prepared to give battle. But when they were all joyed together, and aranged in battall array, **Claudius** had the leading of the right wing, **Livius** command the left, and the Pretor took the charge and conduct of the main battall. **Ammibal** seeing no other remedy but to fight, never fortified his camp; but in the fore-front before the vanguard, and in the very mids, placed his Elephants: among them in the left wing he opposed the French against **Claudius** not so much trusting upon them, as supposing verity that the enemy was afraid of them: and in proper person he took up the right wing against **Livius** for himself and the Spaniards, in whom (being old bestonfiders) he reposed his most hope. The Ligurians in the mids were leftowed behind the Elephants. But the battall was rather drawn out in length, than stretched forth in breadth. The Frenchmen were defended with the bill that bare out over them. That front which the Spaniards kept, encountered with the left wing of the Romans. And all the battall of the right side, which bare out from the conflict, stood still and fought not. The bill that was opposite against them, was the caule that neither afront, nor flank, they could charge upon the enemy. But between **Livius** and **Ammibal** there was an hot figh begun already, and cruel bloodshed on both sides. There were both the General Captains: there was the greater part of the Romans, as well foot as Horie: there were the Spaniards, old and experienced fcondiers, skillfull also in the Roman manner of fight: there were the Ligurians, a tough nation, and sturdy in fight. Against this battall were the Elephants turned, who at the first shock and onefter troubled and disordered the vanguard, yet, and began to force the cenfins to give ground. But alter upon the noise that grew greater, and the battall that waxed hotter, they began to be unruly, and travers between both battails, as it were doubtfull to wherfe side they belonged, much like to ships left railing and floating without their pilots and fleers men. Then **Claudius** cried out vifions to his fcondiers: To what end, quoth he, we fuch pool haft, and took fo long a journey? But feeing that he laboured in vain to advance his banners and mount up against the bill opposite unto him, and perceiving that way how it was impossible to come unto the enemy, and to enter upon him, he drew forth certain cohorts out of the right wing where he faw they were liker to stand still than to fight, and wheeled about behind the enemies battall, and so unawares not only to the enemies, but also to his own men, he charged upon the left flank of the enemies: and he bellifked himself to nimblly, that when he had flew himfelf on the fides, presently he plaid upon their backs; in fuch For the Elephants there were more of them killed by the hands of the governours and guides that bare upon them, than by the enemy that fought against them. For
A their manner was to have about them a Carpenters chisell and a malleter, and when the beatles began once to rage and to run upon their own fellows, their masters would let the said chisell between their ears, even in the very joynt where the rape of the neck and the head meet together, and with their mallet to drive it as hard as he could: this was found to be the readiest and most speedy way to kill so mighty and huge a beast, when they were past all hope to rule them and keep them in order. And the first inventor and practicer of this feat was Afrordius, a famous and memorable Captain, as in many other respects, so especially for this battail. He it was that held out to the end, exhorting his fouldiers to fight, fighting them self, and adventuring all dangers: he it was, that when his men were weary and drew back (by reason of long toil and labour) incensed them again, one while by fair words and intrest, another while by sharp checks and rebukes: he reclaimed them again when they were running away: he renewed the fight in divers places when it flaked and gave over. And at the very last, when he saw evidently that the enemy had the honor of the day, because he would not remain alive after to great an army defeated that followed his standard, and were induced by the reputation and name that went of him, he let flaire to his Horle, and rode among the Squadrions of the Roman Horlemen; and there, as before Amilcar's son, and Amulbius brother, fighting right manfully, was slain. Never during the time of this war in one field were there so many enemies killed: and it seemed now that for loffe of Captain and overthrow of army, they might well cry quittance with them for the defeat at Cannae. Slain there were 36000 enemies, 6400 taken prisoners: and a rich booty and pillege gained of all forts, besides gold and silver. Moreover, there were recovered of Roman citizens above four thousand, who had been taken prisoners, and were among the enemies.

B That comfort they had to make amends for the fouldiers that died in this battail: for they won not the victory without bloudshed in this field, wherein to the number almost of eight thousand Romans and allies together, lost their lives. And the Conquerors themselves had to much their fill of bloud and slaughter, that the next morrow, when word was brought unto Livius the Conul, that divers Cisalpine Gauls, and Ligures, which either were not at the battail, or escaped out of the execution, and were going away in one company all together, without a certain Leader, without Ensigns, without any order or command, and might all be put to the word and utterly destroyd, if there were but one cornet of Horlemen sent out after them, " Nay, quoth he, let some reain alive to tell the news both of our enemies loose and ruin, and of our own virtue and valour. And Nere the very next night the battail, marched with more speed backward, than he came thither, and within six days returned again so far as to his standing leaguer, and the enemies. All the way he marched, he was not indeed restored unto and frequented by so many men, by reason that there went no harbingers or meffengers before: but his coming was welcomed, with so great gladness and mirth, that for very joy, the people were welcom more than themselves. As for Rome, it cannot be uttered and expressed in words sufficiently, how men were affected the one way or the other: neither how penive the City was in double expectation of the event, nor how joyful and jocund again, upon the news and tidings of the victory. For never one day (after the rumour once was blown thither, that Claudius the Conul was gone forth in his expedition) from the run-ringing unto the setting, departed either Senators out of the Council-chamber, from attendance upon the Magilstras, or the people out of the Common-hall. The dames of the City, because other help they could yield none, betook themselves to their beads and devotions, and in every Church went up and down, and plied all the Gods with prayers, with vows, and humble applications. As the City was thus perplexed and in suspense; first there came some flying news, that two Horlemen of Numma were come out of the battail, and returned to the camp which lay to guard and keep the lightes and pilleges of Umbria, who had entred word thither, that the enemies were defeated. At the first, they rather lent their ears to these tidings, than bent their minds to entertain the same, as being greater than they might in heart conceive, and more joyful than they could asserdly: and the exceeding twiftnes of the rumor hindered the credit thereof, because it was reported within, that the battall was fought again but two days before. Then were lettres brought from F. M. Ailus Aelius, sent out of the camp, which confirmed the arrival of those Horlemen of Nunma. Those lettres were brought through the common place, unto the Tribunal of the Praetor: whereupon the Lords of the Senat were sent forth out of the Council-hall. But the people kept such a thrallling and thurging about the door of the Senat, that the meffengers could not passe thither, but was haled and pulled by the people, questioning with him, and calling hard upon him, that the lettres should be read at the market cros, and in the Rocfr: before they were opened in the Senat. But at the last, they were refrained by the Magilstras and caufed to void, and hardly could the joy be contained among to unruly people, who had no measure nor rule of their affections. Well, the lettres were first read in the Senat, and then in the assembly of the people; and there, according to the divers dispositions of men, some took joy and contentment of mind, as upon a certainty: others would give no credit, before they either heard the meffengers speak directly from the Conulians, or saw their lettres. After this word came, that there were Embassadors themselves at hand. And then indeed, there ran to meet them, of all fortes, young and old, every one defirid to be the first, to see and to hear these so glad tidings. And they went out to far as the bridge Mileius, and all the way along, was full of people. Thes Embassadors or meffengers, were L. Festus Philo, F. Lucinius Farnus, Q. Cecilius Metellus, Who being accompanied with people
of all degrees and qualities, that flocked about them, came as far as to the common place: some H questioned with themselves, others erred of their train and fortune, what news, and how the World went. And as any one had caught an end from them, that the army and Captain General of the enemies was slain, or the Roman legions safe, and the Consuls alive and well, he would immediately impart his joy unto others. Much ado had they to come into the Curia, and more ado there was, to keep out the multitude, that they were not mingled among the Lords of the Senate. But at last the letters were read in the Senat. From thence were the Embassadors brought into the general assembly of the people, and L. Peturius after he had read the letters, explained himself from point to point in order, how every thing was done, with great applause; and afterwards, with a general shout of all the assembly, who hardly could conceive in their minds to great joy. Then they ran divers ways, some to the Temples of the Gods to render thanks, others to their own houses, to communicate with their wives and children to luckily and fortunate tidings. And the Senat decreed a solemn procession for three days together, so many as M. Livius and C. Claudius the Consuls, with the safety of the legions that had vanquish'd the enemies, killed their General, and put their army to the sword. This procession, C. Hicilianus the Pretor, published in the open assembly of the people: and it was celebrated and solemnized both by men and women. All the Temples for three days fully, were likewise replenish'd with the one fex and the other. For the Maroons and Dames of the City, in their best apparel, together with their children, yeelded praise and thanks to the immortal Gods, as if now they had been freed from all fear, and the war come to a final end for ever. This victory altered the very state and course of the commonwealth, so as from that time forward, as intimate of feted peace, men durst make contracts, buy and sell, borrow and lend, yes, and pay debts to their creditors.

C. Claudius the Consul, so soon as he was entered into the camp again, caused the head of Attalus (which he had preferred with great care and brought with him) to be thrown out before the Corpo de guard and leaders of the enemies, and that the African captives, should be shewed bound as they were in chains; and two of them to be sent loose unto Attalus, to declare and recount in order, how every thing happened. Attalus having at once received this double blow, mourning as well for the publick loss of the state, as for the calamity happened in his own house, fetched a deep sigh (by report) and said: Ah, I see well the hard fortune of Carthage. And disdaining from hence, because he would bring together all his forces (which being dispersed under, he was not able to hold and maintain) into the utmost angle of Italy, (the Britains country) he brought thither as well the Metapontins, even the whole tribe of them, who abandoned their own Towns and Cities, as also the Lucans, as many as were subject unto him, and under his obedience.

The eight and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation

of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the eight and twentieth Book.
The eight and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

But it seemed that Spain was as much in war as it had been therewith, by the voyage of Aemilius Paullus; behold, all in a sudden those rising troubles there equalled to the former. And as for the Provinces of Spain, at that time, they were oppressed between Romans & Carthaginians in this manner, and first when the son of Giscards was retired with his power far within the country, even to the Ocean and beyond, but the coasts bordering upon our sea, and in manner all Spain bending toward the East, was held by Scipio and subjunct to the Roman Empire. Hannibal, the new General, being passed out of Africa, with a fresh army, and entered into the room of Aemilius Paullus, joyed with Mago; and when he had put his army within a short time, a great number of men in Celtiberia, which lieth in the midst between the two seas: Scipio sent forth against him: M. Sylla made ten thousand foot, and five hundred horsemen. This Sylla acted with speed by taking as long journeys as possibly he could (considering how much hindered and troubled he was, both by the roughness of the ways, and also by the straitness, environed with thick woods, and forrests, as most parts of Spain are) that notwithstanding all those difficulties, he prevented not only the messengers, but also the very fame and rumour of his coming, and by the guidance of certain fugitives revolted out of Celtiberia, he pulled forward from thence to the enemy. By the fame guides he had intelligence, and was for certain advertised (being now some ten miles from the enemy) that about the very way where he should march there were two camps: namely, on the left hand the new army aboved (of Celtiberians, to the number of more than nine thousand, by encamped, and the Carthaginians on the right. For as this Leager it was well defended and fortified with corps de guards, which watch and watch both night and day, according to the good order and discipline of war, but the other was as much neglected, dilatory, loose, and out of order, like as commonly barbarous people and raw foundiers are, and such as fear the least, by reason they are at home within their own country, Sullame thinking it good policy to fet upon them first, gave commandment to march under their ensigns and colours, and bear toward their left hand as much as they could, for fear of being discovered in some place or other by the guards and sentinels of the Carthaginians. And himself in person, having went before certain vane-couriers and epilaps, with his army advanced space directly toward his enemy. Now was he approached within three miles of them unespied, and not descried at all. For why a mountain country it was full of roughs and crags, over-spread and covered with woods and thickers. There in a hallow valley between, and therefore secret for the purpose, he commanded his foundiers to sit them down and take their reflection. In this mean time the epilaps came back and verified the words of the fugitives aforesaid. Then the Romans, after they had piled their packs, their trusses and baggage in the midst, armed themselves, and in order of bataill formed to fight. When they were come within a mile of the enemies, they were discovered by them, who began suddenly to be afraid, Mago at the first outcry and alarm, set spurs into his horse, and rode a gallop out of his Camp to inure. Now there were in the army of the Celtiberians, four thousand footmen tagertiers, and two hundred horse. This Troop being in manner the flower and very strength of the whole army, and as it were, a full and compleat legion he placed in the vanguard: all the rest, which were lightly armed, he belowed in the rearward for to inure and reduce. As he led them forth thus ordered and arranged they were not well instiled without the trench, but the Romans began to lance their javelins and darts against them. The Spaniards to avoid this volley of shot from the enemies, couched close under their shields, and defended themselves, and afterwards they role up at once to charge again upon them. But the Romans standing thick as their manner is, received all their darts in their targets, and then they closed man to man and foot to foot, and began to fight at hand with their swords. Howbeit, the ruggedness of the ground, as nothing availed the ivireness of the Celtiberians (whoone gaites is to run to and so in skirmish and keep no ground,) so the fame was not humilial all to the Romans who were used to a fast bataill, and to stand to their fight: only the strait room, and the trees and thorns growing between parted their ranks and files asunder, so as they were forced to maintain skirmish eitherly one to one, or two to two at the most, as if the y had been matched to cope together even. And look what thing hindered the enemies in
their flight, the same yielded them, as it were, bound hand and foot unto the Romans, for to be killed. Now when all these tassetters, well-near of the Celts, were slain; their light armed foildiers, and the Carthaginians also, who from the other camp ran to succour, were likewise disarrased, discomfited and hewn in pieces. So there were two thousand footmen, and not above, and all the horsemen (who scarce began battle) fled with Mago and escaped. As for Hannoth, other Generalls, together with them who came left, and to the very end of the fray, was taken alive. But Mago fled still: and all the Caualy, with as many as remained of the old footmen followed after, and by the tenth day arrived in the Province of Gades, and came unto Asdrubal. The Celts, that were but new foildiers, split into the woods next out of the way, and so from thence fled home.

This fortunate victory hapned so good a time, not so much stifled the present war in the very birth, as it cut off the matter and maintenance of future troubles in case the enemies had been let alone, and suffered to sollicit and stir other nations to take armies, like as they raid’d the Celts, and the Celts already. Whereupon, Scipio having highly commended Sylla’s, and conceived great hope withall to dispatch quite, and make an end of the wars, in case himself left not the matter, and made long stay; purfied the remnant behind, and led forward into the utmost Province of Spain against Asdrubal. But Asdrubal, who hapned then to lie encamp’d in Tarracon to keep his Allies in obedience and faithfull allegiance, all on a sudden dislodged, pluck’d up standards, and away; and more like one that fled than marched, led his army farther into the country, even as far as the Ocean, and to Gades. But supposing that so long as he kept his forces all together, himself was the only mark which the enemy would flouor at; before that he cut over the K straights of Gibraltar to Gades, he brake up his whole army, and sent them away here and there to their several Cities, both to fave themselves within the walls, and to defend the walls by force of arms. Scipio so soon as he perceived that the war was thus divided into fundry parts, and that what leaded about his forces from City to City, was rather a long and tedious piece of work, than either difficult or much available, retired back. But because he would not leave that country clear in the hands of the enemies, he lent his brother L. Scipio with 1000 foot, and 1000 horsemen, to aflail the mightieft and wealthiest City in those parts, which the barbarous people call Orinisia. This City is leated in the confines of the Meliffs (a nation meer Spaniards) the foil fruitful, and the inhabitants therefind silver mines. This was the fortores of Asdrubal, and his place of safe retreat, when he made outwards all abroad into the midland countries of the main, and spoileth the people. Lucius Scipio having pitched his Camp under the said City, before that he entrenched and blocked the town, sent certain to the gates, who by parling near at hand, might feel and sound the dispositions of the Citizens; and persuade with them to make trial of the Romans friendly alliance, rather than their forcible violence. But perceiving by their answers no mind at all nor inclination to peace, he call’d a trench, and raised a double rampart about the town, and divided his army into three parts, to the end that one of them should ever follow the affairs, while the other twain took rest and cena. And when the fift troop and regiment of them began to give a camifado, there followed a fierce, cruel, and doubtful skirmish. For they could not easilily either come under the walls, or bringing scaling ladders to fect by, by reason of the flipt that light upon them. And such as already had reared up ladders to the wall, fome of them were pulled off, with certain forks provided for that purpose; others were caught hold of with iron hooks from above, and were in danger to be hung up in the air, hoisted aloft, and fetched over the walls. Scipio fearing that the conflict was unequal, by reason of the small number of affilants; and that the enemies had the advantage besides in that they fought from the wall top: caufed that fift regiment to retire, and with the other twain at once gave a treth assault to the town. This stroke brot a great fear into them who were already wearied with fighting that not only the town men suddenly abandoned the walls and fled, but also the Carthaginian garrifion foildiers, for fear lest the City was betrayed, for look’d aloft their stations and places of guard, and gathered themselves into one place. But then the towns’men were afraid, left if the enemies put themselves within the City, they should be maffacred every where as they came in their way, without respect and difference who were Carthaginians, or who were Spaniards. Whereupon they fct one gate open on a sudden, and in great numbers ran out of the town, bearing their tagers before them again the darts that were fhort afar off, and thefwoung aloft their naked right hands, in token that they had laid aside their swords. But whether the enemy could not well discern them so far off, or whether they infefted some crafty and deceitful practice, I wont not, but they fell upon thefe that fled and yielded unto them, and drew them downright, as well as if they had affronted them in the face of a battell, and at the fame gate entered the City with bloody banners. In other parts likewise they fell to hewing down the gates with axes, and to break them open with crowns of Iron. And as every horfeman got into the City, he rode amain (according to the direction given by the Generalls) into the market place; to be poifefled thereof, and to thefe horfemen were assigned the Triaul for aid and assistance. The Legionary foildiers besides ran over all the other parts of the City, spoiling and killing all that ever they met, fave such as defended themselves with their armour. All the Carthaginians were taken prisoners and committed to ward, likewise of towns’men about three hundred, such as had shut the gates; but unto all the rest the town was rendred again, and each man had his own goods delivered and restored unto him. There were slain at the affault of that City, of enemies almoft two thousand: but of Romans nor above
A fourcore and ten. As by the winning of the town they that were employed there took great joy and contentment: so in their return to their Generall he left and the rest of the main army, they made a goodly show as they marched with a mighty multitude of prisoners led before them, Scipio having praised his brother in the most honourable terms that he could devise, and namely, for this exploit of setting Ormus, making him equal in glory to himself for the conquest of Carthage: because winter drew on that he could neither give the attempt upon Gades nor yet follow at once upon the army of Gisrulals, so dispersed as it was in sundry parts over the Province, conducted his forces back again into the Province of Spain; that lieth on this side Iberia: and when he had dismissed his legions into their several standing camps to winter in; and sent his brother L. Scipio to Rome, together with Hanno the Generall of the enemies; and other Gentlemen prisoners, he withdrew himself to Taracum.

In the same year the Roman Armado being set out under the conduct of M. Valerius Leceinius the Pro-Consul, made a voyage from Sicily into Africa, and forsook all over the Territories of Bithia and Carthage, infomuch as they drove booties out of the very utmost Confinis of the Carthaginians, and even about the walls of Bithia. As they failed back for Sicily, they were encountered by the Carthaginian fleet, consisting of seventy long ships of war, whereas of seventeen were boarded and taken, four sunk in the deep seas, the rest were put to flight and dispersed. Thus the Roman Captain Valerius, after victories at three ends, and land, returned with rich prizes of all sorts to Lilybaeum; and hereupon by reason that the seas were opened and cleared of the enemies' ships, great store and abundance of grain was brought to Rome.

In the beginning of that summer wherein these things hapned, P. Sulpicius the Pro-Consul, and King Attalus, after they had wintered in Agina, as is abovefaid, with a joint army passed over from thence into the island Lemnois. The Romans were twenty five Galliaces of five ranks of oars, and the King had thirty five, Philip for his part because he would be ready at all times to meet with the enemy either by land or sea, were himself in person down to the sea-side, as far as Demetrius, and made proclamation, that all his forces should by a certain day meet together at Larisa. Upon the same that went of the Kings coming, there repaired sundry Embassadors from the federate States of all parts unto Demetrius. For the Etolians having taken heart unto them, as well for the society with the Romans, as upon the coming of Attalus, waited and imploied their borderers. And not only the Acharians and Boetians, and they that inhabit Euboea, were in great fear, but also the Acharians whom over and besides the war from the Aetolians, Macchandis also the Lacedemonian tyrant terrified, who encamped himself not far from the confines of the Argives. All these States made report what perils were like to ensue both by sea and land to their several Cities, and befougth the King his aid. Moreover there came unto him from his own Realm no good tidings of peace and quietness, for that Scevriditas and Pleuratis were gone out and rebelled: and of the nations of Thrace, the Medi especially were ready to invade the frontiers adjoining upon Macedonia, in case the King should fortuited to be bufied and occupied otherwise in any long wars. The Boetians likewise themselves, and other nations inhabiting the more inland parts of Greece, had given intelligence, that the pappages of the forrest Thermoplaes, where as the narrow gullet of the heights yielded small passage, were stopped up by the Aetolians with a trench and pallisado, that it might give no access at all unto Philip, for to come and defend the Cities of the Allies. Thus many troubles coming fast and thick one upon another, had been able to have roused and awakened even a deepy and flow Captain, and made him to look about him. These Embassadors he dispatched and sent away, promising every one of them help and succour, as time and occasion would permit: and willing them each one for the present to provide those things that were most urgent and important. Then he sent a garrison unto that City from whence new came, that Attalus having passed with a fleet from Lemnois, had waited and forsook all the territory about it. And he sent Polyphantes with a small power into Boetia, and Menippus likewise, one of his own Captains and Cavaliers, unto Chalce, with a thousand targetiers, called Pelasgi, (now the P.h.c are certain small buklers or targetiers, nothing unlike unto the Spanish Cetres) unto whom were joyed five hundred Athenians, that they might not be gured all the parts of the Island: himself in person went to Scio and, and there he apprized the Rhodians, that all the forces of the Macedonians should be brought thither from Larisa. News came unto him there that the Aetolians had summoned and proclaimed a general Diet of Council at Heraclia, and that King Attalus would require thither to consult about the managing of the whole war. And with an intent by his hudden coming to trouble this solemn assembly and meeting of the States, he took great journeys in his march, and led his army toward Heraclia: but the Councill was newly dislodged when he arrived thither. Howbeit, he destroyed all the standing corn, which was near-hand ripe, specially in the vale along the Gulf of the Athenians, and so reduced his army back again to Sciofa; and there leaving his whole power, he retired himself to Demetrius, attended only with his royall guard. And because he might from thence be ready to meet with all sudden fiats and invasions of the enemies, he sent out men of purpose into Phocias, * E/elea, and * Piapers, to chule out certain high places for beacons, from whence the fires might be seen afar off. And himself set up one watch tower upon Ciffars (a mountain so the top whereof is of an exceeding height) that upon the signal of the beacons on fire from afar, he might in the minute
of an hour have intelligence, so soon as the enemies were about any trouble whatsoever. But the Roman General, King Attalus, sailed the fleet from Pergamum to Mycaen, and from thence sailed with their Armada to En caea, unto the City Oreum, which a man beareth his course from the gulf of Demetrias to Chalced and Enepirus, is the first City of Euboea that they had met upon the left hand. And thus it was agreed between Attalus and Sulpius, that the Romans should give the assault from the sea side and the King with his forces on the land, Four days after the fleet was arrived, they presented themselves before the City to affright it. For that time between was spent in secret talk and conference with Plator, who was appointed by Philip governor and Provost of the City. The City had within it two Citadels, the one commanding the sea, the other situated in the very heart and midst of the town. From thence there is a way under the ground that leadeth to the least end whereof there flood a fabric or tower five stories high, a singular bulwark and place of defence. There at first began a most sharp and cruel conflict, by reason that the turret was well furnished with all kind of shot and artillery: and likewise from out of the ships there was planted much ordnance, and many engines bent to impeach and affright the same. Now when every man's mind was amaz'd, and eye fixed upon this hor and eager light, Plator received and let in the Romans at the gate of the other Citellus that flood over the land, and so in the turning of an hand it was surpriz'd and won. The townsmen being expell'd and chaited from thence retired and took themselves into the middle of the City unto the other fortresses, But certaintold underes were set of purpose there to burn the gate upon them: and so being excluded, they were killed and taken prisoners in the midst between. The garrison of the Macedonians' round gathered together under the Castle wall and neither fled openly amain nor yet began to fight, as if they meant to flock to it unto the end. For whom Plator obtained pardon of Sulpius, and having embarked them, brought them to Demetrias of Phocis, and there let them a-shore, and himself returned to Attalus.

Sulpius bearing himself bold for this so good and speedy successes, immediately fled with his victorious Armada against Chalced. Where the event in the end answer'd nothing unto his hope and expectation. The sea lying broad and large on both hands, gathered in that place to a narrow room, so as at the first light it made a shew of a double pector or hour, opening upon two divers mouths, but in very truth there is not lightly to be found a worse harbour, and a more dangerous rode for ships. For not only for exceeding high hills on both sides of the main, the winds arise suddenly and blow butterous, but also the very straight it is of Enepirus, ebbeth not at all and floweth seven times in the day, as the voice goeth, at certain feet and ordinary hours; but without all order, as the winds drive the sea turneth and rolles in hither and thither, working up and down, and like a flowing tumbrun restless and very violent, as it were, doth at a deep hill: so as another night on day the ships there riding have any rest and repose. As the Roman Armada was thus engaged within so dangerous a rode; so the town of the one part was environd with the sea and on the land-side fiercely fortified; besides the defence of a strong garrison there and the assured loyalty of the Captains and principal heads and rulers; whereby it was chiefly guarded, which at Oreum was but vain, sick, and unitned; by means whereof it was trouble and impregnable. The Roman General in this case, considering how he had begun a vast enterprise and seeing many difficulties on every hand, wrought wildly yet in this one point, that he that could give over, because he would spend no time in vain, and sailed over with his fleet from thence to Cyrusus (a town of Mercian belonging to the City of Opus, situate a mile from the sea.) Philip was warning by the beacons on fire that appeard from Oreum: but by the fraud of Plator, the other were with the lastest fire a burning from the watch-tower above. And forasmuch as he was now strong enough at sea, he could not with his navy have easy access into the island. So that service was delayed and altogether neglected. But he behirled himself quick to the succour of Chalced, to soon as ever he espied the fire from the beacon. For albeit Chalced it fealt be a City of the fame island, yet is it diiled from the Continent by so narrow an arm of the sea that there is no more but a bridge between it and the land: and on that side it hath more eafe access than at water. Philip having desir'd the garrison there, cast down the fort and discomfited the Etolians who kept the straight passage of Thermoypyle, came from Demetrias to Scoristis, from whence he departed at the third watch: and when he had driven and chased the enemies in great fear to Heraclea, himself in one day reached to Elata in Pheos, a journey above 60 miles. The very same day in manner the City of Opus was taken by K. Attalus and put to the ranke. The whole pillage thereof, Sulpius had granted to the King, in regard that Oreum a few days before was spoiled and riled by the Roman soldiers, and the Kings men had no share with them. New was the Roman Armada retired to Oreum, and Attalus not ware of Philip his coming, spent time in exacting monies from the chief and principal Citizens. But so sudden and unexpected was this accident of his approach, that had not certain Cretans by good hap gone forth a forraging craft from the City, and descried the march of the enemies a great way off, he might have been overtaken and surpriz'd. Attalus unarmed and out of order as he was, made haste & ran amazed to the sea-side for to recover the ships. And even as he by his men were looting from the land and lancing into the sea, Philip came, and from the very shore put the mariners and sailors in great fear. From thence he returned to Opus, crying out upon God and man, and blaming his ill luck, that he had miss'd so narrowly the opportunity of so great an exploit, and let it go, as it were, snatched out of his very eye. In the hunt of anger he reproved and revil'd
the Opuntians, for that being able to hold out the siege until his coming, so soon as they saw the enemy they presently had yielded themselves in a manner voluntary into his hands. When he had set things in order at Opus and thereabout he took his journey to Tarentum. Attalus at the first retired himself to Tarentum: but upon the news arrived how Prusias the King of Bithynia had invaded the frontiers of his kingdom, he left the Roman affairs and the Eolitan war, and from thence sailed over directly into Asia. Sulpius also retired his navy unto Aegium, from whence in the beginning of the spring he had departed and taken a passage to Tarentum. And Philip forced and won Tarentum, with as small ado as Attalus before had taken Opus. That forelaid City Tarentum was inhabited by certain that were fled and driven out of Thessalus in Phlebius. For when the City was taken by Philip and they fled for protection unto the Eolitians, (to whom they recommended and committed themselves) the Eolitians gave unto them that place to lodge themselves in being a City wanting and in manner defolate by the former war of Philip. Then Philip having recovered Tarentum again, as is before departed, departed from thence, and won Trinunum and Dyrrachium, two small and base towns of no account in Durrus. From whence he came to Eleana, where he had given command- ment, that the Embassadors of Polomenu and the Rhodians should give attendance until his coming. Where, as they were treating about the making an end of the Eolitan war (for much as those Embassadors to the same effect had lately presented themselves at Heraclea, in thee Council and assembly of the Romans and Eolitians,) tidings came, that Macchinidas purposed and determined to let upon the Eleans, as they were preparing to exhibit the solemn Olympic games, Philip supposing it good to prevent that, courteously answered the Embassadors and gave them their dispatch saying that as himself was not the cause of that war so he would not hinder and lay the conclusion of peace upon any equal and reasonable conditions. And so with a power lightly appointed he marched through Rutus to Megara and from thence went down to Corinth: where having furnished himself with victuals, he marched forward to Philos and Phaneto. And being now come as far as to Epea, and hearing there that Macchinidas upon the rumour of his coming forwar was fled back to Lacedaemon, he returned to Aegium, unto the general Diet and Council of the Achaei: supposing with all that he should find there the Punic armado, which he had Best to come thither, because he might be able to do somewhat also by sea. But some few days before the Carthaginians had sailed out into Phocaea, and from thence were gone to the havens of the Aecarnanians, so soon as they heard once, that Attalus and the Romans were departed from Tarentum, fearing that they would make out after them, and left they should be overtaken and surprized within Rhium, which is the very mouth of the Corinthian gulf. Philip very gladly heereat, and was wonderfully troubled in mind, seeing what haste ever he made himself in all his empires, yet he came too short and effected nothing in due time as if fortune in taking all things out of his very eye-sight, had deluded, disappointed, and mocked all his speediness and expedition. Howbeit, in that solemn Diet and assembly, he diffemblen his grief, and in his passionate affections, and thus with an haughty mind he spake and said, "That he called both God and man to witness, that he had for ever no opportunity of time nor vantage of place, but when and wherever he heard but any inciting of the enemy, and the least ruffling of armour, thither he had made all haste that possibly he might: but he could hardly devise and conceive, whether himself were more ventu- rous in seeking war, as the enemy nimble and quick in avoiding the same. So Attalus at Opus, Sulpius at Chales, and the other day Macchinidas escaped out of his hands and got a- way. But falsely (quoth he) his running away will not always prosper and speed well: neither is that to be counted a dangerous war, wherein a man may be sure (if he but meet his enemy once) to have the upper hand. That which is the principal point of all, this much have I got yet at the enemies hands, that they confels thereby, how they are not able to make their parts good with us and I doubt not but shortly I shall achieve the victory of them, and the event and for- tune of their fighting with me, shall be no better than their present hope. The Kings allies were glad to hear him speak thus. Then here retired unto the Achaeans, Epea and Triphylia, and delivered again Alipheuo unto the Megalopolitians: for that they were proved by good evidence, that it be- longed by right to their territory and confines. Thus having received of the Achaeans certain ships to wit, three Galleasses or Carvels of four banks of oars, and as many galleys of two ranks, from thence he cast over to Amicyra. And then with seven Carvels of five ranks of oars, and more than three banks besides, which he had sent into the gulf of Corinth to joyn with the Carthaginian navy, he made sail to Frityro in Eolos, near unto Exaporia, and there disembarked and landed his men. But the Eolitians were advertised beforehand of his arrival and coming afore: for all the people that inhabited either the country towns and villages, or the Castles near to Pata- doma and Apolioms, were fled into the mountains and woods. As for the castell, which in that hurry and haste that they made could not be driven away with them, those they prayed upon and brought them to the ships. With these and all the rest of the booty he sent Nicias the Praetor of the Achaeans to Aegium, and sent forward to Corinth: and from thence he commanded that the land forces should be conducted and march by land through Boeotia: whilst himself falling from Condras along the coast of Attica, above the point or cape of Suntium, sailed even through the midst of his enemies armado, and arrived at Chales. Then after he had commanded the Citizens there for their fidelity and venire, in that neither fear nor hope was able to change and turn their resolution minds, and exhorted them for the time to come, to continue fidelity in their alliance and allegiance, if they made more reckoning of their own fortune, and loved it better than the condition.
dition of the Orontes: and the Opanthi he failed from Chæleis to Oceum. And when he had committed the government of the state, and the guard of the city, unto those principal citizens, who chose to go when the city was lost, rather than to yield themselves unto the Romans, himself passed over from Euboea unto Demetrias, from whence at the first he took his voyage to the aid and succour of his friends and allies. After all this, having appointed and let out at Castræ vast, and taken up a number of shipwrights to finish out the rest of the work, seeing that all Greece was now in quiet, both because Attalus was departed from them, and also for that himself had in good time succoured his allies and confederates, who were in some trouble and distress, he returned back again into his own Realm, for to make war upon the Dardanian.

In the latter end of that summer, wherein these affairs thus pissed in Greece, when Q. Fabius Maximus the father being lent as Embassador from M. Livius, the Consul unto the Senate at Rome, had brought word and made report, That the Carthaginians should fortify for the Province of France: and that himself might well be spared, and depart from thence, and the Consular army withdrawn out of those parts: the Lords of the Senate gave order and determined that not only M. Livius, but C. Claudius also his Colleague, should return to the City. This difference only between the one and the other appeared in the decree, in that they gave direction, that the army of M. Livius should be brought home, but the Legions of Nero should remain still in the province, and be opposed against Annibal. The Consuls by encounter of their letters passing between, agreed thus together. That like as they had with one mind and consent made war and managed the affairs, so, albeit they were in divers parts far asunder, yet they should meet in one place, and at one time make repair to the City of Rome: and that whether of them twain came first to Perusia, he should there attend the coming of his Colleague. And it was ordained, that they arrived both upon one and the same day at Perusia, From whence they lent an edict before, that the third day after the Senate should generally assemble together in the Temple of Belus: and so they were met upon the way with a multitude of people, who accompanied them as they returned into the City. And they were not content all of them in general to salute them and welcome them home; but every man was desirous particularly to take the Consuls by their victorious right hands some with congratulations, wishing them joy, others with thank-giving, acknowledging that by their good means and virtue the Commonwealth was preserved and let upright. Now when they had related in the Senate house (as the manner was of all Generals) what acts they had achieved, and withal demanded, that for their valiant and faithful service to the Commonwealth, first, due honour should be rendered to the almighty gods, and then they themselves allowed to enter the City in triumph: the IL, of the Senate made answer, That they for their parts were ready and willing to consider first and principally of the merits and goodness of the gods, and next and immediately of the good deferts of the Consuls: and as they decreed divine proceedings and supplications in the name of them both, so, they granted triumph, as well to the one as to the other. But the Consuls, because they would not divide their triumph (since that they had managed the war with one accord and common consent,) thus agreed between themselves. That forasmuch as the battle was fought within the Province of M. Livius, and the very day of the field fought, it was thought to be his turn to take the sign of birds, and have the entire rule: and besides, the army of M. Livius was brought back and came to Rome already, but that other of Nero could not be removed out of the Province; therefore M. Livius should ride in a chariot drawn with four steeds into the City, with his fouldiers following after, and C. Claudius presently came after mounted on horseback without his fouldiers. Thus the triumph was communicative to the one and the other, and increas'd the glory of them both; but especially of him, who the more that he exceeded his Colleague in desert, the more he yielded and gave place unto him in honour. So said every man. He there on horseback travelled in six days space the whole length of Italy, from one end to the other, and fought the very same day with banner displayed against Annibal thought verily be lay encamp'd against him with his army in Apulia. See how one and the same Consul, in the defence of the one part of Italy, and the other, against two Captains, may against two noble Generals of two armies, in one place employ'd his service and counsel, and in another opposed his body and force of arms. Behold (say they,) the very bare name of Nero was insufficient to keep Annibal within his camp: and what was it else, that disputed and defeated Annibal but even his only coming? Let the other Consul therefore be set up on high, and rid in a chariot drawn with as many horses as he will; all the while that the triumph indeed passeth through the City upon one horse only, Nay, if Nero went but on foot, he would be memorable for ever hereafter, as well for the refall of glory in that triumph, as for the winning of honour in that war. With these and such like speeches they entreated Nero as they beheld him, and so accompanied him even to the very Capitol. They brought into the Treasury-hone of the City in coin the thirty hundred thousand Sestertii, and 8000 Ases. Among the fouldiers, M. Livius divided six and fifty Ases to them apiece. And C. Claudius promised as much to his fouldiers that were absent upon his return to the army. This was noted and observed in the triumph, that the fouldiers uttered more ditties and rimes full of pleasant conceits and jests (as their manner was,) upon C. Claudius than their own Colleague: and that the gentlemen and horsemen highly extoll'd and magnified above all the rest, L. Petronius, and Q. Cicero the two Liucanimani, and exhorted the Commons to create them Consuls against the next
The eight and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

A next year: likewise that the Consuls for the time being confirmed this prerogative choice and election of those gentlemen, with their own affent and authority the morrow after, in a frequent assembly before the people, giving honourable testimonie of the valiant and faithful service of those foreaid Lieutenants in that war.

Now the time drew near of election of new Magistrates: and when it was thought good by the Senate, that a Dictator should call that Iolem in assembly for the laid election; C. Claudius the Consul nominated for Dictator his Colleague M. Livius, And Livius named Q. Cestius General of the horsemens. So there were created Consuls by M. Livius the Dictator, L. Petar/us, and Q. Cestius, even he who then was General of the Cavalry. After this, they went to the election of the Praetors and chose therein were C. Servilius, M. Cecilius Metellus, T. Claudius Aemilius, and Q. Marullus Curius, who then was Aedile of the Commons.

When these elections were finished, the Dictator having resigned up his office and dissolved the army, by virtue of an act of the Senate took his journey into the Province of Tuscany, to sit in commission and make enquiry, what states either of the Tuscans or Umbrians intended and plotted to revolt from the Romans, and to turn to Africabul at his coming into those parts: and who they were that had afflicted him either with auxiliary londiers, or with volunteers, or with any aid and help whatsoever. And these were the acts for that year, as well at home as abroad in the wars.

The great Roman Games were wholly tenet and set out again three times by the Aediles of the chair, C. Servilius Capio, and Serv. Cornelius Lentulus. Likewise the patines and plates, called Pluteus, were once fully renewed and exhibited again by M. Sempontus Matho, and Q. Marullus Thurinus, Aediles of the Commons.

In the thirteenth year of the second Punick war, when L. Vitellius Pholus, and Q. Cestius Metellus were Consuls, both of them were appointed by the Senate to make war upon Annibal in the Province of the Brenici. Which done, the Praetors cast lots: And to M. Cecilius Metellus fell the jurisdiction of the Citizens; to Q. Marullus, of the foreinners, C. Servilius his lot was to govern Sicily, and Q. Cestius Sardeca. As for the armies, they were divided in this manner: one of the Consuls had the conduct of that which was under C. Claudius the Consul of the year before, The other Conoul had the leading of that (namely, two full legions) which C. Claudius the Pro-Praetor before commanded, M. Livius as Pro-Conoul, whose government was prorogued for another year, received the charge of two legions of voluntaries in Heteronia, at the hand of C. Terentius the Pro-Praetor, and Q. Marullus was appointed by a decree of the Senate to deliver over his jurisdiction to his Colleague, and to take the charge of Gallia with the forces there: wherein L. Porcius the Pro-Praetor was Captain: and he had in comission to waste the lands of those Gauls who were revolted to the Carthaginians upon the coming of Africabul, C. Servilius was affighted with the power of the two Cannian legions to defend Sicily, like as P. Marullus had before. Out of Sardeca the old army was withdrawn, which was under the government of A. Hho/lius: and the Consuls enrolled one new legion, for T. Claudius to sail over with, Quintus Claudius, and G. Hho/lius Tubulius, had both of them their commissions newly sealed for one year longer, the one to govern Tarquinia, and the other to rule Capua. M. Valerius the Pro-Conoul, who also was Admiral for the sea-coast and river along Sicily, was commanded to give up thirty of his fall unto C. Servilius, and with all the rest of the Navy to return to the City of Rome.

As the City was in inulence and proud double their for the variable event of to greatest war, attributing on all was the woe, of prosperity and adversity to the gods: behold many prodigious tokens were reported to have hapned. Namely, That in Tarentum the Temple of Jupiter, and at Sardeca the Chappel of the goddesses Mount, were blazed with lightning from heaven, and the inhabitants of Sardeca were all terrorized with two serpents that were crept into the temple of Jupiter. From Antium there was word brought, that the harvest folk as they were reaping spiced certain ears of corn boldly. At Cardea there was a bow that was pulled a pig with two heads, and an ear yeaned a lamb both male and female. It was reported also, that at Alba there were two suns seen: and at Freccisle by the day-light appeared, also in the territory of Rome, by report, an Ox leke: and the altar to Neptune within the Cirke Flammea brake out into much flames: and the Temples of Ceres, Solus, and Quirinus were blased and smitten from heaven, The Consuls were commanded to espate and purge their fears full frights with excution of greater battles and to make supplication one day, Which was done according to the decree of the Senate, But above all the wondrous signs, either reported from abroad, or seen at home, the minds of men were put in fear, for the going out of the fire in the Chappel of Vesta. For which cause the Vestal Virgin who had the charge that night to look unto it, was by the commandment of P. Licinius the Bishop well and strongly charged. And albeit this hapned by humane negligence, and that the gods portended nothing thereby yet it was thought good that an expiation thereof should be made with greater facincs, and a solemn supplication held in the Chappel of Vesta.

Before that the Consuls went forth to the wars, they were put in mind by the Senate to take regard and order for the Commons, and to procure their reducing again into the country, and placing them in their lands and farms. For seeing that by Gods goodness the war was removed far from Rome and Latium, the country towns might be without fear of danger inhabited and frequented again neither was it a meet thing, that they should have more care to inhabit Sicily than Italy.
Italy. But the matter was not easily to be compassed and effected by the people, for that many of the free-holders were consumed up in the wars; and great scarcity there was of servants and horses to till the ground: besides, the cartell was driven away in booties, and the manor houes were either ruiuate or burned. Howebeit, a great fort were compelled by the authority of the Consuls to repair againe into their country habitations. The motion hereof was first occasioned by the Embassadors of Placentia and Cremona, who made complaint, that their territories were much dammified and wasted by the incursions and rades of the Gauls their next neighbours bordering upon them: and that many of their own natural inhabitants were fled and gone away, so as their Cities were not well peopled, and their country lay waste and defet. Whereupon Mamurius the Praetor had commision to defend and guard the Colonies from the enemy. And the Consuls by vertue of an act of Senat made an Edict and Proclamation, that all Citizens of Cremona and Placentia should by a certain day return into their Colonies. And then they themselves in the beginning of Spring took their journey, and set forward to war.

Q. Cæcilius the Consul received the army of Cilarno: and L. Peturinus of Q. Claudius the Pro-Praetor, and made up the full number of all the companies with those new foundiers whom he himself had enrolled. The Consuels led their army into the territory of Consentia, and having forraged and spoiled there and there, and being heavily laden with good booties, they were in a narrow and frighteful passage much troubled by the Bruttii and the Numidian archers: insomuch as not only their prizes were in danger to be lost, but they themselves that were armed in some jeopardy. Howebeit, the alarm was greater than the skirmish, and the booty being sent before, the legions escaped safe into places of security. And so from thence they went into the Lucanian country. All that K nation without any fight returned under the obedience of the Roman Empire. With Annibale that year was nothing done: for neither he himself made offer of war, upon the fresh hurt and loss received as well in publicke as private, nor the Romans provoked him as long as he was quiet. For they were all of this judgment, that there was such metall and value in that one commander, although all things else about him went to wrack, that they held it no good policy to provoke him, and make a sleaping dog; and verily I wot not what to make of him: whether he were more to be wondered at in adversity than in prosperity. For why? warring as he did in his enemies land for the space of thirteen years, so far from home, in much variety of fortune, with an army not consisting of natural Citizens and subjects, but mingled of a confudid ruff-ruff and medley of all nations having neither the same laws, nor manners, and customes, nor language; differing in fashions, in habit, in apparel, in armours, in rites, in religion, nor serving, as it were, the same gods: he had to knit and united them in one link and fireight band, that they mutinued neither among themselves, nor against their General, notwithstanding oftentimes there wanted money for pay, and vielues in their enemies country; for default whereof in the former Punick war, many outages were committed both among Captains and soldiers, But when Asdrubale the Captain together with his army was defeated and overthrown, in whom they repose all their hopes of victory, and when they were fain to quit, as it were, all Italy beside, and to retire themselves into an angle and corner of Bruttium; who would not think it a marvellous matter, that there was no stir nor commotion in his Camp? considering that over and beside all other difficulties, he had no means nor hope else to maintain his army, but out of the Bruttian country; and fay, that it were all wholly tilled, fowed, and well husbanded, yet a small thing it was to find and feed so huge an host. Moreover, a great part of their youth was fent away from the village of the fields and grounds, and wholly employed in warfare: to say nothing of the natural guilt and corrupt usage of that nation, which in time of war was wont to live and maintain the same by robbing and thieving. Neither had he any succour at all sent from home out of Carthage: whiles they all were fudious and careful only to keep Spain, as if all had gone well with them in Italy.

In Spain the fortune was in some respect all one and the same, in other far unlike and different: the same, in regard that the Carthaginians being defeated in a fought field, and having lost their Captain, were driven to the utmost coast of Spain, even as far as the Ocean sea: different, in that N Spain is a country more apt and commodious to the reparacion of new war, not only than Italy, but also than any land in the world, as well for the site of the region, as for the nature of the people. For although they were the first nation of all the main and continent, that the Romans went fight in hand withall to reduce into the nature of a Province; yet it was the last of all others that was subdued, and but lately in our days even under the conduct and happy fortune of Augustus Caesar. There at that time Asdrubale the son of Giffo, the greatest and noblest Captain in all those wars (next after the Barchin house) returned from Cades, and hoping by the help of Magno the son of Amilcor, to wage war in the, took mutiners throughout the farther part of Spain, and armed to the number of fifty thousand foot, and 4500 horse. And as for the Cavalry, all writers in manner do agree; but for the Infantry, some write, there were 70000 brought into the City Silpia. There upon the open plains fate these two Carthaginian Captains down, because they would not seem to fall off and refuse battle.

Scipio, when news came unto him of to pillifie an army levied, supposed that neither with the Roman legions he was sufficient to match such a multitude, unless he opposed the aids of the Barbarous nations; if it were no more but for shew and outward appearance, yet was to repose such assured confidence in them, as in the fundamental strength of his army, that in case they should
A should give him the fip when the time came, (the only occasion of the overthrow of his father and uncle,) they might do much hurt to the main change and total limb of all. And therefore he sent Sulla, before into Cales (a Lord over the dignity of eight and twenty towns,) to receive of him those horse and foot which had promised to levy in the winter time. Himself departed from Tarentum, and gathered some small aids of his allies that inhabit along the way as he marched, and so came to Capua. Then Sylla brought also certain auxiliaries to the number of three thousand foot and five hundred horse. From thence he went forward to the City Batallia, being in all of Citizens and Allies, with footmen & horsemen together, one with another 4500 strong. As they were pitching their tents and encamping, Aggeus and Marcellus, with all their Cavalry let upon them: but no doubt he had minded them mightily as they were making their defenses, but that certain troops of horsemen hidden behind an hill, whom Sertorius for the purpose had there betatowed, suddenly at unawares ran upon them and rejoiced them; as they were foolishly ridden forward without order and array. There had not well begun skirmishing with them, but they dismounted the foremost of them, and in such wise as engaged them, as next to the trench, to impede and annoy the pioneers and labourers at work: but with the rest that kept to their colours and went orderly in their ranks, the fight was longer and for a good while continued doubting. But when the squadrons which stood ready appointed in their guards and lattices, were struck forth; and after them, the lancers also from their work and fortifications were called to take arms: and still more and more continually, man to man, in heart, in place of those that were westering, so now from all parts of the Camp there was gathered together a full power, and ran to the battle; then the Carthaginians and Numidians turned their backs plain and fled. And at the first they went away by troops and companies keeping their order and array still, and not disbanded for battle order. But afterwards, when the Romans began one more eagerly to play upon the handful of them so as now their furious violence could no longer be restrained, then without all regard of tents or files they forgot their array, and ran on all hands by heaps, seeking every man the next way he could to escape. And all this by the skirmish, the Romans were made to understand their good deal, and the enemies hearts much disordered for certain dyes ensuing there in several actions and skirmishes maintained by the horsemen & foot that were light armed. Now when their small fightings, they had made plentiful trial on both sides of the fight, Adrastus first led forth his horse into the field: and then the Romans likewise came forward ready to receive them. But when both armies stood without their Camp, arranged in battle array & neither of them gave the charge: when the day drew toward the morning, Adrastus first retired with his men into the Camp and after him the Roman General likewise. Thus continued they for certain dyes together. Adrastus was evermore the first that came aboard and the first again that founded the retreat to his soldiers, wearied with long standing. But of neither side they made out to skirmish or did charge any foot, or gave alarms and set up array. Of the one part the Romans on the other the Carthaginians and together with the Africans stood in the main battle: and the allies of either side kept the wings, and those were Spaniards as well in the one array as the other. But in the front of the Carthaginian battle were the Elephants placed, who off and on a flew as if they had been Cales. And throughout both armies this word went for certain, that when the time came they would fight as they flood day by day strangled in feign, that the main battle were the Romans and Carthaginians, between whom was the quarter. So occasion of the fight, with like courage of heart and force of arms would en counter and cope together, Sertorius perceiving this once to go for good & to be fully tried in their opinions, altered all on for purpose against the day that he minded indeed to give battle. And over-night he gave a watch-word and taken through the camp, that both horse and man should take their dinner before day, and that the horsemen in arms ready appointed should hold their horses saddled and bridled. Now before it was broad day light he sent out all the Cavalry together with the light armament, to charge upon the Camp de general and standing watch of the enemies, and himself straight after advanced forward with the whole strength of the legions armed at all pieces, and clean contrary to the conceived opinion and perdition both of his own men, and also of his enemies he strengthened the wings with Romans, and marshalled the main battalions with the allies. Adrastus raised with the number and front of the horsemen leapt forth of his passion and perceiving a tumultuous alarm and fearful stir of his own men before the rampart and trench, and seeing far off the glittering ensign of the Legions, and the plains over-spread with enemies, presently made forth all his Cavalry against the foremid horsemen. Himself with the horse of footmen thence out of the Camp, and made no change or alteration at all in the marshalling of the battalions, otherwise than he rode the dikes part. The horsemen continued the fight a long time doubtfully: neither could it be determined by either, because evermore, as any of them was put back (which happened on both part in manner by turn,) they retired fiery into the battle of footmen.

C When now as the battles were not put half a mile adverse one from another, Sertorius on the retreat and opened his ranks, and received all the horsemen and light armament did give him the middle darts and having divided them in two regiments, he believed them for footmen and supply behind the wings. Now when the time was come to join in skirmish, he commanded the Spaniards (and those were the main battalions) to raise battle footing and go orderly together: fair and early himself out of the right wing. For that point he commanded) dilated a message to Sylla & Marcus, willing them to stretch out that wing on the left hand, as they saw him.
him to draw it at length on the right: with direction also unto them, that they together with the light horsemen and light appointed footmen should encounter and close with the enemy, before that both battalions might meet and join together. Thus having enlarged all at full their wings, they with three squadrons of footmen, and as many corues of horsemen, together with the light armed skirmishers, advanced with full pace directly against the enemies, whilst the rest followed sedately across. Now there was a void piece of ground in the midst between, by reason that the Spaniards' ensigns went but slowly forward: and the wings had been in conflict already, when the flower and strength of the enemy battalions, consisting of old beaten Carthaginians and African soldiers, were not yet come within the darts shot neither did they in to succour them that were in fight, for fear they should form the main battalion for the enemy that came directly against them. Their wings were much diffusely in the sight on every side: For the horsemen, the light armed fowlers, and the skirmishers, having wheeled about and set a compass to environ them, ran upon them on their flanks. The cohorts of footmen charged upon them asfront, and all to break off their wings from the body of the battalions. And as now in every respect the fight was unequal, to the rabble of camp-followers, Balearic islanders, and raw untrained Spaniards, opposed against the approved Roman and Latin fowlers, pulled down aside. The day went on still, and Aemilius his army began to faint: and no marvell, for they were surprized and taken on a sudden, betimes in the morning, & were forced in battle to enter into the field & go to battle before they had refreshed and strengthened their bodies. And to that purpose Scipio had drawn the day on length, & trifled out the time that the battle might be late. For it was the eleventh hour, or one a clock after noon, before the enign of footmen charged upon the side points. And a good deal later it was ere the main battalions fought and joined together: so that the heat of the noon sun, the pain of long standing in armor, and hunger and thirst came all together to enfeebles and spend their bodies, before that they came to hand to hand & to buckle with their enemies: which was the cause that they stood leaning and resting themselves upon their shields. And over and besides all other troubles, the Elephants also affrighted and maddened with the tumultuous and disorderly manner of fight of horsemen, skirmishers, and light armed fowlers together. ran from the wings, upon the main battle. The Captains therefore themselves, being thus tamed as well in courage of heart as in bodily strength, gave ground and retreated. Howbeit they still kept their array as if the whole battalion had retired whole and found by the commandment of their General. But when the winners and conquerors on the other part were so much more forward to charge upon them more hastily on every side, because they saw them to lose their ground and shrink back, so as their violence could not well be endured; then albeit Aemilius held them still together, and did what he could to stay their flight, crying oftentimes aloud unto them, that there were hills behind them, and places of safe retreat, if they would retire in good sort; moderately, and in order; yet when they saw their enemies press so hard upon them, killing and wounding in pieces those that were next unto them, fear was above shame, and so immediately there flew their back parts, and ran away all at once as fast as they could. Yet at first, when they came to the root and foot of the hills they began to make a stand, and rally the fowlers again into order of battle, seeing the Romans to make some stay and of advancing their enigns up the hill. But afterwards, when they perceived them to come, luttily forward, they began again to fly apace, and so in fear were forced to take their Camp. Neither was Scipio himself far from their trench and ramparts, but in that very bunt had been matter thereof, but that immediately upon the hot gleams of the sun, when shined in a watery sky full of black and heavy clouds; there poured down such a shower of showers and tempests, that hardly could he himself after his victory recover his own camp. And some there were also that made in a humble and matter of confidence to attempt any more for that day, the Carthaginians, although they had great reason to rejoice themselves, and take their necessary rest, so weared as they were with travel, and sore wounded, especially seeing the night was come, and the torrny rain continued: yet, because their fear and present danger wherein they stood gave them no time to lye down and their clothes, against the next morning that the enemies should early still their Camp, they gathered up stones from out of the valies near about them, and piling them one upon another, amended the height of their rampart, purposing to defend themselves by the strength of their fence, seeing small help and remedy in force of arms. But the failing away of their Confederates was the cause that their departure and flight from them seemed more likely than their abode there would have been, This revolt was begin by Aemilius. A great Lord of the Turdets; for he with a great power of his followers and retainers fled from the Carthaginians to the adverse part. Whereupon two strong walled towns together with their garrisons were yielded by the Captains unto Scipio. Aemilius therefore, fearing lest this mischief might spread farther, now that their minds were once set upon rebellion, dislodged about the midnight following, and removed. Scipio so soon as he was advertised at the break of the day, by those that kept standing watch in their stations, that the enemies were gone; having sent his horsemen before to command them the standards and ensigns to be advanced, and led to speedy a march; that if they had gone straight forward and followed their tracks directly, they had no doubt overtaken them: but believing certain guides, that there was a shorter way to the river Po, they were advised to charge upon them as they passed over. But Aemilius seeing the passage of the river stopped against him, turned to the Ocean: and even at the first they departed in great haste as if they fled, which was the cause that they got the tare of the Roman legionary footmen, and won a good space.
A space of ground before them, But the horsemen, and light appointed footmen paid one while upon their tails, flanked another while their side, and by this means with charging and recharging they wearied them and lapsed their march. And when as upon many of those troubles by the way, their designs were to stand and erect to maintain skirmish, some time with the horsemen; and some times with the light javeliers and auxiliary footmen behind the legions also came on space and overtook them. Then there was not so much fighting and reaping as mischief and slaughter of them: down they went with them and killed them like sheep, flying, until their Leader himself began to fly, and escaped into the next mountains together with those who had asked and unarmed. All the rest were either slain or taken prisoners. Then the Carthaginians began to

Encamp and fortifie in all haste and tumultuous fort upon the highest mount they could: and from whence (by reason that the enemies had at first in vain to get them, having to diffuse an assault they had not so much ado to defend themselves, but at a pace being bare and naked, and disfushtened of all commodities for their relief, they were not able to stand at the siege for a few days. And thereupon the fouldiers fell space to fortify their own camp and to go to the enemy. So that at the length the General himself in the night time abandoned his army and having got shipping (for the sea was not far off) he embarked and fled to Cades. Scipio being advertised that the Captain of his enemies was fled, left with Sylla ten thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen to continue the siege of the Camp. Himself in person with the rest of his forces within seventy days returned to Tarracon, for to examine and hear continously upon his arrival the causes of the Princes and States: that upon the true estimate of their defects they might be rewarded or chastised accordingly.

After his departure, Masinissa having had a secret conference with Sylla, about inducing his people also to be able and to hearken unto a change, passed over into Affrick with some small retinue. At which present time very the occasion of his sudden alteration was not to evidence and apperent, as afterwards his most constant truth and full allegiance observed unto his dying day was a good proof and argument, that even then he entered not into this designment and alteration, without good and important cause. Then Magus, in those ships that Affrach had sent back, passed over to Cades. The remnant, thus forsook of their Captains, some by way of voluntary yielding and ranging themselves to the adveris part, others by flight, were scattered among the next Cities, and no troop remained of them behind of any mark and reckoning to speak of, either in number or strength. In this manner and by these events the Carthaginians driven all out of Spain, by the conduct and happy fortune of P. Scipio in the thirteenth year of the war, and in the thirtieth of Scipio his government in that Province and command of the Army, and not long after Sylla returned to Tarracon unto Scipio, and brought word that the war in Spain was fully ended. And L. Scipio was sent with many noble persons captives, as a messenger to carry tidings to Rome of the conquest of Spain. And when all other took contentment and infinite joy at this news, and abroad in all places highly magnified the glory of this service, he alone who was the man that did the deed (as one who had an inaltiable desire of vertue and true honour) made but small reckoning of the recovery and winning of Spain, in comparison of those matters that he hoped for, and conceived in that high and magnanimous spirit of his, which he carried with him. For now he thought in mind and aimed at the conquest of Africa and great Carthage: and therewith, to make perfect and consummiate that glorious war to his own immortal honour and renown. And therefore supposing it was now a good time to begin the way to those high exploits and to layplans, to prepare storehand, yea, and to win unto him the hearts of the Princes and nations, he determined first of all other to seek and alay King Syphax. This Syphax was King of the Masjisis, a people bordering upon the Moors, and abutting upon that part of Spain especially where new Carthage is situate. At the same time the King was in league with the Carthaginians: which Scipio supposing that he would observe no more readily and precisely, than commonly the Barbarians use, (wholefidelity dependeth upon Fortune) sent C. Latus with rich gifts and presents, as an Orator to treat with him. The barbarous Prince was glad hereof, both because the Romans then prospered every where: and also the Carthaginians in Italy lived by the loss: and in Spain went down to the ground, where they had nothing left: and thereupon he condescended to entertain the friendship of the Romans. But for the confirmation of this amity, he neither would give nor take assurance, but only in the personall presence of the Roman General himself. So Latus having obtained the Kings royal word and warrant that Scipio might come unto him with safe conduct and security, returned unto Scipio. Now for him that aspired to the conquest of Africa it was a matter of great consequence and importance in all respects to make himself sure of Syphax, the most mighty and puissant King of all that Land, who had aforetime made proof what the Carthaginians could do in war, and the confines and marches of whose kingdom lay fitly upon Spain, and but a small arm of the sea between, Scipio thinking it therefore to be a matter worth the adventure with great hazard, (for otherwise it might not be ) leaving for the defence and guard of Spain L. Marcius at Tarracon, and M. Sulla in new Carthage (whether he had travelled by land from Tarracon, and taken great journies) himselves and Latus together loofed from Carthage with two great Carvels of five banks of oars, and passed over into Affrick, through the calm and still sea, most of all rowing, and otherwhile also making sail with a gentle gale of wind.

Haply it to fell out that the very same time Asdrubal, driven out of Spain, was entered the haven
ven with seven galleys of three course of oars, and rid at anchor near unto the shore for to be let a land. When he had a kenned of the two Carvels aforelaid, which albeit no man doubted but they were enemies, and might have been boarded by them being more in number, before they could gain the rode; yet hereupon enued nothing else but a tumult and hurry among the mariners and fouldiers together, in vain preparation of their ships and their armour. For the wind being somewhat big and high drawe the Carvels with full all out of the main sea into the haven before that the Carthaginians had any time to weigh anchor: neither durst any of them proceed to further dealing within the Kings Rod, so Aframshal first let a shore, and within a while Scipio and Lelius landed and went all to the Court. Syphax took this for a great honore done unto him (as indeed it was no leis) that there were come to him at that time, and in one day two General Captains of two most mighty and puissant States to sue for peace and amity with him. He inviteth both of them friendly, and gave them entertainment: and since it was their fortune to enter under one roof and the same house for to be lodged in, he endeavoured to draw them to a parley, and to make an end of all quarrels, grudges, and controversies between them. But Scipio denied flatly, that either there was any private malice or hatred between him and Aframshal. That should ict need an end with conference and speech; and as for State-matters, he might not treat with a professed enemy as touching them, without express warrant and commissiion from the Senate. But when the King laboured greatly with him, that he would find in his heart and not think much to bear Aframshal company at meat and me (because he would not seem to exclud either of them from his board), he yielded thereunto, and was content. So they supped both twain together with the King, and Scipio and Aframshal late both at one table in one meis, and upon one bed, for Fto it was the Kings pleasure. But so courteously Scipio behaveth himself (as he was a man that naturally knew how to carry himself with a grace and dexterity in all things, and in every place wheresover he came) that by his fair language and eloquent speech, he won not only the favour of the barbarous Prince Syphax (who before was not acquainted with the Roman fashions) but also the good will and love of Aframshal, a most malicious and mortall enemy: who seemed to have him in more admiration upon this one meeting and communication in presence personal, than for all his feats of arms achieved in war, and made no doubts but reckoned fully that King Syphax and his Realm would presently be at the devotion of the Empire of Rome. Such a singular gift had that man to win love and favour. And therefore the Carthaginians were not too much to seek how Span was lost, to consider and think how they might keep and hold Africk. For had they thus conceived, That this noble Knight and worthy Roman Captain was not come other wandering a venture, nor as a traveller to see countries, and to solace himself with walking along the pleasant and delectable coasts, leaving the Province which he had newly subdued, leaving his armies which he commanded falling thus with two fhips only into Africk, and committing himself into an enemy country, and into a Kings hands, of whose fidelity and protection he had no experience: but no doubt upon some great hopes to compleat the conquest of Africk. And this was that long since Scipio had in secret purpose and disposition, this was it that openly he fretted and formed at, namely, that he warred not himself as well in Spain as Annibal in Italy. Well, Scipio having concluded a league with Syphax, departed out of Africk; and now withstanding he was tossed upon the seas with variable winds, and those for the most part boisterous and raging yet up M on the fourth day he arrived at New Carthage.

As Span was generally at peace and rest for any Carthaginian war, so it was well known that certain particular States, in regard that they were touched with the guilt of treafures committed, were quiet for fear, rather than for any loyal allageance. Of which the most notorious, as well for their own greatnes and power, as for their fault and transgression, were Illicium and Caffiia. The Carthaginians had been Roman Confederates in time of prosperity, were revolted unto the Carthaginians, upon the defeat of the two Scipio and their armies. The Illicrians besides their revolt and rebellion, added this wickednes, in that they betrayed and murdered the Romans who fled unto them for succour after that overthrow. These two nations, if Scipio at his first coming had proceeded in rigour to revenge (whiles the States of the country flood in full N pene) he should have regarded their defect more than his own good and commodity. But when all troubles were composed and reduced to quietness, he thought it then a convenient time to punish and chastise them accordingly. And therefore he called L. Martinus from Taracum, with a third part of his forces, and sent him to affail Caffia. Himself with the rest of the army marched toward Illicium, and within five daies pretended himself before it. The gate he found barred him, and all preparation and furniture for defence and to withstand the assault. For their confcioue bare them witness what they had deferved, and needed there no other defence or intimation of war against them than the privy of their wicked fact, Heron upon Scipio took occasion to exhort his fouldiers, and began in this wise, "The very Spaniards themseles, quoth he by shutting their gates declare plainly what they jutly are to fear: and therefore ye ought o war o with them in more hostile malice and deadly hatred than with the Carthaginians. For with them the quarrel was maintained, as it were, without anger and rank, or only for losersight and glory: but of them are ye to take vengeaue for their doliloy treachery, for their cruelty and wicked villany. And now the time is come, to revenge not only the unworthy death of your fellow souldiers, but also the like ill'nood prepared for your selves. In case your hap had been to have fled for refuge thither at any time: yea, and to shew exemplary justice in all poelry, "
A polterity, that no man hereafter be so hasty as to wrong any Citizen or sojourner of Rome, in what poor estate to ever he be, without fear of condign punishment. Upon this exhoration and comfortable words of the General, they belittled themselves and divided the scaling ladders amongst choice men out of every company. And having to part the army between them, that Lelius the Lieutenant had the conduct of the one half, they gave assault with great terror unto the City in two places at once. But neither any one general captain, nor many principal Citizens encouraged and heartened the townsmen manfully to defend their City, but only their own fearful and sinfull conscience for they will well and remembered, yea, and put one another in mind, that it was their punishment and not victory that the Romans fought for. And as for themselves, since they were to lose their lives, this was the only point that they were to consider upon, namely, where

B they were bold to die, whether in fight and in the field (where the fortune of battle was common, and oftentimes lifted up the conquered, and put down the conqueror) or after their City burnt and razed, to yeeld up breath in the sight of their wives and children taken captives amidst the storms of whipping and hard irons, when they had endured all villanies and indignities. Whereupon not only the serviceable youth for war, but only men lay, but women also and children, even above the bodily strength of that age, or courage of that sex, were ready and preferred themselves to defend the walls. Some brought weapons to the defendants, others carried flowers up to the walls unto them that were fortifying and repairing the breaches. For why? they flood not upon their liberty alone, which whereto the tromakses of valiant & magnanimous men only, but they

C set before their eyes all extremities of torture and punishment, yea, and the shamefulst death that could be devised: and their hearts were incendicted to undergo all pains and peril, by striving togethe, and seeing one another to hazard themselves. In so much as they flood to it, and fought for it obstinately, that even that noble army which had subdued all Spain, took the repulse often times at the hands of the youth of one City, was driven from the walls, and familly to their honor received some soil in fight and began to fear. Scipio seeing that, and doubting left upon so many bootless attempts the enemies might make threats and his own foilliers be taunted, thought good to enter himself personally into the action, and to take part in that dangerous service. Having refulcd therefore his men for their cowardice, he commanded the ladders to be brought and set up, threatening that himself would scale the walls, if the reft made hafting and thus drew back. With

D that he made no more ado, but approached under the walls in great peril of his person. Whereupon on the ladders respecting the dangerous state of their Generall, and fearing greatly of his behalf, set up a shout on all hands, and began to rear ladders in many places at once. Lelius likewise on the other side plied the assault and gave not over. Then at last the townsmen, for all their resolute refolution, were overcome; the defendants overthrown and beaten from their standing, and the walls polisshed by the enemies. The castle also on that side which was thought impregnable, was in that brunt and tumult taken. For there were some Africans serving then among the Romans (fled before the enemy) who whiles the townsmen were wholly turned to defend those places that seemed to be exposed unto danger, and the Romans climbing and entring where they could, eplied one part of the City much higher then the reft, which because it was compassed

E about with an exceeding high rock, was neither fortified otherwise with bulwarks, nor manned with any defendants at all: and being men (as they all are) light and agile of body, and nimble by reason of much practice and exercitae, they climbed up the rock where they could meet with any cag thereto to bear them unequally from the reft, and to yeeld them hold and footing: but when they came to a plump upright steep place, and where the cliift was even and smooth, they fastened certain great iron spikes and nails, which they carried about with them of purpose, and stuck them a pesty distance slander, like greeks and flairs to climb upon: and ever the formost pluckt him up by the hand that followed next, and the hindmost heaved up thole that went before them, until they were gotten up to the top; and then they ran down with an outcry into the City, which was already won by the Romans. Then it was well seen that they forced this City from very de-}

fperate anger and deep hatred. There was no thought of taking any prisoners alive, there was none that once minded any pillage, notwithstanding all lay open unto them for to be ravished and rifled. But down they went with the unarmed as well as the armed, killed men and women one another: may, their cruel mood was such, as they spared not the licking babc, Then they set fire on their houses: and what the fire favd they rashed and pulled down; so caned a mind they had, and to bent they were, to leave no monument and token of such a city, and utterly to abolis and root out the memory of those enemies.

After this, Scipio led his army against Capaula. This City was defended not only by Spaniards who thither were repaired out of others parts, but also by the reliques of the Carthaginian army which were scattered abroad in their flight, and thither fled. But ere Scipio was come before the Carthaginians, they had heard the news of the woeful calamity and destrucion of the Ilturians: by reason whereof they were all terrified and in despair of themselves; and as it felleth out in such variety of casuses and deferts every man fought means to fluit for himsell the best he could, without regard of his neighbour. And at first they began to have a secrect jealousy and suspicion one of another; but afterwards they brake out to open diytention: information the Carthaginians and Spaniards divided themselves, and parted slander. Corridius openly advised the Spaniards, and put to them, to yeeld. Himile was the Captain over the Auxiliary Carthaginians, whom
whom Cedabellus (upon promise secretly before made and protection gained) betrayed, togethcr with the whole city besides, into the Romans hands. This victory was pursued with less cruelty: for neither was the offense on their behalf committed to heinous, and the heat and choler of the Romans was well cooled and allayed, by reason of their voluntary surrender. From thence was Marius sent against others of the barbarous people, to reduce unto subjection and obedience, as many as yet were not fully subdued.

Scipio returned to new Carthage to pay his vows unto the gods, and to exhibit and set out a death cleft between pliers at thrice, which he had prepared for the honor of his father and uncle deceased. This paftime and solemn feast was not performed by those kind of men, out of which matters of felfe, usually, as were picked out of bondslaves and freed men, that use to make sale of their blood for money, but all those that he employed in combat, were such as offered themselves and their service voluntarily and without hire. For some were sent unto him from the LL. of the city, to make them and proof of the valour in which naturally in that nation; others of their own accord professed to fight, for the love of the General himself, and to shew him pleasure: and some there were again, who, upon emulation of glory were drawn to make challenge, while others that were defrayed refused not, but strove to get the victory. There were also divers that determined those controversies by the bow, which, by arguing and pleading they either were not able or not willing to end: having agreed among themselves that the matter in hand should fall to him that should need to have the upper hand. And these were no mean persons of base degree and parentage, but of noble defcent and famous houses: as namely, Carbis and Orfius, two [brethren] could Germans by the father side: who differing and being at variance, about a principality of a city and state which they called Ileus, made profession to try the title at the utterance by dint of sword. Carbis was the elder of the twins: but Orfius his father had been the last Prince before, and received that Seignory after the death of his elder brother. And when Scipio was very desirous to debate and decide the matter with words, and to appease their anger and mood, they both made answer and said, that they had denied to the common kindly of either party, and that they would have no other god nor man to be their judge, but only Mars. Both of them were fierce: the elder presuming of his strength of body, the younger bearing himself upon the flour of his fresh youth, wifhing rather to die both twain in fight, than the one to be subject to the dominion of the other. In conclusion where by no means possible they could be reclaimed from this furious rage of theirs, they became a goodly shew and pageant to the whole army, and a singular example to prove what a mischievous malady among mortal men, the love of lordship is, and the desire of sovereignty. The elder, through prudence of his weapons and cunning flight, soon overcame the foolhardiness and inexpert firences of the younger. After this paltime of the twain followed the funereal games and plaies which were set forth magnificently, according to the wealth of the province, or the furniture of the army might afford.

In this mean time, the Lieutenants spied and sped their business nevertheless, according to their commissions: for Marius having passed the river Bollis (which the perambulations of that country called Citius) received two most rich and worthy cities, surrendered into their hands by composition, without any fault. Now, there was another city called Atiposa, which ever solicited with the Carthaginians: and yet it desired not too much anger and indignation in that regard, as for that, (letting slip the necessities that follow war) it ever bare a fruitful hatred against the Romans: neither was the town either for natural inlet into it strongly foted, or by means having so ample fortified that the inhabitants therein should take more heart, or presume the rather to be lightly and boldly. But the natural disposition of the people delighting in robbery, moved them to make roads and invade the territories of the allies of the people of Rome bordering upon them, and to catch and take prises in any louders, tellions, lackies, and followers of the camp, or merchants of the Romans, whom they could light upon ranging abroad. Yeas, and when there hapned a great company of them together, to pass through their marches and confines (for in no wise might they few travel in safety) they were surprized by an ambuscule laid for them, and being environed in a place of disadvantage, were taken and made men. When the army was come before this town to attack it, the townsmen carrying a guilty conscience for offences committed, thought it not the least felt course for themselves, to yield and give up the place to the enemies whom they had so much provoked against them: and seeing no hope of saving their lives, either by the strength of their walls, or force of arms, they resolved to execute upon themselves, and those things that was nearest and dearest unto them, a foul, detestable, and cruel death. They let out and appointed a compass of ground within the market place where they betowed and laid on a heap the most precious goods, that they had. Upon which they commanded their wives, and children to sit, and then they piled about them billets of wood, and laid saggots upon, of small young twigs. And after this they gave in charge to fifty lusty tall fellows armed that so long as the battle continued doublefull, they should defend and guard all their goods, &c. the bodies of those persons more dear unto them, and all the goods in the world, but an case they perceived their own side to go down and have the worst: and the city at the point to believe, they should then wot well and be suffered, and that all they whom they law going forth to battle, would freely lose their lives in that very flight and skirmish. And here was, which they belotted them in the name of the gods both celestial and infernal, to be mindful of their liberty, which that day was to take an end, either
A "either by honourable death or shameful servitude: and to suffer nothing to remain, upon which
the enemy in his furious anger might excite his cruelty: & considering they had both fire and
sword in their hands to do the deed, to let those friendly and faithful bands, consume and dis parch
the things which were sure to be lost and perish, rather than the proud enemies mutil over them
and make al scorn of them. To these exhorations they adjourned a heartfull and horrible curse, to as
many as either for hope of life, or upon timour of heart & fear of death, should alter their mind
and resolution. Whereupon all at once they rushed out of the gates set wide open, and with a
mighty tumult and noise, made a rally. Now there was no sent guard and station of any force op-
posed to retell them, for the enemies feared nothing else, then that they durst once issue forth of
the gates. Some few troops of horse and the light armour, of a sudden were sent out of the
B camp to make head, and they encountered them. Between whom there was a skirmish hotter and
sharper in regard of courage and violence, then ordered by any skill and good government.
And therefore the horsemen were discomfited, that first presented themselves against the enemy, ye, &
put the light armed footmen also in great fear. And truly they had proceeded to have fought even
under the very rampair, but that the main strength of the legions, who had but very small time to
be marshalled and arranged, put themselves in array and came into the field. And yet for all that,
they were defeated for a while about the ensigns, by reason that they ran as blind and men in their
furious fit & as bold as wildbeasts for want of fence, even upon the sword and their own deaths:
But afterwards, the old experienced troopers, having lithly flown out against the first rash brute
and violent flock of the enemies, ye, and killed the formost, bridled and fled the rage of those
c that seconded them: and when they assailed with in a while after, to enter forward themselves &
break in upon them, & saw none of them to give one foot of ground, but every one reloue to die in
the very place where he stood; they opened their batell in the midst (a thing that they might easily
do, considering the multitude of the foeldiers) compaigned and environed the wings of their ene-
myes, who fighting round in a ring, into the last man wearthen every one. Thus were they that
were in arms and made resistance manfully dealt withall by their enemies according to the rigor
of war, and in the angry mood of teeldiers: & such was their end. But within the City there
was fouler work, and a more cruel butchery and slaughter committed, when the feeble unarmed
and naked multitude of women and children were murdered by their own neighbours and citizens,
who having left the forreisad pile of wood on fire, fell to massacre them, and flung their bodies when
D they were but half dead, into the light fire under them: so as their streams of bloody rushing out
of their veins, were ready to quench the flame beginning to break forth. And in the end, when
they themselves were even wearied with the pitifull slaughter of their own friends, they call
themselves armour and all into the midis of the said fire. When this massacre was done and ended,
the Romans entered the City with victory. And at the first sight of this monstrous object, they
wondered for a while and loud exclaimed. But afterwards when they saw the gold and silver glitter-
ing within the heap among others goods, they were ready and defirous (as the nature of man
is greedy of such things) to take and pull the same out of the fire: but some of them were caught
with the flame and burnt: others stabb'd and haid bangan with the hot tleam of the vapour and
breath issuing from the light fire, such a mean as were forlorn, & could not retrieve themselves back,
by reason of their exceeding prize behind, that burnt them full forward. Thus Afra was destroyed
by fire and sword, and yielded no pillarage to the enemies. And when Marcus had all the rest of the
country yeeded unto him for fear of force, he led back his victorious army to Carthage unto Scipio.
About the very fame time there came from Gades certain fugitive renegates, promising to try-
the garrison of the Carthaginians lying there, and likewise the captain of the garrison, togeth-
er with the navy. Now had Mago retired after his flight, and having gathered together the ships
in the Ocean, levied and raised certain aids, as well as, and the narrow seas along the
coast of Africa, as also out of the parts of Spain next adjoining unto him, and all by the means of
captain Hasmo. When as between the Romans and those fugitives, there had past faithful promise
and security and troth, both Marcus was sent thither with certain squadrons and compan-
yes lightly appointed; and also Lutius with 7 Tribunes [of three banks of oar] and one great
gallay of five, for to war joyntly together by common councell, as well by sea as land. Scipio
himself fell laik of a grievous malady, but much worie by report then it was, by reason that every
one as men commonly have a desire & delight to solter & multiply rumours for the nonce, made
ever somewhat of his own head, and put into the ret of the news that he heard: which brought
the province out of frame and caused great disorder, especially in the most remote parts thereof;
whereby it was well seen, what a world of troubles would have ensued upon some calamity indeed,
when a vain rumour only, was able to raise such storms and tempests. For neither the Allies con-
tinued loyal in their allegiance, nor the army dutiful in their wonted obedience. And
Indubius, who made full account of the whole kingdom of Spain, now that the Carthaginians
were driven out and expelled, seeing nothing answerable to their hope and expectation, and them-
selves disappointed of their desigments, raised peasants and inhabitants of their own countries
and those were the Lascans & solicited the youth of the Celtiberians: the country also of the
Seetians and Sedetians, that were confederate States with the people of Rome, they walked in all
manner of hostility. Besides, there arose a civil mutiny and dissention within the camp at Susa
where there lay eight thousand foeldiers, as a guard and garrison for all the nation that in-
habit this side Ibercus. Whole heads were set a work, and began to be butie not at that time.
The eight and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

when doubtful & fulpicious rumours were spread of their General, how he was in danger of death, H but long before, upon a licentious course of life that they had taken to, and so much the rather, for that now in time of peace they were held in, more frightly and nectly, who before were used in their enemies land, during the wars, to break out in more loose manner, and to live upon rapine and robberie. At the first they began to mutter and whisper secretly these and much like speeches: If there be war still in the province of Spain, what do we here among peaceable people? And if the war be ended, and the time of the commiision come out and expired, why are we not had again back into Italy? Then they proceed to demand their pay very malaperitly, and more laucly than might stand with the duty and modesty of soldiers: ye, and the Sentinels and corpor de guard would not stick to give reproachfull terms and railing words to the Tribunes or Marshals, when they went the round: and some of them made no bones to enter by night into the peaceable territory about them, for to fetch in boozes and prizes; until at length openly at noon day, they departed from their colours without passport and licence. All things they did as transported away with luft and left-will of soldiers, not guided by the order and discipline of warfare, nor directed by the commandment of their captains and rulers. Nevertheless, there was retained still a form of Roman camp among them: and that upon this only hope that the soldiery had of the Tribunes aforesaid: whom they suppose in time would come to the bent of their bow, enter into the fame furious courtes, and have their hand in the mutinies, and follow them in their rebellion: and therefore they were well content with them to fit judicially in Marshall court, in the usual place of Principisp to minilter law and execute justice also to call for the watchword and signall of them, yes, and orderly to go to their watch and ward in their course and due times. And K whereas in very deed they had cast off all reverence and obedience of government, yet they would seem to shew a kind of Iollat and dutiful diligence; in that (forfooth) they would be commanders of themselves, and keep some order without constraint. But in the end the mutiny broke out into open sedition: namely, when they perceived once, that Tribunes misliked and reproved their doings and endeavoured to croffe their deignes, yes, and denied fali and openly to take part with them in their follies and furious outages. Whereupon they difcreased the Tribunes of their judicial places in the Principisp, yes, and dispossessed them quite of all room in the camp, and by a general consent conferred the sovereign rule on two common soldiers, the captains of this their feditious commotion, Album Calenus, and C. Arimin Vnder, Who not contented with the * marks and ornaments of the Tribunes, were so bold as to handle the rods and axes, even the very roall ensigns of sovereign rule; never thinking how those kniches of rods, and axes flicking within them, which they caufed to be born afome to them the fear of others, were ready to light upon themselves, to scourge their backs and fides, and to chop off their own heads not long after. The suppozed deale of Scipio, whereupon they vainly built, was that blind his wits and minds upon the rumour whereof, being already notified abroad, they had no doubt, but all Spain generally would beep in armes. In which garboll and hurribull, they made reckoning, that they might levy monies of the confederat States, and Ipoil and pill the Cities neer unto them. And a mid these troubles, when all were in an uproar, and every man would venture to do every thing at his pleasure, then they suppozed their own deeds and actions would be Ieffecibled and marked. Now when as they looked every day still to hear fresh newes, not of his death only, but also of his funeral: and seeing there came none at all, but rather, that the former tidings were checked, and proved but a flying tale without head or foot, then they began to make femblance of enquiring after, & feeking out the first authors who raised thofe false reports: then they seem to be angry also and offended with them, to the end, that they forfooth might be thought rather to have beleved things inconceivably, than to have devised such a matter themselves purposely. These leaders and captains thus disappointed and abandoned, began now to dread and fland in horror of their own enigns of majesticy that were carried before them, and in stead of that imaginary rule which they almar, they feared greatly, that the very edge indeed of the true and lawfull power of authorite would be shortly turned upon them. As the sedition was thus dafhed, by occasion, that it was credibly and for certain reported, first, that Scipio was living: and within a white alter, that he was recovered and in health: there came seven Tribunes or Colonels, lent from Scipio himself. At whole ft arrivall at the camp, the soldiery grew more angrie and waipith before: but anon upon fair words and speeches, wherewith the Colonels entertained those of their acqaintance, with whom they had communication, they were well contented and appeased: for that they went about to their pavilions from one to another, and afterwards to the Principisp and the Pretorium, where they hapned to espie some knots of soldiery met togetheter and talking one with another: and so.ipake unto them, as if they rather questioned with them what the caufe should be of their anger and fuddan commotion, then blamed them, or laid any action to their charge. The reason commonly pretended, was this, that their wages was not duly paid at the day. Befides, they alleged, that whereas at the sametime, when upon the trecherous fact of the Illigurians, there followed the loffe and death of two Generals, and the defeat of their two armies, they by their vertue had defended the Roman name and honour, and likewise kep the province to their behoof, the Illigurians had indeed received con dign punishment for their offence and trepaffle, but there was none that had requited and reco- mpenced them for their good service accordingly. Believe me (say they again) your complaintes are just and requited reasonable, and we will make relation thereoff to the Lord Generall, and glad we are in our hearts, that it is no worfe, and that the calle is no more incurable therein:
A "for God be thanked, P. Scipio and the common-weal, are both sufficient and alfo willing to make "you amends for all.

But Scipio, a man though not to the wars, yet altogether unacquainted with forms of souldiers mutinies, was much troubled in spirit and perplexed, for fear the army might exceed measure in transgrefling or himfelf pass his bounds in punishing; for the fent he thought good to deal gently with them till, as he had begun, and fent abroad the collectors about the Tribunial Cities to gather up the revenues, whereby to put them in good hope of pay, and that with speed. And here-upon there went out an edict and proclamation, that they fhould repair to Carthage, there to call for their wages, either by companies apart one after another, or altogether in general, whether they would themselves.

B And now by this time, the sudden pacification of the Spaniards that were about to rebell, filled the fedition of the souldiers quite, which of itfelf began to cool and fade already. For Mandates and Inquilti, after it was reported that Scipio was alive and livelike, gave over their enterprize, and were retired again within their confines. So as now the souldiers had neither Citizen nor foreiner to take part with them in their folly & furious rage. And when they had call all about what course to take and what to tlake as they had found no other evasion, but the most common refuge and retreat of all lewd counsels and bad defignments, even to commit themfelves either to the juft wrath of their Generall, or else to his Clemency and mercy, whereof they were not palt all hope, and in utter defpair. For why he had not pardonned even the very enemies, with whom he had fought in warre. And as for their mutiny, it was as yet without bloodflied, and no hurt done: and as it fell was not cruel and outrageous, it had deferved no extreme and rigorous punifhment: thus reason'd they and comforted themfelves, as naturally men are too prompt and elerquent, to extirpate, to palaft and cloke their own faults, more I wot, then they fhould. This was their only doubt, whether they were better to go by cohorts and squadrons, or all at once to command therpy. In the end they were of opinion, that the fatter way was to go all in one train. At the very fame time, whiles they among themfelves laid their heads thus together in the camp, there was a counfult held at new Carthage about them, and much difpute there was, and variety of opinions, whether they fhould proceed againft the heads and Captains only of the feditious (who were in numner not above five and thirty) or by cutting off the greater fort to punifh this to ominous example and president of a rebellion rather then a mutiny. But the milder fentence took place, namely, that from whence the offence began, there the punishment fhould tell. And for the malaud, tame chaffiment and rebuke was sufficient for their correction. When the Counciil was difembled and broken up, to the end that it might be thought abroad that they fat about nothing else but this which they pretended, they published an edict throughout all the army in Carthage, for an expedition or journey againft Mandates and Inquilti, and gave commandment to make provision of viualls for certain days. And those leven Tribunes, who had before gone to Siculo to appeale the mutiny there, were now fent to meet that a my again and having four names given them of the principal authors of the forefald tumult, they had a direction un- to certain perons for the purpole, to the whom good countenance, to speak fair unto them, and courteously to invite them home to their houses, and afford them kind and friendly entertainment; and after they had made them good cheer and brought them to bed, to take them behin' the feapef upon their libertal drinking of wine, and to bind them faire hard and foon. Now when they were not fcarce from Carthage, they understood by whom they met and encountered upon the way, that all the whole army, was the next day following to fett forth again the face ans: which ridings not only rid them of all fear, which secretly surprifed and promised their minds, but alfo made them exceding glad and joyous, for that they fuppofed their Generall being now left alone with their forces, they might do with him what they would themfelves, rather then be at his commandment and devotion. And about fun-fitting they entered the City, and perceived the other army providing and making all ready for the voyage above named. Received they were and welcomed with gentle words, defived and framed on purpole: namely, that the L Generall took great joy and contentation for their coming, for that they were come to jut before the fetting out of the other army: and fo they went to repoie and make much of themfelves. And without any fliet and tumult at all, the ringleaders of the feditious, were by the means of those Tribunes entertained and lodged in the houses of certain perons of good behavior and meet for that purpole, and there apprehended and imprifonned. At the reliefe of the fourth watch, the camp to be of that army, whole expedition was pretended, began to fett forward on the journey: and some what before day the standards and ensigns advanced, but the whole army was detained and flaced at the gates, and certain warders fent to keep all the puages and wayes, that no man fhould go forth of the City. Then were thofe fouldiers who came the day before summoned to an audecie: and they ran boldly into the market place to the Tribunial of the General, and with their onerous and clainours they would have put him in some fear and dread of them. And at one time both the Lord General himfelf in perion accended up the Tribunial, and with all the armed fouldiers were brought again from the gate, and enclosed round about at their backs the armed multitude gathered together to hear an Oration. Then were they danted, as lately as they were before, and all their courage cooled: and (as they contefted afterwards themfelves) nothing terrifyed them fo much, as the healthfull strength and bold colour of the L Generall beyond all their expectation, when they thought vertily to have found fick and crafte: yes, and his coun-
tenance and face so vigorous and courageous, as they never remembered to have seen him so lively in any battle before. For a while he sat still and said never a word, until he was assured that the Captains of the mutiny were brought into the place and all things else in readiness. Then after silence made by an Oyes of the cryer, in this wise he began and said,

"I would never have believed that I should have wanted words and proper language unto mine own army: not because I have exercised my self at any time rather to make eloquent speeches then to manage valiant actions, but for that being always from mine infancy almost trained up in the camp, I have been acquainted with the natures and humours of soldiers, But in what manner I should speak unto you, neither my wits will give me advice, nor my tongue afford me utterance: you, I say, whom I wot not so much as by what name to call. Should I term you Citizens, who have revolted from your native country, or fooldiers, who have renounced your General, refused to be under his command, his charge and government, and made no conscience to break the oath of your allegiance? Lat it all, should I give you the name of enemies? Now surely, me thinks I agraine the bodies, the faces, the apparel and habit of mine own natural Citizens: but contrariwise, I see plainly the deeds, the words, the intents and minds of arrant enemies. For what have ye wished and hoped for else, but the Herveges and the Lacetanes have done the like? And yet I must needs say, that they had to follow for their captains in their outrage, Mandonius and Indibile, two Princes of roiyall blood: whereas you imitated the sovereign command & government upon Vmber Aries, & Calenus Albinus, two bale companions. Denie it now hardly if you will, that you all either were in the action, or willing in the intention. Verily I can easily believe you in so disavowing, and namely, that all this proceeded from the folly of some brainick fellows among you. For the trepisses committed are of that quality and consequence, that if the whole army were culpable, the expiation & purging thereof could not be procured without great sacrifices and exquisite punishment. Full against my will I touch these points, as fores and galls that will not abide the rubbing; but unless they be touched and handled too, they cannot possibly be cured and healed. I assure you, for mine own part, I thought verily, that when the Carthaginians were driven out of Spain, there was neither place nor person throughout the whole province that had envied my life and health: such hath been my cariage and so have I demeaned my self not only with Allies, but also with enemies. But see, how much I have been deceived! even in mine own camp the news of my death was not onely received with joy, but expected also with a longing desire. I speak not this, that I would have any man to imagin that I conceive, how all in general are guilty of this fault (for if I were permitted to dwade in my mind, that my whole army withed my death, I would here die pietly before your eyes; for what good would my life do me, repined of my fooldiers and fellow Citizens?) But the multitude of every people is like the least in nature; which of themselves are unmoveable and stir not as the winds blow, as the gales go and come, so are they either calm or troublesome and unequiet: and even the cause and source of all this fury and outrage, is in some few heads and leaders. As for ye, you have caught the infection from them, and played the fools with them for company. Surely I am thus persuaded on this day, that ye know not yet, to what enor- mous height of folly ye have proceeded, what mischievous act ye were enticed into against mine own person; what you attempted against his native country, your wives and children; what you entered against the gods and ancestors of your loyal oath; what ye have done against the sacred altipes and happy forms, under which ye have served in warfare; what ye have committed against the cusumes & law of war, against the discipline of your ancestors & finally, how prejudiciable and offensive your designs have been against the sovereign majesty of the Roman empire. As for my self, I am willing to say nothing: content I am to think, that ye rather gave credit to my death rashly and inconsiderately, then hearken there it willingly and gree-
dly. And it may be, that I have so behaved my self, that no wonder it is, if mine army be wea-
ty of me and of my government. But what harm hath your country derived at your hands which to betray, ye should complott with Mandonius & Indibile? How hath the people of Rome offended you, that you have deprived the Kn, Marshals and Colonels created by the voices of the people, of their lawful rule and authority, and confir'd the same upon privat persons? And being not therewith contented, to have and a knowledge them for your Colonels; you, even you the army of the Romans, have taken the knitches of rods belonging only to the Ge-
eral, and bestowed them upon those that never kept so much as a bondslave of their own to command, Albinus and Aries foorth, let up their pavilions in that chief place and State in the camp, where the sovereign magisfrate ought to quarter: with them the trumpet founded: from them the signall and watch-word was demanded, they far as judges in the Tribunal feast of Scipio the Pro-conful: upon them the Lictors and Sergeants attended: for them they made way & voided the place, against they should go forth & march in their state: and before them were the rods born, and the axes withall. When it rained stones, when thunderbolts are shot, when lightnings flash from heaven, when beasts bring forth strange, uncouth, and monstrous young ones; contrary to the course of nature, you take them for prodigious signs and fearfull tokens. Nay this is a monstrous fight and wonder in deed, which by no sacrifices of beasts,by no supplications and praiers, can be purged and expiat, without the blood of them that have committed so haunous a fact. And albeit no wicked crime can be founded upon any reason, yet would I gladly know of you (as in a case that indeed should not be once named and remembered) what
"what was in your mind? what imagined you? and what was your desigment? There was in times past a legion sent to Rhegium, there to lie in garrison. Traitorously and villanously they murdered the principal citizens there, and for ten years space polefled and kept that wealthy town to their own behoof. For this notorious and basely fact the whole legion, even four thousand men and no fewer, were in the market place of Rome beheaded every one. And yet they at the first followed not for their captain Atrius Ember, one little better than a lander, skulker, and follower of the camp, a man of an unlucky and unfavoured name, but Decius Inebibus a Tribune or Kn. Marshall, neither joined they with Pyrrhus nor with the Samnites and Lucans, professed enemies of the people of Rome. Whereas, ye have plotted in counsell, and meant to have banded in armed forces together with Mandamus & Indubius, their purpose was to have seceded themselves for ever in Rhegium, like as before them the Campanes, who took Capua from the Tuscaus, the old inhabitants, and the Mamaritans likewise: who polefled themselves in Sicily of Messana, and never minded to molest and make war upon the people of Rome, or any of their allies and confederates. But tell me, ye pray, intended ye to have made your continual residence, and to have dwelt at (where?) where if your General at my departure out of the province, when my time and the commisary was expired, should have left you behind, ye might have cried out upon me, and called for vengeance to God and man in regard of hard usage and wrong offered unto you, in that ye might not be permitted to return home to your wives and children. But alas, wife and children were clean excluded out of your minds: ye thought no more upon them, then of me or of your native country. Well, I will follow on till, and discourse upon your plot and designs, wicked and ungracious though they were yet haply not altogether so foolish & foolish in the highest degree as may be supposed. Imagined ye being eight thousand men in number, (and say that ye were all of better account & reckoning then Albins & Atrius are, under whom ye submitted your selves) to have been able for to defeat the people of Rome of the province of Spain? so long as I lived, and the other army round sound and strong: wherewith in one day I forced new Carthage, with which I discomfited, put to flight, and chased out Spain, four brave Generals, and so many puissant armies of the Carthaginians? But let that go by, and to lay aside my name, and to speak of no more abuse but this, that ye were very credulous and quickly beleaved that I was dead. How then? what if I was departed this life and gone indeed? Had the common-wealth together with me yeldeed up her ghost? Would the principate and empire of Rome have lain to the ground with me at once? Forteund (O Jupiter, almighty and most gracious) that ever a City hauing first most happily, with the approbation of the gods, built eternal for ever to endure, should be comparèd and made but equal with this frail and mortal body of mine, Flaminius, Punicus, Gracchi, Porphonius Albins, M. Marcellus, T. Quintius Crispinus, Cn. Fulvius, two Scipios, my father and uncle both, so many noble warriors and captains have been slain in this one war; and they are dead and gone: yet the people of Rome continueth on foot and overliveth them, yes, and shall still, when a thousand more of them shall die, either upon the edge of the sword, or upon some fickness or other. How should then the fate of the people of Rome be entered & buried with the dead corps of me, but one man and no more?

Even you yourselves (to go no farther to seek examples here in Spain, when my father and uncle two Generals were killed, chose Septimius Maruus for your captain, to lead against the Carthaginians, being in the ruff and jollity of their breath and late victory. I speak now, as though if I had miscarried, Spain had been left delictute and without a Commander and General. M. Sylla whom I had sent in the province, joined in the same commissary and of equal authority; L. Scipio my brother, and C. Labrus, both Lieutenants general: would they have sittill and done nothing? would they have failed to maintain and recover the majesty of our empire? What? could ye have compared army for army, captains for captains with them? was either your reputation and credit your quarral and cause comparable or toppose that in all these regards, ye have been superiour and gotten the vantage, would ye indeed with the Carthaginians, have born arms against your native country? against your fellow citizens? would ye in very truth, that A-friek should have commanded Italy, and Carthage the City of Rome? And for what desert and great treaspe, I pray you, what your country had committed? Coriolanus long ago, being wrongfully condemned and unworthyly banished, seeing himself to live a miserable exiled man, was moved to take arms and to come against his country to aflail it. A private regard of love and natural kindneffe, reclamed them from publick particide. But what grief of heart, what fit of anger hath incited and provoked your? Set cace your wages were paid latter by some daies, whiles your General lay sick; was that a sufficient cause for you to give defiance to your country & profession open war against it? was that enough to cause you to revolt from the people of Rome, and turn to the lerrgates? and to spare no law of God and man, but to break all and make shipwreck of concience and common honesty? now surely, louders, ye were out of your wits, and fools

ye were in the heightest degree. I was not my self farther out of frame and ficker in body, then ye were in your mind and understanding. I tremble to think upon it and to rehearse, what folk beleved, what they hoped, what they wished. Let all be forgotten and buried in oblivion, it be possible as if not, as we speak of it yet, however we do, take it up deep silence. I cannot deny, but my words have leemned sharp and bitter unto you, and all this my speecho very rigorous. But, so much more cruel think ye are your deers, then my words tare and tour? And if ye deem it reasonable, that I should bear & put up the things that ye have done, wil ye not abide then and
and take in good part, and patiently to bear me to tell all that I can say? But these matters I will H
lay no more in your dish from henceforth; ye shall be checked no more for them. Would God ye
could as soon forget them, as I will put them out of my remembrance. And therefore as touching
you all in general, if ye repent and be displeased with your selves for your fault and folly, I shall
be content and think you punished to the ful. But as for Albinus Calvus and Arrius Vimbler, with
the rest of the authors of this cursed and detestable mutiny, they shall make amends for their
crepitation and transgression, even with their heart-blood; and they shall surely die for it. The
spectacle of their exemplary punishment ought not to seem unto you grievous and odious, but
rather a pleasant and detestable sight, if ye have any grace in you, and be come again to your right
wits. For their intent was to hurt and do mischief to no man alive, more than to your selves.

He had scarce made an end of his speech, when all at once, according to the order given before-I
had, there was presented to their eyes and ears a terrible and fearful object on all sides. For the
army which had environed the assembly round that clustered their swords & bucklers together.
The common cryer was heard to cite by name all those that were condemned there, in the presence
of the whole audience. Stripped they were naked, and laid forth in the mids of them all, and
every thing brought out at once for to accomplish the execution. Thus were they bound to the
flake, whipped with rods, and their heads chopped off. So benumbed they were all and astonished
for, that were present at the sight thereof, that there was not heard amongst all them one
shrewd & hard word, in misliking the rigor of the punishment, no, nor so much as one groan or
secret sigh. Then their bodies were all drawn at one side, the place was made clean, & purged &
all the sounders were called by name & before the Colonels & Kn. Marshalls, iware allegiance,  
K

At the same time, Captain Hannicus by Magos from Gades with a small power of Africans,  

solicited the Spaniards about the river Batis, for many, to rebel and put in arms upon a four-

thousand able men. But afterwards he was forced by L. Martinus to quittance his camp, and having left

the greatest part of his men in the very tumult of taking the camp, yea, and some in the flight, whom

the borne pursues in chase and flew as they ran straggling, himself with few others escaped

away. While these things happened about the river Batis, Latius in the mean time having paffed

through the frights into the main Ocean, arrived with his nave at Cartesia. This is a City

standing on the sea coasts bounding upon the Ocean, even in the mouth of the river, where it first

openeth from the frights into the broad seas. Now there was some hope (as hath been foregoing) to

gain the City of Gades without any assault, by treason, for as much as there came some into the

Roman camp, that of themselves made offer and promise thereof. But the treason brake forth too

soon and was revealed before it was tyme, the conspirators were all apprehended; and sent by Ma-

gus unto Adherbal the Pretor, for to be convicted to Cartagin. And Adherbal having embraced

those traitors in a Caravel or Gallion of five banks of oars, and fent them thence, because the

flower of the real of those three banks; himself with eight three hundred gallies, followed a pret-

ty way after. The said Caravel of five courses of oars, was not so soon entered the straights, but

Scipio also being embarked in another Caravel of the same fort, made out of the haven of Cartesia

with seven Gallies of three ranks of oars and invested Adherbal and the foresaid Gallies: sup-

posing verily, that the enemies Caravel being taken tardy in the very current, was not able against

the tide to retire. Adherbal being thus surprised on the lattisem, for a while flood in fear and doubt

what to do; whether he had best to follow on after his own Caravel, or turn the prows and

beaks of his gallies, and make head against the enemy. Thus whiles he flood at a bay lingering, he

loft the opportunity of shifting and avoiding a battle: for now they were come within the dare

shot, and the enemies on every side were ready to charge. And the current was so strong, that

they were not able to rule and manage their ships as they would. But the manner of fight was noth-

ing at all like to a sea-battle, for as much as they could do nothing to their mind, nothing by skill

dexterity, nothing by counsel and advice. The nature only of the narrow seas, the violence of the

current was all in all, and ruled the conflict, driving the ships one against another, as well up

on their own fellow as upon their enemies; not with standing they rowed and labored what they

could to the contrary. So as one while ye should see a ship that fled and scuded away, whirling

about back again with a whistle by the waves, upon those that had her in chase: and likewise

another that seemed to follow and pursue after her enemies, if she had hopped once into a contrary
course of billows, to turn top and tail, and seem to flee. And in the very conflict it fell out, that

when as one vessel ran with her beak head full butt upon another, she was forced by waves to

turn her side, and receive in her flank the pails of her enemies. And contrariwise, when as one lay

with her flank opposite to the enemy, sudenly all at once the she would wind and whilte again

upon her prow. As the gallies fought thus doubtfully together, hap hazard, at the pleasure and

will of Fortune; the Roman Caravel (were it because of her weight the she was able to land more

steadily against the skipping billows, or by reason that she had more banks of oars that cut the wave,

and to more easily ruled) had chance to sink two of the smaller gallies of the enemies; and running

fast by one with a forcible violence wip's away clean all the oars of one side, and had no

doubt spoiled and marred all the rest that she would have invested and charged upon, but that

Adherbal, with the other five made sail, and got over into Africk. Latius having failed back

to Cartesia with vict'ry, and heard what had been done at Gades, namely, how the comptor of

betraying
betraying the end was disclosed, the conspirators sent bound unto Carthage; and consequently all their hope fruitered and turned to nothing upon which they came to Gades; dispatched messengers to L. Maritius, giving him to understand, that unless they meant still to lie before Gades, straying away the time and doing no good, the belt way was to return unto Seipio the lord General: and so with the consent of Maritius both of them within few days repaired to Carthage. Upon whose departure Mago had not only a time to breathe himself being frighted as he was with a double fear both by land & sea, but also hearing that the Illegates were revoluted, conceived some hope to recover Spain again, and addressed his couriers to the Senate at Carthage: who by relating not only the civil mutiny that arose in the Roman camp, but also the rebellion of the confederates (safed all by way of amplification and enforcing every thing to the highest degree) should encourage and exhort them to lends aids for to regain the dominion of Spain, left unto them by defeat over their ancestors, Mandritus & Indubila who were retired for a time into their confines, until they knew how the sedition iped and what was the ille thereof; reflet still in influence. For if the natural citizens had their trepacity forgiven, they made no doubt about themselves, but they might be pardoned also. But when it was published abroad how severely and sharply they were punished, they supposing their own Transgression to deserve the like punishment, solicited their own people again to take arms; and thus having levied and assembled the fame power of aids which they had before, they pressed into the sedetans country, whereat the beginning they lay in standing camp, being in all 20,000, and 250 horse strong.

Scipio after that he had soon reconciled and won again the heart of his loudiers, as well by making true payment of their wages, to the faultly and innocent alike, as also by showing a loving countenance, and giving friendly words unto all indifferently, before that he dislodged and removed from Carthage, assembled them all together to an audience. Where he inveighed bitterly and at large against the falsehood and treachery of the lords of the country that rebelled, and protested before them all, that he went not now to be revenged of them for their wickednesses with the same mind, wherewith lately before he had cured the folly, and reformèd the error of his natural citizens: for that he thought with grief and gror, and with tears like as one that rent and cut his own bowels, expiated and purged either the inconfedist folly, or the wilful malice of eight thousand men, with the head of thirty persons: but now I go with joy and glad heart, yea, and with a resolution to execute and annihicate the Illegates. For neither are they born in the same land with me, nor linked now in any society at all unto me: the only bond of faith and amity which was between us, that they have themselves first ripped broken. But in my own army, besides that I see they are either Roman citizens or else allies, and those not Aliens but meer Latins: this doth me good and moved me much, that there was not among them so much as one londier to speak of, but was brought out of Italy either by ininculce Scipio (who was the first of the Roman name that came as L. Depuy into this province) or else by my father who was Conful, or last of all by my mine own felt. They are every one of them well acquainted & inured with the name of Scipios, and lied to their fortune and government: whom I gladly would conduct home safe with me to defende triumph, and whom I hope to find ready to affit me with their favour when I stand for a Confulship, if it were a matter that concerned the honor of them in all general, as well as mine particular. And as for the expedition now in hand, whosoever taketh it to be a war, little remembereth the noble sets by me archieved: for surely I make more reckoning of Mago and his exploits, who is fled with a few ships as it were out of the compass of the world, in an Iland environed with the Ocean sea, then I do of the Illegates. For there in that place is not only a Carthaginian captain, but all the Carthaginian forces and strength that now remain. Here are none but theves and robbers, and their leader: who peradventure may be of some power and sufficiency to forage the fields, to burn the houses, to drive away some castell of their neighbours: but to come to hand-frokes in a set fight and ranged batail, they are of no valour and worth at all: who no doubt will come into the field, trusting upon their good footmanip to run away in the rout, more than upon any force of arms to maintain the fight. And therefore I have thought good to put down and suppress these Illegates, before I depart out of the province; not for any present danger at all, or fear of greater war that I see may spring from thence: but first and principally, that I may gracie the rebellion should not remain unpunished: and next because it might not be said, that in a province so subdued, as well by singular prowess as rare felicity, there was left one enemy behind of the Romans. And therefore in the name of the gods follow after me, not so much to make just war (for ye are not to deal with enemies any way comparable unto you) as to take vengeance of wicked men, and to punish gracelesse persons. When he had fulfilled his speech, he dismissed them, with commandment to be ready the next morrow to put themselves in the journey: and after that he set once forward, by the tenth day he came to the river Iberus, and when he had passed over, within 4 days more, he encamped in the sight of his enemies. Now there was a plain there, environed round about with mountains: into which vale between, he caufed the castell (and those were for the most part driven out of the enemies company) to be put forth to grazing and all to provoke the anger of the fierce and savage enemies: and lest out withall, the light appointed archers to guard them: he took order besides, that when there were one in skirmish with the vancurses of the enemies, Lelius with his Cavalry should closely from some covert place give a sudden charge. And for this purpose, there was a hill that bare out handsomely to hide the ambush of those horsemans.
And presently without any delay, they came to skirmish: for the Spaniards made out to the Houst, so soon as ever they discovered them a far off, the archers again and againers the Romans ran upon the Spaniards as they were busie in their booty. And at first they terrified them, and skirmished with their foot; but afterward, when they had spent their arrows and darts, which were better to begin a fray, then determine a battle, they drew their naked swords and began to fight close together foot to foot. And surely the skirmish of the footmen had been doublely decided, but that the horsemen came upon them: who not only afforded the enemies in their face, and trampled them all under their horsefeet that came in their way, but also some of them having wheeled about, and set a compease along the hill foot, presented themselves at the back of the enemies, so as they enclosed and shut up the most part of them in the middle between. Infoo much as there caused a greater fltughter, then commonly upon light skirmishes by way of such rods and excursions. But the barbarous people by this discomfyt were rather kindled and enflamed to anger, then dautned any way or discouraged. And therefore, because they would not seem to have been dismayed or affrighted, the morrow morning by day-light, they showed themselves in battell array. The brightne and narrow valley, as it is beforefaid, was not able to receive and contain all their power; for two third parts wellner of the infantry and all the horse were come down into the plain field: and the rest of their footmen besides, stood together quartered on the side of the hill. Scipio judged that the feantnesse of the ground made for him, both because it seemed that the Roman soldiers were more fitted to fight in a small room then the Spaniards: and also for this the enemies were engaged within that place, which was not able to contain the whole multitude: and therefore he devisd a new stratagem before. For considering that he K could not in to narrow a space bring his own c. valie about to compease and charge the wings and points of their battell, and that the horsemen which the enemies had arranged together with their infantry, would serve them in no fead; he gave direction unto Lutius to conduet the horse as closely as he could about the hills; and to keep off the squadrons of the cavalry so far as possibly might be from the skirmish of the Infantry. Hymelf directly turned all the enigses of the footmen oppost against the enemies, and marched the forefront with four cohorts only, because he could not stretch out the battell any broader: and then without delay he made half to begin the conflict, to the end, that while the enemies were smote and occupied in fight they should be withdrawn from eying the horsemens as they traversed over the hills. Neither had they an eye of them at all, while they were brought about, before they heard the noise and tumult of them as L charged upon their backs. So they fought thundcr in two or severall places, and battells of foot, and as many of horse encountered & joyned along the plain, because the brightnesse of the ground would not admit both horse and foot to fight together in one plot at once. Now when as the infantry of the Spaniards could not help the men of times, and they again were more succoured by the cavalry, but that the footmen trysting upon the cavalry, were without good direction put rashly to fight in the plain ground, and to beaten down and slain; and the horsemens being enclosed round, could neither abide the enemies footmen from them (for by this time their own infantry was overthrown and defeated) nor yet endure behind them the hot affult of their horsemen; they left their horses, called themselves into a ring, and after they had fled to their own defence long time, were slain every one to the last man: there was not I say one footman or horsemans left of all those that fought in the valley. As for that third part which fled upon the hillside, rather to behold the foot in a piece of security, than to part with their fellows in the battell, they had both time and space to shift for themselves and escape. Among whom, were the Princes alfo themselves in person, Madridius and Inhibiti: who were slit away in the first tumult of the fight, before all the battalions were environed. The same day was the camp also of the Spaniards forced, and therein besides other pillage, were taken prisoners almost three thousand men. Rom. ns and allies there died in that fight upon a 1000, and above three thousand were fore bent. The victory no doubt had been obtained with little bloodshed, if they had fought in a more open piece of ground, where there had been better scope to fly away. Then Inhibiti giving over clean to think any more of wars, & supposing nothing later, then to have reconce to the approved goodness and clemency of Scipio, lent his brother Madridius unto him: who fell plott, down at his feet, blaining much (as the cause of their folly) the far rage and fury of the time; wherein not only the Fligeres and Lieetenes, but also the Romes camp, as it were by some contagious and pestilent infection, became franticke and besides themselves; and laid withall, that the condition of himself, his brother, and their followers and subjects was such, as they were ready if it were so thought good, either to yeeld up their lively breath unto Scipio, at whole very hands they had once received the tyme, or if they might now be pardoned and Lived, to devote and employ their lives for ever hereafter wholly in his service, as being now twice due unto him alone, and nother. Once after they prefumed upon confidence in their innocent cause, when as yet they had no experience of his clemency: but now contrary wise they repayed all their full hope in the mercy of the conqueror, and nothing trutting in the goodmen of the quarrell. Now it was an old custom among the Romans, not to execute the absolute authority of the government upon any (as they did to peaceable subjects) with whom they were neither confedered in equal and reciprocally covenants, nor linked in the bands of amity; before they surrendered up unto them all rights, as well divine as humane: before they had receivd hostages of them, taken armor from them, and granted garrisons in their towns and Cities. Scipio after he had sharply rebuked and
A and roundly shaken up *Mardonius* there present, and likewise *Indibilis* that was absent, said, that for their wicked parts and lewd demeanor, they had worthily deserved death; but five they should by his goodnes and the gracious favour of the people of Rome. And moreover he promised neither to depopil them of their armours & weapons (the seizing whereof was put a pawn and assurance unto such as feared rebellion; for as for him, he left unto them their armours freely to use at their pleasure, and their hearts and minds secured from fear) nor proceed in rigor and cruelty against the guileless hostages, but against their own persons, if they went out and revolted again: nor yet would be content himself to be revenged of disarmed and naked enemies, but the offenders & transgressors should in their arms suffer for their delerts. And now since they had tried both fortunes, as well the one as the other, he put unto their choice, whether they had rather the Romans practised or displeased, friends or enemies? So *Mardonius* had a fair delivery; only there was an imposition and fine laid unto him and *Indibilis*, of a sum of money for succours pay. *Scipio* himself after he had sent *Mardonius* before into the farther part of *Spain* (beyond the river *Iberius*) and *Syracus* back again to *Tarracon*, laid some few days until the Illergetes had made payment of the monies that they were charged with: and then with all his succours lightly appointed without carriages marched in a running camp to overtake *Mardonius*, who by that time approached nearer unto the Ocean.

The treaty when *Mafaufla* began before time, was upon sondry occasions put off till and deferred. For the Numidian Prince was very desirous to parley & commune with *Scipio* himself in person & in the right hand to allure him of fealty: which was the very cause then, that *Scipio* took so long a journey to far out of his way. *Mafaufla* being now at *Gades*, and advertised by *Mardonius* that *Scipio* was coming and near at hand, threw false semblance to *Mago*, made many excuses, & found much talk, namely, that their houses being pinned up and pelried within the land, were well secured and spoiled: and that by their long abode there, not only they made others feel the want and scarcity of all things, but also tasted thereof themselves: and besides that his men of arms for very ease and idleness, became feele and unly. By which suggestions he persuaded with *Mago*, and prevailed with him so much, as to suffer him to crosse over into the continent, under colour to wait and spoil the land of *Spain* next adjoyning. When he was passed over, he sent before him three principal Numidians, gentlemen of mark, to appoint both the times and the place of their meeting and conference, and gave order, that *Scipio* should detain some of them with him as pledges; the third was sent back to conduct *Mafaufla* to the appointed place according as he was commanded, and so with a small company they met for to parle and commune together.

Now was *Mafaufla* the Numidian King possessed before with a wonderful admiration of *Scipio* and his person, by reason of the name that was blazed abroad of his noble acts: and had conceiv'd within him, and imagined, that he was a man right personable, of a mighty and goodly frame, but when he once saw him in place, he grew into a very greater reverence and honor of his person. For besides the exceeding majesty and port that naturally he carried with him, his goodly long bulk of hair well became and grace him: the habit also and stature of the body, many & fouldierlike, not brave nor tricked up daintily and delicately, much adorned and let him out. And for his age he was in the bell of his height, more full, more strong and stately, as if the very prime and flour of his youth had been renewed, and himself call again in a new mould. The Numidian (as at their first meeting) almost astonish'd, gave him thanks for sending back his brothers unto him, saying, "That ever since that time, he bought to elip upon some occasion and in opportunity, which now at length by the goodness of the immortal gods being present upon him, he had not neglected and set a fip; promising that he was most desirous both to do him favour, and to gratifie the people of Rome in any kind of service so much as there was no one foremar more earnest & ready to advance and better the State of the Romans than himself: which if he had been willing unto heretofore, he could not possibly have in effect, so long as he was in *Spain*, strange country, and unknown unto him; but in that wherein he was born & brought up in hope of succession in his fathers kingdom, he would be most for- ward to perform. For, in case the Romans would send but *Scipio* as a general into Africa, he made no doubt but hoped affur'dly, that *Cartagia* had not long to continue and stand, but soon would come to an end: *Scipio* for his part was glad both to see him, and hear him to speak, knowing this well, that of all the cavalry of the enemies, *Mafaufla* and the Numidians went ever away with peace & prize & the young man himself in his very countenance carried with him a good the w of a brave and happy mind. So after a tryst'full promisse given and received on both parts, *Scipio* returned to *Tarracon*: and *Mafaufla* when he had by the permission of the Romans foraged the coasts next adjoyning, because he might not seem to have pass'd over into the main land for nothing, returned into *Gades*.

When *Mago* now being in utter despair of *Spain* (whereof he had conceived great hopes, and bare himself to proudly: first upon the mutiny of the foouldiers, and after wards upon the revolt & rebellion of *Indibilis*), mad preparation to fall over into *Africa* there came a message unto him from *Cartagia*, that they there had given order and direction, that he should transport the armado which he had at *Gades*, and pale into *Italy*: and there to take up and wage all the afo men that possibly he could levy, either of Gauls or of Liguurians, & so to join with his power unto *Aemilia*; and not to suffer that war to quail and flake now, which was enterpris'd with greatest
force and endeavor, and yet, with greater favour of fortune. For this exploit, both treasurers was H brought from Carthage to Mago: and himself also raised as great sums as possibly he could of the Gaditans, having not only emplaced the common treasure of the land, but spoil'd also the temples, yes, and forced all privat persons to bring aboard all their gold and silver whatsoever. As he sail'd along the coast of Spain, he land'd his soldiers not far from new Carthage: and after he had walled and overrun the territories by the Sea side, he approach'd near with his fleet, and rig'd at anchor before the City: where all the day long he kept his soldiers within their ships, and by night let them ashore, and led them toward the part of the wall, where Carthage was by the Romans won: supposing that the City was not sufficiently defended with a strong gaurd, and that some of the townsmen, upon hope of a change and alteration, would rise up in arms and rebel. But there were come poets out of the country in all haste beforehand, who had brought news, as well as the foraging of the country & fearfull flight of the ruralic peasants, as of the coming of the enemies. Moreover the armado was defer'd also in the day time, & it was apparent, that they made not choice to anchor even just in the rode before the City, for nothing. And therefore the City soldiers good ready, well appointed, and in armes, and kept within that gate, which turned toward the lake and the sea. And when the enemies, souldiers and mariners confidually together, were come in great disorder under the walls, with more tumultuous noise then forcible violence: the Romans at once suddenly set open their gate, and with a great cri and shout, made a sally upon them, charged the enemies, troubled and disordered them, & at the first onet & volly of shot discomfited and put them to flight, yes, and with much slaughter chass'd them to the shore: and but that the vessels flood close to the strand, ready to receive them abroad as they fled to K fearfully, they had not been one left alive, either in the flight or flight. Nay, they that were in the very ships were in great fright & peril, whilst to prevent the enemies of breaking in upon them, they pull'd up the ladders, drew in the planks, cut two the ropes where by the ships were fasten'd to the banks, yes, and the very cables for hale, that they might have no hinderance by weighing anchors, so that many there were, who in swimming to the ships, because they knew not in the darke night, which way to go or what to avoid, perished miserably. The next day, when the armado was fled from thence back again into the Ocean from whence it came, they were found slain eight hundred men: and of armors and conflicts between the City wall and the sea shore, two thousand.

Mago being retir'd to Gades, was excluded from thence, and arriv'd with his fleet at Cinibus, L. a place not far from Gades. From whence he sent Embassadors, to complain that the gates were shut against him, being their ally and friend: and when the Gaditans excus'd themselves and said, that it was long of an uprore of the multitude, who were offended & aggrieved for certain robberies committed, and spoil made by the souldiers at their departure, and when they were ready to be embark'd, he train'd forth to parly their head magistrats (whom the Carthaginians call Suffetes) together with the chief Treasurer: and after they were scourc'd and their skin pittcously torn, he commanded them to be roundly taus'd and crucified. From thence he sail'd to Pitynys, an island distant from the main an hundred miles, inhabited at that time by Carthaginians, where the fleet was friendly and peaceably receiv'd; & not only prov'd for liberally of store of victuals, but also furnish'd with lully men, for mariners to serve at sea, yes, and with armor and munition for souldiers. Upon which forces Mago bare himselv confident and bold, and sett sail fell within the Balear lands, that were fifty miles off. Now there are two of these islands called Balears, the one greater then the other, and more mighty both in men and munition: having an haven and harbour where Mago suppos'd that he might commodiously winter in. But the Islands withflood his navy with as great bollivitie, as if they had been Romans that had inhabited the Island, they could not have done more. And as now adays they use for the most part flings, so at that time they praftic'd no other kind of weapons at all, and in no nation besides, can ye find one special person, so much to excel in that feat, as all the Balears generally do exceed and surpass others in the and flight thereof. And therefore they discharg'd and levelled among them, as the armado approach'd the shore, such flone offstones flying about their ears as thick as hail, that N they durst not enter the haven, but turn'd their ships into the main sea again. Then they put over to the lefther Land of the Balears, which as it was fertile in soil, so far men and armor it was nothing so strong. Whereupon they disembark'd and came land, and above the haven in a strong and well fenced place they encamp'd. And having gotten to be masters both of the City and territorio about it, without any force of armes and confliet, they levied and enrol'd there among them two thousand auxiliary souldiers, whom they sent to Carthage for to winter, and then they drew up their ships along into the dock. When Mago was once depart'd from the Ocean sea coast, the Gaditans surrend'rerd themselfs to the Romans.

These were the acts achiev'd in Spain, under the condud & fortunat government of P. Scipio, who having deliver'd the charge of the province to L. Lutonius, and M. Acilius, returned to Rome with a fleet of ten sail. He had audience given him in the Senat, and being in the temple of Bellona, without the City: where he discoursed before them in order from point to point, of all the affairs and exploits that he had done in Spain: Namely, how often he had fought in sea and ranged battles: what a number of towns he had forced and won from the enemies; how at first he...
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A
he passed into Spain, against four general captains and four victorious armies: and now had not left one Carthaginian in all those parts. Yet for all these noble deeds, he rather allowed what hope he might have of a triumph, than made any hot & earnest plea therefore because it was never seen to that day, that any one had triumphed who made war, being himself no principal Magistrate. After the Senate was roused and dismissed he entered the City; and called to be entered before him into the Chamber of Rome, of silver in bullion, 1,342 pounds weight; and in coin besides, a great quantity. Then L. Vettius Planc held the solemn assembly for creation of CoH, and all the Centuries in general, with exceeding favour and affection elected P. Scipio CoH, and for to be his companion in government, P. Licinius Crassus, the Archbishop was joined into him. But this assembly (as we find in records) was celebrated with more frequency of people, than ever any had been known during this war. For they repaired and met from all parts, not only to receive their voices, but also to see Scipio: nay they ran in great numbers to his house, and into the Capitoll, when he sacrificed and slew an hundred oxen in sacrifice for the honour of Jupiter, according to his vow which he had made in Spain. And all mens minds gave them, and they were allured and persuaded in their hearts, that as L. Licinius finished the former Punick war, so P. Cornelius would make an end of that which was now in hand: and like as he had driven all the Carthaginians forth of Spain, so would Scipio drive them out of Italy: and many in his own conceit wished and attinog to him the Province of Africa, as if the war in Italy had been fully brought to an end. Then entered the election of the Pratores. And two were created that were then Alone of the Commons, to wit, Sp. Lucretius and Co. Ollivius: and of private persons, Co. Servilius Scipio, and L. Annius Pappus.

In the fourteenth year of the Punick war, P. Cornelius Scipio, and P. Licinius Crassus entered their Conniphillid. And unto the Conills were the Provinces appointed: namely unto Scipio was Sicily granted without paying lots, and that with the content and good liking of his Colleagues, because he being the Archbishop, was by virtue of that dignity kept still in Italy, for to see the sacrifices divin service, and Church matters: and unto Crassus the country of Regia was assigned. Then the provincies for the Pratores were put to the lottery and the civil jurisdiction within Rome fell to Co. Servilius Ariminum (to so they called Galba) unto Sp. Lucretius Sicily was allotted to L. Annius, and Lardianus to Co. Ollivius.

The Senat assembled in the Capitol, where Publius Scipio propounded in A.B., and it was confirmed by the authority of the house. That out of the money which himself brought into the common treasure he might be allowed to defray the charges of those places and games that he had vowed in S.p.m. during the time of the Souldiers mutiny. Then he called the Embassadors of the Saguntins into the Senate house: and the most ancient men amongst them spoke in this wise:—

Although right honourable, it be not possible to find anymore miferies & calamities than we have endured already in the maintenance of our faithfull allegiance unto you even unto the end, yet such have your deferts been to us ward. & so many favours have we received of your Captains Generalls, that we think not much nor rens of any damage or los, that we have sustained in that behalf. For first ye entered into the quarrell, & began the war for our sake: and having once begun it, ye have continued therein for the full space of 14 years; and that with such resolution that oftimes, as ye have plunden your selves into extrem peril & danger, so we have engaged no les the State of the Carthaginians, for at what time as ye had within Italy a cruel

and bloody war: & Ambush your mortal enuy, ye sent forth your Coh with armies into S.p.m., as it were to gather up the broken reliques of our shipwrick. Pub. and Co. Corellii the two brethren from the first time that they came into the Proings, never ceased to deuide & do whatsoever might either advantage us, or endanger our enemies. For first and foremost they restored unto us our town again: then having made enquity throughout all S.p.m. where any one of our Citizens were sold as slaves, they delivered and redeemed them out of miserable furnitute, and recovered for them their former freedom. But lest when we were well-near come to this good pace, that from our poor & pitiful estate we were raised up to a wifed for and desirable fortune, then Pub. and Co. Corellii your Generals suddenly died: whose death hapned in manner more

fameable and dolorous unto us than unto you. For then we thought verily thus of our selves, that we were reduced from remote & distant places unto our ancient habitation for this purpose, that we should perish once again and see a second overthrow and destrution of our native country; knowing thus much, that for to work our utter destruction there needed not a Carthaginian captain or army to be the instrument and the mens; for even the Tuderets alone, our most ancient enemies who were the cause of all our former ruin and undoing, were able with their own forces to root us out and extingush our name: But behold whiles we were in these perplexities immediately beyond all our hope and expectation, ye sent amongst a noble Scipio here in place, in whose behalf we count our selves of all Saguntins most happy because we have seen him declared CoH, already, and shall be able to report the news unto our nearest neighbours.

G
and fellow Citizens that we have beheld with our own eyes, even our whole hope, our help, our health and safety. Who having forced & won very many Cities and towns of our enemies in Spain at all times and in all places let the Saguntins apart from our of other Prisoners & captives, and sent them home again into their own country. Finally, as for Tuderets a nation to advertise and to danger us enemies unto us, that it should continue still in prosperity, Saguntins could not possibly stand upright: he hath by force of arms so quelled and tamed it, that neither we our selves nor (be it spoken without arrogance) any of our posterity hereafter need stand in fear.
feare any danger from hence, we see before our eyes their City raised, at whole inflation & whou for to gratifie Ambassadors before had raised Saguntum and out of their lands now, we gather rents and revenues which concerneth our hearts, not so much for profit & gain, as for quittance and revenge. In consideration and regard of these benefits and good turns, which be such, as greater we cannot hope nor with for at the hands of the immortal gods; the Senate and people of Saguntum hath lent us ten here in Embassie unto you, for to give unto thanks in their name and with all to rejoice and congratulate in your behalf the happy hand ye have made, and the fortunate exploits ye have achieved these last years past, as well in Spain in Italy, namely, that ye have subdued, and do hold in possession all Spain, not only so far as to the river Tormus, but even to the lands end, and the utmost point lying upon the Ocean sea. And as for Italy, ye have left no more ground in it for Ambassadors, and the Carthaginians, than they emplace within the compass of trench and rampier. Moreover we have in especial charge not only to render thanksgiving here-fore to almightie and most gracious Jupiter, the patron of the fortres and Cuffy of the Capitol, but also to offer & present unto him, if it might stand with your good grace and liking, this golden crown; and so set it up in the Capitol, in token and memorial of Victory, Which we humbly beseech your HI., of your favour to grant unto us; and moreover, if it please you, to ratifie and confirm for ever by your authority and approbation all these benefits, franchises, and privileges, which your Generals have of their good voucheas to endow us with.

The Senate made this answer to the Saguntin Embassadors, 'That both the rating and also the rearing again of Saguntum should be a memorable example to all nations, of the faithful society and alliance, observed both of the one part and the other inviolate, And whereas their Generals had re-edified the City of Saguntum, & delivered the Citizens thereof from servitude and bondage, they had therein done well and truly, and by direction, according to the will and pleasure of the Senate. And whatsoever else was performed by them to the good and benefit of the Saguntins, the Senate good willing and contained therewith, and gave order therefore. As for their present and obligation, good leave they had to bellow it solemnly in the Temple of the Capitol. After this order was given, That the Embassadors should have their lodging appointed them, and presents lent unto them, and all other entertainment at the charges of the City, ye, and by way of a reward, an allowance of no less than ten thousand Alies spece.

Then were the other Embassadors admitted into the Senate-house, and audience given them. Alto the request of the Saguntins was granted to go and see Italy for their pleasure, so far forth as they might with security of their persons: and certain guides were assigned to conduct and accompany them, with especial letters also directed unto all Cities and towns, for to receive the Spaniards friendly and give them courteous entertainment.

These things done, the Senators sat in consultation about the late and commonwealth, & treated concerning the levy of new armies, & the distribution of the Provinces. Now when as the common brute went that P. Scipio was defined & named to a new province of Affrick, & all mengave out with open voice, that he was the man to be sent thither directly, without calling lots for the matter; and himself besides not reeling content now with mean glory, said openly, that he was declared Consul not only for to maintain war but also to finish and make an end thereof once for all, which could not be effected by any other means, unless himself in person made a voyage with an Army into Affricke, & to pollut the manner, that the Senate crostled and gainfaid this design of his he would proposu it to the people, and carry it away clear by their voices: whereas the principal I.L. and ancients of the Senate were nothing pleased with this resolution of his, but durst not say a word and speak their minds, either for fear, or for courting of him in hope of preferment; only Q. Fabius being demanded his opinion, speak to the matter in question to this effect,

'Right honourable, and my I.L. of the Senate, I know ful well, that many of you here assembled are of this mind severly perwillad, That we are set for this day to no purpose, but even to contile & debate of a matter clearly determined; & that in vain he shall spend words, who shall deliver his advice of the Province of Affricke, as of a point as yet doubtfull & not resolved upon already.

For mine own part, I am not willing nor say not will it enter into my head, how Affricke can no possibly now be accounted as a Province & assigned certainly unto your Consul, let him be a man right hardy, & of as much valour as may be considering that neither the Senate unto this day hath judged it the people ordained & assigned it to any person in the nature and name of a Province. Furthermore, if it were indeed without all precedent then in my judgement the Consul, hath done amiss, who in making remembrance to put a matter for to be debated, which is already agreed upon, hath defiled and mocked the whole Senate and not the Senator, who in his course delivered his opinion of the thing in question. But I am satisfied that in gaining and crosting this halfe voyage into Affricke, I shall in all the lesser opinion & opinion two things: the one of my usual lingour and flowing in all my words (a course that naturally I am given unto) which young men may term at their pleasure, timourness and tinnness; but to long as I have no cause to repent thereof, I pass the Les. For mine hither to the aduices of others have ever at the first sight made a goodlier show, and seemed more honourable: but by experience mine own wats have laped better, and been found in the end more effectual. The other is, of blacking detection and envying at the glory and reputation of the Consul: a man of singular prowess (I must confess) to whom I see to grow from day to day in greatness and honour, From which jealousy and fulpiation, if neither my life passed and the carriage of my left; if notthetmy
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A Dictatorship with five Consulships, nor so much glory which I have acquired as well in managing the affairs of war abroad, as of civil policy at home (that a man would think I should rather be girded therewith than despire any more) be able to clear and afford me; yet my years at sea and civil may serve me very well. For what concurrence and emulation can there be between me and him, who is not of equal age with my very sex? When I was Dictator, in the vigour and flower of my strength, in the very course and train of my greatness and brass exploit, no man either in Senate or in the assembly of the people, heard me to refine and deny, That my own General of Cavalry, who could not afford me a good word, but ever railed at me; (a thing that was never heard before) should be made equal with my self in command and government. And yet by good deeds, rather than by fair words, I effected and gained much in the end, that he, who in the judgment of others was matched with me and made myellow, contented within a while himself to be my inferior. Let reason have I then now, after I have gone through all degrees of honors and dignities, to enter into contention & emulation with a young gentleman, of all others at this day most flourishing in the eyes of the world: unless forsooth it be a likely matter that (a man weary not only of managing affairs, but also of this world, and of this life,) should look to have the Province of Afric offered unto me; it was once denied him, Nay verily, I have enough already; as in this glory I am content to live and die, and seek for no more. It was sufficient for me to hinder Annibals from achieving the victory; to the end that by you, who now are gallants in the beat of your strength, he might be vanquished & overcome. Meet it C is then and great reason O P. Cornelius, that you should bear with me and hold me excused, if I, who never in regard of mine own fell yet greater store by the fame and opinion of people, than of the good of the Common-wealth prefer not now your glory before the weal-publick. And yet I will not say, but in case there were no war at all in Italy or the enemy of that quality as by conquering of whom there were no credit & honour to be gotten; then he that would seek to keep you still in Italy, were it never so much for the good of the State might seem to go about to dispirit and frustrate you; (in putting you by the charge of the war,) the very means and matter of your glory and renown. But seeing that Annibal is your object, seeing he is our enemy, who with an entire army holdeth Italy as it were besieged now these fourteen years; will you not O P. Cornelius, hold your self well contented with this honour and reputation. That you being D Conutl, should drive that enemy out of Italy, who hath been the cause of the death of so many brave men of ours, and of so many foils and overthrowes that we have received; that, like as C, Lucullus had the name of finishing the former Puntik war, so you may win the title of ending this other also, Unless that a man would say that Annibal was a warrior and Captain worthy to be preferred before Annibal; or that war of more importance than this or that victory greater and more honorable than this is like to be, in case it happen that we may be conquerers under your away from Drepantum & the mountain of Erus, than chafed and hunted the Carthaginians and Annibal out of Italy? Nay surely even your own self; (howsoever you embrace glory already won than hoped for hereafter) would not take more joy & contentment, and triumph rath Eer for freeing and delivering of Spian than Italy from the wars. Annibal, I twost, as yet is not come to that low ebb not to down the wind, but that he which made choice of another war, may seem well in to doing to fland as much in clear and dread, as in conceit of him, Why then addresst thou not your self to effect this impress, and leave building these Castles in the air, and hope by leaching these reaches and this compacts, & going the longest way about that when they are pass'd over into Africk, Annibal will follow thee thither; and not rather go the next way to work, and fight with Annibal where he is, and make no more ado? Are you willing indeed and defirous to win this honour of dispatching quite the Puntik war? Why, it is the course of nature to defend and make sure your own before you go in hand to allain the dominions of others. Let us have peace first in Italy before we make war in Africk: and let us first rid our selves of fear ever we take occasion to put others in fear; unless we had some greater quarrell, And F if by your conduct and fortunate government, both these may possibly be effected: conquer Annibal here, and then go thither to affall Carthage a God Name, But if the one or the other of these victories must needs be left for new Consuls to achieve: as the former of the twain will be the greater and more memorable, so it will open the way, and give the overture into the other entering upon it. For at this time, over and besides that our treasure, and all the revenues and finances of our state, are not able to maintain and wage two bundry armies both in Italy and in Africk. befoebes. I say: that we want the means to keep two Armados aloft, and have nothing left sufficient wherewith to furnish them with victuals and munition: who teetht not I pray you, how far we engage our selves in peril and danger by this enterprise? P. Licinius shall war in Italy and P. Scipio in Africk. What will ye say if Annibal (which God forbid) & my heart even dreadeth to preface, but that which once hath happned may happen well again, upon the train G of some new victory, fortune to go forward and affall the City of Rom? Where are we then? Shall we have time then to lend for you our Co, out of Africk, as we did for Q. Fulvius, from Campania? And what say you to this befoeies: That the fortune of war is doubltfull & uncertain even in Africk; as well as in other places: Call to mind, and learn bestrites by the examples of your own house and family, by your father and uncle; who within so dates were slain, & their armies defeated even there, where for certain years space they had performed both by sea and land most
noble exploits: and highly renowned among foreign nations both the Roman people, and also your own name & family. The time will not serve, if I would do all this day do nothing else but reckon and recount unto you, how many Kings, Emperors & General Captains there have been, who have entered rashly into their enemies countries, and received many joys and overthroweth thereby, as well in their own persons, as in their whole armies. The Athenians, a most prudent & politic State, having left the war at home in their own country, and following the counsel and suggestion of one young man, as hardy & valiant in arms, as noble in birth & parentage as your self (none displeased) sailed into Sicily with a brave and puissant navy; and there in one battell fought at sea, overthrown and ruinad for ever their most flourishing City & Common-wealth.

But as for those examples of Strangers, and stories of times too far past, and over-long ago,

Let even this same Affrick, and M. Attilius serve as a notable example of both fortunes, for our instruction & learning for ever. Now surely, P. Cornel, when you shall once discover Affrick with all your view from the sea, you will think then that your Provinces of Spain were matters of sport in comparison of it. For what semblable proportion is there between them? When you were in your voyage for Spain, you failed in the calm sea peaceably along the coast of Italy and France, and arrived at Emporia friend City and Confederate: and when you had landed your men, you led them in security through all places to the friends and allies of the people of Rome, even as far Tarracon. From thence ye journeyed all the waies by Cities and towns, furnish'd with Roman garrisons. About the river Iberum you found the armies of your father and uncle, which remained upon the lots of their Generals more fierce and fell for the calamity that they had received than before. You meeter there L. Marcius their Captain and Leader, chosen (I must needs say,) I know not how in a hury by the fouldiers themselves for the time but otherwise I assure you, if not their ability of birth and the titles of dignities which he justly deserved had grace him, he was in all feats of arms and martial knowledge, comparable to the very best warriors & noblest Captains.

After this you assaulted Caffaghe without any empeachment, and took your time at your own pleasure, even when there was not one of the three Carthaginian armies to aid & defend their affects. As for all the exploits besides (without offence be it spoken & not to debate any good service there) they are in no respect to be compare with the African war: where we shall find no haven open to entertain our Armado, no Country peaceable, no City confederate, no King friendly, no place at all either to sojourn and rest in, or to march forward and pass through with safety. Which way even you call your eyes nothing but hotly threatening danger and peril.

Do you indeed trust Syphax, or rely upon the Numidians? Well, let it suffice that once ye trall'd them, Rath adventures speed not always best. And oftentimes we see that fraud deceitful and makest way of credit in small things, that in matters of greatest importance, and when the time wereth it may pay home and work a mischief with a witnesse. The enemies overcame not your father and uncle by force of arms before that the Celtibrians our Allies over-ruaht them by falhhood and treachery: neither were your self in so much danger from Mago and Adraubal the chief Captains of your enemies, as from Indibilis and Montonius, your new friends and confederates. Can you repose any confidence in the Numidians? You say that you have experience of their own fouldiers mutiny, and have seen them rise against you: As for Syphax and Massis, as they had rather themselves be the sovereign & most mighty in Affrick, than the Carthaginians should: I say truly they with the Carthaginians to be the highest above all others besides their own selves. Now at this time there is some emulation and heat-burning among them, and all occasions of quarrell when them on to maintain sides and factions, so long as fear of foreign enemy is far enough off. Show them once the Roman forces and forces, let them see an host of strangers once, they will not warrant you altogether then, as it were to quench a common fire. You shall find that the very same Carthaginians will far otherwise stand to the defence of the walls of their Country, their Cities, the Temples of their gods, their Altars and private houses when going to battell they shall have their fearfull wives to bear them company, their small children to go along them in their eye: you shall find them. I say, stick better to it than they did in the quarrell, and defence of Spaine. But what and if the Carthaginians finding themselves strong enough upon the confidence of the generall concord of Affrick, of the fall fidelity of the confederate Kings, of the strength of their owne walls, should intromit themselves, when they shall see Italy deliuerte of your help, and disstruished of their forces, either to make out a fresh army from Affrick and send it into Italy, or else give order and direct it to Mago (who as it is well known for certain, is departed with his navy from the Baleare Islands, and lyeth floating and riding continually upon the Alpine Ligurians,) to join his power with Annibals. It is a clear case, that we shall be in as great trouble, and as much affrighted then as we were of late, when Adraubal mounted over the Alpes, and came down into Italy. Adraubal, I say, whom you (that will with your army compas not only Carthage, but also all Affrick) let go out of your hands, and suffered to pass over into Italy. But you will say, that you have vanquished him, Say you so? I would not for any thing, not only in regard of the love I beare to the Common-wealth, but also of the affection that I carry toward your selfe, that a vanquished man could find the way by you into Italy. Be content & suffer us to attribute all things that have gone well with you or the Common-wealth, during the time of your government, to your wisdom and policy; and contrariwise, whatsoever hath fallen out crost and adverse, to impute and ascribe the fame to nothing else, but to the variable events of war, and to fickle fortune. The
under their hands & decreed it was that they two, namely, I. Veturius & Q. Caecilius, should either
the better & more valiant that you should have more hath your native country, yes, and all;
Italy besides to keep you till at home with them, for brave a captain. o rare a Protector. You
amost your own self dissimile the matter, but confide, That wherefover Amphilis, there is
the very head, the fort & strength of all this war; forasmuch as you pretend, that the only cause
we should / would pass into Africa, is to draw Amphilis thither after you. Well then, be it here or
be it there, with Amphilis you must have to deal. Tell me then, whether are you like to be stronger
Africa? your fel thee alone, or here where your own forces and the power of your Colleague shall be
joined together? Is it possible that even the late example of Livius and Claudius, so treath in
memory, should not inform & teach you, that the difference there is, is between your dignities and your fathers. He, as Condi having
made a journey into Spain, to the end that he might encounter Amphilis as he came down the Alps,
return-ed even of his own province into Italy; and you, when Amphilis, is in Italy, purpose to a-
bandon and leave Italy. And why? for loth not because you judge it good for the common-weal,
but because you think it an enterprise that may import you in great honour and glory: like as
when you being captain General of the people of Rome, left your province at random and your
army at fix and leaven, without warrant of law, without order or act of Senate, hazarded in two
bothons the whole fate and safety of the Empire of Rome; which at that time together with
the danger of your life, incurred the peril and jeopardy of the main chance. To conclude, for
mine own part (my L. of the Senate,) am of this mind, and this is my conceit, that P. Cornelius
was not created, created Col. for himself and his own benefit, but for the good of the common-
wealth and all; and then the armies were levied and enrolled, for the guard of the City and de-
defence of Italy; and not for the C. O G in their proud self-conceit & overweening of themselves.
D. after the manner of absolute KK to transport & lead into what parts of the world they left them-
E. selves, When Furius by this oration (premeditated and framed to the time) had through his authority
and the long settled and confirmed opinion that men had of his wisdome, drawn unto his side
good part of the Senate and especially the ancient, in which of the greater number commended
and the grave counsell of the old man, above the silly and youthfull courage of the other gallant:
then Scipio by way of answer made these tenorances, and spake in this wise. My loves of the
Senate, even Furius himself, in the beginning of his oration, said very well, that his opinion which
he was to deliver, might be supposed of destruction and envy, Of which mine, verily I disnot
my self tax and accuse man of his abilities and reputation to much; as methinks is not so well
clear-ed as is supposed to be the very falsification it tell: and yet not whether it be a default of his
speech, scorning or that the thing it self is so pregnant. For in such manner he exed with goodly
words, and magnified his own dignities and renowned deeds, and all to quench the jealous
and course of envy; so if my tell was to fear the danger of emulation and concurrence of some
companion of the baiest degree and condition and not of him, who because he far surpasseth other
men (which height and pitch of honor I deny not, but I endow your self to reach unto) would
not in any hand, that I should compare with him. So highly hath he advanced himself in regard
of his old years in indiciting that he hath gone through all ranks and honours; and so low debating
me, and put me down even under the age of his own lion; as though the deere and love of glory,
should Ashe no farther then the length of man's life, and the greatest part there of extended not
to the memory of posterity and the future time. This I hold for certain, that it is a thing inci-
dent to the most magnificent men and of greatest spirit and courage, to have a desire for
to match themselves not only with them that live in their dates, but with most famous & excellent
persons, that ever were or might be in any age. And hardly for mine own part, Q. Furius,
I will not make it good, but frankly beway my mind that way, namely, that I would full tain
not only all your praiseworthy acts and commendable virtues; but also (with your good
leave to be spoken) if possible I can, even to excell and amount the same. Therefor let us not cur-
ry this mind, either you towards me, or I to those that are younger then my self, to be unwilling
and think much, that any one even among us, should prove equall to our selves: for in doing
we, we should offer wrong and doing not only to them whom we have envied and misnamed,
but also prejudice the common weal, & in manner the whole state of all mankind. And thus much
G. to yourself. He hath now (my lords) recounted, to what great perils I should enter into by the Af-
rica voyage in such sort, as he would feem notonly to have a careful regard of the common-
wealth and the army, but also to pity me and tender my case and fortune, Whence cometh it,thay
you should all on a sudden take for care for me? when my father and uncle both were slain,
when their armies both twain, were utterly almost defeated and put all to the ford; when
Spain was left; when 4 armies of Carthaginians, and 4 Generals, held all in fear by force of
armes; when there was a captain sought for to undertake that war, and no man dast be leen to
The eight and twenty Book of T. Livius.

...
yea and with wildome and counsell to frame them to his own purpose and designs. True
it is, O Fabius, I shall have Annibal to bear and to match me; a foulard, I confesse, as
good every way as my self, but I will rather draw him after me, than he shall keep me back
home. Force him I will to fight in his own country, and Carthage shall be the price of my vi-
dory, rather then the decayed pieces, and half miunt perty castles of the Bruntis. Only provide, O
Q. Fabius, that in the mean time whilrne I am at sea in my voyage, whiles I amlanding mine ar-
my in Aftrick, WHILES I APPROACH Carthage with a running camp, the Common-wealth take
of harm and damage here at home. See to this, I say, and be well advised, that it be not a shame
full troopre to lay, that P. Licinius the Consul, a man of singular valour (who because he is the
high Priest, and by vertue thereof not to abend himself from the solemn celebration of sacrifices
and divine service, was content and willing, that the charge of so distant a province should
not befall unto him by calling lots) is not able to perform that, now when Anmibals head de-
feated, and his heart almost broken, which your selfe was insufficient to effect when Annibals squar-
et in, and braved all Italy like a conqueror. But let the cafe, and suppose I say, that by this
course which I mean to take, the war be never the sooner brought to an end (yet fairely it
were for the honour of the people of Rome, and for the reputation and name which they have
among foreign princes and States abroad, that they may see and know, that our hearts serve us
not only Italy, but alfo to offend Aftrick. And that it might neither be thought, and believe
not spoken and noised abroad in the world, no Roman captain durft adventure that
which Annibals head already dared and done: and when as in the former Punke war, when
the quarter was for Sicily, our armes and armados to often afflicted Aftrick, now that Italy is in
question Aftrick should lie still, and be at rest. Nay, rather let I my be at repose and quiet now at
lait, affo long travel and affliction and let Aftrick in her turn be fired and foraged ano-
ther while. Let the Roman camp be pitched rather under the verry walls and gates of Carthage,
then we see once again from our walls the trench and rampier of our enemies, to invest our Ci-
try. Let Aftrick be the bet place and feat of the war, let fright and flight, foraging and harrying
of countries, revolt and rebellion of allies, and all other inconveniences and enormities that
follow war, which have lien heavy upon us these 14 years, turn from us thisther. It shall content
and suffice me to have spoken as touching State matters & the commonwealth of the war presente
ly in hand; and concerning the provinces and their government now in question and confu-
 ration. For it would require a long and tedious discursoe and the same impertinence altogether un-
useable to you, as if Q. Fabius hath defaced and depraved mine acts in Spain, so likewise should I dif-
 grace him and diminish his glory, and let out my selfe and mine own reputation with goodly
and magnificall words. But my LL. I will do neither one nor the other. And if in nothing else,
yet at lafte, young man as I am, I will in modelly and government of my towne goe beyond
him as old and anciem a personage as he is. Thus have I lived, and thus have I carried my self
in all mine actions, that without blasting of mine own prafises, I can foone content my self with
that good opinion which you of your selves have conceived and entertained of me.
Seipio had audience given him, with leffe indifferencie, and patience because it was commonly
voiced abroad. That if the Senate would not grant him to have the province and emprcme of Af-
trick, he would immediately proceed and put it to question before the people. Whereupon Q.
E. Fabius, a man that had beene four times Consul and Censor besides. required the Consul to
speak his mind openly a before the Senate, whether he would refer unto the I.L. there assembled,
to determine of the provinces, and hold to that which they should let down or prefer the thing
unto the people. When Seipio had made answer again and said, That he would do that which
might be good and expedient for the service of the Common-wealth; then Fabius replied upon
him and said: I demand not this question of you, as ignorant what other you would answer or
what you meant to do. For I know full well, that ye pretend no less your self, that you do but
found the Senate, and feel rather how they had enclined, then to lend to any advice of theirs in
good faith. And in cafe we do not presently grant you the province according unto your de-
 sire you have a bill framed already to present unto the body of the people and Commonalty.
And therefore (as he) my masters, ye that are Tribunes, I require your aid and assistance, in that
I forbear to speake unto the point and deliver mine opinion: in this regard, because I know that
the Col. will not approve and ratifie the fame, howsoever the whole house will so wish me,
and allow my sentence. Whereupon arose some brall & debate among them whiles the Col. urged
and enforced this point especially, and said, It was against all reacon and equity: that the Tribunes
should emprcme their authorith, and not permit every Senator being requested to speake in his
turn, for to deliver his mind and opinion. Then the Tribunes made a decree in this matter, if the
Col. be content that the Senate shall determine of the Provinces, we will and command that all
men reft in that which the Senate that ordain and judge; neither will we suffer the time to be pro-
 ponuted unto the people: if he be not content nor yeeld thereto, then we will affl him who
shall refuse to speake to the matter. Then the Col. requested a dates repair to confer with his Col-
league, and to the morrow after he condescended to put all to the cenfure of the Senate. And in this
wife were the provinces distributed and appointed: unto one of the Col. Sicily was assigned, and
thirty ships of war, with brazen beak heads (even the fame that C. Servilius the year before had the
charge of) with commision also to passe over in Aftrick: if the thought it were to the good of
the Common-wealth. The other Consil had the government of the Bruntis and the managing of
the war against Anmibal, with the power of that army which L. Peturinus and Q. Catilius had
cast
...agree between themselves who should remain still in the Britains country to follow the war there, with those two legions which the Conful left: and that whether of them chance to have that province, his government should be protracted and continued for another year. The rest of the Pretors also and Confuls, who were to govern any province, or have the conduct of armies had their commission renewed and sealed again for a longer term. Now it fell to Q. Cæcilius his lot, to make war together with the Conful against Ambivol in the Britains country.

After this, entred the games and pales of Scipio: which were exhibited and fectfulth, with great concourse of people, and exceeding applause and affectionation in all out of the beholders. M. Pompeius Marchus, and Q. Cænhus were sent as Embassadors unto D. Libeth, to carry thither an offring and lare gift of the booty and pillage of Afric. who pretended there a crown of gold weighing two hundred pound: also certain carriages resembing the ipole, which were made of silver, amounting to a thousand pound weight. Scipio when he could not get leave granted to levy fouldiers and take mutters which he greatly forcd not of, obtained thus much yet, that he might have with him in his tr. in voluntary fouldiers: as also receive whatever the Allies would contribute and give towards the building of new ships, he anfe he had passd his word, that the City should not be charged with setting out an armado. And first and foremost, the States of Histaria promised to help the Conful, every one according to their ability. The Carrites came off, and granted to survey corn and all kinds of virtu for the mariners and fallers. the Populonians to provide iron for the Tarquinians to find fall cloths, the Volategorans to send all taulkings and furniture belonging to ships, and all corn. the Arcites to confer 30000 targets, as many morions or head pieces besides jellaints dark plainions, and plies, to the full number of fifty thousand, as many of the one fto of the other. also axes, spades and maccotcks, bilis, fithes, and books, and ficles, meal, troughs and quern mill, as many as would serve to furnish forty long ships or galleys: of which 15000 Modii, and all voyage provision for the Centurions, pety captains, Mariners and One-men by the way. The Periones, the Cimans, the Ruttelians offered itrees for the framming and making of ships, and a great quantity of corn. But for this work, he occupied only the fir hewn out of the publick forest and waits. All the States of Umbria, the Nortines also, the Reatines, Amiterines and the whole country of the Sabines, made promise to help him to fouldiers: the Maris, the pelligni, and Marticines, in great number came of their own free wills, and were enrolled to serve at sea in the navy, The Century, being allies and confederat to the Romains, but not tied to any service, sent a brave company of six hundred men well armed. And when as there wefer out the keels or bottoms of thirty ships, twenty Caravels of five course of oars, and ten oarions, himself in person pilid the carpenters and shipwrights to, and led forward the work that 45 days after the timber was brought out of the wood, the ships were finisled, riged and furnished with all things, and shot into the water. So Study he failed with thirty long ships of war having embarked therein about seven thousand of voluntary servitors. P. Licinius also for his part, came into the Britains country unto the two confederate armies, of which he took unto him and chose that which L. Veturius the Conful had commanded, and suffered Meletius to have the leading fill of those legions, which had been under his conduct before supposing that he should more easily employ them in service because they were acquainted already with his manner of regiment and government. The Pretors likewise went into their landy provinces. And because money was wanting forth to defray the charges of the war, the high Treasurers were commanded to make sale of all that treas of the Campane country, which from the Greek Fosse extendth towards the sea, and there was granted a comission to give notice of those lands: and look what ground forever belonged to any citizen of Capua, it was confiscat to the uc of the people of Rome: and for a reward to him that gave notice, there was aliged the tenth part of the mony, that the land was rated and prized at, Allo C. Servius the City Pretor, had given him in charge to take order that the Campines should dwell where as they were allowed to inhabit by virtue of a decree gramed by the Senat, and to punish those that dwelt elsewhere.

In the same summer Mago the son of Amilcar, being departed from the lefte Bilaser Islands, where he abode the winter feation, and embarked a choen power of young and inly men, sailed over into Italy with a fleet of thirty ships headed with brazen piked beaks, and many hulks of burden: and there he landed his fouldiers, to the number of twelve thousand footmen, and,万个 two thousand horse: and with his fuddon coming surprizd Genua by reason that there lay no garrisons in those parts to guard and defend the sea coasts, From thence he failed along and arrived in the river of the Alpine Ligurians, to see if he could by his coming raise some conception and rebellion. The Inguaui (a people of the Ligurians) fortuned to war at that presente with certain mountanaers the Etruscan. Whereupon Mago having laid np at and bestowed fowe of the prizes and pillage that when he won in Senou a town upon the Alps: and left ten ships all war riding in the river for a sufficient guard, and sent away the reft to Carthage for to keep the coasts at home (because there ran a mighty rumor, that Scipio would pass the seas, and over into Africa) himself after he had concluded a league and amity with the Ingauni (who whole favour he more affected and efteemed then the other) set in hand to affail the mountanaers. Besides, his power increated daily: for that the Frenchmen flockd unto him in all parts, upon noise and voyce of his name. Intelligence hereof was given to the Senat by the letters of Sp. Locutius: who were with their news exceedingly troubled and perplexed, for fear left they had rejoiced in vain...
Of the Histories of L. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the nine and twentieth Book.

A want for the death of Africulb, and the defeat of his army two years before; in case there should arise from thence another war as great and dangerous as the other, differing in nothing else but the exchange of the General. And therefore they gave order and direction both to M. Livius the Pro-Consul, to come forward with his army of Volunteers out of Tusculum into Anaronium: and also unto Cn. Servilius the City Prætor, (if the thought requisite and expedient for the Common-wealth) to commit the two legions of Citizens attending about Rome, to whomsoever he pleased, for to be commanded and led forth of the City. So M. Livius Latiunus conducted those legions to Anaronium.

About the same time, certain hulks of the Carthaginians, to the number of fourteen, were boarded and taken about Sardinia by Cn. Oebonius, governor of that province. Cædus wrote, that they were loaded with corn and victuals sent unto Annibal. But Valerius reporteth, that as they were carrying the pillage taken in Misenus and certain prisoners of the Ligurian mountaineers, into Carthage, they were intercepted and surprized by the way. There was no memorable thing that year done in the Britanni country, the petitions reigned as well amongst the Romans as the Carthaginians and they died thereof alike on both sides. Mary the Carthaginian army, besides the plague, were afflicted also with famine. Annibul passed all that summer time near unto the Temple of Juno Lucins, where he built and erected an altar, and dedicated it with a glorious title of his worthy act, engraven in Latin and Greek letters.

C

The nine and twentieth Book

Caius Lulius bequeathing some part to Scipio out of Sicily into Africulb brought from there a huge booty; and declared unto Scipio the credence and message that he had from Maainafa, who complained of him that he had not yet as painted over with his fleet into Africulb. The war in Spain, in which Indibilis had raised and dispatched himself vain in the field; and Mandonius was delivered by his own men into the Roman bands that demanded him of them. Mago, who was in France and Liguria, out of Africulb sent unto him both a great power of soldiers, and also money to wage aids with a commission and precept to join himself unto Annibal. Scipio crossed the sea from Syracuse into the Bruttii, and recovered the City Locri, after he had discomfited the garrison there, and put to flight Annibal. Peace was concluded with Philip. The goddesse Dame Ieda was brought solemnly to Rome from Pellenus, by occasion of a prophecy found in the books of Sybylla to this effect: That then the Roman army might be driven out of Italy, when Dame Cybele of Ida was brought to Rome. And to the Romans, the Latins delivered by Attalus King of Asia. A thick stone it was, and nothing elsewhorth the Inhabitants called the mother of the god, P. Scipio Naïcias, the son of that Crescent who was killed in Spain, judged by the Senate a right good man, one that was very young, and had not been yet so much as Queen, was he that received her: for it was by the Oracle importuned, that the said godesse should be received by the best vises of the City, and so dedicated. The Romans sent their Embassadors to Rome, to complain of the outrage and cruelty of Q. Plemius the Egerian in that he had unjustly laid upon the money confiscated to Procterus, and unlawfully forced their wives and children, Plemius was brought bound with chains to Rome, and there did in prison. There ran a false rumour of Pub. Scipio (Pro-Consell in Sicily) and spread at far as to the City, that he should send his time there in vain. Whereupon there were sent certain messengers from the Senate to inquire and see whether those reports were true. And Scipio, being cleared from all the amity, by the permission and good leave of the Senate, sailed over into Africulb, Syphax afforded and wedded the daughter of Adrulb the son of Cfigio: and hereupon reconciled the amity which he had contraried with Scipio, Maainafa the King of the Maflowians, whereas he served in the wars in defence of the Carthaginians quelled within Spain, after he had left his father Gala, was without dispose of his kingdom. And when he had desisted from recovery it again by war, he was in certain battles vanquished by Syphax King of the Numidians, and utterly deprived of his royal dignity. So with many hundred horsemen he joyed, as a beneficent person with Scipio, and with him, immediately in the first battle, he flew Hanno the son of Amilag, together with a great number of men, Scipio upon the coming of Adrulb and Syphax, who were almost 100,000; Rome was compelled to break up the siege at Utica: and so he fortified a standing camp for winter harbour. Sciponomy the Consul had a fortunate start against Anniulb in the territory of Croton. The Confoins held a solemn reunion and joining of the City, and numbered the people: in which journey there were affifted in their books 21,000 Citizens. Between the two Confoins M. Livius and Claudius Nero, there fell out a notable discord: for C. Claudius took from Livius (company with him in office) his horse of service: for that he had been sometimes confederate by the people of Rome, and driven into exile. And Livius again did the like by him, because he had borne false witness against him, and not dealt bona fide with him, considering the reconciliation between them, neither
Scipio after he was arrived in Sicily, disposed his voluntary soldiers in order, and enrolled them by Centuries. Over and besides them he had about him three hundred lusty tall fellows; for the flower of their age and strength of body, the bravest men of all others; but they will not themselves for what purpose they were reserved: being neither affigned to any cocklours under a Captain, nor so much as armed at all. Then he made choice from out of the whole manhood and youth of Sicily three hundred men of arms, such as for birth and wealth were the very principal and best in the Island, who were to pass over with him into Africa; and he appointed them a day, upon which they should all present themselves in readines, furnished and appointed in the best manner with horse and armor. This warfare to far from home was like to be irksome unto them, and to bring with it much trouble, many difficulties and dangers, as well by sea as land. The consideration and fear hereof mightily disquieted not only the parties themselves, but also their parents and kinsfolk. Now when the day appointed was come, they flewed their horses and armor, Then Scipio made a speech unto them, and said, "That he was given to understand, that certain Sicilian horsemen stood in great fear and dread of this foillidery, as K being a sore and painfull piece of service: In case then (quothe) there be any of you fincerely and disdosed indeed, I had rather you would now presently be known thereunto me: and confess at once, then hereafter to whine and complain, and so to prove lazy lubbers and unprofitable soldiers to the Common-wealth. And therefore utter your minds in plain terms, and I will be content to hear you without offence. Whereupon, when as one of them took a good heart, and said flatly, "That if it lay in his choice freely to do what he would, he was altogether unwilling to serve: then Scipio answered him again in this manner, Forasmuch as his youth, thou haft not dissembled thy heart's grief, but spokken out what thou thinkest, I will soon "depute one in thy turn unto whom thou mayest deliver thy armor, thy horse and other furniture of warfare, and whom thou shalt forthwith have home with thee, there to train, teach, &c. exercise him after thou hast given him thy horse and armor. The young man was glad hereof, and accepted the offer upon that condition: and so he was affigned unto him one of those three hundred abovefaid, whom he kept about himself unarmed. When the rest said that horseman in this manner discharged of his service, and that with the favour and good will of the L. General: every man then began to think for himself, and to make excuses, and took others in their stead. Thus for the three hundred Sicilians were substituted as many Roman horsemen, without any expenses at all of the State. And the Sicilians themselves had the charge of instructing and training them up. For the General had made an Edict and Proclamation, That whoever did not so, should serve himself in person. This proved by report a brave cornt of horsemen above the rest; and in many battels performed right good service to the Common-wealth. After this, he took a survey of the legions or ftoomens: and all those who had born arms longest in the wars he selected forth, especially such as had been employed under the conduct of Marcellus. For those he well knew to have been brought under the best discipline of warfare, and also by reason of the long siege of Syracuse, to be most skilful in affailing of Cities. For now they were no small matters that he had in his head, but he plotted even the very destruction and ruin of great Carthage. After this, he divided his army and placed several forces in sundry townes. The Cities of Sicily he enjoyned to provide corn; he made spare of that which was brought out of Italy; the old ships he newly repaired and rigged, and with them he sent Libyions into Africa for to prey upon the country and fetch in prizes; the new which rid at Panormus he drew up to land, that they might all winter long lie upon dry ground, and be seasoned, because they were made in hale of green timber. When he had prepared all things necessary for war, he came to the City of Syracuse; which as yet was not in good order and well quieted, since the great troubles of the late wars. For the Greeks made claim for their goods granted unto them by the Senat of Rome, which certain of the Italian nation detained and with-held from them by the same violence, wherewith in time of war they had possessioned themselves thereof. He supposing it meet and requisite to maintain above all things, the credit of the State: partly by virtue of an edict and commandement, and partly by a civil course and proclains of law against such as were obitinate and avow'd their wrongs done, he forced them to make restitution to the Syracusians. This act of his pleased not only them but also all the states of Sicily: and therefore they were more willing and forward to help him in the wars.

The same summer there arose in Spain great troubles, raised by the means of Indibles the Lorcgote for no other occasion or reason in the world; but because in regard of the high admiration of Scipio, all other Captains besides whatsoever were but despised, "Him they suppose to be the only General that the Romans had left. Now that all the rest were slain by Anullal, and hereupon it was thought that when the two Scipios were killed they had no other to bend into Spain but him: and afterwards, when the wars grew hot in Italy, he was the only man sent for over to match with Anullal. And over and besides that, the Romans had now in Spain no Captains
A certain at all, but in brendame and there is the old experienced army also was from thence withdrawn. All things are out of frame and in great commotion & none there, but a disordered fort of raw flesh water loudiers. And never they looked to have again the like occasion & opportunity to recover Spain out of their hands. For hitherto they had ever been in subjection to that day, to the Carthaginians or the Romans, and not always to the one or the other, but turns, and other wills to both at once. And like as the Carthaginians have been driven out by the Romans, so may the Romans be expelled by the Spaniards, if they would hold together. So that in the end Spain being freed from all torment war, might be relieved for ever for the ancient customs and rights of the country. With these and such like suggestions and discourses, he solicited and raised not only his own subjects and connexions, but the Auretans also, a neighbour-nation, and other States and Cities that bordered upon his and their confines: so as within few days there assembled together into the territory of the Auretans (according to an Edict published abroad) thirty thousand foot and six thousand horsemen.

The Roman Captain, likewise for this part, L. Locutius, and L. Manlius Acidinus, left by necessity. The first beginning the war might grow to a greater head, joyed their forces together, and march'd through the country of the Auretans, as peaceably as if they had been friends, (not withstanding they were known enemies) came to the very place where they were encamped and pitched themselves within three miles of the enemies. At the first they assailed by way of Embattlement to deal with them, and to persuade them to lay aside all arms and hostility; but they laboured in vain. Afterwards, when as the Spanish horsemen gave charge suddenly upon certain Romans that were foraging, the Romans also sent out from their Stations and Corps de Guare their Cavalry to oppose to the horsemen skirmished, but no memorable act to speak of was effected on the one side or the other. The next morrow by true-firing the enemies all swarmed themselves armed and in order of battle, and based the Romans within a mile of their Camp. The Auretans were marshalled in the main battle: the Legerettes in the right point, and certain other Spanish nations of base and mean account in the left: between both these wings and the battle, of either hand they left certain wide and void places, whereas when the time served they might put forth their horsemen. The Romans having embattled and put themselves in array after their old and usual manner, yet in this one thing followed the examples of the enemies, in leaving out certain open spaces between the legions for the men of arms to pass through. But Locutius supposing that the use of the horse-service would be advantageous to that part which first should send out their Cavalry into the battle of the enemies, that lay to open with spaces between, gave commandment to Sec. Cornelius a Knight Marshal or Tribune to will and charge the Cavalry to let to with their horses, and to enter those open lanes between the enemies battalions. And himself having spied but badly in beginning the fight with footmen so rashly, laid no longer, but until he had brought the thirteenth legion (which was left in the left wing opposite to the Legerettes) out of the rearward into the vanguard, let to succour and strengthen the twelfth legion, which already began to shrink and give ground. After that once the skirmish there was equal and fought on even hand, he advanced forward to L. Manlius, who in the forefront of the battell was borne in encouraging his men, and sending supplies and succours into all parts where he saw needful:

threw onto him, that all was well and whole in the left point and that he had sent out Cornelius, who with his horsemen, would like a tempestuous storm come upon them, and soon overcast and befieged the enemies round about. The word was not to soon spoken, but the Roman horsemen were ridden within the thickest of the enemies, and not only disordered the armies and companies of the footmen, but also at once shut up the waists and passages that the Spaniards could not make out with their horsemen. And therefore the Spaniards leaving to fight on horseback, slight on foot. The Roman Generals seeing the ranks and files of the enemies disarrayed, themselves in fright and fear, and their enmies was up and down every way; fell to exhorting, yes, to entreating of their own Infantry to rechare them with all their force, whereas they were thus troubled and disbanded, and not suffer them to come into order, and re-enforce the battell again. And truly the barbarous people had never been able to abide their violent imprestion, but that Indebit himself their Prince and Lord, together with the men of arms that were now dismounted on foot, made head against the enemys of the footmen in the vanguard. Whereupon ensued a sharp and cruel fight for a good while. At length, when as they fought about their Prince (who fish, although, he were half dead yet stood his ground and afterwards with a javelin was nailed to the earth) were overhelmed with darts, and thin: then they began to flee on all hands: but the greater number were killed in the place, because both the horsemen had no time nor space to recover their horses and mount upon them again and also the Romans pressed to body upon them after they were once discomfited, and never gave over until they had stript the enemies quite out of their Camp. So there died that day thirteen thouand Spaniards, and well near eight hundred were taken prisoners. Of Romans and Allies, not many more than two hundred left their lives behind them and those especially in the left point. The Spaniards, that either were driven out of their Camp or escaped out of the battell, first ran scattered and dispersed over the fields, and afterwards returned every man to his own City where he dwelt.

Then Manlius summoned them to a generall council: where they all bewailed their calamities & miseries, greatly blamed the authors of the war, and agreed in the end to send their embassadors...
tadors; to give up their arms, and to yield their bodies. Thefe having excited themselves and laid the whole fault upon Meflers & the reft of the Princes who were the ftirres of the war, & were for the moft part blamed ftain themselves for their labour in the field, yielded up their armour and themfelves, and received this anfwer from the Romans: That they fhould be received to mercy, and their infubftion accepted; if they would deliver alive into their hands. Meflers, and the reft that were the breakers of peace. Otherwise, they threatened to lead their forces into the territories of the Bergettes and Anietans, and fo forward, of the other nations their complices in that rebellion. With this anfwer the Orators departed, and related the fame in the confill asfebled, Where Meflers, and the reft of their Lords were apprehended & delivered to the Romans for to be punifhed and executed accordingly. So the States of Spain obtained peace again: and a double tribute for that year was imposed upon them, and they enjoined to provide corn to serve the army I fix months, besides fouldiers liverys, short coats, and side cackfolds; and they received hostages welnear of thirty Cities. Thus the troubles and rebellions of Spain being begun and ended after this manner, without any great ado within few daies, all the force of the war turned upon Aftyck.

C. Lefius being arrived in the night at Hippo Royal, by the break of the day, led forth with banner displayed in order of battle all his fouldiers and mariners, for to harry and spoil the country. And finding the inhabitants there retchles and careless, and living in incertitude as in time of peace, they did much hurt and annoyed them there. Whereupon the news went in poft to Carthage, let all on a hurry & put them in exceeding great fear. For it was reported, that the Roman Armado was arrived, and that Scipio the General was landed (for the rumour ran before, how he was paffed over already into Sicily,) and became they never descried the flips, nor discovered certainly what K power of men invaded and spoiled the country, they thought the moft and doubted the worst, as fear commonly maketh every thing more than it is. And fo at firit they were only affrighted and terrifyed: but afterwards they grew melancholly and troubled in spirit in their teamps, to think, "That fortune should so much be changed, that they who a little before as noble conquerors had lain encamped with an army before the walls of Rome defeated to fome houfes of enemies, and either by meer force or meer love, held all the States of Italy under their Signory, fhould now themselves see the wheel so turn about, as they were like shortly to behold the wafting and poisling of Aftyck, and the City of Carthage beleiged: a thing that they were never able to endure with that valour and resolution, nor to abide with fuch strength as the Romans had. For the Romans had ever the Commons of Rome: they had alwaies the youth of Latin: ready at L. hand; who until creased more and more the new fry, and daily grew in number to make supply, and to repair & furnish out fo many armies that were defeated. Whereas, their natural people were neither in town nor country fit for service, their aids were waged and hired for money from among the Africans, a nation like to turn upon any accident, & to change with every gale and puff of vain hope, and were besides fable and unfaithful in their promise. For now the Kings already, Syphax, and Maffinna: the one upon conference with Scipio is fecretly alienated from us, in heart, and the other openly revolted in action, and become our moft deadly enemy: fo that there remaineth neither help nor hope for us at all in any place. For neither Mago is able in Gaul to make any commorisons and rebellion nor yet to joyn with Annibal; And as for Annibal himself, he washereft space, and defiaieth daily both in fame and reputation, and also in strength and M forcible means. When their minds being thus diquifed upon themfes and prefent tidings, they were fain to be bewail and lament their woefull fate, the infinant danger recalled them again to confult by what means they might withal and the imminent perils. So they thought good to take matters in all haste both in the City and the countries by, to lend fome to levy and wage the aids of the Africans to fortifie their City, to bring in here of grain, to provide weapons and armor, to rig their navy and to lend it out to Hippo, for to encounter the Roman Armado. Whiles they were devising these courfes, there came at laft a poft with news, that it was Lefius and not Scipio who was set afoot; that there was landed no greater power than for to make rodes into the country for booties only: and as for the main strength of the whole army, it remained still in Sicily: So they had some reipit to breath themselves, & began to address their Embaffies to Syphax, and to other N Princes, for to eftabliih and confirm peace and league between them. They dispatched others also to Philip, who fhould make promife unto him of two hundred talents of silver, in cafe he fould come either into Sicily or Italy. Meflers also were fent as far as into Italy unto their own Generals being there: to will them to raife what troubles they could possibly, for to keep Scipio a work, and hold him back from coming into Aftyck. And unto Mago were fent not only those meffengers aforesaid, but alfo five and twenty long ships of war, fix thouand footmen, eight thouand horfemen even Elephants, and great store of treafure besides for to hire aids, whereby he might advance forward with his forces nearer to Rome, and join with Annibal. Thofe preparations were making, and thofe courfes devifing at Carthage, when as Maffinna upon the brut that went of the arrival of the Roman fleet, began to fear up and roone himself; and accompanied with five few horfemen, came unto Lefius, but in driving fill great booties out of the country, which he found altogether diffurnified of armes, and unprovided of guards and Garrifons for defence. He much complained that Scipio was fo slack in his affairs, and grieved that he had not paffed over ere this time with an army into Aftyck, whiles the Carthaginians were thus affrighted, whiles Syphax was troubled with the wars of the borderers of whom he was thus much perswaded, that if he might have refting time to comphce his own affairs
of his mind, he would not continue fast unto the Romans, nor deal in any thing faithfully and truly with them: willing him to follic the Scipios, and to spur him on and importune him not to stand longer at a bay and make delays. And for his own part, notwithstanding he was daintily of his fathers kingdom, yet he would ereready to affit him with such a power of foot and horse as were worth God amercy advising Lelius withal not to make any longer stay in Africa, forasmuch as he believed verily, that there was a fleet already set out from Carthage, with which in the absence of Scipio, he might not with safety enter into conflict and battle. After this communication, M. Maelius was dismissed, and Lelius the next day looted from Hippo, with his ships laden with pillage and prizes: and being returned into Sicily, declared unto Scipio the counsel and credence that he had from M. Maelius.

About the very same time those ships which were sent from Carthage to Mago, coasting along the Albigians and the Ligurians, arrived at Genoa. It fortuned that Mago at that time lay with his fleet in those parts: who upon the words of the messengers, & the commission to raise as great forces as possibly he could immediately held a council of the Frenchmen and Ligurians, where there were great numbers in those coats, "Wherebefore them all he declared how he was sent unto them for to set them at liberty: and how (as they might see themselves) to that effect he was furnished with new aid and succour from home." But what forces, and how great an army was needful for the managing of the war in hand, it lay in them to determine. As for himself, first and foremost he knew well that there were two Roman armies abroad; the one in France, the other in Tuscany: and that S. Lucullus would join with M. Lucilius: and therefore they themselves were to put many a thousand in arms for to make head against two generals & two compleat armies of Romans. The Frenchmen made answer again, That their will was good enough, and they had an exceeding desire to compass and effect the designs intended: but for accomph the Romans had one camp within their confines, and another in Tuscany near adjoyning, in manner within sight: and peradventure they should be seen in the action to the advantage of the Carthagians; in continuance both armies, as well the one as the other would in all manner of hostility invade their territories: and therefore they desired him to define of the Gauls such things wherein they might stand him in head secretly under hand. As for the Ligurians—because the Romans lay far enough often encamped from their lands & cities, they might dispose themselves as they list: and therefore it was good reason that they should put their young & able men in arms, & bear a part in the managing of the war. The Ligurians rejoined not, Only they cravea suffit of two months,for to take the muffins. In the mean time Mago, having sent away the Gauls, closely took up & profit soldiers throughout their country towns for money. And from the States of France, there was sent secretly provision of victuals of all sorts unto him.

Marcus Lelius led his army of volunteers out of Tuscany into France, and having united his forces unto Lucullus his power, was ready to receive and welcome Mago, if haply he removed out of the Ligurians country neger to the City of Aosta: but in case Mago kept himself quiet in a corner under the Alps, he minded also himself there to keep his standing leaguer about Ariminum, for the guard and defence of Italy.

After the return of C. Lelius out of Africa both Scipio was prick'd forward by the insatiances and persuasions of M. Maelius: and also his followers, seeing great prizes brought out of the enemy's land, and every ship fraught therewith: were mightily incendi'd and set on fire with a burning desire to be transported over thither with all speed possible. But as they were plotting about this enterprise of greater importance, they thought also upon a leffer that came between namely the winning again of the City of Locri, which in the general revolt of all Italy, had sided also with the Carthagians. The first hope that they conceived both to affect and effect this enterprise grew upon a very small matter: by occasion that in the Bruttians country, the whole manner of service was performed by way of robbing and roving, rather than by any ordinary course of war. The Numidians first began, and the Britii soon took it up and seconded them: not much because they would keep the Carthagian company; and do as they did; but for that of their own natural inclination they were prone, and ready enough to follow that course. At last the Roman loundiers also, infected as it were by their example, took delight in robberies: and so far forth as they might have leave of their Captains, would make inroads into the territories of their enemies. It fortuned to that when some of them were gone abroad a plundering, certain Locrians were intercepted, and brought away with them to Rhegium. In which number of escaped, were some carpenters and masons, who as it chanced, were hired to work for the Carthagians in the castle of Locri. There were discovered and known by certain great men, and the principal citizens of the Locrians, who hapned then to live as banished persons in Rhegium such as by the contrary faction that banded with Amilcar and had delivered Locri into his hands, were driven out of the City. These men let no quizzing with them (as commonly their manner is). Who having been long out of their own country) of many matters; and among the rest, how all things fared at home; who told them all accordingly; and therewith, put them in some good hope, that if they might be ransomed, let at large, and sent home again, they wou'd betray the castle unto them: for as much as within it they dwell, and the Carthagians put them in trust of all things there. They therefore, as men that were wonderful desirous to return thither, as well for loved of their native country, as for to be revenge of their adversaries. one of hand paid their ransom: and after they had given order how to work the featt, and in what sort; as also agreed upon
upon the signs and tokens which they should mark, from on high a far off, they were sent back again. Then the exiled Locrians repaired unto Scipio at Syracuse, with whom also were others of the banished persons of Locri: and there they related unto him the promises of the captives afore-said, and put the Consul in very good hope that the effect would be correspondent to their designment. With them were sent two Tribuns and Marshals, with M. Sergius and P. Matusius, with commission to conduct three thousand Toulidors from Rhegium to Locri. Letters also were dispatched unto Q. Plemius the Vice-pretor, for to be assisting in this action. Who being departed from Rhegium, and bearing with them scaling ladders, proportioned to the height of the Castle wall fore-told unto them, about midnight gave a token by fire to those that were to betray the Castle, from that place which they had agreed upon: who being in readiness also, and looking wildly for them, put down likewise ladders of their own, made for the purpose; and in many places I at once received them that climbed up: so as, before there was any alarm heard they let upon the watch of the Carthaginians, fast asleep as they were, and disturbing no such matter: who first were heard to groan as they lay a dying, but afterwards, to make a noise and keep a running and much ado, upon their sudden starting from sleep, all the whiles that they will not what occasion was. At length upon the discovery of the matter, one man wakened another, and every one called aloud to arms: crying out, that the enemies were within the Castle, and the watchmen plain. And without question, the Romans had been put to the worst and defeated quite, being far fewer in number than the enemies, but that there was an outcry and shout set up by them that were without the turrets: which so long as men knew not from whence it came, put them in great fear: and the tumult besides by night made every small and vain thing much greater than it was. By means whereof, the Carthaginians astounded (as if all places had been full of enemies) abandoned all fight, and betook themselves into the other turrets (for two there were dilatant not far afar.) The Townsmen kept possession of the City as the prize and guardian in the minds, for the winners. But out of the two Castles there were light skirmishes every day. Q. Plemius was Captain of the fort and garrison of the Romans, and Amnius over the Carthaginians: and both parts increased their strength, by aids that they had coming unto them from the places adjoining. Until at last Amnius shewed himself in person: and no doubt the Romans had never been able to hold out, but that the whole multitude of the Locrians were called and gathered with the proud government and the crouser organisation of the Carthaginians, took part with the Romans. When intelligence came to Scipio that the Romans were disstressed in Locri, and that Amnius himself was advancing thither: for fear lest the garrison also should be in some hazard (as having no ready means to retire from thence) himself leaving at Messana his brother L. Scipio for the guard of the place, passed over from thence with his vessels down the water, when he espied the current and the tideway to serve for a laer. Likewise Amnius having sent out a vancary of the river Butras (which is not far from the City Locri) to signify unto his men, that by day light they should give a hot charge with all their might and main upon the Locrians and Romans both, whiles he himself made an assault upon the Town behind, not looking for him, but wholly turned away and amased upon that other tumult. Now when as early in the morning he found the skirmish begun, he was not willing to put himself within the Castle, for fear of pelting with over great a company the place so frighted and so small receipts: and for to scale the walls they had brought no ladders with them. So causing all their carriages and packs to be piled up in one heap together: he presented all his footmen in battle array before the City, to terrify his enemies within: and with the Numidian horsemen he made a bravado under the walls, and rode about the City. Whiles the ladders and other ordnance meere to give an assault, were in preparing and making ready, he approached on horseback nearer to the wall, and for to view on which part above the rest, he might give the assault: and there he was shot with a quarrel discharged from an engine called a Scorpion, which happened to be planted next unto him. And being affrighted at this so dangerous an occurrence, he commanded to find the retreat, and fortified his camp aloud with out the peril and shot of any dart. Now was the Roman fleet from Messana arrived at Locri, and had the day afore them: so as they were all set a land, and entered the City before the sun setting. The morrow after, the Carthaginians began to skirmish out of the Castle: and Amnius being now provided of ladders, and having all things else in readiness needful for the assault, came under the walls: with that, all upon a sudden the Romans set open a gate and falled out upon him, who feared nothing less than any such accident: and thus setting upon them at unawares, flew two hundred of them. Amnius perceiving that the Consul was there, retired with the rest into the camp; and after he had sent a messenger to them that were within the Castle, willing them to shift for themselves, in the night heason he dislodged and departed. They also who were in the fort, after they had set fire on the houses which were in their keeping, of purpose by that tumult to caufe the enemy to make some stay and tarry behind, ran away in manner of a rout and before it was night with good footmanship overtook their own company. Scipio seeing as well this Castle quit by the enemy, as their camp also empty, called the Locrians to a general assembly, and gave them a sharp check, and rebuked them for their revolt. The principal Captains & Authors of that trepulous he put to death: and gave away their goods to the chief heads of the other faction, in reward and consideration of their singular fidelity to the Romans. But as concerning the publickstate of the Locrians, he laid he would neither make nor meddle therewith, either ingiving to them, or taking ought at all from them. But will to them to send their Embassadors to...
A Rome, and look what the Senate would award in equity, that fortune they should abide. This one thing he was well assured of, that how illsoever they had deceived of the people of Rome, yet they should live in better condition under the ignomy of the Romans, provoked to anger as they were, than they had already under the government of Carthaginians, pretending love and amity as they did.

Then himself in person cut over to Messana with those forces that he brought with him, leaving Plemminius his Lieutenants, and that power that won the Cattle, in garrison for the defence of the City, The citizens of Locri had been so profoundly misled, and loquaciously handled by the Carthaginians, after they were revolted from the Romans, that it seemed they could be content to abide any small wrongs, not only patiently but also willingly, and in manner with a glad heart. But to far

Now exceeded Plemminius, Amilcar, the former Captain of the garrison, so far went the Roman garrison, before the Carthaginians in wickedness and avarice, that a man would have thought they had drove together who should pass the other in finitum vice and ungodliness, and not in texts of arms and prowess. For neither Captains nor soldiers forbade to practice upon the poor Townsmen any enormous facts, which were to make the great and mighty men odious unto the poor and meaner persons. They wrought and committed shameful villainies upon their very bodies; with force and with malice, and enraged as mortal enemies one with another. Plemminius had the chief rule and command of all. As for the soldiers, some were under him, such as himself had brought from Rhegium; others were commanded by the Tribunes or Colonels. Now it chanced that one of Plemminius's officers had stolen a silver cup out of a Townsmith's house, and ran away when he had done; and the men out of fury and hate and counseled to come in the way, and to meet with Sergius and Matthias at the two Tribunes or Colonels first in the face, Whereupon the cup was taken from him by the commandment of the Tribunes; and thence a rote first a brand, and some hard words were dealt between: and from them consequent they went to open clamors and loud outcries; until at length they came very near between the soldiers of Plemminius and of the Tribunes; and according as they came still one or other in time to help their own side, both the number and the riot increased at once. In the end, Plemminius his men went away with the blows, and moaned themselves unto Plemminius running to him with open mouth and great indignation, flowing their bloody wounds: and reporting before, what opprobrious words to his

D d d 2 what
what foul and shameful pranks he had plaied afo, with his friends and allies, proceeding of hot and covetousnes; the fame now in his fett and furious rage he multiplied and wrought in divers forts: so as he brought infamy, hatred and obloquy, not only upon himfelf, but also made the world to think hardly, and to speak much blame of the General himfelf.

Now drew the time neer of the folemn election of Magiftrats; when as there came letters to Rome from Pub. Licinius the Conful, the tenor whereof was to this effect: That himfelf and his army were foened with a grievous ficknef; and that he could not pooffibly have ftaid there, but that the violent contagion and influence of the fame malady, if not greater & more grievous, had not affained the enemies. Seeing that therefore himfelf was not able to come unto the election, he was minded, if it might to ftaid with the good liking of the Lords of the Senate, to nominat as Dictator Q. Cecilius Metellus, for to hold the forefaid election. And as for the army of Q. Cecilius, it was for the good of the Common-weal that it fhou'd be caffed and dif discharged, fince that there was no employment of them at this prefent; confidering that Annobal was retir'd already with his forces into his flanding camp, and taken up his winting harbors, and again the pellicence grew fo hot in that league of his, that if they were not dif discharged betimes, there was not one of them like to escape and remain alive. In these points, the LL. of the Senate granted out their commifion unto the Conful, for to do according as himfelf thought to hand either with his own credit and truitt committed unto him, or the benefit of the Common-weal.

At the very fame time there was a certain religious opinion that had pooffled of a fuddain the whole City, by occafion of a certain Prophefye found in the books of Sibylla. When fearch was made into them and they diligently perued, about the raining of ftones, which happen'd fo often X that year, The Prophefye ran in this form: "At what time ever an enemy of a ftrange and for- t' rain country, shall happen to make war upon Italy, he may be chafted out of Italy and veng'd, if the goddes difpleafe Cybele of Ida, were brought to Rome from Peffimus. This Prophefye found by the Decemvirs moved the Senate the more for that, the Embafadors alo who carried the oblation and prefent aforefaid to Delphos, related; That as they themselves facrificed unto Pythius Apollo, all the inward of the beast killed for facrifice, appeared good and fhewed prosperity: and the Oracle besides gave anwser, That there was a far greater victory toward the people of Rome than that was, out of the iopples whereof they brought gifts and offered to the God at this prefent. And for to make up and fully accoranfe their hopes, they alledged withal, how P. Scipio in demanding the Province of Afirick, did prefage (as it were) before-hand in his mind the final end of this war. To the end therefore, that they might with more peffed obtain this honorable victory thus fore-tokened, and offering (as it were) it self, by all lucky prefagings of men and Oracles of the Gods, they thought and devised some mean to transport the faid goddeses to Rome.

The people of Rome in thofe days was well contented with no States of Afia: because the LL. calling to mind, how long ago, upon occafion of a ficknef, and to purchase health unto the people, Elephalus was fend for likewise out of Greece, before it was joyned with the City of Rome in any league or fociety; and confidering withal, that there was fome friendship and amity begun already with King Attalus (in regard of the common war againft Philip) and that he would be ready to do for the people of Rome, whatsoever lay in his power, they reolved to fend unto him an honorable Embafilage to wit, M. Valerius Licinius, who had been twice Conful, and had war'd in Greece; M. Cecilius Metellus, who had been a Procurer, and Servius Sulpicius Galba: likewise an Edile, and two late Quo. Lucullus, C. Tremellus Flaccus, and M. Valerius Falco. For these five, they affign'd five Quinqueremes or Galleys of five ranks of oars, that according to the credit and dignity of the people of Rome, they fhould make a voyage into thofe Lands, with whom they were to win a reputation and Majesty to the Roman name and State, Thefe Embafadors, as they held on their courfe toward Afia, fo soon as they were put on Land at Delphos, repaired directly to the Oracle, for to know what good hope it might afford unto them and the people of Rome, of effecting that buifinef and commifion, about the which they were fend forth. And this anwser by re- port, was returned to them again. That they fhould obtain in their defire, and effectuate their purpofe by the means of Attalus the King: advising them moreover, That when they had con- weighed the faid goddeses down to Rome, they fhou'd take order, that the very beft man of all others in the City, fhould give her lodging and entertainment. But to proceed, to Pergamus they came unto the King. Who having courteoufly received and welcomed the Embafadors, conduced them into Phrygia to Peffimus, and delivered into their hands that sacred and holy Rome, which the inhabitants of the country faid, was the Mother of the Gods, and willed them to carry it to Rome. Then M. Valerius Falco was fend back from the other Embafadors to advertis them at Rome, that the goddes was come, and that they fhould seek out the beft man in all the City, for to receive and lodge her in his house with all devotion that might be.

Now was Q. Cecilius Metellus nominated Dictator by the Conful in the Britains country, againft the folemn election of the Magiftrats. His army was disbanded and cafled and L. Vettorius Philo created major of the horfe, Then the Dictator held the Election. In which were cho'en Confuls, M. Cornelius Cebegeus & P. Sempronius Tarquentius; his abillence, who at that time had the government of Greece. Atter them were elected Pretors T. Claudius Nero M. Martius Radus, L. Servianus Libo, & M. Pompeius Mabo. When the Election was finifhed, the Dictator signed up his place of magiftracy. The Roman Games were thrice renued and fet forth, & the plays Polybius seven times exhibited, The Ediles of the chair were Cn, and L. Cornelius Lentuli both. This Elenus go-
About when the Province of Spain: created he was in his ablence, and abient as he bare that dignity. The Adles of the Commons were T. Claudius Aelia, and M. Junius Pennus. That year M. Marcellus dedicated the Temple of Vesta, near the gate Capena, the seventeenth year after it was vowed by his father at Clastidium in Gallia, during the time of his first Confulship. There died also this year a Blame of Mps, namely, M. Aemilius Regillus.

For the last two years the affairs in Greece had not been well followd, Philip therefore taking the vantage, that the Aiolians were forlorn of the Romans (the only aid upon which they trusted) forced them both to sit for peace, and to contract the same under what conditions and capitulations himself pleased: which if he had not made the better half, all that ever he could to accomplish in good time, P. Sempronius the Vice-Consul, sent to succeed Sulpicius in the government, had utterly deated him whiles he waged war with the Aiolians, considering, that he was ten thousand foot and a thousand horse strong, and had five and thirty tall ships of war, headed with breaen pearls: before a power of no small importance, I allow you, to aid and assist his allies. For the said peace was not to be loon concluded, but news came to the King, that the Romans were arrived at Dyrracchium; that the Parthines and other neighbour nations, upon hope of change and a new world, began to rise and rebel: and that Dimullum was already begeged and assailed: for to that City the Romans bent their power (in stead of aiding the Aiolians unto whom they were sent) upon high displeasure and indignation, that without their advice and consent, yea, and against the tenor of the accord and covenant they had made a peace with the King, Philip upon these advertisements, for fear lest some farther troubles might arise among the nations and states there bordering; took long journeis, and sped him pace toward Aegonnis. Thither Sempronius was retired, after he had sent Lestorius his Lieutenant with part of his forces and thirteen ships into Aegonnis to visit the country, and to see what in those times he stood, yea, and to disturb and break the peace if possibly he could, Philip waited and spoiled the territories and lands of the Apeoloniis, and approaching the City with his whole power, bad battall to Sempronius the Roman General. But after he saw once that he kept himfelf quiet within the City, standing only upon his guard and defense of the walls disturbing at his own strength, as not able to force the City by assault; devious withal to entertain peace with the Romans as well as with the Aiolians, if he could; if not, yet at leastwife to have truce with them: without effecting any more (seeing he could but only rub an old stone, & renew carkned mantle upon fresh contention & quarrel) he returned into his realm.

About the same time, the Epirots weary of long wars, after they had first founded the disposition and mind of the Romans that way, sent their Embassadors unto Philip, to treat about a general and universal peace: affirming, that they had afforded hope of an honorable end and agreement, if his highness would vouchsafe to come a parly with P. Sempronius the Roman General. And sooner they obtained thus much of him, as to pass over into Epirus, for the King himself was not unwilling thereunto. Now there is a City in Epirus, named Phainice: there the King after communication had first with Erophi, Dardai and Philippus, Pretors of the Epirots entered into an interview also with P. Sempronius. At this solemn meeting and conference, Aminander the King of the Athamanis was present, and other Magistrates of the Epirots and Aetamans. And first Philippus the Pretor began to speak and request as well King Philip as the Roman General, to make an end of all wars, and likewise to give the Epirots leave to do the same. P. Sempronius propounded and set down the articles and conditions of peace in this wise, That the Parthis, Dimiullum, Bargonum and Eugenimium, should belong to the Seignior of the Romans, notwithstanding that they had obtained of the Senat by their Orators sent to Rome, to be annexed to the dominion of Philip King of Macedonia. When they were agreed for peace upon those capitulations, there were compiled within the league on the Kings behalf, Praetor King of Bithynia, the Achaeni the Beotians, the Thelatians the Aetamans, and the Epirots: and on the Romans the Iliones, K. Attalus, Plemaria, Nabig the Tyrant of the Lacedemonians, the Eleans the Meffenians, and the Athenians, And hereof were instruments and Indentures ingrosed and sealed, and truce made for two months, until such time as Embassadors were sent to Rome, that the people might by their suffrages approve of the conditions in that form. So all the tribes in general granted the same, because the war now being intended and bent against Africk, they were willing for the present to be discharge of all other troubles.

P. Sempronius having concluded peace, departed unto Rome for to enter his Conuffling. Now when M. Cornelius and P. Sempronius were Conuls (which was the 15 year of the Punic war) the Provinces were affignd to them in this manner, namely, unto Cornelius, Heruria, with the old army: unto Sempronius the Brutii, with the new legions that he was to enrol, And to the Pretors in this wise were the Provinces allotted that M. Marius should be Lord chief justice of the citizens pleas, and L. Scribonius Libo have the juridiction of foreigners, together with the government of Gallia; Item that M. Pomponius Maro should rule Sicily, and T. Claudia Nero fit as L. Deputy in Sardinia, As for P. Scipio, his commission was renewed and continued for one year longer, with the command of that army and Armado which he had conducted before. Likewise P. Licinius had his commission newly fesed for to have the charge of the Brucians country, with the power of two legions, as long as the Conful thought it good for the Common-wealth: and he should remain in the government of that Province. Also M. Licinius & Sp. Luteciis, with the assistance of those two legions which they had defended Gallia against Mago, continued still in their room for another year. Moreover Cn. Otho remained in place, with commision, that
when he had delivered up Saroing & the legion there unto T. Claudius, himself should with 40 long ships scour the seas & guard the coasts along the river within those limits, for which the senator had given order, unto M. Pomponius the Pretor in Sicily were appointed the two legions of the Cannian army. And T. Quintinius and C. H. Tabulis Vice-pretors, were to govern as they did the former, the one Tarentum, and the other Capua, and both of them were allowed the old armies. As for the government of Spain, it was put to question before the people, what two Vice-pretors their pleasure should be lent into that Province. And all the Tribuns with one accord gave their grant that the same Pro-consults L. Cor. Lentulus, and L. Manlius Acidinius should sit as Governors in those Provinces as the year before. The Consuls began now to muster and order, as well to enroll new legions for to be sent into the Britanni country, as also to supply and fulfill the number of the other armies according as they were directed by the Senate. And albeit Africa I was not yet openly declared a Province, but dissolved by the LL. of the Senate, (of purpose I believe, that the Carthaginem should have no inking and intelligent other either of behind hand) yet the whole City was in good hope, and made full reckoning that this year the war would be determined and fought out in Africa, and to an end for ever of those troubles. This persuasion of theirs had perplexed their hearts with much superlition: and very forward men were, both to report, and all to believe many prodigies and strange wonders, which daily were blown abroad & divulged more and more; to wit that there were two lions seen, that in the night season between Whitsun it seemed light day: that in Setia there was a burning torch or blazing Star reaching from the East to the West, that in Taracina the gate, and in Aspendus was also the gate that the wall in divers parts were blasted and shaken with lightning; lastly, that in the Temple of Juno Sospita in K Laurovium, there was a noise and a rumbling heard, with a horrible crack. For the expiation and purging of these prodigies, there was a supplication holden for one day: and a novendial solemn fast was also celebrated, because it had rained stones out of the sky. Besides all this, there was some contemplation about the receiving of some ends. For other and besides that M. Furius one of the Embassadors was returned & brought word that this would be very shortly in Italy, there came a new messenger with tidings that she was now already at Taracina. This deliberation (about no small matter, namely, whom they should give judgement to be the bell man simply in the whole City) held the Senate much annoyed: considering that every one for his part was more delirious of true victory, and pre-eminence in this behalf, than of any promotions, honors or dignities whatsoever, awarded unto them by the voice and suffrages either of Senators or Commoners. In conclusion, L. thejudged P. S. Porcius, the fons of C., who was killed in Spain a very young man, and as yet not of full age to be a Quoctor, the very bell man without exception in the whole City. Upon what motives of his familiar vitiates they were indicted to declare him, as I could willingly have delivered unto policy what had been set down in record by the ancient and hift writers of those times! I will not impeach mine own conceits, in speaking of a thing which hath been dead and buried so long time. This P. Claudinius was commanded to go accompanied with all the dames of the City as far as to Oppia, there to meet the Goddess, and then to take her forth of the ships, and being one day on land to declare her unto the foreign ladrams for to be devoutly carried to the City. Now when the ship was arrived at the mouth of the river Tiber, he, according as he was directed went aboard in a pinnace & landed into the sea where he took the Goddess at the Priests hands, and brought her on shore. And the dames which were the noblest and chief of the City among whom C. Quintinius was the Lordly most renowned, received her, This Claudioth, who before time (as it is reported) was of no better name & fame than the should be, now by this religious and devout ministry, was for her chastity and continency recommended better to poityery. These women carried this Goddess charily & daintyly in their hands, and took her by turns, one in course after another. All the City came forth by heaps to meet her: and along the streets as she was conveyed they stood at the doors with men, making sweet perfumes & burning frankincense; yea & praised unto her, that she would willingly enter the City of Rome, and continue propitious & gracious unto it. Thus they transported her into the Temple of Jove, within mount Pala- tine the same day after the Ides of April, which was always after kept as a festival holiday. The people with great frequency brought gifts unto P. Aquillius, which they offered unto the Goddess & consecrated a Lettiums; and those places called Legems came up then & were first inluritioned. Now when the Council were busy and fast about the many of those legions which were in the Provinces there were certain of the Senators began to a sniper & blow into their heads, That the time was now come, no longer to abide those things while having the troubles and dangerous days they made a full & bold proceeding, considering that now at length the good of the Gods, all fear was still, and the dangers oversown. At which words the Lords of the Senate being ingreat expectation & attentive to hear out the rest they went on and said, That those 2 colonies of the Latins, which called Q. Furius and Q. Titus were Consuls related to let out founders, now altho' for six years had interred their service in the wars as esteemed from warfare altogether, and enforced that immunity as an honor & reward for their good deeds; whereas in the meantime other loyal & obedient a lies were by mutiny every year continued, wafted and confounded, in performance of their faithful allegiance and dutiful service to the Empire of Rome. At this speech, the Lords called not to much to mind a thing long foreseen and altho' worn out of remembrance as they were provoked to anger and grew very hot, & therefore would not suffer the Consuls to pass any other matter before, but decreed that they should peremptorily
A peremptorily convert to Rome the Magistrates, and ten principal citizens out of every of the Colonies, to wit, Nepos, Satrium, Ardea, Anx, Anx, Confoli, Sena, Sestus, Circus, Narbon, and Internamns, (for these were the Colonies touch'd in that point above-named) and to lay upon them every one a double levy of footmen, to that number and proportion which they were charg'd with, when they left out mott in the service of the Roman wars, ever since that the enemies were come into Italy; besides one hundred and twenty honomcn a piece. And in case any one of those Colonies were not able to make up that full number of horsemen, then to allow to every man of arms three footmen; Provided always that for foot and horse both, such should be chosen and no other, as were most substantial and of the best beaviour, and bent to what place toere there was need of supply even out of Italy. And if any of them refused this to do, then the Consuls had commission to lay the Magistrates and deputies aforesaid, and not to give them audience in the Senat, (although they should require the same) before they had performed those importunations. Moreover those Colonies were enjoyned to pay every year a tax or tribute, and that there should be rais'd and levied, one Aes in the thousand; of their substance by the month; and be alien'd in those Colonies according to the rate and rule that the Roman Consuls should let down, which they gave order to be the same that was laid upon the people of Rome: and the information thereof to be exhibited and presented at Rome by the warm Seniors of the foresaid colonies, before they went out of their office. By virtue of this Act of the Senate, the Magistrates and chief men of those Colonies were sent for, and compelled to repair to Rome; and when the Consuls demanded of them, those footmen and tribute aforesaid, they began all of them (but some more than others) to recite and gain lay it, yea, and flatly deny, that so many mott could possibly be made, my, hardly were they able, although they should strain themselves to furnish the bare integer number, according to the usual proportion and old precept order: requiring and beseeching them, to give them leave to have reconu to the Senat, and there to make their releas: neither have we (say they) so much offended as thus hardly to be used, nor deferred worldly to be undone. And say, we must needs miscarry and be call away; yet neither our offence, nor the wrath of the people of Rome can force us to find more footmen than we have, But the Cott, restless in their purpose, commanded the Delegates and Committees of those Colonies, to lay still at Rome; and their Magistrates only to repair home and take mutter: for all such as (unlesse the full number of footmen, which was let down unto them were brought to Rome) there was no Consul there would grant them audience in the Senat. Thus when all hope was cut off to have access into the Senat, and to obtain a releas: thes twelve Colonies took a levy and enrolled the full number, Which was no hard matter to be done, considering how their youth was increas'd in that time of long vacation and intermission of warfare. There was likewise another matter (by as long silence forlet and well neer quite forgotten) proposed newly again by M. Volcrinus Lexinius, who said, that it was meet, and good reason, that those private perçons which had crediter forth their moneys to the Common-wealth, when himself and M. Claudius were Consuls, should now at last be satisfied, contented, and paid: neither ought any man to marvel why he (notwithstanding the City were bound for the debt) had a special care and regard to call upon them for to have it discharged: for, besides that the Consul for that year being, when those lones of money were granted, was in some fort properly obliged to fee that credit were kept: him elfe more over was the very man that made the motion of taking up those moneys, in regard that the City chamber was to empty of treasure, and the Commons purify to bare of money, that they were forc'd able to pay the ordinary tribut. This overture made by the Consul, was well taken of the Senati, who willing the Consuls to put up this matter to the house: and so they entered in Act and driecte, that the said debts should be discharged at three payments; whereof the first should be made present by the Consuls then in place: the other twain, by the Consuls that were to succeed in the third and fifth years next ensuing.

But there fell out one new object and occurrence, that drowned all other cares besides, and wholly possetted the heads of the Senate. By occasion of the miracles and calamities of the Locrians, who, e'to before that day, they had no knowledge nor intelligence and now were by the coming of their Embassiators declared and divulged. Neither were the people provoked to choler and anger, so much as the lewd behavior and wicked pranks of Q. Plemantius, as the slackness and negligence or else the plainness and commonness of Scopio, in dealing between them. These embassiators of the Locrians, ten in number, presented themselves before the Consuls sitting in the open Hall called Convitations: and they were in homely weeds and coarse apparel, looking pale and poor on the matter; and carrying withal in their hands as tokens of humble suppliants, certain branches of the Olive, according to the manner of the Greeks, fell down prostrate upon the ground before the Tribunal, with piteous weeping and sorrowful lamentation. The Consuls demanded who they were: and they made answer again, That they were Locrians, who had endured at the hands of Q. Plemantius the Lieutenant and the Roman footmen, such indignities, as the people of Rome would not find in their hearts, that the very Carthaginians themselves should suffer and sustain, beseeching them to do them this favour, as to give them leave to have access to the Lords of the Senate, there to make their mone and complain of their woe and distresses. Being admitted into the Senate and audience given them, then the ancientest man of the company spake in this wise, "Right honorable (my LL.) I know full well (quoth he) how important it would be and available to the due estimate and weight of our complaints and grievances, in case ye were informed..."
informed sufficiently and knew the truth, as well in what fort Locris was first betrayed unto An-

H: me, as also after what order the garrison of Anabou was thence expelled, and the City restored

again under your obedience. For, if it may appear that the trepids of our revolt, cannot be im-
pented any way unto the publick counsel and content of our City; but contrary-wise, that our re-

turn under yourignory and dominion was not only performed with our good will, but also

first wrought and compassed by the means of our helping hand and valour: ye have the greater

carne to be discontended and displeased with your Lieutenant and fouldiers, for offering us(your

good and loyal allies) such abus1e, to cruel wrongs and unworthy indignities. As for the cause

of our double revoltment and change, I think it good to defer the speaking thereof to another

time, and that for two reasons: the one is, that the matter might be heard in the presence of P.

Septo, who recovered Loci, & was an eye-witness of all that we have done, be it good or bad; I

the other is this, that howsoever we be, yet we should not have abidden such calamities in fut

as we have supported them, We cannot disfemble (my LL.) not conceal, how all the while

that we had the Carthaginian garrison within our City, we suffered many toil outrages and

famous villanies both at Ancil,or his hands (the Captain of the garrison) as also from the Nu-

midians and Africans; but what are they in comparison of the abus1e & indignities that we en-

sure at this day? May it please you (my LL.) to give us the hearing of those things with pati-

ence, that I shall utter even against my will with grievance. All the world at this day is in fu-

ience & standeth in great doubt, whether to see you or the Carthaginians, the Sovereign Lords

of the whole earth. But if they were to weigh and counterpoise the Roman and Carthaginian

Empire, by those injuries which have been offered to us of Locris, either from them or your gar-

sions; and which at this day, more than ever before, we still endure: there is none but would rather

make choice of them to be their sovereigns than the Romans. And yet consider, pray you,

and see how well affected the Locris are towards you: when we were nothing so hardly used

as, or ill entreated by the Carthaginians, yet we had recourse unto your Captain General: and

now that we are disunited of our garrison, and put to more sorrow than if we were professed ene-
mies, yet we have run no whither with our complaints but unto our selves, Either shall you (my

LL.) vouchsafe to have composition of our miserable state, or else we see not what we have left

wherein we should pray unto the immortal Gods, for to be good and propagate unto us. 

Ple-

minius Lieutenant to the General Serpo, was sent with a strong garrison and power of men, to

recover Locris out of the hands of the Carthaginians and with the very same garrison he left L

there; but this Lieutenant of yours (for, the extremity of miseries and afflictions wherewith we

are driven, maketh us bold and put forth courage in to speak our minds freely finding no

all in him of a man, my Lords, but the bare shape and outward apperance of a Roman citizen,

unless it be the habit of apparel which he weareth, and the sound of the Latin tongue which he

speaketh. A very plague he is & no better, a notorious & ugly beast, like many others, which som-
times (if old tales and fables be true) hangeth the narrow tears between us and Sicily, for to de-

stroy all passagers that failed by. Who if he should have been content himself alone to have pra-

fised & wrought upon us your allies, all malicious acts & pranks, of wickedness, of filthy lust, &

greedily covetousness we would peradventure in all patience & long suffrance, have filled up

that one gulf and pit were it never to deep, & satisfied one gorge never to unsatiable. But now

so great a delight & pleasure hath he taken that all lewd & licentious parts all shameful acts and

villanies should be commonly practised & in every place committed, that he hath made all your

Centinseau very Pleminius, & your fouldiers as bad as himself. All of them can skill now of

robbing, roiling, spoiling, beating, wounding, and killing: they are all good at force of dames and

ladies of honor, at ravishing and deflowering of young virgins, at abasing (against kind) of young

lings, free born and well defended, whom they pull perforce from between the arms, and out of

the very bosomen of their parents. Daily is our City assaulted, and taken; daily is it sacked and

piled, night and day, there is no place free, but ringeth again, with the piteous flakies and lamen-
table plaints and cries of women and children, harried and carried away in every place. He that

were a stranger to these things, and knew not, might wonder well enough, how either we

can possibly hold out in suffering such outrages, or they which are the doers, not yet be satisfied

and full of committing so great wrongs and injuries. For neither will my tongue and utterance

serve to deliver, nor needful is it and expedient for you to hear every thing in particular, what

we have suffered. But in general I will compile and knit up altogether. I will abide by it that

there is not one house throughout all Locris, I dare avouch there is no petition either one or other,

exempt from the wrongs that he hath done, I say & hard to it, that there is no kind of wicked-

ness, no manner of filthy lust & uncleanness, no untastable avance besides, that he hath not affli-

t to practi8e upon as many as were capable thereof, & fit subjects to work upon, Hardly can a man

de\i8e and think, whether of these two mischiefs incident to a City be more desetiable, either

when the enemies force it by assaile in time of war, or when a petulent & cruel tyrant oppre8ee

it by force & arms during peace. All calamities we endure before, that Towns won and lost are

put unto. And now at this hours, more than ever (my LL.) Pleminius hath perpetrated upon us,

our children & our wives, all those execrable villanies, that the most inhuman, cruel & outrage-

ous tyrants can devise to exercite upon those subjects, whom they keep down with oppression &
tread under foot, Yet one thing there is (right honorable) whereby both sense of religion imprin-

ented & engrained naturally in our minds, constrains us to make particular complaint by speciality, 

and
**The nine and twentieth Book of T. Livius.**

A

"and also our desire is, that ye should have the hearing, yea, and to afoil and discharge your Common-wealth of the Temple of concience, in cause ye think it to meet and requisite, For we have observed and lain with our eyes, with what devotion and ceremomie reverence ye not only honor and worship the Gods of your own, but also receive and entertain those of strangers and foreigners. We have in our City a Chappel of Preferpina, concerning the holiness of which house, I suppose verily, that ye have heard some report and fame, during the war of King Pyrenous, who in his return out of Sicily, passing along the sea side with his fleet by Locri, among other shameful villanies and outrages which he committed against our City in deligent of us, and for our fidelity shewed toward you, pilled also and robbed the treasure of this Preferpina, which to that day had never been touched by any man whatsoever. And when he had so done, he embarked the money, and sent it away by water, but journeyed himself by land. But see what hapned my LL, hereupon! His whole navy the morrow after, was all even toslid, split, & torn a pieces in a most hideous guilt and horrible tempest, save only those ships wherein that sacred treasure was belowed, which were cast upon our coast & driven thence, Whereupon this King, as proud & fierce a Prince as he was, being taught by that great and harmful loss, & to believe that there were Gods in heaven that ruled all-mad diligent search for all the said monies, and caused the same to be brought back again, and laid up in the treasry of Preferpina. And yet for all that, never sped he for in any thing that he went about, from that day forward. Hunted he was and chased clean out of Italy, and coming by chance one night, & entering unadvisedly the City of Argos, he died of a sudden, and did honored death, and not withstanding your Lieutenant, your Colonels, and knight Marius had heard of this and a thousand more inch instances & examples which were recounted unto you, (not for to amplify and let out with the highest the great religion and holiness of the place; but as we and our ancestors have had right evident proof, and that full oftentimes to show the manifeft power and piuliane of that goddes) yet were they so hardly as to lay their theeveth and sacrilegious hands upon those treasures, that were violent and not to be touched; and so by that cursed prize and booty have polluted themselves, their houses, and your soldiers. Whole service take heed my LL, as ye tender your selves and your credit, how ye employ either in Italy or in Africa, in any of your affairs and wars there; before ye purge and expiate this foul and heinous fault: for fear lest they make amends, and pay for this detestable forfeit, not only which their own blood, but also with some publick loss & calamity of the whole State. And even already my LL, the ire and displeasure of the goddes hath been well felt upon your Captains and soldiers both; & at this present day continueth fill, Sunday times they have been together by the sea, and filled one against another with banners displayed, Perminus the Captain bare up one side, and two Marhalls or military Tribuns another. Nevertought they more fiercely & sharply with the Carthaginians in the field than amongst themselves in furies at the sword point. And through their furious rage they had given Aemul, good opportunity and vantage to regain Locri into his own hands; but that Sego, whom we sent for, came in the mean time upon him. But peradventure some will say, this madness and fury haneth and remorseth the soldiers only, who are tainted with the foresaid sacrilege, and no power at all of the goddes hath been shewed in punishing the leaders and captains themselves. Nay I wot, in them it hath most evidently appeared, The Tribuns have been beaten with rods by the Lieutenant & the Lieutenant again, being laid for by the said Tribuns, and caught in a train, hath not only been mangled all his body over, but when they had cut off his nose, and crot his ears, was left for dead in the place. And afterwars, when the Lieutenant was recovered and cured of his hurts, he first imprisoned the Tribuns, then scourged them; & after he had marryed them, & put them to all exorbitant tortures that might be devilled against bondslaves, he put them to death & when they were dead, would not suffer them to be entered. Thus ye see how the goddes hath punished and taken vengeance of them that have pill'd and robbed her Temple: & never will give over to torment and harry them with all manner of furies and hellish hands, before the sacred money be again belowed in the chiefs & colors of her treasury. Our ancestors long ago, tu time of grievous and cruel war between them and the Crotonians, because the Temple standeth without the City, were desirous to remove that treasure and money from thence, into the City. But in the night there was a voice heard from out of the shrine, that they should hold their hands off; for that the goddes herself knew well enough how to defend her own Temple. And became upon this warning they made it a matter of concience, & were afraid to touch the treasure from thence, they would needs call a strong wall about the said Temple: & when it was brought up to a good height from the ground, behold, suddainly at once all the work came tumbling down. But both now, and oftentimes besides, hath this goddes either guarded her seat & chappel, or else if it hath been any way violated, the hath been grievously revenged by some fearful example of them that have feeming to offer violence to the same. Now for the wrongs that we acharge, she is not alone neither is there any other but your selves (my Lords,) to right us, and revenge our quarrel. You are they whom we the unto unto your protection only in all humble manner, we have recourse, And all one is to us, whether ye inflict Locri to be under that Lieutenant and that garison or yeld us unto Aemul in his anger, and to the Carthaginians, for to wreak their teen upon us & our threats. Neither require we, that you should credit and believe our complaint of him that is not now in place without liberty of his answer, & pleading for himself. Let him come hardly; let him be at the hearing himself, and spare not, let him in Gods name clear

B
and acquit himself of the can. If when all is done and said it can be proved, that he hath left un-

the mischiefs against us, that one man can devise to do unto another, we will be content to

endure all those miseries once again (if it were possible) which we have suffered al-

ready, yea & to hold and declare him guilty of all offences done both to God and man.

When the Embassadors had laid abroad those matters, and Q. Fabius demanded of them whether

they had complained unto P. Scipio, and uttered these their griefs before him, they made an-

swer and said, That they had sent Embassadors unto him, but he was busy in making prepara-

tions for the wars, and was either too far already into Affrick, or upon his voyage ready to

take the seas within few days: and they had seen by good experience, in how great favour the

Lieutenant, Pleniunus, stood with his general: and namely, they were not ignorant how Scipio

after he had heard the matter between the Tribuns and him, committed them to prison: but as for

the Lieutenant, who was as guilty as the other, if not more, him he let there fill in his full

authority. Now after that the Embassadors were willing to go forth of the Temple where the

Senat sate, the chief LL., of the Senat began with biting words to inveigh bitterly against Scipio

as well as Pleniunus. But above all others, Q. Fabius bidden at him and said, That he was born

even to corrupt and mar all military discipline. Thus (quoth he) in Spenall we have lost more

by mutiny of our own foulouders, than by the wars with our enemies: for why? after a strange

and foreign manner, and according to the guile of Kings, one while he cocked his foulouders

and suffered them to have their will and head too much; otherwhiles he would be overharp

and cruel to them. After which rough words, he came upon them both thus with heavy and

harsh a sentence, namely, That Pleniunus the Lieutenant by his consent should be had away

bound in chains to Rome, and there clapt up in prison, until his case were heard, and judicially

determined: and in case those challenges were true, that the Locrians have commended against

him, he should be put to death in prison, and his goods be confiscate and forfeited to the cham-

ber of the City. As for P. Scipio, that he premeditated to depart out of his province without com-

munion and direction from the Senat, he should be called home: and the Tribuns of the Com-
muns dealt withal, to prefer a bill unto the people for his deprivation, and to put him besides

his place of government. As touching the Locrians, his opinion was, That the Senat should

give them their dispatch, and return them this answer: First, as touching the wrongs that they

complained of, it was not the will and pleasure neither of the Senat nor of the people of Rome

that they were done: who wished with all their hearts they had been undone: Item, that they I

acknowledged them to be good men, to be their friends and allies, and fo would accept of them

and call them. As to their children, their wives and other goods taken from them whatsoever,

their mind was that they should be restored again: Item, that enquiry should be made what

sums of money were taken out of the treasury of Propontis, and that two-fold restitution

should be made and laid up there in head of it: Item, that there should be a solemn magistary for

critics celebrated for amends and expiation of that sin: but so, as the college first of the Priests

and Bishops should be consulted with, and their advice taken in that behalf, (considering the

sacred treasure was dishonored, laid open and violated) namely, what manner of expiations and

clemency were to be used, to what Gods, and with what bounties they should sacrifice: Finally:

that all the foulouders which were at Locri should be transported over into Sicily: and in their

rooms four cohorts of allies from out of the Latin Nation should be brought to lye in garrison

there. But every Senator could not be asked his opinion and sentence that day, by reason of

their difference and disagreement of minds so highly incensed: some in favour, other in disavour of

Scipio. For besides the freed part of Pleniunus, and the calamity & oppression of the Locrians, they

began to speak against the apparel of the General himself. "How he went not like a foulounder

and a warrior, no, nor so much as like a Roman: walking up and down, and squaring it out in the

schools and open places of exercise with his mantle and cloak and in his flippers and pantofles,

after the Greek fashion: And that he was over bookish, and his mind too much upon reading:

and took delight to be in the fencing school and wrestling-place and all his men and guard

about him as idly and wantonly given as he, took joy in the pleasures & delightful fete of Syria

casts. As for Carthage and Annibal, they were quite forgot and his whole army through loof-

els and liberty was fulfilled and clean loth, like to that of late at Sacco in Spain, and all one with

them at this time in Locri, more to be feared of their friends than their enemies. And albeit

these matters thus reported, were either true, or mingled with some truths, and therefore founded

all very probable; yet the opinion of M. Metellus prevailed: who in all other things gave his atten-

unto Maximus; only as touching Scipio, he var ed from him. "For I cannot see any reason (quoth

he) how this can Rand that whom erewhile the whole City chose at those young years of his,

to be the only Captain for to recover Spain, of whom they made special choice to be their

Comit after that he had gotten Spain from the enemies, to end at once the Punic war; and

in whom they repoved great hope, that he was the man to draw Annibal out of Italy, and to

subdue all Affrick: he now shoud all of a sudden be called for home out of his Province,

as a person almost condemned, without pleading and hearing of his case, as if he were another

Pleniunus: considering that even those new and cruel parts which the Locrians complained

of were by their own words and confession not committed whiles he was present in place; ne-

ther could he be charged and accused directly for ought else but only for his sufferance and con-

feryency, in that upon a tender and respective indulgence of his Lieutenant, he was too remiss,

and
The nine and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

A and forbore to punish him with rigor. His advice therefore and opinion was that *M. Pompeius* the Pretor, unto whose lot the government of Sicily was fallen, should within three days next and immediately emit his journey into his province and that the Comitia, shou'd elect s. Commissioners or Delegates out of the Senate, such as they thought good of, and send them with the Pretor likewise two Tribunes of the Commons, and one Adiector, that the Pretor with the assent of these persons, should sit upon a commission to inquire and know the truth: and in case they could find that those things where with the Locrians found themselves so much grieved, were done either by commandment and direction from *Seppo*, or with their will and consent; then to charge him to depart out of the province: But in case that *P. Servilius* were already passed over into *Africa*, then the forenamed Tribunes of the Commons, and the Edile, joyning unto them two of the Delegates above said, (as he the Pretor deemed most meet) should fall into *Africa*, and the Tribunes and Edile bring with them *Seppo* on that occasion; and the two Commissioners have the charge and government of the army until such time as a new L. General succeeded and came in place. But if *M. Pompeius* and the ten Delegates abode still, found that neither by the direction, nor with the will of *P. Seppo* their commons were committed, then *P. Servilius* should remain still with the army, and go forward with the war, as he intended. Then this decree of the Senate was one passed, and an act made thereof; they were in hand with the Tribunes either to agree between themselves, or else to call lots, which two of them should go with the Pretor and the Delegates. And then the college of the bishops were consulted with, about the expiation and making satisfaction for those things which in the temple called *Prozoropa in Locri* were either handed polluted, or carried forth from thence. The Tribunes of the commons that went along with the Pretor and the Commissioners, were *M. Claudius Marcellus* & *M. Clemens Albinus*, who also had an Edile of the Commons to assist them, whom they might command, if *Seppo* should not obey the Pretor, whether he were in Sicily, or gone over into *Africa*, to apprehend and arrest his body; and by virtue of their consistent and inviolable authority to bring him home with them. And first they resolved to go to *Locri* before they went to *Messana*. But concerning *Pleminius*, the report goeth to two ways, Some say that when he was advertised what was intended and deviled against him at *Rome*, he purposed to go to *Naples* into banishment, and charged by the way to light upon one of the Delegates above said, and so by him was perforce brought back to *Rhegium*. Others affirm, that *Seppo* himself sent out one of his Lieutenants, accompanied with 30 of the most noble Knights or Gentlemen that he had about him, with a warrant to commit *Q. Pleminius* and with him the principal Authors of the sedition, and to lay them fall in iron. But certain it is that they all, were it by the commandment of *Seppo* before, or then by warrant from the Pretor, were put in ward and safe custody with the Rhegins, The Pretor and the Delegates being come to *Locri*, first and formost, according to their commission, had a principal care of Religion. For all the holy money which they found by diligent search in the custody either of *Pleminius*, or of the officers together with that which they themselves had brought with them from *Rome*, they bestowed again in the privy vaults where the treasure was kept: and besides, they made a solemn purgatory facrice for the Sacrilege. After this, the Pretor assembled the officers together, and commanded them to carry their Engines out of the City: where himself encamped upon the plain and proclaimed no noisilier, as he would answer at his uttermost peril, should either tarry behind, or bring forth any thing with him but his command. Then he gave the Locrians leave, that every man should lay hold upon that which he knew to be his own: and if sought were not forth coming, and to be seen, to challenge and put in his claim for it. And above all things, his pleasure was, that all bodies of free persons whatsoever, should without delay be restored unto them, and if any made default of restitution he should adjudge the same and be grievously punished. Then he assembled the Locrians to an audience, and pronounced before them all, That the people and Senat of *Rome* granted unto them their ancient liberty, and their own laws; giving notice unto them, that whoever had any thing to say against *Pleminius*, or any other person by way of accusation, he should follow him to *Rhegium*, and there give attendance. Also if they were desirous to make a publick and open complaint of *Seppo*, namely, That the false commissions at *Locri* most impiously and wickedly, against both God and man, passed either under his warrant, or with his leave and liking, then they should send Embassadors to *Messana*, where he together with his Council and assistants would give them audience of all matters and determine accordingly. The Locrians yielded great thanks to the Pretors and to the Delegates or Commissioners: as also to the Senat and people of *Rome*: and said, They would go to accuse *Pleminius*. As for *Seppo*, although he let little to heart the injuries and wrongs done unto their City: yet he was a man whole friendship they desired rather to embrace than to entertain in enmity. And this they knew auctedly, that so many lound pranks, and so horrible parts there laid, were neither by the direction nor yet with the consent and toleration of *P. Seppo* but his only fault was that either he trusted *Pleminius* overmuch, or credited them too little. And some men (say they) be of this nature: that they will have a careful regard for to prevent in, and an earnest desire that no offence be committed, rather than courage and heat to a panic: and correct faults when they are once done and pass. Hereupon both the Pretors and also the Commissioners with him thought themselves well eased of no small burden and charge of making farther inquiry and setting upon the case of *Seppo*: But *Pleminius* and two and thirty persons more with him, they condemned and sent bound in chains to *Rome*. They themselves went
also in perfon to Scipio, to be eye-witnesses and to make report at Rome of their own knowledge, as touching the manner of apparel, the idle life of the General, and the loose, dissolute, and corrupt military discipline of his soldiers; so rife and common in many mens mouths, Against their coming to Spathes, Scipio was provided of deeds to approve his innocency, and not of words to excite his folly. H Recap that all his forces there to meet, and for his armado to be in readiness, as if he were that day to give battle both by Land and Sea to the Carthaginians. The very same day that they arrived thither, they were friendly received and courteously entertained by Scipio. The morrow after, he shewed them all his forces, as well for Land as Sea service, not only furnished, well appointed and in readines, but the one forti, namely the land soldiers, running and charging one another at turne; and the Sea servitors likewise within the haven, representing a naval combat with their ships. Then he led the Pretor and the other commissioners all about, to see the arsenal and armory, the store houses the garrisons of corn and all other provision and furniture for the war. At the view and sight whereof, they were striken with such exceeding admiration, both of every thing in particular, and of all in general, that they were fully persuaded, that either by the conduct of that Captain and valour of that army, the Carthaginians might be overcome and conquered, or by none other in the world: yea, and they wished him in the name of God, without more ado to pass over into Africa, and with all speed possible to make the people of Rome to enjoy the effect of that hope which they conceived that very day, on which all the Centurions nominated and declared him with one voice the former Consil of the twain: and with fo joyous hearts they took their leave and departed from thence, as if they were to bring tidings to Rome of a glorious victory; and not to make relation and report of a magnific and stately preparation for war. Plutarch and all they that were likewise attaint and guilty, after they came to Rome, were immediately clapt up and laid in prison. At the first time when they were brought out before the people by the Tribuns, they could find no grace, no favour nor mercy among them, their minds were to forfhall and pondeled aforesaid, with the consideration of the woful miseries and calamities of the poor Locrians. But afterwards, being produced oftener into them, as the hatred conceived against him, began to wear and decay, to mens anger grew to affawge and soften: besides the pitions plighted and deformed hew of Plutarch there present, and the remembrance withal, of Scipio now absent, gat him some favour with the people. Yet he died in prison, before his cause was judically tried, and definite sentence of him passed, ClaudiusLicinius reported in this third book of the Roman stories, that this Plutarch in the time of the games which Africarius second time Conil exhibited at Rome, according to a vow by him made, went about (by the help of some whom he had corrupted and waged for money) to set the City on fire in divers places thereby to have opportunity to break prison and make an escape; but when his wicked purpose was once disloked and brought to light, he was condemned and awarded by an act of Senate to the dungeon Vatianum. But as for Scipio, there were no words made of him, neither come he in question any where else but in the Senate: where all with one accord, bath commissi oners and Tribuns by extolling and magnifying with glorious words, the navy, the army and the Captain, brought it to about, that the Senate thought good and were agreed, that with all convenient speed Scipio should over into Africa, and have liberty granted out of those armies which were in Sicily, to make choice of those whom he would himself transport over with him into Africa, and whom he would leave behind for the guard and defence of the Province.

While these things passed thus among the Romans: the Carthaginians also having spent all the winter time in much impudence and continual fear, hearkning to all news, and enquiring fearfully of every messenger, and keeping watch upon all their promontories and high hills by the Sea side befirled themselves likewise, and procured the society and alliance of K. Syphax, a matter of no small importance for the safeguard and defence of Africa, in hope and confidence of whose affinities and friendship especially, they were per meer; that Scipio intended to fail over into Africa. Now there had been already between Aemilius the fon of Gisco and the King, not only familiar acquaintance by way of kind welcoming and reciprocal hospitality, since the time (as hath been said before) that Scipio and Aemilius had determined to meet at one time together in the Kings house, when they came out of Spains; but also some treaty was already begun of alliance and affinity, and a motion made, that the King should espouse and wed the daughter of Aemilius. For the affarance of this matter, and the appointment of a certain day for the solemnizing of the marriage (for now the Damocles was ready for an husband, and marriageable) Aemilius took a journey, and being the King burning in love (as these Numidians of all other barbarous nations are most given that way, and exceeding amorous) he sent for the maiden from Carthage, and hasted the wedding. And among other congratulations that passed between to the end, that besides the private affinities, there should be also a public league, there was an alliance concluded between the people of Carthage and the King, by giving and taking their faithful promise irreconcilable and obliging themselves by a solemn oath one to the other to observe it as well offensive as defensive, and to have the same enemies, and the same friends for ever. But Aemilius remembering both the friendship began between Scipio and the King, and also how fickle and variable the natures of the Barbarians are, and fearing it Scipio should pass over into Africa that this bond of wedlock would not be strong enough to hold the King in; took the time whiles this Numidian Prince was enamoured with his fresh love, induced him what with reasons, and what with the fair words and allurements of his young espouse, to send Embassadors into Italy to Scipio, for to advise him not to pass.
The nine and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

A pass over into Africk, nor to rely upon any confidence of him, nor yet to build upon his former promises. For himself was not only linked in matrimonio with a Citizen of Carthage, the daughter of that Acti. whom he law entertained as a guest in his house, but also joined in a public:

league with the people of Carthage. And first he exhorted him that the Romans would war with the Carthaginians far from Africk, as hitherto they had done; for fear lest he should of necessity be forced to have an hand, and intermediate in their quarrels; and so while he desired to avoid the danger and holibity of one part or other, be driven at length to hide all one way giving him more plainly to understand, that if Scipio would not forbear Afric, but needs come with an army against Carthage, then must he necessarily fight in defence of the land of Africk, wherein himself was born, and for the native country, for he and his house of his own wife. With this

b commination and direction were certain Orators sent unto Scipio, who met with him at Syracuse, and there delivered their messages. Scipio, albeit he was disappointed greatly of his ground-work that he had laid for his wars in Africk, and put besides his good hopes: gave the Embassadours letters into Africk unto the King, and sent them back again in all hall, before the thing were published and come abroad, in which letters he requitted him earnestly to be advised and bethink himself that he brake not the rights either of friendship & hospitality begun with him of the league and society entered with the people of Rome: nor violated justice and full promise made by giving right hands; nor yet beguile and abuse the gods, the witnesses and judges of all covenants and agreements made. But forasmuch as the coming of those Numidians could not be concealed (for they went all about the City, and were daily convervet in the Generall his lodging: and if it should have been kept secret wherabout they came, it was to be doubted lest the truth the more it was uttered and dissembled, the more it would beget forth and come abroad: and to the army was to hand in fear, that they were set to war at once both with the king and Carthaginians, Scipio therefore buzzed aforehand in men heads, false devised matters, and to withdraw them from the understanding of the truth indeed. He assembled all his tidlers together, and laid unto them that now it was no longer staying and trifling out the time: bearing them in hand, that the Kings, his allies and confederats, imparted him to set over into Africk with all convenient speed; that Magna still beforetime himself in perion came to Latus, grieving and complaining that the time ran thus on in delays and doing nothing; & Syrah now sent his Embassadours, making much D and wondering what the cause should be of so long temporizing: and requiring that either the army without more ado, should be set over at once: or else if their minds and purposes were changed, to certify him to much, that he likewise might provide for himself and his kingdom. And therefore did them to wit and understand, that he intended (now that he was sufficiently provided and furnished of all things: and considering that the imperious might abide no farther delay,) to conduct his armado to Lilybaenum, to wait the first good day of wind and weather, to take the <=s for a bon voyage, and with Gods grace and favour to set sail for Africk. His letters he dispatched to Marcus Pomponus to this effect; that if he thought so good, he should repair to Lilybaenum, to the end they might commune and consult together, what leagues especially, and what number of fouldiers he should transport over with him into Africk. In like manner, he sent a letter the maritime and seas coasts, to lay all the carriicks and ships of burden, and to bring them a- E way at once to Lilybaenum. Now when all the ships and serviceable men in Sicily were assembled to Lilybaenum, so neither the City was able to receive the multitude of fouldiers, nor the haven contain the number of the vessels; so earnestly minded they were all, and so hotly set upon their voyage into Africk, that they feemed as if they were conducted not to fight a war, but to enjoy the allured rewards of a victory. But especially above all others, the fouldiers remaining of the Carthian army were verily persuaded, that under this captain or else none, by valiantly quitting themselves in the service of the Common-weal, they should be able to end and finish their ignominious and shameful fouldiers. And Scipio himself made no base account of those kind of fouldiers, as knowing full well that the defeat received at Cannae, was not occasioned by their cowardice: neither were there throughout the Roman army any fouldiers so ancient and of so long con-

fiusance, or so well experienced not only in many and tandy foughten fields, but also in the assailing of towns and Cities. And these Legions of Cannae were the last and last in order. Now when he had once resolved and given out, that he would transport them over with him into Afric, then he took a particular view of them, man by man. And having called out those, and left them behind, whom he supposed meanest and unfruitful, he sublirmed in their place those whom he had brought with him out of Italy: and so fully he supplied and made up his number of those Legions, that either of them had six thousand and two hundred foot, and three hundred men of arms. He chose also out of the same army of Cannae, both hornemen and footmen, of the allies and confederats of the Latine nation. What power of fouldiers in the whole were set over into Africk, writers differ not a little in the number. In some authors 1 find, that they G were ten thousand foot, and two thousand and two hundred horse: in others, fifteen thousand footmen, and fifteen hundred hornemen. In some records again, they were more by one halfe and better, namely, that of horn and foot there were embroidered five and thirty thousand. And others there be that have set down no number at all, amongst whom, as in a matter so doubtfull and uncertain, I would my self be counted for one. But Catius for his part, as he forbeareth to put down any number at all, so he seemed to imply an infinite multitude of them, in that he faith, that with a cry and shout that the fouldiers set up, the very fouldiers of the air fell down to the ground:
and he that had seen the multitude of them when they went a shipboard, would have said there had not been a man left behind either in Italy or in Sicily. Well how many or how few they were, Scipio himself took the charge to see the foudlers embarked in good order, and without any tumult. As for the seamen, and mariners, who were forced before to shipboard, C. Lælius the Admiral of the navy, kept them still land quiet within their ships, M. Pomponius the Prior had commission for to furnish the armado with corn and victuals: who made provision of food and sustenance for 45 days: of which there was of baked meats and other viands already dressed, as much as would suffice for 15 days. Now when they were all embarked, he sent about to all the ships, certain pinions or cock-boats, and commanded all the pilots and masters of every ship, with two foudlers apace, to come into market place, there to receive their charge. When they were all met and assembled together, first be enquired of them whether they had provided and taken into their vessels fresh water sufficient both for man and beast, to hold out to many days as their corn would serve? and when answer was made that they had water in their ships to last five and forty days: then he charged and commanded the foudlers to keep silence and be quiet during their navigation, and without any strife and contention to be obedient unto the mariners, and willing to help in any minillery and service whatsoever, laying, that himself and L. Scipio would keep on the right wing, with twenty strong ships with brazen head heads, and C. Lælius the Admiral with M. Porcius the Treasurer on the left, with as many of the same, to wait over and guard the bulks and ships of burden: willing and requiring that there should be light in all their vessels, namely, that every brazen headed ship should have one; each Carthick tain: and the Admiral ship, wherein the General was, three lights, for a special mark, to be discerned from the rest in K the night. And to be commanded the Pilots to fleer and direct their course for Emporia. [The territory hereabout is most fertile and fruitfull, whereby the whole country aboundeth in plenty of all things: the barbarous pealants (as commonly it faileth out in baset and plentiful lands) are cowards, and snapt for war, and it was thought they might be surprized and plundered before any succour could come from Carthage.] When these directions were given, they were commanded to retire to their ships, and the next morrow at the signals, with the help of the gods to weigh anchor, hoist up sail and away. Many Roman Armadoes had aforetime fet out of Sicily, and the very same port: but never any voyage all the time of that war, no, nor during the former, made to goody a show, and was so much looked on. And no marvel, for most of their other fleets were sent out only to rob and to fetch in booties and prizes. And yet if a man would examine navies by the number and greatness of ships, there had been aforetime two Confuls together, who went over with a power of two complete armies: in every of those fleets therewere were wellner as many war ships with brazen head heads, as bulks Scarrickes in those that Scipio transported over. For besides fifty long ships of war, he bad not all four hundred ships of burden and passage to transport over his army with. But if we would compare both was together, the second seemed unto the Romans more sharp and cruel then the former: both because it was fought within Italy, and also by reason of the great overthrows of so many armies, together with the life and death of their General captains. Moreover great expectation there was of Scipio the Commander and General of this voyage, a man much renowned and talked of, both in regard of his own noble acts of cavalry, and also of a special and singular fortune that followed him in all his exploits; where: M: by he grew every day more glorious than other: which caused all mens hearts to be set upon him: besides his very revolution and mind that he carried, to pass in Africa, which all the while of that war entred not into the head of any Captaine before him: in that he gave it out abroad. That he meant to go over, with intent to draw and fetch Armado out of Italy, and to divert and translate the war into Africa, and there to finish and make an end of it. There came running unto the haven to see the setting out of his Armado, the whole multitude, not only of the inhabitants of Lilybaeum, but also the train of all the Embarriages out of Sicily, which were come together for to accompany Scipio, and to do him honour, and also attended upon the Prelor of the province M. Pomponius. Over and besides, those legions also which were left behind in Sicily, went forward to bear their fellow soldiers company. So that not the least N. was a goodly prospect unto the beholders upon the land, but also the strand to overpassed all about with numbers of people, made a brave and pleasant show unto these passengers, that were in the ships. When day light once appeared, Scipio from out of the Admiral(after silence commanded by voice of the elier) praised in this wise:"Ye gods and goddeses all, that haunt and inhabit seas and lands both, I beseech and pray you to vouchsafe, that all that ever hath been done already, is now intended, or shall hereafter be enterprised, during my conduct and government, may peace well, and turn to the good of my self, the people and community of Rome, our allies, and especially those of the Latin nation: who by land, by sea, by rivers, follow the direction, command, government, and fortune of my self, and of the people of Rome, and that in all our actions ye would be good, gracious, favourable, and helpful unto us, and advance all our proceedings: that ye would grant us the victoty over our enemies: and after we have subdued them, to continue safe and found: and adorned with their goodly spoils, laden with their rich pilage, to return home all together with glorious triumph, & give us the hand and opportunity to be revanged of our foes and mortal enemies: and design me and the people of Rome that power and strength, to execute upon the City of the Carthaginians those fearful examples of cruelty, which the people of Carthage intended to practise and bring upon our City and
"and lake. After these prayers thus pronounced, he took the raw inwards and pertaince of the beat killed for sacrifice (as the maner is) and flung them into the sea: and with that by found of trumpet, gave the signal of departure.

Now were they under sail: having a good great gale of a forewind, they soon loft the fight of land. In the afternoon, there began to fall a thick mist: by reason whereof the ships could hardly avoid running one upon another. But when they were once in the main and deep sea, the wind became more mild: and all the night following, the same dark mist continued still. After the sun was once up brake and dipttered, and then the wind again grew big and high, by which time they might discover land. And not long after, the pilot said unto Scipio, that they were not full too leagues from Africk: and that he saw well and discerned the cape or point of Mercator:

B and if his will and pleasure were thither to direct their course, presently the whole armado should be in the rode. Scipio to soon as he was within view of land, after he had made his prayers unto the gods, to belle this first discovery of Africk to his own good and the benefit of the common-wealth gave commandment to fall still, and to put with the shore and ride at anchor in some bay beneath. So they made way with the same wind. But about that very time as the day before, they were milled again, and lost the fight of land. And as the fog increased, the wind fell: the night also that came upon them besides made all things more doubtful. Whereupon they cast anchor, for fear that the ships should hit one against another, or run aground. When day light arose, the same wind was up again, but the foggy mist eattred; and then they might see plainly all the coast of Africk.

Scipio then demanded what prophomitory it was that he saw next; and hearing that the name of it was *Caiute, from whence they had much ado to recover their direct course again; and finally when the ships were at hand to sink under the water, then the fooulders fying like men at point to suffer shipwrack, without fence and commandment of their General and without their armor, in great fear made shift with boats to recover the shore.

The Romans thus being landed, pinched their tents among the hills next adjoining. By which time the terror and fearfull fright of this their arrivall was not entred only into the Maritime coasts and territories bounding upon the sea, but first upon the discovery of the fleet, and after wards by reason of the rumor and tumult of the army, as it came afofe; but also spread forward as far as to the good towns and very Cities. For not only the high wises were all filled and overspred with multitudes of men, women and children, who went by heasptogther one with another; but also the country peasants and there whole heeds of castels as a man would have said that had seen it how all Africk was like to be abandoned at once on a luddain: in such fort, as they put the Cities indeed in greater fear & perplexity then they were themselves, and especially Cartaghs above all others: where there was no leffe trouble and hurtfully, then if it had been surprized and forced by the enemy. For since that time that M. Attilus Regulaz, and L. Mumins were Coff, for the space almost of fifty years, they had not once so much as seen an army of Romans, but only certain fleets of rovers and men of war, who had landed at times, and made some rodes into the lands lying upon the sea side: and when they had harried some prises, such as came next hand, they were never retared again to the ships, before the alarme could be given to rale the country. The greater therefore now was both the flight and fright within the City. And to speake a truth, good cause they had; by reason that there was neither at home in readiness an army of puiffance to encounter the enemy, nor a captain of valour to conduct and lead an army. Afterwhal was the hon of Gisgo, for nobility and high parentage, for honour and renown, for wealth and riches, and beate for the new affinity then contracted with King, was of all others the personage by many degrees, yea, and the only man of the whole State. And him they remembered very well to have been fooled, discontented and beaten out of the field in Spain, by the self-same Scipio in divers and sundry battels. Also they made accord, they were no more able to match the Captains man for man, than to compare and see their tumulatory power railed in bail, with the land and experienced army of the Romans. Therefore they gave the alarme presently, as if Scipio were ready to assault Cartaghs out of hand: the gates with all speed were shut and made sure: the walls manned with fooulders: the corps de garde fet up: watch and ward kept: and all the night following the Sentinels duly relieved and maintaine. The next day, 500 light horse were sent out as espials and vancouriers to discover and leare the quarters to the sea side: and withall to impeach them that were in baraking and coming land: who chanced to light on the Romans corps de garde.

For Scipio had sent away the fleet already to Visso, and before he was gone up into the land far from the sea, he had encampd upon the next hills thereby, placed guards of horsemen in convenient places, and purposing: certain foragers into the fields and villages for safebooties. These having entered skirmish with the Carthaginian cornet and horsemen, flew a few of them in the very conflict, but most of them as they fled and were followed in chace, amongst whom was Hannas also the provolt marshall, a noble young gentlemann, Scipio not onlye waited the country all about, but
The nine and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

also was a City of the Africans that stood nearest, and was of sufficient wealth: whereas besides H other spoil, which was plentifully embarked in the ships of burden and sent into Sicily, there were taken prisoners eight thousand poles of free and bond one with another. But the greatest joy and contentment that the Romans took in this new entrance and beginning of their warlike affairs, was for the coming of Masanissa; whom some report to have presented himself with 200 horse, and no more: but the most do write that he came with 2000. But for as much as this Masanissa was of all other Kings for his time the greatest Prince and most PLENTIFUL, and withall he that freed the Romans in bell read and helped their state, none like unto him: me thinkst it were worth their labor, and would quit all the paines, to digresse a little out of the way, for to shew and declare in what variety of alternative fortune he was tossed, both in the loose and also in the recovery of the inheritance of his fathers kingdom.

This Masanissa, whiles he was employed during the wars of Spain, in the defence and quarr-ell of the Carthaginians; his father, whose name was Gala, hanged to his neck, and then the kingdom fell by accident, according to the custom and manner of the Numidians unto Defules, the late Kings brother, a man of great years and very aged. And not long after, when Defules also was departed his life, Capusa the elder of his two sons, (for the other was a very child) succeeded in his fathers kingdom. But for as much as he the foresaid Capusa maintained his royal state and throne, more by reason of the authority and reputation that he carried among his friends and favorites, than by power and strength: there stole up in arms one named Messenius (who also was descended of royal blood, but of a house that was ever of the adverse and contrary side) and contended in much variety of fortune about the crown, with those who then swayed the sceptre. This Messenius having gathered a power of his tenants, followers, and peasants of the country (with whom he carried a great stroke and was highly esteemed, by reason of the hatred that they bare unto the Kings race) encamped openly and showed himself in action, yea, and forced the King to come into the field, and to trie the title of the crown in a set battell by dint of sword. In which conflict, Capusa, together with many of his peers and nobles were slain, and the whole nation and regnony of the Malifians, was reduced under the rule and obedience of Messenius. Howbeit he forbore to be called King: and contenting himself with the mean name of Tutor or Proctor, gave the Kings title to the child Lacumax, who only remained alive of the Kings issue and line. He took to wife a noble dame and lady of Carthage. Annexed his nearest by his litter who had lately been wedded unto King Defules, hoping thereby to enter into league and alliance with the Carthaginians: and besides, for to renew the ancient familiarity and amity with Syphax, he sent Embassadors unto him of purpose. Thus made he himself strong enough against Masanissa.

Majanis, like wise for his part, being advertized of his uncles death, and also how his cousin german was deceased, crossed the seas out of Spain over to Mauritania, at what time as Eoc-chor was King of the Moors. At whose bands by humble suit and importunate prayers in most lowly manner, he obtained a power of 4000 Moors to accompany him in the journey, for otherwise to employ them in war he might not. And after he had dispatched a messenger afore-hand to those that were his fathers friends and well-willers to himself, by that time that he was come with them to the confines of his realm, there met him almost 5000 Numidians. Having therefore lent back again the Moors from thence unto the King, according to covenant, albeit there was assembled together a smaller number of people then he hoped and looked for, and not sufficient that he dunn adventure upon to great an enterprise; and supposing withall, that by entering into some action, and by travel and endeavouer, he should gather strength still to perform some great exploit, he encountered at Thebus the young king Lacumax, as he journeyed unto Syphax. And when the Kings company in great fear fled into the town, Masanissa both at the first alighted on the said town, and also of the Kings train received some that yielded themselves, and flew otherfrome that made resistance in their own defence. But the greatest part with the child himself the young Prince, got away in that tumult and escaped unto Syphax, upon whom at first they intended their journey. The fame of this small thing, so happily achieved in the first beginning and entrance of his affairs, caused all the Numidians to revolt and side with Masanissa. So as there flopped him from all those parts of the country, and out of the villages, the oldFOUNDERS of King Gala, and incited the young Prince and let him on to recover his fathers kingdom, Now in number of Founders, Messenius was a good deal superior: for both himself and the same army fill entire, with which he had vanquished Capusa, besides had some others that after the slaughter of the King, he had received up on their yielding: and also young Lacumax the infant, had brought great aids from Syphax to that Messenius was fifteen thousand foot, and ten thousand horse strong. With whom Masanissa, albeit he were nothing to PLENTIFUL either in foot or horse, fought a battell; yet attained he the victory through the approved valour of the old Founders, and his own politic wisdom, being a captain well experienced and exercised both in the Roman and Punick wars. The young Prince together with his tutor and protector, and some small number of Malifians, fled and escaped into the territories of the Carthaginians. Thus Masanissa having recovered his fathers kingdom, and foreseeing that there remained still behind a far greater bickerment and encounter with Syphax, &c taking it to be the best course and policy for him, to be reconciled and made friends with his cousin german; addressed certain messengers both unto the child, for to put him in good hope and assurance, that if he would submit and yield himselfe under the protection of
A of Mafaniis, he should live in as honourable place and degree with him, as Defalco sometime had done with his father Gala: and alo to Mafaniis to give their word and promise unto him, not only for impunity of all trespasses, but also for faithfull restitution of all things that were his. By which means he perwaded both of them to take part with him: who made choice of a mean estate at home in their own country, rather than to live in exile: nor withstanding the Carthaginians laboured all that ever they could to the contrary.

A Abram tampered at that time when these occurrences fell out, to make his abode with Syphax: who finding the Numidian King Syphax resolved upon this point, and fully perwaded, That it mattered not, nor imported himself much, whether Lacum or Mafaniis were King of the Maflifians, replied unto him and said, that he was foone deceived if he thought that Mafaniis E would keep himself within those terms, that either his father Gala or his uncle Defalco held them contented: For, no, no, (quoth he) there is much more to do now in him and far greater signes of hasty mind and forward wit and spirit appear in him, then ever thew in any of his house and line before him. Full often hath he in Spain made good proofe of rare valour and singular prowess, as well unto his friends as his enemies. And let both Syphax and the Carthaginians look well about them as they can, for unless they put out this sparkke of fire betimes, and even at the first beginning, it will be their chance to be caught therewith, when it shall burne forth: and able they shall not be to help the matter and quench the rage thereof. Many, as yet his strength is small and slender, his forces frail, tender, and feeble, and not well united together to maintain his statute, unlaced as he is in his Kingdome. Thus he importuned him still by reasons and persuasions, untill at length he reduced him to lead forth an army into the confines of the Maflifians and there in that estate, about the title whereof he had oftentimes not only contended by plea and words with Gala, but also by arms and dint of sword, to encump himself in his rightfull and unlikened inheritance: with this direction, that if any came against him to war him off the ground, then to trie his intree by sword: which was the only way to take and molest for the purpose: but in case for fear of him they quit the possession quiedy, then to advance forward into the heart of the kingdome: for either the Maflifians would without battell render themselves under subjection, or else in a pitched field not able to stand against him. Upon these figgitations Syphax was incited and pricked on; in more much as he made war upon Mafaniis, and in the first battell discomfited and put to flight the Maflifians. And Mafaniis with some few Born men fled out the field and elcape unto a mountain which the inhabitants call Balbus. Certain who families and households with their sleds and tents, together with their cattle (which is all their riches) went after and followed the King. But all the multitude of the Maflifians besides, did homage unto Syphax and came under his obedience. This mountain aforefaid, which these exiles that fled their country were possessed of, was plentiful of grasse well watered: and being so good for pasture to feed their cattle, it yielded sufficient maintenance and food abundant, for the people that used to live upon flesh and milk, From hence they began at first to steal out by night and make rotes; but afterwaids in open day light to rob and spoil all the country about: but above all others to burn and fire the territory of the Carthaginians: both because there were more prizes to be had from thence, then from the Numidians: and for that it was more safe robbing and harrying there.

D, Without danger. This they practised so long, so licentiously and in such forecast manner, that now they would carry their booties to the seaside, and make markets & sale thereof to the merchants: and for this purpose divers ships arrived thither to trafficke: yeas, and other whiles there were many of the Carthaginians cut off and came thence home, and more of them were either slain or taken prisoners then oftentimes in open war and left battels. The Carthaginians bewailed and complained of these matters unto Syphax, and spurred him forward (disposed well enough as he was of himself to revenge) for to pursue the reluces of the war, in his own person. But forasmuch as it was not thought to stand with the roiall Majestie of a King, to chase and hunte a rabble of vagant theves about the mountains; therefore Boccharr one of the Kings Captains, a right hardy and valorous man, was chosen to do the feast, and to performe that service. Who had the conduct of four thousand foot, and two thousand horre: and was promising besides, great gifts and mighty rewards, in case he brought away the head of Mafaniis: but if he could take him prisoner alive, that were alone indeed, and a peculiar piece of work, of inestimable joy beyond all measure. He waiting his time when the enemies were stragling restlessly abroad, came upon them at surprizes and charged them, and having trippled from the guard of the armed footmen, a huge number both of people and cattle, he forced Mafaniis himself with some few horsemen to take the top of the mountain. From whence after he had rent away unto the King(as if the war had now been at point of an end) not only a great booty of people and cattle, the which he had taken, but also part of his forces, as being much greater in proportion, then for to dispatch the remains of a war, accompanied with no more then five hundred foot, and two hundred horse, he pursued Mafaniis being come down from the hill tops, and there having beaten and flappd the pallasies at both ends, enclosed him within the freight and narrow valley. Where there was committed a great execution and slaughter of the Maflifians, but Mafaniis with fifty horsemens and not above, got away through the unknown and hidden cranks of the mountain, and escaped the hands of the pursuers. Howbeit, Bocchar traced him still, and followed him at heels so narrowly, that neer to the City Clupea he overtook him in the plains, where he so freightly environed him about, that he killed all his company every one, save one hundred horsemen,
With whom in that tumult he let slip as it were out of his hands Masaniella also himself fore him wounded and lost him clean. As he fled, he had still in his eie certain corners of horsemens dipters all over the plain, and some of them crosting the waies overwaite to meet the enemy at every turn, and to intercept him. But he and the four horsemens with him fled forwards still, and took the great river before them: for their fear and fright was greater then to make any stay at the bank side, but to put their horses to it, and plunge in: where they were carried with the current of the stream and born to a side: two of them in the sight of the enemies were swallowed up of the deep trenches: himsell also was supposed to have perished with them, but he and the other two horsemens besides caught hold of certain twigs of oilers that grew under the banks on the farther side. So Gisco bar made an end of farther pursuit, as neither daring to take the river, nor beleiving that he had any enemy for to chaile. And thus returned he to the King with false news, that Masaniella was drowned. And divers polls and curriers were sent out to Carthage to report their exceeding joyful tidings. This rumour and fame of Masaniella his death being noised all over Africa and Africa, brought diversly in the minds of men. But Masaniella keeping himself close in a secret cave, whilst he cured his hurt with certain herbs, lived for some days by the foraging and robbing of the other two horsemens. So soon as the wound was once healed up and skinned over, and that he thought himself able to abide the fitting and flacking of his horse, with exceeding courage & boldnesse he let forward again to claim and recover his kingdom. And having in the way as he past gotten together unto him not above forty horse, by that time he was come among the Mafilians, and gave out openly who he was, he prevailed so much with them, that as well in regard of their ancient favour and love toward him, as also for the unexpected joy that they saw him alive and K found, whom they verily beleived to have been dead; within few days there were gathered and assembled unto him 6000 foot, and 4000 horse. So as not only he was restored again, and put in full possession of his fathers Kingdome, but also walked and spoile the confederations nations of the Carthaginians, yea, and the frontiers and confines of the Mafily, which belongeth to the Kingdome and dominion of Syphax. Having thus provoked Syphax to war, he set him down and encamped between the Cities of Carthage and Hippo, upon the ridge of certain hills, places of advantage and commodious in all respects. Then Syphax supposing it a greater piece of work, and of more importance then to be managed by his captains, lent part of his forces under the conduct of this son, the young Prince named Vermina, and gave order unto him to wheel about with his power, and whilst the enemy was amased upon himself one way, to charge upon him behind another way. So Vermina let forth, and took his way by night, because he was to give the charge closely, and in secret. But Syphax, who was to shew himself with banner display, and to bid the enemy bastell, marched openly by day light, and advanced forward. And when the time (as he thought) was come, wherein they were sent about to fetch a compas, might reach to the place appointed, himself also trailing as well in the multitude of the men, as in the ambush laid before at the enemies back, let his bastell in array; directly upon the side of the hill, which with gentle and excessive stitheth, and leadeth towards the enemy. Masaniella likewise arranged his men, preparing most of all in the plot of ground, which served much better for his advantage to fight. The bastell was sharp and cruell, and for a long time double. Whiles the site of the place, and valeur of the foundiers much helped Masaniella; and the number again on the other side, which much exceeded all measure, and made too great odds, availed Syphax. This multitude divided into two battalions, whilst the one was opposed afoot the enemy, and the other compassed about their tail and back part, gave the victory cleare unto Syphax: insomuch, as the enemy thus enclosed before and behind, had no way in the world to escape. Whereupon all the footmen and horsemens both were either killed or taken prisoners. Only two hundred horsemens or very near so many, which were gathered in a ring together about Masaniella, he commanded to cast themselves by troops and squadrions into three severall companies, and so to pierce and break thorough him, and after his fleeing and hastening, he appointed them a certain place before, where they should rally and meet together again after their scattered flight. Himself in person, at one side which he had proposed to himself before, made means to pass through the very pikes and darts of the enemies, and escaped. Two of those N quadrifus carried still behind, the one for fear yeilded to the enemy, the other flicking to it, and making more reftinance, was overcharged with shot of arrows and darts. But Masaniella winded in and out, and to and fro, deluded Vermina, who presed hard upon him, and followed him left at heels: and after he had wearied him out at length in tedious travail and desperate purpuse, caused him to passe over the chasse. Whiles he himself with seventy horse get away as far as to the lees of Syphax, where he set up his tent, and quieted his confidence, in that he had to often right valiantly fought to recover the inheritance of his fathers Kingdome; and led his life between the * Palme Emporia and the nation of the Carthamans, until the seassage of the Roman navy, and C. Lattius into Africa. Their perversions induce me to think and beleive, that Masaniella came afterwards also unto Sepia with a small power of horsemens, rather then with any great aid. So for that multitude was beholding the face of a Prince, established in his Kingdome, but this small number becemed the mean condition and forture of a poor exile and banished man.

Now to return again unto our story. The Carthaginians having loft the corner of horsemens forefoeing, together with their captains, and raise another power of horse by taking new mutliers, made Hasae the son of Amilce commander over them. And first by messengers andletters
A missive they sent for after what and Syphax one after another, and at last also even by Emis for Africwoman. As for Asdrubal, they required him to forsake his native country, befit in manner round about: Syphax they beheld and requested to provide for the safety and hence of Carthage and all Afric.

At that time Scipio was encamped near Vraca, within a mile of the City: for he was removed from the first place, where some few days he kept a standing camp close to the fleet. Hanno having received a power of Cavalry, nothing sufficient and strong enough to charge upon the enemy, nor much as to guard and defend the country from Wanting and spoiling, hurt before all other things ever about and devised, how he might augment his number of horsemen by a new levy and enrolment. But their rejections none of other nations, yet he levied and waged the Numidian es-

B specially, the best horsemen simply in all Afric. Now had he gathered together upon four thousand horse, when he surprised a City named Salera, almost fifteen miles from the Roman camp. And when word was brought to Scipio, that he prepared a Cavalry took up their summer standing harbour within a town; Thales (quoth he) I paie not, if they were more then they are, so long as they have but one to be their leader. And thinking with himself that the more slowly the enemies went to work, the less he was to slack his business, he sent Masanissa before with the horsemen, and gave command to ride in and down before the gates, to brave the enemy, and to train him forth to fight with this direction, that when their whole multitude was filled forth, and the skirmish made for hot, that he might not well endure the charge, be should give ground and retreat by little and little, for he would himself come in due time to the battle. And if they no longer, still when he thought Masanissa was gone before, had time enough to train the enemies forth, he followed after in person with the Romn horsemen, &c. long closer under the hills (which stood fitly for the purpose, opposite between him and the enemy) about every turning of the way. Masanissa for the purpose according to the direction given him, one while right courageously galloped before the gates, as one that would brave and terrify the enemy, another while, as he had been affrighted himself, gave back; and by this counterfeit shew of fearful flight, he made the enemies more bold and venemous, and drove them on to pursue him rashly. But as yet they were not all gone forth, and their equipment was diversely troubled, and had much ado with them, while he was in force and compell some that had taken their load of wine, and were heavy-headed and sleepily withal, to arm themselves and to bridge their horses, and to stay others from running out of the gates at once controllably, without order or array, and without their colours. Masanissa caught up thole, and cut them short, that a part from their company at the first setting out, rode venimously forward, and took no heed to themselves: but anon when more of them rushed forth at once out of the gate, the skirmish was maintained with equal valour on both sides and at last, when the horsemen were abroad and joyed in battell, Masanissa was not possibly able to hold out any longer. Howbeit he fled not outright, but as he gave back feitily, he received them as they violently charged upon him: so long, until he had trained them to those hits, under which the Roman Cavalry lashed to. Then role the horsemen from out of their ambull, themselves in heart, and their horses fresh; and environed Hanno and the Africans, who with fighting and following were tried and overpowered: Masanissa likewise turned his horses huddingly, and made head in, and returned to battle streeth: so there were environed, intercepted, and killed in the place together with Hanno himself the General, fell upon a thousand, and, even as many as were in the vanguard, and could not well retire themselves backward. The rest slighted with the death of their leader, fled with bridge on horse neck, which for the space of three miles the conquerors followed in caitie upon the ipur, and either flew and took prisoners two thousand horsemen of them besides. Amongst whom there were, as it is for certain known, no fewer than two hundred natural Carthaginians, men of stonn, and divers of them of good mark, both in regard of wealth and riches, as also of birth and noble parentage.

It fortunate that the very same day when this hapned, the ships which had transported over the broad in to unto Scipio returned back charged with provision of victual, as if they had prestaged & foreseen their arrival, that they were come for a new pillage and fresh prizes. But all writers do not accord, that two Carthaginian captains of one name were slain in two battels of the Cavalry: for fear (as I verily take it) left by telling one thing twice, they might seem to deceive and abuse the reader. Ctesar Caesar and Valerius report that Hanno was taken prisoner, Then Scipio bore-flowed rich gifts upon the captains and horsemen according to their good service, and as they every one desired; but above all the rest, he highly rewarded Masanissa. And when he had placed a strong garrison in Salera, himself with the rest of his army made rodes: and not only walled and spoiled the lands and villages all the way as he went, but also forced and won certain to Cities and borough towns: and so having filled all places far and near with the terror of war & holiness, he returned to the camp, the seventh day after he let forth bringing with him great numbers of people, much more of cattel and prizes of all sorts; and so dispatched away the ships a second time and laden with spoils of the enemies. After this he set aside all light expeditions, small rodes and lacage of the country towns, and bear his whole power and all his forces against Vraca: intending it he had once won it, to farte himself there, and to make his feast from thence forward, and a fine place of defence in. All his other exploits that he meant to perform. Thither at one time were slaves and victuals brought from the armado, to that part of the City where the gos behath upon the walls: like wise the landsouldiers advanced from the hill that overlooketh
the town, and joyneith in manner hard to the very walls. As for artillery and engines of battery H and assault, some they had brought with them, and others were sent out of Sicily with the viufts: and daily new were made in the common Armony and Arcenall, where there were of purpore artificers continually kept at work for the framing of such fabricks and pieces of battery. The men of Vitera belet thus round about on every side with so great preparation and ordainace of war, repelled their whole hope and confidence in the Carthaginians; and the Carthaginians relied themselves upon Africbal, in case he should sollicite Syphax for to set to his helping hand: But all things went but slowly forward, and they betiffirred themselves not so quickly, as they should have done, who wanted so much aid as they did. And Africbal when he had with all the means and the best shift that he could make, gathered together thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, yet durst he not approach the enemy, before the coming of Syphax to join with him. At length came Syphax with fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: and immediately departing from Carthage, encamped not far from Vitera and the Roman camp. Who arrivd arrival was so important, and wrougb this effect, that Scipio after forty days absence (during which time he had invaded Vitera and tried all manner but in vain) was compell'd to remove his siege & dislodge, without doing any good at all. For now the winter approched, and he fortiied his standing leaguer for winter harbour upon a promontory, which joyns to the continent by a thin and narrow ridg of a bank, lieth out a good way and beareth into the sea. And with one and the self-same trench and rampier, he empaile both his army, and allo the ships that lay up in the dock. The legions were quartered and lodged in the midst of the said cape: the ships that were drawn up land, and likewise the sailers and mariners, kept the strand on the north side of the hill; the horsemen took up the vail towards the south, upon the hanging and side thereof, shooting to the other shore. And these were the acts achieved in Africk unlill the end of Autumn.

Besides the provision of corn gathered from all parts out of the countries pilled and wafted round about, and other store of viufts brought out of Sicily and Italy, Con. Olausino the Vice-pretor arrived with a mighty deal of grain out of Sardania, lent from T. Claudius the Pretor, who had the government of that land: so as not only the old garners already made were replenish'd, but also those that were newly built. Only there wanted apparel for the army. Whereupon Olausino had in commisssion to break with the Pretor about that matter, namely, what liversies might be provided out of that province, and lent for the supply of that defect. Which busines was not slackly followed, but with all diligence performed: in such fort, as in short space there were lent over 2000 side horsemens coats, and 2000 short caskfocks and jackets.

During the time of this summer wherein those occurrences pasted in Africk, P. Sempronius the Consul who governed the Province of the Etrusci, skirmish'd suddainly in a disordered manner with Annibal upon the very way, within the territory of Croton: where the fight was maintained rather by squadrons and companies one to one, then by any set body of a ranged battell. The Romans were discomfited: and having lost in this conflict (which might more truly be called a tumultous scuffling than a full fight) upon 2000 of the Confuls army, they retired in great halt and fear into their camp. Yet durst not the enemies make an assault upon them within their hold. But the Conful dislodged from thence in the dead time of the next night, and having dispatched a courier before unto P. Licinius the Vice-consul, for to come forward with his legions, he join'd his M power unto them. So they returned again unto Annibal, being now two Generals, and two entire armies. And without any fray, to battell they went: whiles the Conful on the one side stood upon this his power redoubled and reenforced: & Annibal on the other side took heart for his fresh victory aforehand. Sempronius advanced with his legions into the vanguard: P. Licinius with his, kept the rearward. The Conful at the very first shock and beginning of the conflict, vowed a chappell to Fortuna under the name of Primigenia, in case he might have the honour of that day, and vanquish his enemies. And surely his vow was heard, and he obtained his desire: for the Carthaginians was discomfited and put to flight, and more than four thousand armed men slain, three hundred of whom aLFet prisoners, forty horse of service got alive, and 11 disembowelled, and carried away. Annibal dismayed and daunted at this adverse and unlucky battell, with drew his forces to Croton.

At the same time M. Cornelius the Conful, in another side of Italy held in awe, Hetruria not so much by force of arms, as by rigorous procets of law and severaneous: for all that country in manner was turned to Mage, and by his means and favor hoped for a change, and were altogether set upon novelties & an alteration of the late. The examinations and judicial trials of these matters the Conful followed by virtue of commision from the Senat, and not upon his own motive and seeking: and went through therewith, setting aside all parasitism, nothing respective of favour or dilipence. In such fort, that many of the nobility of Tuscany (such as either had repaired themselves in person, or had lent their agents unto Mage, for to treat with him about the revolt and rebellion of the States wherein they lived) were as little, as many as made personal apparence, condemned: but afterwards, such as had guilty confessions, went into voluntary exile: and being condemned in their absence, instead of their bodies which were gone out of the way, they yeilded and left behind them their goods only, which might be forseen and confiscate as pawns to pay for the punishment of their pernions.

Whilesthe Consul was thus employed in divers places one from the other, the Centors in the
A mean time at Rome, M. Livivus & C. Claudius held a new choice and review of Senators: and Q. Fabius was once again chosen the principal Senator and President of the Senate. Seven in number of this number were noted with igno my and disgrace, but not one of all those had fitten in the ivory chair and born office of state. They looked narrowly and most faithfully to the Publican's that the charge of the City-buildings to see them keep wind-right and water-right, and in sufficient reparations. They publicly gave order for a paved caule to be made, from the bealls market unto the temple of Vesta, and all about the shops and celladoes in the five places, Also the church * Magna Mater. The great mother of the gods, they c. used to be built in the mount Palantine. They instituted also a new tax and impost out of the provision of salt. And whereas both at Rome and throughout all Italy, salt was sold at a * Sextant by the Modus, they let and termed this commo-

B dignity, to be served out of the same price still in Rome; but in the market towns and fairs, they enhanced the price higher, and in Sunday places they rated it at divers prices. This tax was devised as all men verily believed, by the one of the Centors, for anger, and an old grudge that he bare un- to the people; because he had been in times past unjustly judged and condemned by them, and therefore in the payment and price of it they supposed that those tribes were inoff pinched and charged who were the means of the hard doom that palled against him. Hereupon it came that this Livius was surmamed Senator. The cence and numbering of the Citizens was finished the year before, because the Centors had sent about into all provinces, that the full number should be taken of all Roman Citizens who were without in the armies, and pretenment made accordingly. So there were registred in all, with those about two hundred and seven and fifty thousand persons. And C. Claudius Nero was that performed and accomplished this numbering and asseffment, After this there was a Cenct or taxation taken of the twelve Colonies, thing then brought up and never before. And according to the relation of the Centors they were entered into the fabulio book at Rome: that it might appear upon record in the publick inscriptions and writings, what number of able men for war they could make, and what every man was worth in money and goods. Then they began to take a survey of the gentleman and knights at Rome. And it fortuned so, that both Centors had houses of the City provision and charges. And when the cattle came to cite thole of the tribe Polilia, where the name of M. Livius was enrolled, & made some lay to call the Centor for himself by name: C. Calla (quothe Nero) for M. Livius. And whether it were upon the re-""
The thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

The thirtieth Book
Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the thirtieth Book.

In Afick, Scipio by the help of Matania in sundry battles vanquished the Carthaginians, together with the afore-aid Syphax King of the Numidians, and Altdubal. He won and sacked two of the enemies, where in there perished by fire and sword, to the number of 40000 men. By the means of C. Lucius he took Syphax alive. Matania when he had taken prisoner queen Sophonisba, the wife of Syphax and daughter of Altdubal, by and by fell in love with her, and by marriage took her to wife: but being chastised and rebuked therefore by Scipio, he sent her to a camp of scorn: which she drank, and thereof died. By manifold victories of Scipio it came to pass, that the Carthaginians driven to despair, were glad to call Annibal em of Italy, to save the main chance, and defend their whole state: Who, in the 16 year of the wars, departed out of Italy, failed over into Afick, and affayed by nim of convenience, to make peace with Scipio. And when they could not agree about the conditions & capitulations thereof, he fought, & was overthrown in the plain field. The Carthaginians at their feast frequently had peace granted, and when Gisco dissuaded that peace, Annibal plucked him back with his hand, & so after some excuse made of his rate almost in that behalf, himself spake for peace. Mago who had fought with the Romans in the country of the Insubrians, was grievously wounded, & being sent for home in so Afick by certain ambassadors, in the way died of his hurts, Matania was fully restored to his kingdom. Scipio being returned to the City of Rome, had the glory of a most honorable and noble triumph: whom, Q. Terentius Capito, a senator, followed, with a cap [of freedom] upon his head. Scipio was surnamed Africannus: but doubtfull it is, whether he came by that title through the fame manner of his soldiers before, or the general applause and affectation of the people. But this is certain, that he was the first general that ever was intituled in his title, with the surname of a nation by himself conquering.

The thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

When Cn. Servilius Capito, and C. Servilius Geminus (Coff. in that year, which by computation was the 16 of the 2 Punick war) propounded unto the Senate, concerning the affairs of the State, the managing of the wars, and the government of the provinces; the L.L. ordained and gave order, that the Coff. should either agree between themselves, or else call lots whether of them should go into the Brittan land against Annibals: and whether should take upon him the charge of the province of Hetruria and the Ligurians: with commission for him, whose hap it was to rule the province of Britui, to receive the army from P. Sempronius the Confid: and the said P. Sempronius (for he also was Vice-coinel was to continue in place of government one year longer) to succeed in the room of P. Licinius, who was to return home to Rome. This P. Sempronius among other commendable parts (wherein no Citizen in his time was counted more sufficiently furnished than himself) was taken also for a brave warrior and man at arms. For being richly endued with all those good blessings that either nature or fortune can afford unto a man, he was both noble in birth, and wealthy in substance. In beautiful personage he excelled, for strength of body he far surpassed. Of tongue and speech he was thought most eloquent, whether he were to plead a cause at the bar, or occasion offered either in Senate house or before the assembly of the people to perswade or dissuade, to give counsel one way or other. In the Pontificall canons and laws, he was singularly well learned and skillful. Besides all those praise-worthy qualities (I say) his Confidship had given him experience also in military affairs, and made him a worthy louldeir. The same order that was taken for the Brittan provin
c
Avin, was also decreed for Heorvia and the Ligurians. M. Cornelius was commanded to put over and deliver up his army to the new Consul: and himself to continue still in government, and to rule the province of France with the strength of those legions which L, Servilius the Preesor had under his charge before. After this the Consuls cast lots for their provinces. Unto Cepio he fell to Brundisium, unto Servilius Geminius, Heorvia. Then the Pretors provinces also were put to the choice of lottery. And P. Sextius his lot was to have the jurisdiction of the city of Rome: P. Lentulus to rule Sardeia: P. Villius to govern Sicily: and Quintus Varro to have the charge of Armacharus with two legions, which were commanded by Sp. Lucercius. And Lucercius had his commission revived again for a longer time, to the end, that he might rescide the town Genna, which by Maga the Carthaginian had been raised and detroyed. As for P. Scopo, his commission

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government was not limited by any expresse time, but only with the end of the war, and to continue until those wars in Africa were fully determined. A decree also professed, that there should be a solemn procession and supplication held to this effect, and in these terms, that whereas he had sailed over into the province of Africa, this voyage and expedition of his might turn to the satety and good of the people of Rome, of himself, and his army. In Sicely were enrolled three thousand foot_soldiers. And for as much as the whole strength and manhood of that province had been shipped over into Africa: for fear lest some Armada should cut out of Africa, it was thought expedient to guard all the seas coasts of Sicily, with a fler of 40 sail. And Villius had with him into Sicily 13 ships, newly built; the rest of the old ships in Sicely were repaired. For Admiral of this armada was appointed M. Pomponius the Pretor of the former year, whose government had been protracted, and he embarked the new foot_soldiers brought out of Italy. The like number of ships the L. of the Senate assigned unto Cn. Otho the Pretor of the former year, with the same commission of government, to defend the coasts of Sardinia. And Lentulus was commanded to allow unto the Pretor 2000 foot_soldiers for to man and furnish those ships. Moreover, the sea coasts of Italy, because it was uncertain to what parts the Carthaginians would make out theft navy (and like it was, that where they should epy any place weak and disconsolated of sufficient strength and garrisons, thither they would direct and bend their forces) were committed to M. Martius the Pretor of the former year, that he should cure the seas, and keep that side, with as many ships as the other. And for to furnish, that face of his, the Consuls by order from the Senate enrolled three thousand foot_soldiers, and referred two legions besides, against all donstil threats of war. Whatever. As for the two provinces of Spain, together with the Greeks there, and the whole government, they were appointed to the old General, L. Lentulus, and L. Munius Academius. So the Roman wars for that year were maintained with 40 legions in all & with a hundred and fifty ships of war. Then the Pretors were commanded to take their journey into their several provinces. But the Consuls were charged before they departed from the City, to exhibit those great Games, which T. Manlius Tolosanus the Dictator had vowed against the 5 years end, if to be the Commonweal remained in the same good and fortunate estate, during that time.

There now entred into mens minds new doubts and strange incertitudes of confidence, by reason divers prodigious sights and tokens reported out of many places. For beleived it was that certain ravens not only perched and roosted with their bills, but also eat and devoured the gold in the Capitol. At Aetium the mice and rats gnawed a crown of gold. Aboue Cappadocia, a huge number of locusts (Out from whence they came, no man knew for certain) overflown all the grounds, and filled the fields. At Reate there was a brave colt foaled with five feet. At Angroma were seen in the element, at the first divs fire-light shooting and flaming here and there; and afterwards a mighty blazing comet burning. At Pharsa a certain arch compassed the sun with a thin caite like a line; and afterwards a greater circle of the sun encloes the said randle from without-within. In the territory of Arcps, the earth in a plain champain field fell and sunk down and made an exceeding great chink. As one of the Consuls killed the first beast for sacrifice, the liver thereof was found beastly. These monstrous tokens were expat and purged with sacrifices of the biggest sort: and the colledge of the Priests and Bishops shewed unto what gods the sacrifice should be made: These things once done and performed, the Consuls and Pretors went forth into their provinces: yet so, as all of them had a speciall regard of Africa, as if it had been their own province fallen unto every one of them by lot; either because they law that therein related and comforted the whole life of all affairs, and the main estate of the war: or else because they办实事e gratified and currie favour with Scopo, whom now the whole City made controll; and chiefly respected. And therefore not only out of Sardinia siss before laid, but also out of Sicily and Spain there was transported thither reinment and corn: yes, and armours also out of Sicily, and all kind of victuals, for the maintenance of the army. And albeit it was winter season, yet Scopo flaked no affairs and works of war: which being many, amused his mind at once on every side, and kept him continually occupied. For since he believed and encamped he lay oppost to

Armila; and even within his sight, the Carthaginians were with their ships abate, and put to sea: and a navy they had rigged, furnish'd and trimm'd, for to intercept all victuals that came: and their cares he forgot not to win: in the love of Syphax, he happy now he had his fill of love-delights with his fresh wife, since he had the plentiful fruition thereof, as much as heart could desire: But Syphax rather receord conditions of peace between the Romans and the Carthaginians, to way, that the Romans should depart out of Africa, and the Carthaginians out of Italia: than seem'd to give any hope, that he would revolt from the Carthaginians, in case the war cont-
continued still. And for mine own part, I would rather believe that these matters were treated up
on by entercourse of messengers, as most writers do report, than that Syphax himself in person, as
Annia Valerius recorded, came into the Roman camp to a parle and conference thereabout. At
the first the Roman General, would scarcely lend his ear to hear those overtures; but afterwards, to
the end that there might be some coloursable and probable cause for his people to refor unto the
camp of the enemies, he seemed not so freight-laced, nor to deny the same articles so stiffly, but
pretended some hope, that by often debating thereof to and fro between them, they should at
length grow to some good point and final agreement. The wittering harbours of the Carthaginians
were in a manner all of wood, but built of slender stuff gathered out of the fields at a venture
hand over head, where they could meet withall. The Numidians for the most part lay in cabbins
and threds, wasted and wound with reeds especially, and covered and tharched with mats of ledge I
and such like, here and there scattering without all order; in such fort, as some of them taking up
their lodging at their own pleasure, without direction and commandment of any officer, quartered
without the trench and campfire. Scipio advertised thereof, conceived good hope to find some
opportunity one time or other to fire the camp of the enemies. Upon a certain day therefore, he
went in train of those Commissioners whom he addressed unto Syphax, in stead of pages and
drudges, and dignified in lives and bondmens weeds, the bravest loundiers of a band, (men of ap-
proved valor, willsome and discretion) who whiles the commissioners were bustie in conference,
should range about the camp, some one way, some another; to eipie and mark all the passages
and wires in and out; the fire and form generally of the whole leaguer, and particularly of ever-
part; where the Carthaginians quartered; where the Numidians lodged; what distance there K
was between Afrabul his tents, and the Kings pavilions; to observe allo and learn withall, the or-
der & the manner of their lantinels, their ward and watches, whether by night or by day they lay at
more vantage to be surprized by an ambush. And according as there were divers meetings & con-
ferences, and so of purpose some were sent one time, some at another; to the end that more & more
still should have the spiall and full knowledge of all things in the enemies camp. Now when as of-
ten that this matter was treated of, the greater hope of peace both Syphax had and the Carthaginians
likewise by his means; the Delegates or Commissioners aforesaid of the Romans, said that
they were expressly forbidden by their General to return without a full and resolute answer. And
therefore they willed him to make short work at once, and to bethink himself what to do, either
to stand upon his own determinate purpose (if he were resolved) or else to confult with Afrabul L
and the Carthaginians, and determine accordingly. For now high time it is, say they either to
conclude peace, or to proffecute war fresly, and to go through with it lustily. Thus while Syphax
confulted with Afrabul, and Afrabul with the Carthaginians, both the epials had sufficent time
to view and iee all, and Scipio allo good leasure to provide necessaries for his purpose. Moreo-
ver, by this motive and hope of peace, as well the Carthaginians as the Numidians, began (as com-
monly in such cases it falteth out) to be negligent and slack in forecast, and to provide that in
the mean while they came by no harme and detriment from the enemy. At length an answer was
returned and some clauses put in, without all reason and caution, to much inconvenience, by occa-
sion that the Romans seemed too fastin and deificous of a peace. Which fell out very sily for Scipio
while only desirous was to pick some just quarell for to break the truce and abstinence of war:
and so the next day (for in the mean time he said he would confer with his Council) be answered
the Kings messenger in this wise; that besides himself alone, who laboured all in vain and could
do no good, there was none liked of the peace: and therefore he willed him to report unto the
King his master, that there was no other hope for Syphax to have peace with the Romans, unless
he renounced and call off quite the friendship of the Carthaginians. And thus he ended the truce,
that with free conscience being discharge of his promise in that behalf, he might go forward in
his deigments, and bring his enterprize to his defined issue. So having put his ships to sea (for
now the prime of spring was come) he embarked in them his artillery, his ordnance and en-
gins of battery, as if he meant to assault Via on the sea side. And sent out two thousand cul-
toiers, to poffesse themselves of the hill that overlooked Via, which he had held and kept before N
both to withdraw the minds of the enemies from that which he secretly designed and intended, &
amuse them upon the care and regard of another thing; and also to prevent mischief, that whiles
himself should go against Syphax and Afrabul, they might not fly forth of the City, and affill his
camp, left with a small guard to defend it. Having made this way, and laid this ground aforehand,
he assembled his council, where he commanded as well the foresaid ships to lay forth and utter
what they had seen and found, as also Mafanissa, who was acquainted with all the manner and fa-
thions of the enemies: and then at last he declared and shewed unto them, what himself intended
to execute the next night. Then he gave commandment to the Tribunes or Ko. Marshals, that
fo soon as the council was taken, and the court dismissed in the Generals pavilion, at the first found
of trumpets immediately they should bring their legions out of the camp. Thus according to his O
edict, the enemys began a little before sun-setting to set forth. About the first watch they put the
fouliders in array ready for to march, and by midight (for they were to journey seven miles) they
went a fair and took pace, approaching the enemies camp. There Scipio gave unto Lelius a part
of the forces together with Mafanissa and his band of Numidians, with direction to invade
the camp of Syphax, and to let fire thereupon Then calling them by themselves both apart one from
the other, Lelius I men and Mafanissa, he earnestly besought them of all love to make up and
recom-
A recompense by careful indultric and deviso trust providence and forecast, which the darknes of the night disappointed them of. For as formed, he meant to let upon Afurabal and the Carthaginian camp; but begin he would not, before he low the fire amongst the lings tents. And it was not long after it began: for as soon as the fire caught hold of the next pavilions whereupon it was cast, and by it took all that were near, and so forward to those that joined unto them, it spread into all places of the camp. And verily into a great fright they were all put, as they could not perhaps, but needs must in a night fire. The fire, which was ran all over in a short time. Howbeit they thought it some fire by mischance only, and not the hand of the enemy, by occasion and means of war; and therefore unarmed as they were, and lightly appointed without weapons, they ran forth by heaps to quench the fire; and light fall upon their armed enemies, the Numidians especially; who by Mafonifia that was well acquainted with the manner of the Kings camp, were bestowed in convenient places, at the ends of every avenue and palle. Many in their very beds and couches, between sleeping and waking, were confused with the flame; many running headlong in this their hally flight one upon another, were in the lightness of the gates, stoned under foot, or else thultz and crushed to death. The Sinetica and witch of the Carthaginians, elipt at first the fire shining and flameing out; after whom others awakened and roused out of their nells by this nightly tumult and alarm, might behold and plainly see the flames; but they likewise were deceived as the other, and beleved verily that the fire began of itself by some misfortune, no man will how. The confused noise and cry alto, which was heard whiles they were a killing, flying and wounding, would not suffer them to know the truth indeed, whether the same arose upon their allright and fuddan fear by night, or otherwife. And therefore every man asked as he was, and fulpiecting no prudence of all the enemy, at all the gates as they flood next did what he could to bring with him such instruments and means as were to put out the fire; and happened unaware upon the army of the Romans. Now after they were all miserabled and put to the sword to the last man, not only upon an ordinary hatred between enemies, but also because there might not escape so much as one to carry newes unto the rest: Scipio immediately entered the gates, being not warded, but altogether neglected, and he was never calld as much as fearfull. They tell a flinging of fire upon the lightings and sheds that flood next, as to the flame brake out and theved at him as if it had been dispersed in many places: but afterwards catching and preying from one tent to another as they joyned cloie together, they were all scone on a fire, and burnt every liick down to the ground. Men and cattell both, finged and forcered at the first, as they ran in piteous and fastfull fort away; but afterwards as they tumbled one upon another, by heaps, those burned, and choppd up all the walls and avenues of the gates. And those who escaped the fire, helupon the edge of the sword. Thus in one day were 2 camps clean consumed. Howbeit, both the Generals, and of many thousands of armed men, only 2000 foot and 500 horse armed by half; and many of them either wounded or else finged and half rofted with the fire, got away and escaped. There either were slain or burnt to ashes upon 40000 men; taken prisners there were above 8000: among whom there happened to be many gentlemen of the Carthaginians, and 11 Senators. Of enimys were taken 178. Of Numidian hosics for service more than 2700: Six Elephants got alive, eight perffed either with fire or swords and a mighty deal of armor Eme to me to thier hands; all which the L General Scipio confeolated to Vivaus, and set on fire. Afurabal with some few Africans that fled with him, rid away upon the sea to the next City: and thither got all, who remained alive, following the tracks of their captain, and therefore fastened themselves. But, fowards left that City should be yielded to Scipio, he quit the place and departed. Apon the Romans were received within the same at the gares standing open for them: and bee the willing of themselves they rendred the town, there was no kind of hostility or violence offered unto them. But two other Cities one after another were forced and put to the rampack. All that pillage, as alto was one few of the fire in the two camps, was freely given to the boilers, Syphax encompassed and fortified himself in a strong hold, almost eight miles off. But Asurabal made halt to Carthage, for fear left upon the fuddan fright occasioned by this freth F and late overthrow, things should go backward, and the Senat revolve upon some unmanly and unworthy course. Thither at the first arrivd such fearfull news, that all men thought verily that Scipio would give over Viva and forthwith lay siege unto Carthage: whereupon there Sufetec (who are the Conils as it were, of the City) caled the Senat: where three opinions were delivered amongst them. The first advised to dispatch Embassadors to Scipio to treat for peace: the second, to send for Asurabal home to the defence of his own country, against so dangerous and deadly a war; the third gave counsel, by example of the Romans conftancy and resolution in their adverfity, to repair the army and gather new forces, and to request Syphax not to abandone and give over the quarrell. This opinion, because Asurabal was in place (and all those that fided with the Barchine house and faction, evermore inclined to war) prevailed and took effect. Hereupon they began to take measures in town and country: Orators were addrefted to Syphax, who of himself with all his might and main, was bured to levy freth forces, and preparing for new war. For his wife now, not as aforesie, by inticing words, flattering speeches, and pleasant-allurements, that might serve the turn to win and move the heart of an amorous lover, but by way of prayer and pitifull compassion, had prevailed so much with him already; yet and with plentiful tears befought him, not to betray her natural father and native country; for not suffer Carthage to be burnt with flaming fire, like as the camps were consumed already. Fff
The Embassadors also brought with them new hopes besides, which were presented into them in as happy a time as might be; who reported, that they were about to meet with 4000 Carthaginians brave and able young men, about the City named Olba, which had been lawyers and hired in Spain by their Commissioners, of purpose to take up new foldiers: and that Aframabal himself in person would be present with a power of no small importance. Syphax not only entertained these Orators with gracious speeches and courteous answers, but also showed them a great number of Numidians, gathered out of the country towns; some few days before he had furnished with armour and horses; promising besides, that he would assemble all the young and able men for service throughout his whole realm. For well he knew, that the late lofe and defeat hapned by occasion of fire, and not by fight: and never in war is a man to be reputed inferior, before he be vanquished by mere forces in ranged battell. In this wise answered he the Embassadors. And after some few days Aframabal and Syphax once again joyned their forces together: so as in all, their whole amounted to the number well near of 3000 armed men.

Now when Scipio was wholly set upon the assault of Viesa, and at the point to bend his ordinance and artillery against the walls, as thinking verily that the war was already done with Syphax and the Carthagians; the fame of the war renewed by them aloof, averted him from his purpose, and causd him to give over that enterprise for a time. So leaving behind him certain small guards, as well by water as land, only for a sign and shew of force; himself with all the strength of his army, set forwards to meete the enemy. At the hill he made him down and encamp'd upon an hill, four miles (or very near) distant from the Kings camp. The next day after, he descended with his cavalry, down into the great Plains or Downs (for so they call them) lying near the same hill; and spent that whole day in viewing the standing forces of the enemies before their camp, and playing upon them with shrewdnes.

And so for two days together next ensuing, they passed the time in divers tumultuous executions between the one part and the other, without doing any great exploit worth the remembrance. On the fourth day, they entered on both sides into the field, and embattalred themselves. Scipio marshalled his men in this wise. Behind the Principes in a vanguard, he placed the most enemijs of his Hailati, or Spears; and the Tairi he posted in the rearward, for to second them. The Italian horsemen he set in the right point: the Numidian horse and Massanissa branched in the left. Syphax and Aframabal put their Numidian horse opposite to the Italians, and the Carthagians to adfront Massanissa. In their main battall were planted the Celtiberians, to make head against the enemys of the Roman Legions. Thus ordered and arranged, they encountered one another, and joyned battell. At the first onset, both wings at once, as well the Numidians as the Carthagians, were put back and forced to give ground: for neither the Numidians (being for the most part country people and rusticall) were able to receive the Roman horsemen, nor the Carthagians (raw and untrained foldiers) sufficient to hold out with Massanissa, who (besides all other things) for his late and fresh victors, was so terrible, as there was no dealing with him. So the battell of the Celtiberians, (asked and furnished of both parts) stood still; for neither saw they any likelyhood to escape and save themselves or flight, considering they knew not the count of the country; nor hope to obtain pardon at Scipio his hand, against whom, (deserving so well of them and their nation) they were come into Africa with a power of wagg'd mercenary foldiers. So being environed on every side with the enemies, they fell one upon another; and obstinately dyed to the last man. But whiles all the enemies were wholly employed about them, Syphax and Aframabal gained themselves time some time to get away & escape. The victors (stirred rather with continual killing than long fighting) were overtaken with the night. The morrow after, Scipio sent unto Libius and Massanissa, with all the Roman and Numidian foldiers, and the nimblest and appointed footmen, after Syphax and Aframabal to follow the chace. Himself with the strength and body of that army, pursued all the cities the enemies that were within the feignory of the Carth. gymans, whom he partly forced by a small guard, partly taking them by surprise, and when he had once brought under his subjection (and that with speed) all the other States there bordering, then at once he would come to assault Carthage. Therefore they fell to repair and make up the breaches of their walls, and to fortifie them with strong bulwarks: and every man did his part to bring out of the country all kind of provision, against the time they should abide a long and tedious siege. Few words or none at all of peace, but much talk of sending Embassadors to call some Annibal. The greatest part were of mind & gave advice, to make out the armeado which was ready rigged, for to intercept the Romans victuals, and to imprisone and assualte the Romans fleet, riding before Viesa retchethly without fear, and disturbing nothing for peradventure they might also force the naval camp, left with a small guard for the defence thereof. And to this counsell the most inclin'd; yet they thought it good to send Embassadors to Annibal. For supposse that their navy should speed well, and have the happiest success that they could with, this only good would come thereof, that Viesa thereby might be in some fort saved of the firenit siege whereunto it was mov'd: as for the defence of Carthage it fell, they neither had any other Generals besides Annibal, nor army left but only his. Whereupon the next day after, the flaps were shot into the water, and set alight, and withall the Embassadors took theirs way towards Italy. All things were huddled up and done
in halt; such was their fortune that pricked them forward, and gave them no further time. And look if any one man flacked his business ever so little; he was reputed to betray the whole state, and the safety of all.

Seipso now marching with an army, laden with the spoil and pillage of many Cities; feint the prisoners away, and all the prizes besides, unto the old camp before Prica, and wholly let upon the conquest of Carthage, he surprized Times, a City abandoned of her guard left for defence; intast from Carthage almost twelve miles. The place, both by mans hand was strongly fenced, and by nature fiercely leasted: and as it might be easily seen from Carthage, so it yielded a goodly prospect to Carthage, and also to the sea all about Carthage. From thence the Romans (as they were hard at work in fortifying themselves with a trench and rampier) discovered the enemies fleet, failing from Carthage towards Prica. Laying therefore their work aside, they founded the remove, and presently in all haste advanced their ensigns, to prevent that their own ships which stood close to the shore, went wholly to the siege, and nought fitted and furnished for a sea-light, might nor be surprized and boarded. For how possibly could ships heavily charged, carrying artillery, ordnance and engines of battery, be ever able to withstand an Armdo nimly appointed, rigged and trimmed for the purpose with all ship furniture meet for battell, and manned besides with armed fouldiers? How might our ships (I say) withstand the enemy, which either are converted to the use of merchant-ships of burden; or else in no uncertain to the walls, that they serve in stead of a platform and bank, or else of bridges to enter upon the City? Seipso therefore, after he was at further come, and had belotted his wars ships with brazen beaks behind in the rearward near to land, which (as the manner is in fight as sex) might guard and defend the retreat: opposed the Hulks and Caricks in a four-fold rank and course, in theft of a wall afront the enemy. And because that in the tumult of the light, those ranges might not be broken and disordered, he laid the masts and sail-yards over-croffe, reserving from ship to ship; and with strong cables he linked and famed them all in one together, and lid boards and planks over them, that men might passe every way from one ship to another. But under those very bridges, he left certain spaces between, from whence the light pinnaces and frigots might make out to charge and recharge the enemy, and retire themselves thither again in safety. Having thus in halt (according as the time would give him leave) set their matters in order; there were to the number almout of a thousand elect and choice fouldiers put aboard into those ships of burden, to make head in the forefront, & withstand the violence of the enemies. And furnished they were with offensive weapons: but mislive especialy to shoot and fling from them: and such force thereof had they gathered, as might serve for the assail upon them was never too long. Thus appointed and prepared, they waited the coming of the enemies. The Carthaginians, who if they had made good speed, might have surprized them unawares, and found all poll-mell and out of order whilsts they were troubled, frightened, and to seek what to do upon that sudden occurrence! fearing still as men out of heart and dismayed, and by so many foes by land, and thereupon designing themselves even at the sea also; where (no doubt) they were the better and more potently; and having trifled out all the live-long day, and failed but slowly; about the sun-fleet arrived in the haven, which the Africans call Rafeiness. And the next morning by fan-rising, they put forth into the open seas, and ranged their ships in order, as against a fet naval battell; supposing that the Romans would make out and receive them. When they had laid thus a long time, and perceived the enemies not to flit or once to fet forward, then at last they charged upon the foreward hulks and ships of burden. The service was nothing like a sea-fight, but resembling for all the world the ships that are to assist the walls of some Town. For the hulks were a good deal taller and flood aloft over the enemies. And the Carthaginians out of their war ships armed and breasted with brazen beaks let slip many a dart in vain, as lancing them from beneath faintly, against the higher places; whereas the shot from above out of the Caricks, was levelled with more strength and by reason of their own poifolight aloft with greater force. The light pinnaces for sipal, and the other small banks, which made fallies from under the bridges aforesaid, framed of planks upon masts and sail-yards, at the first were encountered, overcharged and hidden only with the violence and greatness of those war ships; but after wards they were some trouble to the defendants of their own side; for that being intermingled amongst the enemies ships, their own fellows were forced oftentimes to stay their hands, and neither shoot arrow, nor lance dart, for fear of missing their enemies, and lighting amongst their own part. At the last, the enemies from out of the Carthaginian ships, began to call out certain loggeters, with iron hooks at the end (which the fouldiers usually call Harpagones) [Grapples] for to take hold upon the Roman ships. Which when the Romans were not able to cut in funder, no more than the very chains where they hung, and whereby they were lilling, then ye might have seen (as any one of their enemies war-ships and galleys rowed back, and towed after it a Roman Carick hanging by the grapple end) the boards and ropes cut atander, by which it was tied and fastned unto others, or else another range and course of more ships together, to follow after the tail of the other. By this device especially were all the bridges torn and rent in pieces, and fearely had the defendants any time and space to tenter and passe into the second rank of ships behind. Thus there were about the Caricks of the Romans drawn away to Carthage, hanging at the poops of their galleys. Their gladness and rejoicing hereat was much greater than the thing itself came to, and the more
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It fomted

the fame time, that Lelion and Mafaniifa were come within 15 diies into

Numidia; the Maflylians rendered Mafaniifa the ancient reioin belonging to him by inheritance

from his father, and received him with joy, as their King whom they had long time defired. Sy-

phus seeing his captains and garrifions diftrecfed and displaced, kept himfelf within the ancient

limits of his own Kingdom, but was not like to be long at ceft and quiet. For his wives father

on the one fide, and his wife again on the other, fet him on, and pricked him forward continu-

ally to make arms againft the Romansand fo doted he on her in exceflive love, that needs he must

yeld to her, there was no remedv. Besides, fo mighty he was in numbers of men and horse, that

the puiffance of a Kingdom flourishing fo many years together, offering and prefenting it elf
daily to the eje, had been enough to have made a Prince proud, that was not fo barbarous and un-
civil as he, and had some better rule and mastery of his affections then himself had. When he had

assembled together as many as were able for fervice, he furnished them with horses, and with ar-

mor, as well offensive as defensive. The Cavalry he forfed and divided into fmall troops and
corntis, the infantry into the cohorts and fquadrons, according as he had learned long fince of the

Roman eminations. And thus having failed an army, equal for number to the former, but flanding

altogether in manner, of new and untrained foldiores, he put himfelf on his journey againft

the enemies. And after he had encamped near unto them, at the beginning some few light horfe-

men advanced forward from the corps d' guard, in epiffal, fo near as they might with fafety, but

being fet back from thence with arrows & javelins, they retired unto their companies. After this

they began on both fides to make out one againft another, and to maintrain light skirmishes; and

when of any part they had taken the field, they would again for anger return in greater number

which is the wonted manner to kindle a battle between horfemen: for whiles the Winners hope

flill of better, and the looper chafes for having the worfe, the company ever encreafeth on both

fides. And thus now, after some few had cufjled and blown the coals, at length the whole ar-

mie of either part, came forth into the field eager of fight, and to strike a fett battel. So long as the

horse lefive, the Maflylians were fo many, as there were hardly any dealing with them, Syphus

sent them out in fuch great troops: but after that the Roman footmen once had (uddainly ented

between the cornets of their horfemen, which gave way as they came, and had gotten more foot-

ing, and made head, and to frightened the enemy charging fofree upon the fupr as he did then, the

Barbarians began to ride their horfes more eafily, and within a while gently to fland flill; and in

the end, not only to give ground to the footmen, but also to retreat from the horfemen, who now

were the more bold and hardly, being flanked with a guard of footmen.

And now by this time the standards of the legions advanced forward, and approac hed near

hand. But when the Maflyli were fo far from receiving and enduring their first charge, that they

might not abide the very fight too much, as of their enigns and armor, fo mightily wroght with

them either the remembrance of former overthrows already paifed, or the present fear of immi-

nent danger. Where Syphus, whiles he rode bravely in the face of the enemies troops and squa-

drons, if happily for very fane, or for the peril of his own peron, he might fay his men from running

away, had his horfe under him fore wounded, and being call off his back to the earth, as over-

preffed with the number, taken prisoner, and brought alive unto Lelion, for to referc unto

Mafaniifa above all others a goodly fiew and joyfull light to behold. Now was Carthago the head

City of all the Kingdom of Syphus; and thither after the fight, betook themselves a mighty mul-

titude of people. The laughter in this battel was lefts in proportion, then the victory, because the

horfemen only mainained the confed. Not above five thoufand were flain, and not halve fo many

taken prisoners. And when they had made an affalt upon the camp whither the frighted multitude

after the lofe of their King, had retired, Mafaniifa came unto Lelion and laid, that for the prefent

there could be nothing more pleasing and hononourable unto him, then upon his victory to visit and

fee his fathers Kingdom, which he had recovered and won again after fo long a time. But as in

adversity, to likewise in prosperitv (as he) tracht of time and delays are never good. In cafe ther-

fore Lelion would permit him and his horfemen, together with conquered Syphus to go before

unto the City Carthaga, he would forpipe them a fuddain, finding all out of frame and to seek by

reason of this to fuddain and unexpected fear: and Lelion with his footmen might travel fair and

foltly, and come after with cafe journeys. Lelion yielded hereunto. Whereupon, being gone a-

fore unto Carthaga, he commanded the principal Citizens of Carthaga to be called forth unto a parle,

But all the whites that they were ignorant of the Kings unhappy fall, and as long as Mafaniifa

uttered nothing of that which was hapned, he might not prevail either with threats or faire O

words and persuafions untill he prefented the King before them a bound prisoner. Then atfo hea-

vy an obiect and miferable fpectacle, they lift up a pitiful cry, and made great lamentation.

And partly for fear they abandoned the defence of the wall, and partly by a general content
to court the Conqueror, and to feek for grace and favour at his hands, they let the gates open.

Then Mafaniifa, after he had bettowed about the gates, and in convenient places of the wall,
certain strong guards, to keep that no man should fair and make an escape, he rode a gallop to the

royal
A royal palace, for to be pochtefled of it. As he entered within the fore-gates thereof, even in the very entrance of the porch, Sophonisba the wife of Syphax, and daughter of Africbus the Carthaginian, met him on the way: and elping in the midst of the armed train, Masanis, full gorgeously dight, as well in his brave armor, as in other goodly array and ornaments, imagining him to be the King (as he was indeed) fell down prostrate at his feet, and spake in this wise: "True it is (quoth she) of Masanis, that the Gods above, together with your own vertue and fidelity have given you full power and puiflanee, to doe with us according to your pleasure: but if it be lawful for me a poor prisoner and captive woman, to open my mouth and make an humble speech unto my Lord, and in whose only hands lieth my life and death; if I may be so bold to touch your knees, and that victorious right hand of yours; I would befeech and pray you for the honour of the royal majesty of a Prince, wherein we all our selves were interested; in the love and name of the Numidian nation, which now is common to you and Syphax, by the domestical gods, protectors of this regall house and princely place, who vouchsafe to receive you into it as this present with better prelates and more fortunate tokens, then lately they sent Syphax out of it; to design me a lowly suppliant this favour, and grant me this petition, as to determine your will of me your captive whatsoever pleaise you & not to suffer me to fall into the proud hands and humble disposition of any Roman. If there were nothing else but this, that I was sometime wife and Queen to Syphax, yet would I rather trie the counteine and humanity of a Numidian, and one born in Africk as well as my self then of a stranger and alien. But what hard measure a Carthaginian lady, and the daughter of Africbus, may feare to a Roman mans hand, you see and know full well. Wherefore once again I requent and intreat your highness upon my knees, to regard my life: and if there be no way else to save and keep me from the will and appetite of the Romans, to put me to death on our hand. For beauty the departed and was incomparable; for years lofty, and in the very belt of her age. And therefore when as now she held him by the hand, and requented his protection and honourable word, only for this, that she might not be delivered and betrayed to a Roman, placing & letting her words to well, and couching them so cunningly, that they founded reason to speech for to win love, then prays to crave patience of this victorious Prince! he enclined presently not only to mercy and compassion, but also as all the kind of these Numidians are full of love, and have no stay of their wanton lust! A conqueror other wise though he were, yielded himself prisoner to the love of his captive:

And after he had given her this right hand for assurance to perform her requent, he went into the palace. This done, he began to call about with himself how he might make good his promise unto Sophonisba: but finding no means else to comparse and bring it about, he borrowed foolish, rath, and shameless counsel of blind love. He made no more ado, but commanded in all haste to prepare that very day for the solemnization and marriage with Sophonisba, because he would give neither Lusius, nor Syphax himself, any liberty at all to proceed against her as a prisoner, after the were once the wedded wife of Masanis. The wedding was no sooner done, but behold Lusius came, a guest unites for and nothing welcome; who for little dissembled how much he disliked the thing, that he was once about to have plucked her from the bride-bed, and sent her away even with Syphax and other prisoners to Scipio. But overcame with the earnest prayers of Masanis, who brought and imported him to refer the matter over to Scipio, for to arbitrate and decide unto whither of the two Kings Sophonisba should be awarded, for to mend their state, and better their fortune: he sent away Syphax alone with the rest of the prisoners, and by the help of Masanis, wan and recovered the other Cities in Numidia, which were held by the garrisons of the King. When news came into the camp that they were bringing Syphax thither, all the multitude went forth as it were to behold a triumph. Himself went bound before all the rest, and a number of Numidian noblemen and gentlemen followed after. Then every man to forth and amplifie this victorie, magnified what he could the greatness of King Syphax, and the glorious renown of the nation, in these terms: That he was the King, unto whose majesty the two most mighty and puifiant states of the world, to wit, the Romans and the Carthaginians attributed so much, that Scipio the General of the one, for to seek his annity, left the province of Spain and the army there, and with two Caravals or Gallies ruled with five banks of oars, sailed over into Africk; and Africbus the great commander of the Carthaginians, not only repaired himself in person unto him into his Kingdom, but also gave him his daughter in marriage: so as at one time he had in his power the two grand captains, of Carthaginians and Romans both. And like as both these nations killed sacrifices unto the immortal gods, and cried thereby their grace and favour, so of both parties at one time was his friendship bought for, and detined. And as for his power and puiftanee, it was to great, that he expelled Masanis out of his own Realm, and drove him unto this narrow point, that the least means he had to preserve his life, was either the running rumour of his death, in the lurking holes of the wild woods, wherein he was glad to live by rapine and health, after the guise of savage beafts. The King thus talked of in every mans mouth that liode about him, was brought at length into the Praetorium or Generals pavilion, and there presented unto Scipio. And Scipio verily was much moved in mind to consider the former State and fortune of the man, compared now with his present condition: and to remember withal and call to mind the hospital intertineint, the giving interchangeably of the right hand, and the covenant between them made both in publick and private. In these regards likewise Syphax took heart, and spake more frankly unto the conquerour. For when Scipio demanded of him
What he meant, and for what intent he not only renounced alliance with the Romans, but also began himself first to make war upon them: he made answer again and confounded, That he had indeed done amiss, and paid the fool. As for his taking arms against the people of Rome, that was not the beginning of his folly, but rather the very end of his frantick follies: for when he was, and never else but then, that he went besides himselfe and was bereft of his wits; then he abandoned out of his mind and clean forgot, as well private enmity by a hospitalitie entertainment, as all publick alliance by solemn covenants; when as he received into his house a Cardensinian lady for his wife: then his royal court and palace was set on fire & burned with those mutuall torches. That furious fiend it was (quoth he) and pestilent damne, that by all kind of pleasan alterings, and flattering enticements possest my mind, drew away and alienated my heart, and never relented the, until with her own hands the laid upon my body impious and ungodly armes against my ownse guelft and loving friend. And yet as desperatet and as wofull as my case is, so are my miseries and calamities, this one thing doth me good and enjoyeth my heart, that I see the fame pellissferous fury, that fiend of hell, and lim of the Devil, gotten into the house and family of him who is the most deadly and mortal enemey that I have in all world. Neither turely will Mafaniffa deman himselfe more wisely, soberely and constantly then Syphax: nay, considering his youthfull years, he will be apt to be mis-led by love, and more subiect to the temptations of a woman. Certainly in this action of expouing her, he hath showed more folly a great deal, and want of government. When he had uttered these words not only upon a spightfull hatred against anenemy, but also upon some new pricks of jealouie rising in his heart, seeing her whom he loved, in the possession of his concurrent, Seipio was driven into no small dumps, and with no well what to make of. And as he began to be ambigous of Mafaniffa for this marriage, fo, to speak a truth, the circumstances thereof hammered in his head, and made him conceive hardly of him; for feare that another day by the tuggestions of the same woman, he would play false, and trea-

It is not clear how the rest of the text relates to the previous content. It seems to be a collection of words and phrases out of context. 

"Great care was now taken by the Romans to prevent a like defease; and the enemey was sufficiently apprized. While Livius continued to prosecute the war, the Romans continued to gain advantages and to extend their possessions."
A With fetching many deep sighs and sobs, so as he might only be overheard by them that flood about his tent, as the last he gave one grievous groan above the rest, and with that called for one of his truly grooms, who had under his hand the keeping (as the manner was of Kings and Princes) of a special poyson, against all doubtful chances that might happen. Which he commanded him to temper in a goblet of wine, and to carry it to Sophonisba, and withal to tell her thus much from him. 

That Masania would have been most willing to perform his plighted oath and first promise, which an husband ought unto his wedded wife. But since the imperial powers, and those that were mightier than himself, had bereft him of that patience and liberty, he was ready and able yet to accomplish a second bequest, namely, that the should not come aside into the hands of the Romans: and therefore he advised her, that in remembrance of her rather noble warrior and Commander, of her native country, of two Kings to whom she had been married, she would provide for her self, and save her own honour. This credence and message, together with the poyson, the servant when he was come unto Sophonisba, delivered unto her. Whereat,

C he accept (quoth she) this marriage present, and welcome be it to me, if this be the best token that a husband could find to lend unto his wife. Yet thus much signifie unto him from me again, that better content I would have to die, if my marriage bed had not flood fo no more to my grave. She spake not the word foolishly, but she did the deed as resolutely for the took the cup in hand, and shewed no sign at all of fear, she roundely drank it off. When tidings hereof came unto Scipio, for fear lett the hot, humorous, and passionate young Prince, might do him self some mischief, he presently sent for him. One while he gave him good & comfortable words: another while he gently rebuked him, in that he would seeme to make amends for one folly with another, and to play a more cruel and tragical part then there was need. The next day after, to the end that he might withdraw his way from this present fit of troublesome fancies, he mounted up into his Tribunal seat, and assembled an audience. There first, he openly stiled Masania by the name of King, and honored him with fingular praises and commendations : which done, he gave him a golden crown, a fair cup like wife of gold, a chair of state and scepter, both of ivory, a rich long robe imbrodered of divers colours, and a coat wrought with needle work, representing the Date tree. These honourable presents wanted no words to set them out. For as (quoth he) there is nothing among the Romans more flately and magnifically than triumph, so that they ride in triumph, have no ornaments more rich and sumptuous then this, which the people of Rome esteem.

D With Masania only of all strangers and aliens to be worthy of. After this he gave Lelius also his due and deserved praises, and bello wed upon him coronet of gold. Other men likewise according to the service which they had done, were rewarded with lunny gifts. The King having these honours done unto him, was quieted and contented in mind, and conceived some allure, now that Syphax was displaced & rid out of the way; shortly to compass and enjoy the whole kingdom of Numidia. Then Scipio having sent C. Lelius with Syphax and other captives unto Rome, accompanied also with the Embassadors of Masania, returned himself with his power again to Africa. And there what fortifications and works he had begun afore, now he finished perfectly and brought to an end. The Carthaginians who were filled with a kind of joy that was not only short, but also in manner vain and foolish, grounded upon their late alsauf of the Armado, which (considering their present state) was pursuant enough; after they heard that Syphax was taken prisoner, in whom they had repose more hope (well nigh) then in Aemus and their own army, were mightily affrighted and daunted, and would give no more ear to any that perverted war, but lent as assorats to sue for peace, thirty of their principal ancients: and they amongst them were (as one would say) their very counsellor of state, and had the greatest power and authority to way and overrule the whole body of the Senat. Who being entered into the Roman camp and the General his lodging and pavilion, fell down prostrat (after the manner and guise as I take it, of the country * from whence they were first descended) like those that worship & adore the gods. And to this their humble reverence, their language was fubtile and correspondent; not excelling themselves and their fault, but transferring the beginning and occasion thereof, upon Aemus and his favourites about him, and ended him and bare him up in his fullfow pride and insolent ambition craving pardon for their City of Carthago, which twice already had been subversted and overthrown by the insconsiderat folly of her own citizens: yet once again you would gladly be saved and fland upright by the means and goodness of their enemies: for so much as they knew well, that the people of Rome fought not the letter extermination and destruction of whom they had vanquished by force of armes, but only the sovereigny and rule over them: promising falty and honour to them ready to serve in all loyalty, & to perform whatsoever it should please them to impose and lay upon them. Syphax made them this answer again, and said, that as he came into Africa upon hope to return home with conquest and not with peace, so that hope of his by the prospect

GTeens and happy success of his w is iniberto, was much bettered and augmented. Howbeit although he aspired himself of the absolute victory, as if he had it fast enough in his hand, yet a good accord he would not refuse: that all nations of the world might know, that the people of Rome can both begin wars rightfully, and also end the same as justly. My will therefore (quoth he) and pleasure is, that the conditions of peace shall be thefe. Inprimis, that the Carthaginians shall restore and deliver back all the prisoners that they have taken in the wars: with all the tegenates and fugitives that have fled to their side from us. Item, that they remove their forces
forces out of Italy and France. Item, that they bear to meddle in Spain. Item, that they abandon 
and quit all the hands between Italy and Africa. Item, to yeeld up all their ships of war taving 
only twenty. Item, that they deliver unto the Romans, of wheast 500000 Modii, and of bar- 
ley 300000. [Now what was the sum of money that he required or demanded of them, it is 
not certainly agreed upon. In some writers I find 5000 talents in others, five thousand pound 
weight only of silver: and there be that have set down, that they laid upon them a double pay 
of all the talliers.] Upon these conditions (faith he) whether ye will like of peace or no, ye 
shall have three days repit and liberty to consult and confer. If you will accept them in these 
terms, make a truce with me for the present, and lend your Embassadors unto Rome to the Senat 
there. Thus the Carthaginians, when they had agreed together, and concluded to refuse no articles 
and conditions of peace whatsoever, were dismisst. But in truth they fought for nothing else but 
delays and tract of time until Annibal was failed over into Africa. So they addressed certain Embassadors unto Scipio to enter a truce; others they dispatched to Rome to treat 
for a peace: who brought them with them some few captives, repatriates and fugitives, to the 
end they might obtain their fute more easily. But Lelius with Siphax and other captives (the 
principal nobles and gentlement of the Numidians) was many days before arrived at Rome, and 
had declared unto the LL. of the Senat all things in order as touching their good speed and success 
in Africa, to the great contentment and joy of all men for the present, and with exceeding hope 
for the hope to come. Then the LL. after consullation had, gave order that the King should be lent to 
Alba, there to lie in ward and safe custody, and that Lelius should be kept still at Rome, until 
the Carthaginian Embassadors came. A solemn procession for four days was decreed. And P. Aelius 
the Pretor, after he had dismisst the Senat, called presently an assembly of the people, and 
together with C. Lelius went into the Rostra for pulpit orations. Where the people hearing 
that the Carthaginian army was defeated, that the King of great name and renown was 
overcome and taken prisoner; that all Numidia was overrun from one end to the other with a 
noble and singular conquest; they could no longer contain their joy in silence, but in thouns and 
acclamations and other tokens (full full in the assembly of a multitude) express and signify their 
exceeding gladness and contentment of heart. Whereupon the Pretor immediately made procla-
mation, that the Church-wardens and sextons should set open all the holy temples and chapells 
throughout the City, and give the people liberty and leave all the day long, devoutly to go about 
the gods, reverently to salute them, and heartily to render thanksgiving for this achieved victory. 
The next day following, he admitted the Embassadors of Masami, into the Senat house, and gave 
them audience. Who first and foremost rejoiced in the behalf of the Senat, for the prosperous 
and happy successe of P. Scipio in Africa: than they gave thanks, that he not only had en-
titled Masami their lord and master by the bare name of King, but also invested him a King in-
deep by restoring him to his fathers Kingdome. Wherein if please the LL. of the Senat, he 
might reign, now that Siphax was removed and gone, without fear and trouble at all. Also for 
that he solemnly in the open assemby praised him in most honourable terms, and adorned him 
richly with right lately and precious gifts. For to deterve which favors and honors done unto 
him, as he had indescouraged already, so would be henceforth not fail to do his best. Then they 
made a petition that the Senat would confirm and ratifie by their act and decree, his royal hyle 
and title of a King, with other benefits and favours received of Scipio. And this moreover particularly 
Masami would requellt (if he might be so bold, and that it flood with the pleasure of the Senat) 
that they would enlargse and set at liberty all the Numidians captives that lay in prison in Rome: for 
this would be a thing whereby he should acquire much honour and reputation, and gain great 
love and favour amongst his people and countreymen at home. To these points the Embassadors 
received this answer. Concerning the prosperous affairs of the wars in Africa, they liked well, 
and confirmed his act in giving Masami the name of King: and therein he had done well and jutty 
and according to good reason. And whatsoever he had paased elle to the honour of Masami, the 
LL approved and commended the same. Then they decreed certain presents that the Embassadors 
should carry unto the King: to wit, two purple voidlers cafcocks, each of them with a clasp 
of gold; and as many rich coates emboraded and belted with purple. Also two couriers bar- 
bed and trapped, with their rich esparrions: two complete armors for horse, with their cuirases: 
likewise pavilions, with all their military furniture, in as full and ample manner as a Con- 
sul is allowed. These presents (I say) had the Pretor direction to lend unto the King. As for the Em-
assadors themselves, there was beftowed upon them no less then 5000 Asces a piece; and upon 
their followers in the train, each of them 3000 Asces. Also a double suit of apparel for either of 
the Embassadors, and one single suit to every one throughout their train; as also to those Numid-
ians, who being set at large out of prizon, were to be delivered again to the King. Over and be-
side, there was appointed for the Embassadors, lodging of free-coft; gardenage and walking 
places of pleasure; allowance for their table, and all provision elle whatsoever, at the Cities ex-
penses.

In that summer when these decrees past at Rome, and those affairs were achieved in Af- 

crica, P. Quinctius Flamin Pector, and M. Cornelius Vice-consul, fought a great battell with Ma-

gi the Carthaginian, in the territory of the Infulrians, within the province of France. In the 

vanguard
vanguard were placed the legions of the Pretor. Cornelius kept the legions in the rearward, and himself in person rode to the standards in the forefront. And before both wings, the Pretor and Vice-conull encouraged all that ever they could, the fouldiers for to advance the enigens, and give a charge upon the enemy. But seeing he could not prevail nor do any good, therfore Quinius to Cornelius: you see how the light lakeneth and waxeth cooler, and the enemies that were timorous, are hardned and heartned by this resisstance beyond their hope and expectation; yes, and it is to be feared, that they will turn to be hard alo, and make head against us. We must needs raise up a storm of Cavalry, if we would disorder them, and put them out of array. And therefore either do main ain fight either in the front, whiles I bring the men of arms into the battell, or else will I fight here in the vanguard, whiles you send out the horsemens of four legions upon the enemies. And when the Vice-conull was willing to accept of whether service the Pretor would, then Quinius the Pretor, with his son aforesaid Marcus, a luty young gallant, went to the horsemens, commanded them to mount on horseback, and suddenly all at once lent them against the enemy. The tumult and noisewith which the horsemens made was awered & redoubled by the shout that the footmen put up. And verily the enemies battell had not been able to have kept their ground, but that Mago at the first thiring of the Cavalry, made out the Elephants forth with into the battell, whom he had in readiness for such purpole. At the uncoch braying, the strong smell, and biverse light of which beats, the horses were frighted: and so the aid of horse-fight proved vain. And as the Roman Cavalry interlaced among the Infantry was more strong and to cible, where they had the ache both of lance point alouf, and of swords edge close at hand: to when they were transported and carried far off with their panting and fearfull horses, the Numidians horsemens had the more room to shoot their darts against them with better advantage. Besides this disorder, the twelfth legion of footmen (wherof a great part was beaten down and slain, more for thane then upon any strenght and value, kept their place still; but never had been able to have held out any longer, but that the thirteenth legion drawn forth of the rearward into the vanguard, reinforced the battell that was in hazard and lay a bleeding: and Mago withall for his part, came in with the Frenchmen out of the rearward, and opposed them against this fresh legion: but when they were once discemted and put back (which required no great nor long fight) the Hatti or Javeliniers of the eleventh legion gathered round together and charged upon the Elephants, which now also began to break the ranks of the footmen. But when they had lanced their Javelins against them, standing thick together in multitudes (and lightly there was not one of them bit amisse but did his errand) they forced them all to turn back upon their own battell: so four of them were sore wounded and fell down dead. Then the vanguard of the enemies began somewhat to give ground; and withall, the whole strenght of the Roman footmen seeing the Elephants turn rail, came forward at once for to encreast the disordered tumult, and put them in greater fear. But lo long as Mago stood stoutly to it, and standing in the forefront of the enigens, the ranks and files as they went back softly, and retired by little and little, still maintaing fight as before in good order: but after that they saw him shot through the thigh and fallen, and therewith carried him out the battell for dead, incontinently they were all defeated and put to flight. There were slain of enemies about five thousand, and of military enigns eighteen won and carried away. The Romans likewise bought not this victory without loffe of blood. For of the Pretors army were left two thousand and three hundred, and the greater part of them by far were of the welth legion. Whereof two Tribunes Military or Colonels also left their lives, M. Cestus and M. Mamia. Likewise of the thirteenth legion, which came last to the conflict, Ca. Helvius Colonell, in reining the fight was slain, and eighteen men of arms besides, most brave and excellent horsemens, with Centurions who were by the Elephants troden down, trampled under foot, and to perished. And no doubt the battell had continued longer, but that by occasion of the General his hurt, the victory was given away and yeilded Mago in the dead time of the next night dislodged and departed; and stretching out his journey so far as possible for his wound he might, he marched away until they came to the sea side, unto the Ingains in Liguria: where the Embassadors sent from Carthage (who a few daies before were arrived in the French galle) were paired unto him, commanding him with all speed possible to fall unto Africa, for as much as his brother Asandra likewise (unto whom also there were Embassadors gone with the like message and commission) would do the same. For the State of Carthage now was not in case, nor upon terms to defend and keep in obedience by force of arms France and Italy, but to ease home, Mago not only moved with the commandement of the Senat, and the danger of his countrye, but fearing also left the enemy following the train of his victory, would preuie and set upon him, if he made long lay: and doubting left the Ligurians likewise, seeing Italy abandoned by the Carthaginians, would revolt and turn unto tholo, under whose obedience they were like shortly to be reduced: albeit he had no hope that his hurt should have lefe taking at sea by faling, then on land by travelling, or to find things there more handseme and ready for the cure, embarked his army and departed. But before he was well gotten beyond the point and, lands end of Sardinia, he died of his wound before said. Certain ships also of the Carthaginians, being fastened a-funder in the deep sea, were by the Roman Armado, that kept about the coast of Sardinia surprized and boarded. There were the Acts performed both by sea and land, on the side of Italy which lieth along the Alpi.
The thirtieth Book of T. Livius

Ch. Servilius the Consul having performed no worthy and memorable exploit, either in his province Hetruria, or in France(for thither he went alo in the end) but only that he redeemed his father Ch. Servilius and his uncle C. Lucullus, from servitude and bondage, now sixteen years after they had been taken prisoners by the Boii before the village Tantum, returned to Rome, with his father going on the one side, and his uncle on the other: a man famous rather for his private deeds, then renowned for any publick and honourable act worthy of remembrance. And a bill was preferred unto the people, that it should not be imputed for a treachery unto C. Servilius, that while his own father (who had fitten upon the ivory chair of elate) was living (and that unknown to him) he had been both Tribune and Adile alo of the Commons against the laws in that behalf provided. This act being passed and granted, he returned again into his province. Unto Cn. Servilius the Consul who was in the Britanian country, there revolved Confinia, Ufugum, Verge, Bediat, Hetrucolum, Sphauum, Argentumus, Dampetia, and many other pieces of small accompl, upon occasion that they saw the Carthaginians war to wax cold and feeble. The same Consul fought a battell with Annibal in the territory of Corcon: the manner of which fight is darkly and obscurely reported. For Valerius Ancius faith, there were slain five thousand of the enemies: a thing of such consequence, that either it was meer impudence to forge it, or great negligence to overflit it. But the truth is, from that time forward nothing was done by Annibal in Italy, for to him alo there came from Carthage Embassadors to call him home into Africa, even about the same time that the others did unto Magus. And as it is reported of him, all the whiles that he gave audience to the Embassadors, he gnashed and grinned his teeth, he kept a fighing and groaning, yes, and hardly could forbear to flied tears. After they bad delivered their Meffage according to their commission, Yes, many, qud he, now they go no more about the bu fh with me by covert means and under-hand to send for me home, but openly are seen in the action: who all this while in offering no supplies either of men or money to be transported over unto me, fought to draw and hate me from hence. Well then, It is not the people of Rome to often by me defeated and put to flight, that hath by armes overcome Annibal, but it is the Senate of Carthage, with their backbiting and malicious envy. Neither will P. Scipio rejoice so much, and beare himself proud upon this disgrace of my return, as Hanno will: who with the ruine and subversion of Carthage, hath overthrown our house and family, when by no other means he could effect it. Now Annibal whole mind tore-gave him that such a thing would fall out, had prepared shipping store-hand. And therefore after he had sent away the multitude of fouldiers that were of small or no service, into the towns of the Britanian country, under a colour and thew of garrisons for defence, which towns were but few, and the same rather held in by awe and fear, then abiding in obedience for love and loyalty, he took with him the whole strength and flour of his armes, and croffed over into Africa. But before he went to sea, many of the Italian nation, who refusing to follow him into Africa, had taken for sanctuary the chappell of Isus Lacustris, which never to that day had been violated and broken; notwithstanding the liberty of the place, he cruelly massacred in the very temple. Seldom by report had ever any man been known to leave his native foile and country, and depart into exile with more heavy heart, then Annibal did when he went out of his enemies land. Oftentimes he looked back to the coastes of Italy, blaming both God and man, yes, cursing himself and his owne life, for that he led not straightwaies upon his fresh victory at Cannae, his fouldiers embraced as they were with blood directly even to Rome. Scipio (quoth he) had the heart to go to Carthage, when he was Consul, had never seen in Italy the Carthaginian enemie: and myself, having lain at Thrasympous and Cannae ten thousand armed men, have fitten still about Carthinum, Comes, and Nola, wearing and decaying in strength every day more then other. In this manner he blamed himself, and complained of his hard hap and cuttied fortune: and so he was pulled out of the possession of Italy that he held so long.

News came to Rome about one and the same time, that both Magus and Annibal were departed and onward on their journey: The joy of which twofold gratulation was the leffe in two regards, both for that their own captains seemed to have either little courage or small force to stay them behind, and imphech them for going, considering they had express order from the Senat to do, as also because they at Rome were penive and doubtfull, what would be the issue and end of all, seeing the whole weight of the war to bear and rest upon the shoulders of one only Captain and army.

And much about this time came the Saguntines Embassadors, bringing with them certain Carthaginians prisoners, who were taken with fums of money upon them, and had failed into Spain for to levy and wage men for aid. The mony they laid down in the very port-bull or entrance of the Senat-house, amounting to 250 pound weight of gold, and 800 pound weight of silver. The men they receivd and clapt them up fait in prison, the silver and gold both, they delivered again to the Embassadors, with many thanks, over and besides they gave them rewards and ships to return again into Spain. Then the grave and ancient Senators began to reason and discourse in this wise: That men naturally have leffe fende of good things then of bad: and feel not to foon their own weak as their wre. We remember say they, what fear, what fright and terror we were put in, when Annibal passed over into Italy. Lord, what losses, what lamentable misfortunes hapned thereupon! The enemies camp was discovered and seen from the walls of the City; what vowings, what praying was there then, both of all and some! How often in assemblies and counsels were men seen to stretch out their hands to heaven, & to utter these words & cry aloud; When
A When will that day come? and will it never be, that we shall see Italy again clear of enemies, obtain peace, and flourish once more, enjoying happy peace? Now that length, even at 16 years, and not before, the gods have vouchsafed us this blessing; and no man finds a word, nor maketh a motion of thanksgiving to their divine majesty therefore. And truly, if men know not how to accept with joy and thankfulness a benefit when it first cometh, they will be far short, and will much more to remember the same when once it is past. Hereupon they cried out and called aloud with one voice from all parts of the Senate-honour to P. Attius the Pretor, for to propose the matter to the court there assembled and a decree was granted, that for five days there should be solemn proclamations and supplications in every church and chappell before the shrines of the gods and godesses and greater benefits killed for sacrefce to the number of 100.

B Now when Attius and the Embassadors of M. Scipio had their dispatch and were dismissed, tidings were brought of the Carthaginian Embassadors coming to the Senat to sue for peace, were seen at Patrols, and thence from thence they would travel by land unto Rome. Whereupon it was thought good unto the Senat, that Attius should be tenter again and called back, that the might be present, and at the hearing of the treating of peace. Q. Fulvius Gillo a Lieutenant of Scipio had the conducting of the Carthaginian Embassadors to Rome: who being forbidden to set foot within the City, were lodged without the in great ball named Villa Publica, and had audience given them of the Senat, assembled in the temple of Bellona. Who made in manner the very same speech that they had before unto Scipio, clearing the whole State and their publick counsell, and laying all the truth and blame upon Annibal for making war: laying, that he had no warrant, commission, and commandment from the Senat to pass over the Alps, nor to much as over Iterum, and that of his own head he took arms; and warred not upon the Romans only, but also upon the Sagginius. In consideration whereof, he that would esteem all things aright, and weigh the truth indeed, must needs judge, that for any thing done by the Senat and people of Carthage, the ancient league made with the people of Rome, hath continued to this day found and entire. And foregoing the had they in commiission to sue for, and request, but that they might maintain and remain full in that accord & league which was last concluded and contracted with Latinati the Continent. Now when the Pretor, according to an ancient custom of their forefathers, had given liberty to whomsoever that would for to put interrogatories unto the Embassadors; and the elder ones, such as had been present at the making of the capitulations and covenants concerning the said peace, and demanded of them, some one thing, and some another; and the Embassadors answered again, that by occasion of their young age (for they were all in manner but young men,) they remembered nothing: the whole court from all parts thereof cried out and said, that this was but a fraudulent and treacherous Carthaginian trick, to chuse and lend such for to sue for the old peace which they themselves could not not remember. And when the Embassadors were voided out of the Senat house, and the opinions of the LL demanded, M. Livius was of this mind, that Qu. Servilius the Consul, who was the new of the twain, should be sent for, that the treaty of peace might in his presence be concluded upon. For since that there could not lightly a weightier matter then it was, come afore to be determined of, he thought it good not with the honor and reputation of the people of Rome, that such a matter should be debated of without the pergonal presence of both, or at the least wife one of the Consuls. Qu. Metellus (who three years before had been Consul and Dictator) spake to the cause in this manner. For as much as P. Scipio by defeating and putting to the sword whole armies, by wounding and spoiling the territories of the enemies, had driven them to this exigent, that in humble fort they came to crave peace: and considering that no man living was better able to judge with what mind and intent they feared for this peace then himself, who warred ever before the gates of Carthage; therefore no man's advice was to be heard, but only his, either to accept of the said peace in quillet, or to reject it. M. Valerius Lestius, who had been twice Consul, agreed, that they were spies and not Embassadors, who now were come; and that it were a good deed to command them to avant, and be packing out of the confines of Italy; & to lend with them certain men of purpose to guard them to their lands; & yes, & to write unto Scipio to go forward with his wars & not to slack one jot. Lutias & Fulvius added moreover and laid, that Scipio laid this especially for his ground, to hope there might be peace, in case Annibal and Mago were not called out of Italy: As for the Carthagians, they would make remissant of any thing whatsoever, so long as they expected those leaders and their armies; but afterwards without remembrance of covenants, were they never to fetch and new, yes, and without respect of all the gods, they would (no doubt) maintain and continue the wars. In these regards they entreated the rather to Lestius, and approved his opinion. So the Embassadors were sent away without any peace obtained, or certain answer returned unto them.

Much about that time, Qu. Servilius the Consul, who made full reckoning that he should have the honour of bringing Italy into quietness made purport after Annibal, as if he had been curcurled & driven out by him; and felt failure over into Sicily, and then into Africa. Which being commonly noise, and burnt and dead at Rome, at the first the LL of the Senat thought good, that the Pretor should write unto the Consuls to this effect, that the Senat judged it meet and right for him to return into Italy. But afterwards upon the Pretor's his words, saying that the Consul would set on by his letters, P. Sulpius wrote of purport Dictator, who by virtue of that more sovereign rule and authority, called the Consul precipitously home into Italy. And the
Then, he together with M. Servilius the General of the horse, spent in large expenses and visiting the Cities of Italy which in time of war had shrank off their allegiance, and in taking due knowledge of all their states and reasons severally.

During the time of the truce, there set forth all out of Sardinia from Lentulus the Pretor, an hundred galleys laden with victuals, together with a convoy and guard of twenty galleys of war, and sailed over into Africa safe, both from the danger of the enemy, and also from the peril of tempest by sea. But Cn. Oblavius as he was in his voyage from Sicily, with a fleet of two hundred galleys and thirty strong galleys, had not the like good success. For as he sailed (well near) within the kenning of Africa, first he was calmed; then the wind turning south, troubled and disordered his ships, and, first entered them over the sea one from another. Himself with his galleys of war, brought against the wind and the current, and with excessive toil and labour of the oarsmen, I doubled the point of the Cape of Apollo & there in the bay rode at anchor; but the galleys for the most part fell with the land, Eginorum (which shubber upon the foreland, and being in the very mouth of that creek from the sea wherein Carthage standeth) at least ten leagues from the City; and some were driven by wind to a place called the Hotawaters, over against the City. All this helped within the fight of Carthage. And therefore out of all parts of the City, was great turning to the market-place. The magistrates assembled the Senate; the people at the entry and porch of the Council house, called upon the Senators and cried out, that they should not let slip to great a booty out of their cities and hands. Some alleged against them, the fidelity of treating of peace; others also objected the faithful promise of truce (the term thereof was not yet expired.) But at last, when both Senates and people were intermingled all in manner together, agreed it was by a general consent, that Afrubal with a fleet of fifty galleys should sail over to Eginorum; and so from thence rally and gather together the Roman ships dispersed along the coasts and the havens. And the galleys (abandoned of their mariners that were fled, first from the land Eginorum, and afterwards from the Hotawaters) was taken and towed as it were at the tails of their own ships to Carthage. As yet the Emissaries were not returned from Rome, neither knew they what the resolution of the Roman Senate was concerning war or peace, nor the day of the truce determined. Scipio asking the wrong and indignity to be more hainous, in that the hope of peace and the assurance of truce should be violat by them first, who fought both for the one and the other; presently dispatched an embassage to Carthage M. Bebitus, L. Servilius, and L. Fabius, who being by the concourse and running together of the people, near to a third turn and midnight; and foreseeing their return like to be a dangerous, created of the magistrates (who saved them from violence) to send certain ships to waste them. So they were allowed two galleys called Triremes, which having conducted them until they were arrived at the river Bagrada, where they were within right of the Roman camp, returned back again to Carthage. Now the Carthaginian Armado lay in the road before Vito. From thence there made out three galleys of four ranks of oars; whether it were upon some secret direction from Carthage so to do, or that Afrubal the Admiral of the fleet, upon his own head adventured to foul an action (the date having no hand therein, and therefore not to be blamed) and employing the Roman Galley of five banks of oars past the point of the cape, suddenly assailed her from the main sea. But neither could they invest and strike her with their best heads, making to good way, and shifting to well by reason of her swiftness; neither could the armed galleys out of their lower vessels board her being so tall a ship over them. And right valiantly the defended her self as long as shot lasted; which when it once failed, and she had no other means to help herself but only the nearness of the land and number of galleys who from the camp were run to the shore, with the loss only of the ship all the passengers escaped safe to land.

Thus the truce being double broken with one wickedness coming in the neck of another, Lentulus and Fulvius came in the very nick from Rome, together with the Carthaginian Emissaries: unto whom Scipio, having given his word, that though the Carthaginians had not only broken the faith and assurance given of the truce, but also the law of arms, in abusing and evil treating the persons of the Emissaries, yet himself would do nothing to them unworthy either the order of N people of Rome, or uniting his own manner and countem, dismiss all the Emissaries, and made preparation for war.

When Afrubal now approached the land of Africa, one of the mariners was commanded to climb up to the top of the mast to discover the coast, and to see what part they were directed to, and when he made answer and said, that the prow made head upon a place called, the Rima fasciolorum; he disliked the men and preface of that place, and commanded the pilot to pause by, and leave it; and to put his ship within the bay of Leptis, and there set his army a shore. And there were the affairs of Africa for that year. The acts ensuing, reach to that year, wherein M. Servilius Geminus, who then was General of the horse, and Claudius Nero were made Consuls. But in the end of that former year, when the Emissaries of the confederat Cities of Greece made complaints, that their territories were wasted by the Kings garrisons: and when they sent their Emissaries into Macedonia, for to demand satisfaction and restitution, they could not be admitted unto the King, nor have audience: and moreover, they gave intelligence, that there were one thousand armed galleys transported over into Spain, under the conduct of Sepeut to aid the Carthaginians: and certain annates of money likewise sent with them; the Senate gave order that Emissaries should be addressed unto the King; to give him to understand, the
A that the L,L, of the Senat took all this to be done against the tenure and form of the league. So there were sent C. Terentius Varro, Cn. Maelius, and M. Aurelius, and three galliés of five course of oars they allowed.

This was a year of special note, for a great fire—fire, whereby the publick cliff was burnt to ashes down to the ground: also for much abundance of rain and many floods, and exceeding cheapness of victual. For besides that all Italy was open by reason of a general peace throughout, M. Valerius Falco, and M. Fabius Butco, Ediles of the chair-divided the great torce of corn that was lent out of Spain, among the people, freed by fire, and left the price at "font Ales the M. Valerius Falco, the same year Q. Fabius Maximus departed this life, a man of great years and exceeding old, if that be true which some writers report, that he was Augur 42 years. But certain it is that he was a man worthy of so great and honourable a surname, yea, and if it had begun first in himself. He surpassed the dignities of his father, he was equal in honor to his grand-father: Rutilius his grand-father. I must needs say, had more titles of victories, and of greater battles: but the enemy of his, Annibald, may counter-visit them all, as many as they were. Howbeit, this man was counted more wary and advised, than hardy and forward: and as a man may well doubt whether by natural disposition he loved to take leisure in all his actions, or that it was a policy of his agreeable to the wars properly then in hand: so verily nothing is more certain than this, that as the Poet Eumenes faith:

This only man by wise delay,
Refus'd our base folly to decay.

C His son Q. Fabius Maximus was invested or installed Augur in his place, and for Bishop in his room (for two ascendental dignities he had) Ser. Sulpicius Galba was chosen. The Roman pluies were exhibited in one day, and the Plebeian Games thrice wholly remued by the Ediles M. Sentius Sabinius, and Cn. Servius Flaccus. They both, were made Pretors; and with them C. Livius Senarius, and C. Aurelius Cotta. The solemn election of the Magistrates for that year, whether Cn. Servilinus the Conull held, or (because of important business in Tiferny, about the examinations of the confiscates there of certain great men, by commissiön from the Senat, which might keep him there) P. Sulpicius the Dictator by him nominated: it is uncertain, by reason of the variety and difference of writers in that behalf.

In the beginning of the yeare next following, M. Servilinus and T. Claudius, after they had assembled the Senat in the Capitol, moved concerning the Provinces. And for as much as both of them desired Affric, they were willing the Affric and Italy, should be put to the choice of a Lottery. But by the especiall travall of Q. Metellus, the Province of Affric was neither granted nor denied to either of them. And the Conuls were commanded to deal with the Tribuns of the Commons, that if they thought it good, they would prefer a bill unto the people, to know whom they would have to war in Affric. So all the tribes in general gave their voices with P. Scipio. Nevertheless, the Conuls (for to the Senat he had decreed before) call lots for the Province of Affric. Thus Affric betell unto T. Claudius, namely, that he should fall over therwith an armado of fifty ships, all gallies of five ranks of oars, and be joyned in equal commiisión with Scipio. And M. Servilinus had Hibernia allotted unto him. In the same Province Cn. Servilinus also was to continue in government, in sill he pleaed the Senat to lay the Conull in the City. Of Pretors, M. Servilinus by lot had the rule of Gaulis, with order: that P. Quintinius Verulam should make over unto him the Province and two legions. And C. Livius took the charge of the Britis with the two legions, which the year before were commanded by P. Sempronius the Vice-Consul. Cn. Servilinus was appointed to govern Sicily, and to receive of P. Villius Tappulus the Pretor of the former year, that the Province and two legions. And ordered it was, that Villius as Proprétor, should keep in obedience and defend the coast of Sicily with twenty ships of war, and a thousand soldiers; and that from thence M. Pomponius should in the twenty ships behind embark one thousand and five hundred loundiers; and transport them over to Rome. Unto C. Aurelius Cotta was the civil jurisdiction of the City alligned. All the rest continued still in their government, and had their commiéeions newly signed, according as they had either provinces or armies under their hand. And with fifteen legions and no more, was the State of Rome that year maintained. Now to the end they might begin all enterprizes in the name of the Gods and proceed therein with their grace and favour, order was given, that the Conuls before they went out to war, should set forth those games and pluies, and sacrifice those greater bealls which M. Claudius Marcellus, and T. Quintinius were Conuls, promisè by solemn vow, in case the Common-wealth continued for five years following, in the same good estate as then it was. So the games were exhibited in the great Circue of shew-place four days together, and the sacrifices plainly accordingly, as they were vowed to the Gods.

But all this while, as mens hope to their fear also increated daily more and more, whiles they could not certainly resolve with themselves, whether they had more cause to rejoice, that Anni-bald after sixteen years had abandoned Italy, and left the pollution thereof out of the people of Rome; or to be afraid, for that he had passed over into Affric with the safety of his army. For why? the place was only changed, and the danger all one. And surely Q. Fabius late deceased, no vain Prophet of so great a peril and hazard, was wont to foretell, and this was over his long. That Anni-bald would be a more dangerous enemy at home in his own country, than he had been abroad in a forrein Land. And Scipio shoul'd find, that he had to deal neither with

* Three pamphlets.

English,
"Syphax (King of a rude, untaught, and barbarous country, who was wont to lead armies of tall stature, grooves, and little better than water-bearers and camp-slaves to keep one place, and not remove) nor with Aemilius his father in law, a Captain of all others most light of foot, and readiest to run away, nor yet with cumulatious armies taken up in halt and raised indiately, constituting of a rabble of rutulous cloaths and peafants armed by the hals; but with Aemilius, born in manner within the camp, yea, and in the royal pavilion of his father; a most valiant Captain, bred and brought up amongst aged men; who long ago was no sooner a child, but he was a fouldier, and before he came to the prime and flower of youth, became a General; who growing to be old in a continual course and train of victories, hath filled Spain and France from the one side to the other and Italy from the Alps to the narrow seas, with the marks and memorable monuments of worthy and noble exploits; and leadeth still an army of as long standing and continuance in warfare as himself, harden'd and beare to endure all those things which hardly one would believe, men could abide and suffer, embroiled and bathed a thousand times in the blood of Romans, and carrying with him the spoils not of common fouldiers only, but also of most brave Romans themselves, Scipio should be sure to encounter and meet in battall those who with their own hands had slain Preitors, and killed Consuls of Rome; all bedight and goodly to be seen in mural and vallare coronets, for their good service in falling of walls, and mounting over rampes, those I say who at their pleasure have ranged through the won camps and forced Cities of the Romans. Neither at this day have the Magistrates of the people of Rome so many bundels of rods, with axes born before them, as Аemilius hath taken from the Roman Generals whom he hath slain, & can if he list shew and carry before him, Caffing and toffeing these doubts and fears in their minds, they themselves encreased their own care, and doubled their dread in this point also, that whereas they were wont for certain years to make war in fight of home, in divers and sundry places of Italy, with a lingering kind of hope, without regarding any issue thereof like pretently to ennue now Scipio and Aemilius. Captains matched together (as one would say) to make a final end & tryal of all, had set all mens minds awoke to expect the event now or never. And even they also who had repented exceeding confidence, and grounded no small hope of victory in Scipio, the more their spirits were amoured upon it, and desirous to see a speedy effect, the greater was their care and doubt of the sequel. The Carthaginians for all the world were likewise affected and disquieted in mind. One whiles, beholding Aemilius, and considering his noble and worthy acts, they repented that they were for peace. Another while again, when they looked back and remembered, how twice in, they had been defeated in battall, Syphax slain themselves driven out of Spain, chased and hunted out of Italy, and all this by the valor and policy of one man Scipio; they trembled for fear of him, as if he were the fscal Captain born for their ruin and utter destruction.

Now by this time was Aemilius come as far as Africamentum; from whence, after he had bestowed some few days in refreshing his dea-tick fouldiers, he was routed with fearful posts that brought news, how all about Carthage was full of enemies and hostility; whereupon he made long journeys till he came to Zama. This Zama is a Town distant from Carthage five days journey. From thence he sent out epials, who being taken by the Roman warders, were brought before Scipio, and he causeth them to be delivered unto the Tribuns or Marshalls, with commandment that they should be led throughout the camp: and suffered without all lost, to see whatsoever they desired. And when he had asked of them whether they had perused and considered everything to their content, and enough to serve their turn; he sent them back again to Aemilius, with a safe conduct to accompany them. Aemilius took no pleasure at all in hearing of any thing that they reported: for (among other particulars) they brought news that Masinissa was charged that very day to come thither with six thousand foot and four thousand horse. But most of all, he was troubled and cast down with the reluciant confidence and assurance of the enemy; which no doubt (he thought) arode not of nothing. And therefore albeit himself was the only cause of that war, and by his arrival had disturbed the truce concluded, and the hope of peaceable covenants: yet supposing, that a more indifferent accord might be obtained, in case he fixed therefore while he was entire and unfore, rather than after he were vanquished and overcome; he addrest a messenger or purfivant unto Scipio, requesting that he might confer and commune with him. Whether he did this of his own accord, or by direction from the publick Council of the State, I have no reason to set down or avouch for certain, either the one or the other. Valerius Antias writeth, That he was by Scipio defeated in the first battle, wherein were slain in field 1 2000 armed men, and 1700 taken prisoners, whereupon himself in person came as Embassador, with other ten Orators into the camp unto Scipio. But howsoever it was, Scipio refused not to embrace; and so both Generals of purpose advanced forward and approached with their camps, to the end they might be nearer one to the other when they should meet in conference. Scipio made choice of a plot of ground not far from the City Nadagosa: which as it was handesome and meet in other respects, so especially in this, that it had a watering place within an arrow shot. Aemilius took an hill four miles from thence, secure enough and commodious otherwise, but only that they were far from water. In the mid way between they chose a plain, open on every side, where they might discern and see all about them, that no ambuscus there were laid: and after they had caused their armed fouldiers to retire a like distance from either party, then came together with one touch-man or interpreter apeece, not only the greatest and bravest Captains of their time, but also equal to the mightiest Kings or Emperors of realm or nation that ever had been aforesaid in
A in any age and remembrance of man. For awhile they flood one beholding the other, and said never a word; raviished and astonied with a mutual admiration: and at last Annibal began and spake in this wise, "If the Gods by delinies have fo appointed, that I who first levied war against the Romans, and who fo often have had the victory as it were in mine own hands, mutt needs of my fate and mine own motion, come now first likewise to sue for peace: glad am I and well pleased, that it is my good hap to meet with you above all other men, at whose hands I should seek the same. And certainly, you also for your part among many your singular and excellent praises, may force this upon none of the least, namely, That Annibal (unto whom the Gods have vouchsafed the upper hand over so many noble Captains of the Romans) hath yielded the bucklers, and given place unto your feet; now that you have had the honor to end this war, more notable and renowned at the first for your lofes and overthrows than ours: and that fortune (as it is fallen out) hath made this pretty sport with me, who at the beginning took arms when your father was Consul, gave him battle first of all other Roman Generals, and am now come unarmed into his land to crave peace. Verily much better it had been, and simply the very best, that the Gods had inspired into our fore-fathers this mind, That both you might have contented yourselves with the Dominion of Italy, and we likewise of Afric; For surely, Sicily and Sardinia both, are nothing sufficient to make amends and satisfaction, and it were but only of your part, in recompence of so many brave fleets, so many puissant armies, and so many noble Captains that ye have lost. But faults done and past may well be blamed and reproved, when they can not be corrected and reformed. So greedily were we on both sides to conquer the lands of others, that in the mean time we have hazardous our own. Neither had ye war in it only, or we again in Africk alone: but both ye have seen the enemys and armies of enemies hard at your gates, and in manner under your own walls: and we likewise from Carthage have heard the noise and bruit of the Roman camp. Now then, that which we have came most to detest and abhor, and you to wish above all other things in the world; the treaty of peace is fallen out in time of your better prosperity, and more favourable aspect of fortune unto you. We again are the agents therein, whom it most flaneth upon and importeth that there should be peace: and who are assured, whatsoever we conclude, that the States and cities from whence we come, will approve and ratifie the same. There need no more but a willing mind, well affected and inclined to those courtes which tend to repose and quietnes. For mine own part, one while age hath taught me, who am returned an old man into my country, from whence I came a child: another while prosperity and adversity both, hath fashoone me, that I would now rather be ruled by reason than fivayed by fortune: But I fear me greatly that you as well, in regard of youth, as also of your continual felicity and fortunate train of success, are over-hasty and frows, for to yeeld unto any peaceable wayes. For commonly he fore-calles no variable chances, who never tasted of adverse fortune. And the faine are you at this day, that sometimes I was at Threphoeum and at Cassa. "You being hardly come to that age which is meet for warfare, have had the charge and command of an army: and look what enterprizes you took in hand most venously, the fame you ever expostled as happily. You purfied the vengeance of fathers and uncles death, and wan by the calamity of your house and family a notable name and reputation of singular virtue and piety. Spen full and wholly you have recovered and conquered again: for four armies of Carthaginians you have chafed from thence: no sooner were you created Conul, but when all other mens hearts failed them to defend and keep Italy, you failed nevertheless hither over into Afric: and after you had defeated here two armies, forced and burnt in one hour two camps of your enemies, taken Syphax prisoner, a moft mighty and puissant Prince; and so many cities both of his Kingdom and of our dominion: you pulled me marge my head of Italy, whereof I had been now fifteen years possessed. Well may your hearty mind affect victroy rather than incline to peace. Full well I know of what spirit and stomach you are, more respective to grandeur and honor, than to your good and profit. And the time hath been, when I also had the lightome commenence of fortune lovingly smiling and shining upon me. And were we so bledded of God as to have our right wits and perfect senses in time of prosperity, we would consider and think not of things only which have hapned, but of those also that might happen. But if you should forget all others, I alone might serve as a sufficient example & mirror of accidents of fortune whatsoever, For, whom not long since you either saw or might have been encamped between the river Anio and your City, and ready in manner to scale the walls of Rome: you see me now after the loss of my brethren, two right valiant war-riors, and most renowned Generals, even here before the walls of my countrey little better than besieged, making means in humble manner to avert and avoid those dangers from mine own City, with which crewhiles I terrified yours. Well, the greatest and happiest fortune is least to be trusted, and never is it worth relying on, than when she is to free & bountiful. Now that you flourish and we lade, whiles you are allone and we sink a peace, unto you that giveth it, is a glorious and goodly matter to us that crave it more necessary than honorable. Better it is yet and safer of the train to enjoy a certain peace, than hope for a doubtful victory. The one lieth in your hand to effect, the other as it pleaseth the Gods to dipose. Beware therefore, how in one hour you hazard the felicity of so many years, And as you consider your own strength & forces: to think withal upon the power of fortune: let before your eyes the alternative course of Mars in war. Thou shalt see armor and the edge of the sword; thou shalt see the bodies of men as well of
one side as the other and no where les than in war do events answer to our hope and expec-
tation. And make full accord of this, that you shall not gain so much overplus of honor, if
haply you should win a field, as this by granting a peace you may presently have in
hand and be possessed of: as you shall forgo and lose of the principal, in case you should do amis,
and take the foil. One hours misfortune is able to overturn all the honors and triumphant tro-
phies as well gain & gotten already, as in future hope to be obtained, in knitting and concluding
a peace, O P.CONELBUS, all lieth in your power. Refute that once and come to the tryal of a bar-
tiall you must take your hap as God shall appoint. If M. ATTILUS in times past being conqueror,
would have granted peace unto our fore-fathers at their suit and esteem: petition; a rare and fin-
gular example had he afforded of virtue and felicity, and few comparable unto him: but not hav-
ing the grace to see when he was well, not able to let a gage to his prosperity in some measure
and in due time; not willing to restrain and stop the pride and haughtiness of his good fortune,
The higher he was heaved, the fouler was his fall: and the more he mounted, the greater was his
overthrow. It is for him (I confede) that giveth peace, to capitulate and let down the covenants
and conditions, and not for him that craveth the fame. And yet peradventure you might not be
thought unworthy, to set upon our own heads a fine and forfeiture. We refuse not therefore
but are content, That all shall be yours, for which the quarrel and war first began: Sicily. Sard-
ina, Spain, all the lands whatever lying in the Sea between Affric and Italy. And we Cartha-
ginians holding our selves enclosed within the bounds and coasts of Affric (since the will and
pleasure of God is so) can abide to see you to rule and govern in foreign lands and strange seas, I
cannot deny, but that you have good cause to suspect the Carthaginians for their faith & truth, K
whose late define of peace and attendance about the frame, was not to plain and simple as it
should have been. Yet Scipio, take this withal: That it is not worth much to the affurance of bopp-
ing and oblitering peace once intimated, to consider who the perçons be that seek and crave
the fame. And even your own Senators and LL. of the Counsell, as I hear say, were moved not
a little to deny and reject the motion of peace, for this cause that our embassie seemd unto
them not so honorable as it ought to been had. But now I even I no wot a man than Anuill,
but do fear for peace, which as I would not seek, unless I thought it profitable for the certaint
it in regard of that profit for which I fought it. And like as when I had once begun to war, so
long as the Gods impeached and envied me not, I maintaine it so, as none of our had cause
to be weary thereof: for still I endeavoure that none shall repent of the peace obtained by my
means. When Anuill had thus said the Roman General made answer again in this form: I
knew ful well, O Attillus, that the Carthaginians upon the hope of your acquiescent have both di-
rubbed the allowance of the present truce, and also troubled the hope of the future peace.
Neither do you your self dissemble so much, in defecting all out of the former conditions and capitu-
lations of peace, fate only those things which long since have been in our power and possedil-
on. But as you have a great care, that your fellow citizens should know & perceive what heavy
burdens they are by your means discharged and eated of; even so must I endeavour and labour,
that the points which they then covetted and agreed upon, they deduct not this day out of
the articles and conditions of peace, for the hire and reward of their fallhood and treachery.
For unworthy you are to have the overture and possibillity of any peace at all, ye feek also, that
frand and deceit may turn to your profit and commodity. Neither began our predecessors first
to make war for Sicily, nor we fince for Spain. But as then the danger wherein allies the
Mamertins food, so now the ruin and deftruction of Seguntum, moved us to take arms most
juilly, even for pitty and compassion. That you began the quarrel and provoked us first, your self
comics, and the Gods do witness: who, as in the former war they granted and gave the issue, ac-
tording to right, equity, and justice: so they do in this, and so they ever will. For mine one part,
I remember well, and think upon the frailty of mankind, and the ticklishnes of this world: I con-
ider also the power of fortune and what she doth as I do know likewise, that all our actions
whatsoever are subject to thousand hazards and inconveniences. But as I would acknowledge
my self to have dealt proudly and outrageous, if before I passed over into Affric, when of
your self well nigh you abandoned Italy, when you had imbarred your army, and came of your
own accord to seek peace. I had then rejected you and cast you off: even so at this time, when
I had haled and drawn you into Affric by strong arm, as it were to trie an issue in law (all the
hasting, all the flitting and reitance you could make to the contrary notwithstanding) I am not
bound to have any respettive regard at all of you. Wherefore if besides those points and capitula-
tions, under which the peace at that time was like to be concluded (and what the were you
know as well as I can tell you) you bring with you any recompence and amends for our ships,
which being charged with victual and munition, you took perforce from us in time of the cel-
tion of arms, it is for the safe and violence commited upon the perçons of our Embassa-
dors there is some reason that I should consider thereupon and be advised by my Counsell. But
if you think hard thereof also, as being thereby too faire pressued: look for bater, you that could
not like of repose, provide for war, since you would abide no peace, thus without any conclus-
on of accord they left parling; & being returned to their owne companies, they related unto them
how their conference came to nothing, and all their words were but wind and did no good: and
therefore the matter was to be determined and tried by dint of word, and they to trust to that for-
tune which the Gods had appointed for them. So soon as they were come into their camps, both
of them made proclamation, that the fouldiers should buckle themselves, make ready their ar

and arms, and address themselves to a final trial of the quarter; where, if they

wished to be victors, not for one day, but for ever and aye. For before the mor-

tow next at night they should know, whether Rome or Carnage should give laws unto all na-

tions of the earth. And as neither Africa nor Italy, but the whole world shall be the prize and

guardian of the conquerors: so they, whose hap were to lose the field, must make account of dan-
gers and damage equal to the winnings and gain of the other. For as the Romans had no way to
ecape nor place of safe retreat, being in a strange and unknown land: so Carnage, having laid

to Carnage (having laid all upon this one call) if they now missed, made amends that all was gone, and prevent destruction

at hand. So the next day there advanced forward to this doubtful and dangerous trial, two most

noble and renowned Captains, of two right mighty and peerless rates; two most valiant

and hardy armies came forth into the field, of which that day either to win the victory or lose the saddle;
to gain more glory to their former honour, or else to lose all that ever they had gotten. Thus

therefore between hope and fear, their minds were perplexed and divided: and beholding one

while their own forces, and another while their enemies power: measuring rather by their eye,

than weighing by reason their strength. They had at once present unto them objects of joy

and content, as well as of terror and heaviness. And look what the fouldiers themselves could not

think upon, how things their leaders put them in mind of suggesting unto them by way of admo-

nation and exhortation, whatsoever was thought expedient and good, Anabolee heard his noble

acts achieved in Italy for the space of sixteen years, he reckoned up how many Roman Cap-

tains he had slain, how many armies he had defeated and put to the sword: and ever as he met with

any fouldiers of note and mark for some worthy and memorable battle, he put them in remem-

brance of their honourable service and good actions: Spurius related the conquest of Spani,

conquered the three forgotten fields in Africa, alleged the very contention of the enemies; who neither

for fear would do other thing, nor yet upon an inbred mildness impetted in their hearts.

continue long in the same. Besides, he inferred the communication and speech of Anabolee

had with him secret and apart from others: according as he was disposed to devise, he

might turn at his pleasure to that purpose. For as much as the Gods had shrivened unto them

that they went out into the field the same tokens and birds of direction whereof their fathers

before them fought in times past before the lands of Egypte: he offered and propugned that the war

was come to an end, all dangers and troubles overblown, that the spoil and pillage of Carnage was

at their devotion and they at the point to return home unto their country, their parents, wives,

children, and domestical Gods. And this the ipaque with such a lofty gesture of his body, with so

pleasent and lovely a countenance withal, that a man who had seen him, would have thought

verily he had achieved the victory already. Then he embattal'd first his Hastari (or spears) in the

vanguard behind them the Principes: and the rearward he guarded and fortified with the Triarii.

Neither marshalled he whole cohorts thick and close together, in the head of the battle

before their enenge, but divided them into Squadrons, distant a pretty way one from the other:

to the end there might be room and space to receive the Elephants of the enemies, that

they should not break the array and ranks, As for Lutius (who had employed before as

Lientenant, but that year in quality of a Questor by a special order and direction from the Senat,

not by choice of lot), him with the Italian Cavalry he put in the left point and Mofanis with

the Numidian horsemen in the right. The open vaises and void spaces between the Squadrons

aforeaid, placed in the front before the enenge, he filled with the Velites or javelotiers, who at

that time were light armed fouldiers: with this commandment, that presently upon the violent

charge given by the Elephants, they should either retire behind the files, or else run to a side, both

on the right hand and the left, and joyne close to the formot ranks, and make the Elephants way to

run upon their foot from the one side and the other. Anabolee to strike a terror into the enemies,

first arranged the Elephants in the front, who were in number four-score, and more than ever he

had before in any battal. Then he embattal'd the aid-fouldiers of the Ligurians and Frenchmen,

with the Baleare slingers and the Mores intermingled amongst them. In the main battal he placed

the Carthaginians and Afriars, with the legion of the Macedonians: behind whom (leaving a

little space between) he set in array the battalions of the Italian fouldiers in the rearward for incur-

rors: and those were most part of them Bruci; who followed him more per force and by con-

straint, than of any good will. when he departed out of it. The Cavalry also he disbattal'd and

sped round like wings about the two points: whereof the Carthaginians kept the right, and the

Numidians the left. Sundry and divers were the exhortations throughout the army, amongst so

many men: whose language was dissolunt, whose complexions far unlike, whose manners and

conditions were divers, who differed in laws and customs whose armours were not at all one,

whose raiment and apparel not intuble; and finally, whose quarrel and cause of war was not one and the

same. The auxiliaries and aid-fouldiers fed themselves with the hope of ready and present paym-

ent and wages for the time past, yea and with a duple and triple augmentation thereof to boot, out

of the spoil and pillage. The Frenchmen upon a special hatred of their own, and the same

deeply fled, were soon kindled and enamelled against the Romans. The Ligurians, who were

brought out of the rough and craggy mountains, and whole teeth watered at the spirited and

plenteous fields of Italy, were quickly by him moved to hope after victory. The Mores and Numidians:

he sighned with the proud and tyrannical rule of Mofanis, under which they should ever after

live. 

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live. Before the Carthaginians he presented the walls of their native City, their houses and holie 
Gods, the sepulchres and tombs of their ancestors, their children and parents, yea, and their ti-
morose and fearful wives: he set before their eyes either main destruction of all those things and 
slavery of their persons, or else the empire and soleign dominions of the whole world: and no 
meanby between those extremeties either of fear or hope.

When as the General was most buie this in exhorting the Carthaginians and the Captains of 
the strangers, amongst the louders of their own Nations and that for the most part by means of 
interpreters, intermingled for the same purpose with them: the Trumpets thundered, and the horns 
bew from the Roman bolt. And such a wonderful shout arose from the men, that the Elephants 
turnd upon the Mores and Numidians of their own side, especially in the left point of the bat-
thal, whom M. Manlius seeing one affrighted, he too redoubled their fear; and riding upon 
them with a hot charge laid naked the battaillon of footmen on that side, and clean without the 
aid of their Cavalry. Howbeit, some few of the Elephants driven without fear full upon the 
enemy, made fast work among the ranks of the light armed Velites, and overthrew a number of 
them, not without many a wound and much hurt done to themselves. For the Velites lea-
ping again nimbly to the Squadrons, after they had made way to the beasts, bearing they should 
broad underfoot by them, set fire their javelins at them from both sides, lying open as they 
did like bouts to the shot on either hand. Neither left they any time, who were in the vanguard 
before the Ensigns, nor gave over flinging their darts at them, until they were driven by a vol-
ley of shot lighting upon them from all parts, clean out of the Roman battallion: and then they 
turned head aloa upon the very Holomcen of the Carthaginians in their own right point: and for-
ced them to run away, Latins for his part, seeing the enemies in disorder and tore troubled, 
charged upon them with his Horse, and encroaed their flight. So as now the Carthaginian 
battalion was dismarshified and brent of their Horsemen on both sides. By which time the Ca-
valry joyned battallion, whole hope was now quailed and strength abated, and therefore not able 
to make their parts good. Besides another thing there was, a small matter to speak of but yet 
in fighting-time and in the very conflict, of great consequence and importance, The thour and 
cry from the Romans was ever alike and confonant in all parts: and therefore the greater and 
more terrible: but the enemies made dallent noises, according as they differed in language, 
being as they were, of many and sundry Nations. The manner of the Romans fight was sure 
and steadfast, by reason of the peale of their own bodies, and the weight of their armour, bearing 
still aad pressing hard upon the enemies: but they on the other side, the more twiftness and 
agility, than force and violence. And therefore at the very first shook the Romans incontinent-
ly enforced their battallion to retire and lose their ground. Afterward they fell to shoudering 
and knocking them with the pikes and boffes of their bucker: which done, they set foot for-
ward a good round pace, and gained some ground of them, marching on still: and no man seemed 
to make head against them: whilst they that were biddenmost in the files, perceiving once that 
battaillon to go on and win ground, still put forward the format, which was the very thing 
that availed much, and was of great efficacy to put the enemies to flight.... But the second bat-
tallion which consist of Aferians, and Carthaginians, were so far from scenting and uphold-
ing the auxiliary strangers thus dismarshing; that contrary wise, for fear lest the Romans by 
killing them in the forefront (who fast to it infallly and made renite) should come as far as 
to them behind, they likewise retired and gait backward. Whereupon the auxiliars also in-
dependantly thwed their bin-parts and turning their face upon their own fellows: some of them re-
ired for refuge into the second battallion; others fell to killing of them that would not receive 
them within their ranks: and good reason they had, for as a while before they had no help all of 
them, then they were allay excluded and shut out from them. So soon after the Carthaginian 
had to deal at once in two skirmishes fired well together, whilst they were compelled to close 
and come to hand fight both with their enemies, and also with their own fellows. Yet norwith-
standing for all they were either to affrighted or to annoy with them receive them they would not 
in no hand into their battallion: but keeping their ranks and files close together, they called them 
to side to the wings and the void ground without the place of conflict, and all because they would 
not incerimingle any fouldiers thus feared upon running away and many wounds, with that bat-
tallion which flood (will fire enough, and as yet unfoiled. But the place where a little before the 
auxiliaries were ranged, was so full of slain bodies, and weapons and armour thrumled one upon 
another: that the Romans had weleer made ado to pass that way now, than they should have 
had through the press of the enemies standing thick together. And therefore the format of the 
Hastati following after the enemies every one as well as he could over the heaps of bodies and ar-
mour on the earth, and through the flowerly filth of the blood, made a pelmell of their own en-
signs, and confusion of their ranks. Whereupon the ensigns also of the Principes began to wave, 
when they saw the batallion store them to wandering and incontinent. Which Seipio when he 
once perceived, commended in all haste to found the retreat unto the Hastati: and when he 
had withdrawn as many of them as were wounded and hurt, and behelowed them in the rear-
ward he brought the Principes and the Triarii to the out-wings and flanks thereof: to the end, 
that the middle battallion of the Hastati should be more liare and strong. By this means there 
began a new skirmish. For now they were come to their very enemies indeed: such as for ar-
mour: and weapons of all sorts, for practice and experience of warfare, for fame and renown of 
worthy
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worthy exploits, and laft of all for greatness either of hope or peril, were equal and comparable unto them. But both in number and also in courage, the Romans were superior, for that already they had discomfited the Cyathus, put to flight the Elephants, beaten back the vanguard, and were ready now to encounter with the main battal, now Latins and Moors, having had the horsemen in chase a good way, whom they had compelled to fly as is before said, returned in good time, and charged hotly upon the tail of the enemies battal. And this assault of theirs it was, that struck the stroke, this did the deed and amazed the enemies. Many of them were environed and killed in the place many fled and were scattered over the plains and open fields, and by the horsemen who had taken up all the avenues, and ranged all about, were caught up here and there, and to slain. Of Carthaginians and their Allies, were killed that day above twenty thousand, and

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weener as many taken prisoners of military enigns there were gotten a hundred thirty three, and eleven Elephants besides alive. Of the conquerors there died about two thousand, Amphil having some few horsemen made shift to escape out of the tumult and heat of the execution, and fled to Aemilius, having affailed and tried all means possible, both in the very conflict, and also before the battal, ere he departed and left the fight. And this praise and commendation he won even by the concealment of Scipio himself, and all those were masters, that with singular skill that day he ordered the battal, and marshalled the field. For the Elephants he had placed in the foremost, whole adventurous force and inoffensive violence in giving the onsets, might empeach the Romans from following their colours, and keeping their arras: the only thing wherein they reproved their greatest hope and confidence. Then, before the main battal of the Carthaginians, he set the auxiliaries and aid-loudiers, of purpose, that being a confuded table and medley of all sorts of nations, such as were not bound by allegiance, but tied only by gain and wages, should have no liberty to retire themselves, and escape by running away: who also, as the forlorn hope, bearing the furious heat of the first brunt, might weary the enemies with charging upon them, and if they did no other good, yet with receiving many a wound in their bodies dull and turn the edge of the enemies sword. After this in the battal, where all his hopes was, he placed the Carthaginian and African loudiers; that being otherwise in all things else equal to the enemies, they might in this regard have the onsets, in that they were to fight with them wearied and wounded, when they themselves were in heart and study. As for the Italians, who also were divided from the rest by a good space between he removed far off into the rearward, as doubtful whether they were friends or enemies. Amphil having done this doughty deed and work, as it were for the last proof of his virtue and valour, fled to Aemilius, and was from thence sent for to Carthage: whether he returned in the 36 year, after that he first departed thence a very child. Where in the Council house he confessed and said, 'That overcame he was not only in a battal once, but also in the main war for ever hereafter: professing in plain terms, that now there was no other way but one to save themselves, and that was peace, they could obtain it.

Scipio immediately after this battal, having forced by assault and killed the enemies camp, returned with a huge booty to the Sea and his ships, being advertised afoore by a messenger that P.Latimus was arrived at Lica with five ships of war, and a hundred Hulks laden with provision of all kinds of victual. And supposing it good policy now that Carthage was troubled and thoroughly affrighted, to come upon them with all terror on every side: so soon as he had dispatched Latimus away to Rome, with tidings of this victory, he commanded Ca. Olibia to lead the legions by land against Carthage. Himself in proper person, after he had joined this new fleet of Lica, unto the old Amado of his own, weighed anchor and departed from Lica, and sailed directly to the Haren of Carthage. He was not far from thence, when there met him a ship of the Carthaginians, garnished with infuless, ribbands, and white flags of peace, and beat with branches of olive: wherein were ten Oratos embarked, the best men of the City, sent by the advice and motion of Amphil to crave peace. Who as they approached the him-deck and poop of the Admiral ship, put forth the vails and tokens of suppliants, praying and beseeching the protection of the Admiral and mercy of Scipio. Who had no other answer made them, but that they should repair to Tunes, whither he intended to remove. Then himself after he had well viewed the situation of Carthage, not so much to have the full knowledge thereof at this present, as to terrifie the enemies, returned to Lica, whither he had called back Olibia also. As he marched forward from thence toward Tunes, he had intelligence given him, that Vermina the son of Siphon was coming to aid the Carthaginians with a power of more Horsemen than Footmen: whereupon, part of the army together with a whole Cyberal was sent: whereas the light horse and van-cuiriers charging the vanguard in their march, after a light skirmish did confound the Numidians: and having stopped all pillages every way with the Horsemen, so as they could not get out and flie, there were upon a fifteen thousand men of them slain, 1200 taken prisoners, 1500 Numidian Horses also were gotten from them alive, and 72 military enigns. The young Prince himself in the mids of the tumult and conflict, with some few escaped. Then encamped Scipio near Tunes, in the same place, where he lay before: and thither repaired unto him thirty Embassadors from Carthage. And they verily, as they were in harder case and greater distress, made much more pitiful entreating than before: but in their audience found less favour and mercy by a great deal for their late treachery and falsehood: for fresh in remembrance. Now albeit when they were fer in counsell, all of them had just cause to be angry, and thereupon were provoked to defory & tale Carthage: yet upon better advisement and consideration, how great and difficult and enterprize, and what a long
long peace of service it was to beleaguer a City so strong and so well fortified: and for that Scipio himself was troubled in mind with the expectation of a suite, who should come to win the credit; and honor of finishing the war, which indeed was gotten by the travail and hazard of another, all their hearts were turned and enclined to peace. The morrow after the Orators were called again before them: and after they had been well checked, rebuked, and plainly told of their treachery, and warned withal, that after so many losses and overthrowes which they had received, they should now learn to be wise, and at length believe that there were Gods in Heaven, and that an oath was to be regarded, these conditions of peace were tendered and offered unto them. 

Imprimis, it was capitulated, That they might live free, according to the form of their own Laws. It was, That Cities, what territories (and within what bounds and limits) they held and possessed before of the war began, the same they might keep still. It was, That Scipio and the Romans from that day forward should not wait and spoil the country. It was, That the Carthaginians should deliver all renegade traitors, all fugitive persons, all captives and prisoners, yea, and yield unto them all ships of war with brazen heads, above ten triremes or galleys of three ranks of oars. It was, That they should put into their hands all those Elephants which they had already tamed and trained; and should break and tame no more of them. It was, That they should make war neither in Africa, nor without Africa, but by order and warrant from the people of Rome. That they should make restitution and amends to Machinæ for all harms, and enter into league with him. It was, That they should find corn and money for the maintenance of the aid-soldiers until their Embassadors were returned from Rome; and, tender payment of ten thousand talents of silver by even portions in fifty years. It was, That they should put in a hundred hostages at the pleasure of Scipio and none of them to be either under fourteen years of age, or above thirty. It was, That they would grant a truce upon this condition, That the ships which were taken during the space of seven days should be restored back again, with all things else that were therein: otherwise no truce for the present, nor hope of peace hereafter. These articles and conditions the Embassadors were willing to return home withal. Which after they had related in the general assembly of the people, Gises mounted up the pulpit to diffuse peace, and had an audience given him with great applause of the multitude; who as they were heartless and unmeet for war, so they were as peevish and unyielding, and could not long continue in repose. Hereat, Annibal took great indignation, and was highly displeased, that in such a time, so many things should either be delivered or heard; and he made no more ado, but stepped to Gises, laid hand upon him, and pulled him down from the pulpit out of which he spake: whereas the people were moved, and grumbled in a great discontent, to see so strange a sight and unusual, in a free City. Then Annibal, as he was a mere martial man, and could notskill of civil affairs, nor well over with these citizens liberty, "I went, quoth he, from you when I was but nine years old, and now after thirty years I am come again. All military skill and knowledge, which fortune sometime in my private matters, and otherwhiles in publick affairs, hath taught me from my childhood, me thinks I have learned sufficiently: many for the rights and privileges for the laws, customs and fashions of the City and the common Hall I must be informed and instructed by you. Thus having pleased ignorance for his excuse, he discoursed at large of peace, arguing how reasonable and equal, yea, and how necessary it was. The greatest point of difficulty in all the capitulations ministered unto them was this; That touching the things aboveaid which were taken during the abstinence of arms, there was nothing more coming and to be seen but the bare vessels and no easy matter was it to seek up the rest. Now when as they that gained the peace were convinced and put down by reason, agreed it was, that the ships should be delivered, and the men likewise be sought out and found: as for all the rest that was wanting, there should an estimate be made according to the value, at the discretion of Scipio, and to the Carthaginians to make all good in money, Writers there be that have delivered, how Annibal presently from the field spied him to sea and there finding a ship ready prepared for him, freight-ways embarked and went directly to King Antiochus: Also, when Scipio demanded above all other things that Annibal should be yielded into his hands, answer was made, that Annibal was not in Africa. After that the Embassadors were returned to Scipio, the Quellers or Treaturers were commanded to draw an exact according to their books upon record, of all such things as were in the ships, and appertained to the City: and look what belonged to private persons; the owners thereof were willed to declare and certify. In consideration and recompend whereof, there was a sum of money set down, amounting to 25000 pound weight of silver, and the same to be paid presently out of hand by the Carthaginians. Thus a truce was granted to them for three months: with this clause annexed over and besides. That during the said term they should send their Embassadors to no other place but only to Rome: and what Embassadors never came to Carthage, they should not let them depart but before they had certified the Roman General both who they were, and what their message and errand was. Therewith the Carthaginian Embassadors were sent to Rome, P. Petronius Philo, M. Martin Falis, and L. Scipio, brother to the General. At that time there came such store of grain and victuals out of Sicile and Sardinia, and thereby corn was so cheap, that the Merchant was fain to leave corn behind him to satisfy the shipmen and mariners for the portage and carriage thereof.

Now there had been much trouble and fear at Rome upon the first news and alarm, that the Carthaginians had taken arms again: and T. Claudius had commission to conduct a fleet with all speed.
and from thence to pass over into Africk: likewise the other Conulis was commanded to stay till at Rome, until it were certainly known in what terms all matters stood in Africk. But T. Claudius went but slowly to work either in preparing and fitting an armado, or in putting it to sea; because the LL. of the Senat were of opinion, that as touching the peace and the conditions thereof, it was rather at the disposition of Scipio than of the Conulis. Moreover, there were certain prodigious signs reported even presently before the very rumour of the foresaid rising and intersection, which caused men to fear greatly. At Comes, the circle and compass of the sun appeared left and it rained a good shower of ices. Also in the territory of Velitrae, the earth filled and sunk, and made huge hollow chinks, so much as trees were quite swallowed up under the ground. As Aricia the market-pace and the shops all about, likewise at Prunio the wall of the City in divers places yea, and the gate, were smitten with lightning from heaven: and in the mount Palatine it rained ices. This wondrous sight last reheard, was espied after the ancient custom, by keeping a Novenial fast and feast for nine days: the rest by killing of greater sacrifices. Amongst all there were unutterable deluges and inundations of waters, which troubled the minds and consciences of men: for the Tiber so swelled and rose so high, that by reason that the shew-place of the Circus was overflowed, preparation was made for the letting forth of the games Apollinaris, without the gate Collina, near the chappel of Venus Erechne. But upon the very day when the plays should be exhibited it grew to be so fair weather of a fall, that the pageant and pomposo train of the show, which was going to the gate Collina, was called back and conveyed into the Circus; and word brought, that the water was fallen and gone clean out from thence: so the people were more joyful, and the palatines celebrated with greater feare, for that the usual and ordinary place served again for the solemnity to be performed.

Claudius the Conulis at last departed from the city of Rome, and went to see where the havens of Coffs and Laurentium, he was overtaken with a terrible and fearful tempest that arose and put him in exceeding fear. From thence he came to the Popes città, and there stayed until the tempest was overblown and gone. Then he fell with the ile * Huno, and from Huno he failed to Corfin, and from Corfin he passed over to Sardinia; * Elia: which he doubted the point and was passing the race of the mountains called * Infu, there arose a far more cruel guilt, and in places of more peril and hazard, which scattered the fleer. Many of the ships were weather beaten and sore shaken, many lost their tackling quite, yea, and some were cracked and split. Thus the Armada being much toiled and torn, arrived at length at Carthage; where, whiles the ships were drawn up into the dock to dry land, and there a repairing, the winter came upon them, and the year turned about. And to T. Claudius (as a private person, by reason that no man renewed his commission for a further time,) brought the Armada back to Rome. But M. Servilus, because he should not be called home to the city for the solemn election of Magistrates, after he had declared Dictator. * Maiocorens, Prolem, Cestel, Modern. Of the Horsemen, Oftentimes went the votes out for publishing of the election, but by reason of tempests it held not, nor was performed. And therefore when the old Magistrates left their office after the idea of M. Bresc a, and no new substituted in their room the city was clean without any Magistrates of state to sit in the ivory chair. * Elia: L. Menius Turgenius a Bishop, that year died. In his place was invested C. Scribonius Galba. The Roman games were three exhibited a new by L. Elesius Lauderins and Q. Fasinius Ediles of the chair. The Clerks and Scribes belonging to the Ediles, together with their beadle and summoners, were detected for carrying forth certain money out of the treasure and chamber of the city: and being thereof.Convicted, were therefore condemned, not without some touch and discredit of Lucullus himself the Edile. P. Elesius Tibero and L. Lecionius Ediles of the commons, for that there was some error and default in their election, rejoined up their places, after they had represented the playes, and in regard thereof solemnized the feale of Jupiter, and set up besides in the Capitol three images made of the silver that was forded and railed upon the fines of the persons condemned aforesaid. The Dictator and General over the Horsemen, by order from the Senat exhibited the games called Cer.

When the Roman Embassadors and Carthaginians together, were come out of Africk to Rome, the Senat assembled to give them audience in the Temple of Belos: where L. Verminus Philo after he had declared (to the exceeding joy of the LL. of the Senat) that they had fought a battle with Amimals (the battle that ever the Carthaginians were like to fight) and that this grievous and lamentable war was now come to an end, he went on till and related, that Verminus the son of Syphax was vanquished and subdued; which was no small increase of the other exploit to happily achieved. Then he was commanded to go forth from thence directly to the assembly of the people; there to impart these gladsome news unto the multitude, Whereupon (for exceeding joy and in token of thanksgiving) all the Temples in the City were set open, and solemn processions decreed for three days. Now when as the Embassadors of the Carthaginians and King Philip (for they also were arrived) required to have a day of audience in the Senat; the Dictator by direction from the Senat, returned them this answer. That the new Conulis should satisfy their request. After this, was the solemn assembly holden for the election of Magistrates; and Conulis were created Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and P. Albins Patris: for Pretors, first M. Junius Pernius, who was allowed to have the civil jurisdiction in the City: then M. Valerius Fallo, whom the Britains country fell by lot to government, M. Fabius Buteo, whose hap was to rule Sabellina.
and P. Aelius Tubero, to be L. deputy of Sardinia. Concerning the Provinces wherein the Con-

federates were to be employed, it was not thought good to determine anything, before the Emba-

assadors of King Philip and likewise of the Carthaginians, had delivered their embassages: for as they 

saw the end of one war, so they foresaw the beginning of another. Con. Lentulus the Consul was 

inflamed with an ardent desire of the Province of Africa; for it the war continued he aimed at 

an easy victory: and if it were at the point of an end, he gaped at the honor of finishing the fame, 

and hoped to have the name; That determined it was whiles he was Consul, And therefore he 

protested plainly, that he would suffer nothing to pass before that the Province of Africa 

would be assigned to him. His colleague (a lover, temperer, and discreet man) gave his content: for he 

flew full well, that as the contriving for that glory with Scipio, was unjust and unreasonable, so in it he 

would be overmatched, and never able to import and carry it away from him, Q. Memmius Ter-

tius and M. Aelius Glabrio, two Tribunes of the commons, gave out and said, That Con. Cornelius 

were about to compait that, which was commenced and assayed in vain the year before by T. 

Clandon the Consul. For when by warrant from the Senate a bill was proposed unto the people, 

whose pleasure was to nominate for government of Africa, all the 35 Tribes gave their 

voices and favored that Province to P. Scipio. Much contention there passed and many billets 

both in Senate-honie and before the people, in the debating of this question: but in the end 

they grieved to this point to refer all to the judgment of the Senate, So the LL. of the Senate having 

taken their oaths (for it was agreed upon) thus concluded and gave this order; First, that the 

two Consuls should either agree together between themselves, or else call lots for their Pro-

vinces; namely, which of them should have the rule of Italy, and who the charge of a fleet of fifty 

K. fall. Itms, to whether of them twain belon the navy, he should fall over into Sicily: and if peace 

might not be fully concluded with the Carthaginians, then to cross over into Africa; where the 

Consul should war by Sea, and Scipio by Land, by virtue of the same commission and authority 

that he had already. Moreover, if the conditions of peace were accepted of both parts, then the 

Tribunes of the Commons should propound unto the people, as touching their will and plea-

sure, whether the Consul or P. Scipio should conclude the peace; and which of them (if the victo-

rious army after conquest obtained, were to be brought back out of Africa) should have the 

conduct thereof home again. Also, if they nominated Scipio for to make the peace, and bring 

away the army likewise, then the Consul should not cut off from Sicily to Africa. As for the other 

Consul who had the government of Italy, he should receive of M. Sestius the Pretor, two legions. L. 

So P. Scipio had his commission sealed again for to remain in the Province of Sicily, with the same 

forces which he there had. M. Valerius Falco the Pretor in the Brutian country was allowed 

those legions whereof C. Licinius had the command the year before. It was further more agreed, 

that P. Aelius the Praetor should take the two legions in Sicily of Cn. Tremellius; and that one le-

gion which P. Lentulus the Praetor had under his conduct, was appointed to M. Fabius for 

Sardinia. And M. Cnernilius the Consul of the former year, continued also in his government with 

his own two legions for Heruria. As concerning the provinces of Spain, L. Cornelius Lentu-

lius and I. M. Aelius Academus had been there for certain years, the said Consuls were to deal with 

the Tribunes, that if they thought it good, they should propound unto the Commons, for to know 

their minds whom they would appoint to govern Spain: and that he whoever it was, should 

out of two armies enroll one entire legion of Roman soldiers, and of the allies of the Latin na-

tion make up fifteen cohorts or regiments, and with the strength of them joyfully, keep in obe-

dience and defend the province. Itms, that L. Cornelius and L. M. Aelius should bring over the 

old soldiers into Italy, unto Cornelius the Consul was assigned a fleet of fifty ships, to be de-

ducted and drawn out of two other Armadoes: the one of Cn. Oebanius which was in Aegypt, 

the other of P. Villius which guarded the coasts of Sicily; and to choose thereout what ships he 

would: and that P. Scipio should keep those fifty ships of war which he had already. And in case 

his pleasure was that Cn. Oebanius should be Admiral over them still like as heretofore; then 

Oebanius was to continue in government for that year as Vice-pretor: but if he made L. Mem-

nius the Admiral, then Oebanius should depart and come home to Rome, and bring back with him those N. 

ships that the Vice-consul had no use or need of. M. Fabius likewise had ten galleys of service al-

lowed him into Sardinia. And the Consuls were appointed to muster and enrol two legions of 

citizens, that with the power of fourteen legions, and an hundred ships of war, the affairs of 

Rome that year might be managed. 

Thise things thus ordered, they began to debate in council about the Embassadors of Philip 

and the Carthaginians: and thought good it was to admit the Macedonians into place for to 

have audience. Divers and sundry speeches they made, whiles they laboured partly to cheer that 

point as touching the complaints that the Embassadors sent from Rome made before the King, 

for the forraging and robbing of their confederates: and partly complained themselves of the al-

lies of the people of Rome, laying much to their charge: but far more bitterly accusing M. Arce-

lius, for that he being one of the three Embassadors sent unto them, laid behind and took mu-

sters of soldiers i, ye, and against the covenant comprised in the league, made war upon them, 

and oftentimes gave battle unto their Captains and Governors in open field: partly also they de-

manded, that the Macedonians and their Captain Sepbon, who had served in the wars of Anni-

ers for wages, and were taken prisoners and kept bound in prison, might be enlarged and set at 

liberty.
A to these points M. Furiaus, sent of purpose from Aurelius out of Macedonia, made answer briefly in this wise. That Aurelius, who was left behind, for fear that the auxiliaries of the people of Rome, wearied with rodes and incursions into their territories and other injurious oppressions, might revolt unto the King: never departed out of the confines of the auxiliaries aforesaid, and endeavoured only, that those robbers and ferragars of the country should not invade and over-run their lands, and go clear away without any harm. As for Sopater, he was a state and peer of the realm, and one nearly allied unto the King, who lately was sent unto Africk, with four thousand Macedonians and with money, to aid and assist Aurelius and the Carthaginians. When as the Macedonians being required what they could say to these challenges, framed but a doubtful and intricate defence, before they had well made an end they received this for their answer: That since the King fought war if he proceeded and went on full, he should shortly have his hands full of so much as he had broken the league in two points, first in offering wrong to the allies of the people of Rome, and molesting them by way of war and hostility: and secondly, in going against their armies with men and money, they deemed this much of it, that not only P. Scipio but also C. Duilius and others well and justly, in keeping them still in prison as enemies, who bare arms against the people of Rome, and were taken captive; but also M. Aurelius performed good service to the state, and a great pleasure to the Senate, in defending the allies of the people of Rome by force of arms, when by right of league he could not. When the Macedonians had their dispatch, and were left away with this heavy answer, then the Carthaginian Embassadors were called in.

When they beheld their reverent age, and the dignity of their personage (for they were the bel't and principal men, as well of their City) then every man was fully persuaded for his own part and said, That now they dallied no longer, but meant indeed and good earnest to crave and have peace. But the chief and most的部分 of them all was Asdrubal, in his country and among his citizens, named Hades, a man that ever perished peace, and opposed himself against the Barchine faction. And therefore he had the more credit and authority, when he derived the blame from the Common-weal, and laid all the fault upon the wilfulness and greedy avarice of some few. Who after he had used diverse and sundry speeches, one while excusing and clearing the times, another while confessing some things objected, lest if they had denied certain truths, they should with more difficulty have obtained pardon and peace: now and then also giving the LL. of the Senate an admonition and warning by the way, to use their prosperity and good fortune modestly and with moderation, he added moreover and said, That the Carthaginians would have been ruled by him & Hannibal, and had been so wise as to have taken their time and the opportunity when it was, they should themselves have given those conditions of peace, which now they are constrained to crave. But for men to be fortunate and wise both at once, it is a rare and special gift, and seldom seen. And here it is that the people of Rome (quoth he) is invincible because in prosperity they can remember to be wise, and to take the best way for themselves. And certainly, a wonder it were, if ever they should do otherwise. For those commonly who happen to meet with some new good success, and have not been used thereto before, overflown and passed themselves too much in excessive joy, which they have not the grace to govern with sobriety and discretion: whereas the people of Rome have ever been accustomed to the continual felicity of joyous victories, in so much as they are grown into a dilute of taking pleasure and delight in them (to common they are) and have encreased their dominion and Empire, more (in manner) by sparing and pardoning those whom they have conquered, than by the very conquest of them indeed.

"The speech that the other Embassadors made, was more pitiful and lamentable, whiles they recounted before the Senate from what high estate, and to how base condition they were fallen: who but a while since held by force of arms, as it were the whole world, & had nothing left them now but the bare walls of the City of Carthage, within which they were shut up, and could leave nothing either by land or sea, which they might rightfully claim as their own. Nay, the very City itself and their houses, they were to enjoy no longer than the people of Rome is willing, and forbear that proceed by rigour and extremity against the same, since there is nothing else behind to work upon. Now when as the LL. of the Senate seemed to encline to mercy and compassion one Senator there was amongst them (by report) who upon a deep and invertebrate hatred of the Carthaginians treachery, spake out aloud and said, "What Gods will they regard and swear by in making of a new league, who have broken their oath, and taken their name in vain whom they called to witness in the former? Mary (said Asdrubal) even those and no other that are so sharp revengers and heavy enemies to the breakers of league and covenant. So when all their minds were enclined to peace, Ca. Lecunus the Consul, who had the government of the army, opposed himself against the decree of the Senate for to crose the same. Then M. Attilius, and Q. Mucinius. Tribunes of the Commons, preferred a solemn bill into the people, in this form: Pleareth in you, and will you grant, That the Senate shall resolve and determine, that peace may be concluded with the Carthaginians? Pleareth it you to chuse and appoint who shall be the man to make that peace, and who shall bring the army out of Africk? As concerning peace, the tribes every one of them were demanded their voices, granted affirmatively (Hei rogatis) that Scipio should conclude it, and also bring away the army. By vertue of this Act passed by the people, the Senate made a decree. that P. Scipio by the advice and counsel of ten Commissioners, should contract an accord with the people of Carthage, under what conditions he thought good. After this
the Carthaginians rendred thanks to the LL. of the Senate, and requested that they might enter
into the City, and talk with their fellow citizens and country-men, who had been taken captives
before, and lay in the common goal and prison. For there were amongst them some of their
kinsfolk and friends, noblemen of birth and of good quality; others also, unto whom they were
to deliver some message and credence from their kinsmen. When they had spoken and communed
with them, they came with a new petition and made earnest suits, to give them leave to ransom
and redeem as many of them as they would: whereupon they were willing to give them their
names; and when they had named forty upon two hundred, an order was granted out of the Senat,
that the Roman Commissioners should take over with them into Affrick unto Scipio two hun-
dred of those captives whom the Carthaginians would make choice of; and declare unto him
from the Senate, that in case the peace were fully agreed upon and finished, he should deliver
thirteen hundred to the Carthaginians, freely without paying any ransom. Now when the
heralds of arms were appointed to go into Affrick, to confirm and establish the peace accor-
ding to the solemn order, at their own request they added an act of the Senate framed in this form
and tenor. *Imperium, That they should carry with them every one by himself, certain flint fones
of their own, and likewise Verven. Item, That the Roman Pretors should command them le-
monly to pronounce the league, and then they to ask of the Pretor sacred herbs or Verven, A
kind of grass or herb this is, which was wont to be gathered from off the Capitol hill, and given
to the Heralds.

Thus were the Carthaginians dismissed and sent from Rome: who being come into Affrick to
Scipio, concluded peace with the same capitulations as is above said. And so they delivered up
their galleys and ships of war, their Elephants, the renegade traitors, the vagrant fugitives, and four
thousand prisoners. Among whom was Q. Terentius Entell, a Senator by his calling. As for the
ships, so soon as they were lanced into the deep, Scipio commanded them to be let on fire and
burnt. Some report that they were five hundred in number, with one another, of every sort, and
did directly and guided by fire. Presently were they set a burning; and the light and bloody spectacle
(no doubt) to the Carthaginians for to behold, as if Carthage it fell had been of a light
fire. The renegat traitors and rebels were punished more grievously than the fugitives. As many
of them as were of the Latin nation left their heads: all that were natural Romans, were crost
and roundly trampled on the gallows. Forty years before was the peace first made with the
Carthaginians, when Q. Lutatius and A. Mamiani were Consuls. The war began three and
twenty years after, whilsts P. Cornelius and T. Sempronius were Consuls. And the same ended in
the eighteen year after, P. Cornelius and P. Aemilianus being Consuls. Many a time after,
Scipio by report, would say that the willful and covetous desire of T. Claudia first, and afterwards
of Cn. Cornelius, was the only flay and let, that this war ended not with the final ruin and utter
destruction of Carthage.

When as the Carthaginians, who by long and continual wars were grown bare & poor, thought
the levied and contribution of money for to furnish out the first payment, lay heavy and low upon
them, in much as in their Senate-house, there was great sorrow and heaviness, yes, and piteous
weeping; it is said, that Amnibol was driven to laugh a good while. And when A. Hirtius asked him
for laughing in that publick lamentation of the City, considering that himself was the cause of
M. Claudius, "If, ed. Amnibol has we see by our eye the outward disposition of the face and coun-
tenance, so we could look within & behold the affection of the mind, myself might soon perceive,
that this laughter of mine, which ye so much blame, proceedeth not from an heart that is glad
and joyful, but rather senseless, stupified, and afeut ed with the exceeding griefs and calamities
that have hapned. Yet is it not to unpleasable and impetuous to our present condition, as
these tears of yours, and weeping that you make, is abstinence and nothing to the purpose. Then
should ye have wept and shook tears, when our armor and weapons were taken from us, when
our ships were set on fire, when we were interdicted and forbidden to make war with foreign
nations: for then had we our deadly blow, then our backs and hearts were broken. And never
think that the Romans have proceeded hardly against you, in comparison of the hatred that ye N
bare one to another. No great City and mighty State can long continue and rest in quiet. If it
have no enemies abroad, it faineth some at home, much like unto strong and furious bodies, which
leeming ftreng enough against all outward accidents and causes of ficknes, are overcharged with
their own strength and lufines of humours, and thereby subject to most deadly maladies. So
much, too much, and no more we feel of the publick miseries & common calamities, as toucheth
and concerneth our selves in particular: wherein nothing pitcheth us more, nor goeth nearer
to the quick, than to forget our money, and part with our peace. And therefore when Carthage
was conquered and deposed of all her anciant honors, when ye few her diliem and stripped
naked, when ye lay her forlorn of all the armed nations of Affrick no man then lighted, no man
senceth thereat: but now when the tribute imposed, is to be paid out of our private purses, ye
keep a weeping and waiting, as in some publick funeral and mortuary carried forth. But alas, I
fear me greatly that ere it be long, ye shall find and see, That your weeping this day hath been
for the least los of all the rest. Thus spake Amnibol to the Carthaginians.

Seipio having assembled his whole army together before them all, restored Mosenissa to his fa-
thers Kingdom; and over and besides, ended him with the possession of the City Cirtius, and
other Towns and territiries which belonged to the realm of Syphus, and were now in subjection
to
The one and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the one and thirtieth Book.

The causes of the war began again with Philip King of Macedon, which had descended, are set down to this effect: In the time of the holy feast of Ceres, two young men of Acrania, who had not been professed in those sacred mysteries, came to Athens & shewed among other of their counsels, to go into the Chappel of Ceres. For which, as if they had committed some lawful fault in the highest degree, they were by the Athenians executed. The Acraniens moved with indignation for the death of their neighbours, & required aid of Philip to revenge them: Some few months after peace was made with the Carthaginians, in the five hundred and fifty year from the foundation of the City of Rome, when the Embassades of the Athenians, who now were besieg'd by Philip, crested aid of the Senate, and they were of advice & resolved to help them, notwithstanding the common gain & profit (for reason that they thought the continual troubles of so many wars were grievous & heavy upon them) yet so far preserved the authority of the Nobles, that the people also gave their consent to succour their confederate city. This war was committed to the managing of P. Sulpicius the Coful, who led an army into Macedonia, and fought certain battles not only against Philip, but also against the Abodini, being invested and beleaguer'd about him, following the example of the Segusini, who made their wives & children, and their own selves offer them. L. Furius the Praetor overthrew in a pitch field the Gauls called Infubres, who rebelled, and likewise the Carthaginians, who began to make war in those parts, where Amilcar was slain, and with him five and thirty thousand men. Moreover, this book contains the expeditions and voyages of King Philip and Sulpicius the Consul, and the winning of certain cities by them both. Sulpicius the Consul waited with the help of King Attalus and the Rhodians. L. Furius the Praetor triumphed over the Gauls.

The one and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

Full well appaid am I likewise, that I am now come to an end once of the Punic war, as if myself had been in person there, and born my part in the toil and danger thereof. For albeit unifying it is forme (who have undertaken and professed to boldly to write a compleat and fullstory of the Romans) to be wearied in the severall parts of so great a work: yet when l

think
The one and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

think, and consider, how three score years and three (for so many are reckoned from the first Punic war, to the end of the second) have taken up no fewer books of mine than four hundred eighty eight years before, even from the foundation of Rome unto the Confulship of that Appius Claudius, who was the first that warred upon the Carthaginians; methinks I foresee already, that like as they who being once entred into the shallows near the shore, are trained on still, and venture to wade into the sea, even so I, the farther I go forward, the deeper I step, and am carried away in a vast Ocean, and bottomless gulph (as it were) which cannot be founded; and that my work groweth still upon me in my hands, which as I went away space, and rid matters at the first, I would have thought by this time should have decreed.

The Carthaginian war was no sooner concluded, but the Macedonian war straightways ensued; I found nothing comparable to the Punic, if ye regard the hazard and danger, the vertue of the Captains for direction, or prowess of the soldiers: but ita man consider the Nobility and reputation of the ancient Kings, the fame and antiquity of the nation, the greatness of their seigniory and dominion, who in times past had conquered and held by the sword much in Europe, and the better part of Asia, I dare well say, as noble and renowned, if not more. But the war commenced against Philip ten years almost before, had ere three years been laid down and discontinued by means of the Aetolians: who as they gave occasion to enter into arms, so they wrought a composition of peace. But afterwards in process of time, when the Romans by reason of peace with the Carthaginians, had nothing to do, and were at leisure: and yet bearing an inward grudge, and owing a displeasure to Philip, as well for his faithless peace with the Aetolians and other allies and confederates of that country, as also for aid both of men and money lately sent into Affric to Amintor and the Carthaginians: the Athenians, whose territories he had clean wafted and spoiled, and whom he had driven within their City walls, impurrnont them with their prayers, and perfwaded them to take arms and renew the war aforesaid. And much about the same time there arrived Embassadors from King Attalus as also from the Rhodians, giving notice that divers Cities and States of Asia were solicited likewise by Philip to band against the Romans, these Embassadors had their dispatch, and received this answer, That the Senat would have a careful eye to the affairs of Asia. But the entire treaty and consultation concerning the Macedonian war was wholly referred and referred unto the Consuls, who then were employed in the war with the Bois. In the mean season three Embassadors were addrefted unto Ptolomaeus the King of Egypt, to wit, C. Claudius Nero, M. Aemilius Lepidus, and S. Sempronius Tuditanus, with this commiption: First, to signify and let him understand, that Amintor & the Carthaginians were subdud: secondly, to give thanks unto the King for continuing so faft and faithful unto the Romans in their difficulties and adversity, when other of their allies, and even their next neighbours forsook and abandoned them: last of all, to request him, that in case they should be forced by wrongs and injuries offered, to wage war against Philip, he would vouchsafe the same mind flill and his wonted affectionate favour towards the people of Rome.

Near about this time, P. Aelius the Consul being in France, advertised that the Boisians before his coming had made rades into the lands of the friends and allies of the Romans, preiently in all haste levied and enrolled two legions upon the rumour of this tumult and trouble; and joyning thereunto four cohorts of footmen out of his own army, sent C. Appius Colonell or Captain of the Confederates, with this power so suddenly raised, and with commandment to march forth that part of Umbria, which was called the Tribe Sappinia, and to invade the territories of the Bois, whilst himself in person led his forces the open way traversing through the mountains, and came thither. Appius being entred into the confines of the enemies, at the first had a good hand, and sped well in forraging the country with safety of himself. But afterwards, having made choice of a meet place near unto a Castle called Mutium, for to cut down and reap the corn, (for now the fields were ready for harvest) but yet, without espials sent out to discover the coasts about, without setting strong and sufficient guards, which being well appointed and armed, might defend the unarmed that were buffie in their harvest work; he changed himself and all his forragers and N. resapers to be surprized at unawares by the Frenchmen, and assailed on every side. Whereupon they also that were armed fled in great fright; and seven or men flying here and there over the corn fields were slain; and among them C. Appius himself their leader. The reft for fear were driven to put themselves within their Camp: from whence without direction and guidance of any certain Captain and only upon a general consent of the foildiers, the night next following they abando- ned their hold, left much of their baggage behind them, and through blind forrests, chais, and wild mountains (in manner unpasable) they came in the end to the Consul: who, after he had performed in his Province no memorable act, save only that he wafted the borders and frontiers of the Bois, and made a league with the Inganni (a nation of the Ligurians) returned to Rome. So soon as he had assembled the Senat, all the whole house with one voice called upon him to treat, and consult upon no other matter before they had determined of King Philip, and the complaints made by their allies: so he proposed that out of hand to be debated in Consill, and the Senate in a frequent number there met, passed a decree, that P. Aelius the Consul should send whom he thought good with commission and authority for to receive the Armado which Cn. Octavius was to bring out of Sicily, and therewith to cross over into Macedonia, So M. Valerius Lanciun the Vice-Prator was sent; and when he had taken the charge of the fleet, confi-
A fling of eight and thirty sail, at the hands of Cr. Octavius about Vibo, he pased the feast to Macedon. Now when M. Aurelius the Lieutenant was come, and had informed and advertised him, what pestilent armies, what numbers of ships the King had prepared and got together; how partly himself in person by going about not only to all the Cities of the Continent, but also the Islands in the sea and partly by sending his Embassadors every way, had solicited unto war, and raised much people to take arms: shewing moreover, that the Romans were not to enter prudence without preparation of greater forces: and that more speedily, for fear left if they made show hasty and fized, Philip might extert in that adventure, which Pyrrhus (a Potentate and Prince of a far better Dominion) had done before: it was thought meet that Aurelius should dispatch his letters to the same effect unto the Comitia and the Senate.

In the end of this year, when a motion was propounded in the Senate-house, as concerning the setting out of lands unto the old founders: for recompence of their good service, who, under the conduct and fortunate government of Scipio the Pro-Consul, had brought the war in Africa to an end: the LL. enacted a decree, that M. Fabius the Praetor of the City, if he thought it good, should create ten Decemvirs as surveyors, for to measure out and divide among them the lands in Samnium and Apulia, so much as had been forfeit and confiscated to the people of Rome. And these were they: namely, P. Servilius Q. Aurelius Messius Censor and Marcus named Servilius and both surnamed Gemini, Lucius and Asius both Horsilius and surnamed Latores likewise, P. Vitellius Tappulus, M. Fulvius Flaccus, P. Aelius Paus, and Q. Flaminius.

At the same time P. Aelius the Coh. called the assembly and high Court of Parliament for election of Magistrates: and for Coh. were created P. Sulpitius Galba and C. Aurelius Cotta. After them were the Praetors chosen to wit, Q. Minucius Rufus, L. Furius Purpureus, Q. Fulvius Galba and C. Sergius Planus. The Roman flaging-places were that year exhibited with great state and magnificency most sumptuously, by L. Velleius Flaccus and T. Quintus Flaminius, Ediles of the Chair, and for two years together were represented anew. These Ediles distributed and divided most faithfully among the people a mighty deal of corn which Scipio the Pro-Consul had left out of Africa; for to four Aliens the Medes: whereby they won great love and favour of all men. Also the Plebeian places were thrice let forth all whole again by the Ediles of the Commons, L. Aemilius Fabius, and Q. Minucius Rufus. This man from his Edileship stepped to the Praetors place. And by occasion of those places there was a solemn feast celebrated in the honour of Jupiter.

In the 544 year from the foundation of the City, when P. Sulpitius Galba and G. Aurelius were Coh., the war with King Philip began, within four months after peace granted to the Carthaginians. And before all other matters this affair was propounded in the Senate by P. Sulpitius the Coh. upon the Ides of March, the very day on which at that time they used to enter upon the Consilium. Whereby by the Senate it was decreed, Iuppiterus, That the Consuls should sacrifice with greater beasts to what gods themselves thought good, with a solemn prayer in this form: That whatsoever the Senate and people of Rome minded and intended to do, either concerning the affairs of the Common-wealth, or the undertaking and enterprize of this new war, the same might speed well and happily in the end, to the behoof of the people of Rome, their allies, and the nation of the Latines. Item, That after sacrifice and divine prayer they should consult with the Senate about the fate of the City, and government of the Provinces. At the same time it fell out very fitly to provoke and stir up their minds unto war, that not only letters were brought from M. Aurelius the Lieutenant, and from M. Valerius Lezinus the Vice-Praetor: but also new Embassies of the Athenians arrived; the one importing, and the other reporting, that the King drew near and approached their confines, and within a while would be not only Lord of their lands and territories, but also Master of their City, unless the Romans set too their helping hand. After that the Consuls had openly pronounced and declared, that the sacrifices were performed rightly and according to order, and that the Gods gave ear unto their prayers, and accepted thereof: and the fourth years and bowell-priests likewise out of their learning made answer and showed, that the invades of the beasts were as they should be, and signified happily, namely, the enlarging of their confines and frontiers, with the achieving of victory and triumph. Then were the letters above said of Valerius and Aurelius read, and the Athenian Ambassadors had a day of audience. After this, there passed an Act of the Senate. That thanks should be renderd unto their allies, for that they being long remitted and solicited for revolt, yet notwithstanding had not failed in their allegiance, nor forsaken their loyalty, no, not for fear of a present prince. As touching tendering aid unto them, it was thought good to answer, when the Consuls had their Provinces allotted unto them: and when that Consul whose help it should be for to go into Macedonia had proposed unto the people, That defense should be given to Philip King of Macedonia, and open war proclaimed against him. Now it fell by lot unto P. Sulpitius to take that charge in Macedonia, who preferred and presented a bill unto the people in this manner: Please it you, and is it your will, that war be proclaimed and denounced against King Philip and the Macedonians within his Realm and Dominion for the wrongs offered and the war levied by them upon the friends and allies of the people of Rome? Unto the other Consul Aurelius befall the Province of Italy. Then upon this the Praetors cast lots for their Provinces. Cn. Sergius Planus had the jurisdiction of the City; Q. Fulvius Gilti was to govern the Province of Sicily. Q. Minucius Rufus of the Bruittis, and L. Furius Purpureus of France.
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The Oration of P. Sulpicius Rufus to the people of Rome.

The forenamed bill concerning the Macedonian war, in the first Parliament assembled about it, was in manner by all the centuries in the formost scrutinies nipped & flatned denied, Which thing, partly men of themselves were forward enough to do, as being over-weighed with long and fore wars: and worn out for very irkstones of tedious travel and painfull perilis: and partly to endeavor a Tribune of the Commons, failed not to let them on, to taking the old course and way of blam- ing and accusing the nobles, had laid to their charge, that they lowed the seeds of war full, and ceased notto raise war upon war, to the end, that the commons might never be at rest, and enjoy the repose of peace. The LL. of the Senat took this to the heart, in such sort, that the Tribune was shaken up and much reviled in the Senate-hone with most opprobrious and reproachfull terms: and every man did his part to encourage the Coniul to publish a new assemblie and scrutiny for the proposing of the same bill, to challege and rebuke the fault and idleness of the people; yet I and to open and shew unto them what great damage and los, how much shame and dishonor they should incur by their delays before the war begin. Then the Coniul having assembled the people for this purpose in Mars field, before that he cited the Centuries to give their voices, called them them all together and made a speech unto them in this wise: It seems (quot he) that you are ignorant, my Masters and Citizens of Rome, that the matter put to question is not, whether we should or would have war or peace. (for Philip will not permit that to be at your disposition and pleasure, who already preparesthe mortal war both by sea and land:) but whether ye would rather choose to transport the legions into Macedonia, or receive your enemy here within Italy. And what difference there is between the one and the other, you had sufficient proof and experience: (if ever at any time before,even in this last war, especially with the Carthaginians. For who is he that maketh doubt? But if we had with speed relieved the Saguntins beleaguered, who fled into us for help, and earnestly craved for our protection, like as our ancestors and progenitors in due time assisted the Maccabees; we should have turned the whole violence and force of the war into Spain, which by our long driving off & lingering delays we entertained in Italy, to our great los, and grievous calamity. Neither need we to doubt of this, but that we have hitherto laboured in vain. Philip in Macedonia, (who without question and combined with Anniball by means of letters and enterprize of emissadors, let to have passed over into Italy before this time:) only by sending of Uxanus with a fleet, to begin with him at home, and make war in his own kingdom, Defer we then to do that now, when Anniball is chased out of Italy and the Carthaginians defeated; which then we did, when we had the same Anniball our enemy within Italy; Go I. we onfild and suffer the King by winning the City of Athens (like as we permitted Anniball by forcing of Saguntins) to try and flee the flackness and cowardice: we shall then have, I warrant you, arrived in Italy, not five months end, as Anniball was after his departure from Saguntins; but within five days, after he is dilanchored once & under fail from Corinth, See, ye will not compare Philip with Anniball, no not the Macedonians with the Carthaginians; yet I am sure ye will make them matches, and equall with King Pyrrhus, so far forth I say, as one man exelleth another in valour, and one nation surpasseth another in power. Epiphan hath never been accounted, nor is at this day, but the famed appendant to the kingdom of Macedonia, and of least importance. But as for Philip, the whole and entire seignory of Peloponnesus is under him, and Lord he is of Argos as I tell you, every day, as by the death of Pyrrhus, as the ancient name and rem- mow that goeth of it. Compare now again the times of ouriare, How much gloriously Italy in those days more than now? Our affairs were then much more bound and unfoiled: our Cap- tains safe our armies all, so many as they were, untainted; whom the Carthaginian wars after- ward consumed: yet as purfaint and great as we were, Pyrrhus affaid us, he put us to trouble and sorrow enough; and came intrain of victory to take our free hold even near the City of Rome. So as not only the Tarentins, and all that tract of Italy, which they call the greater Greece, banded with him in that fort, as a man would have thought they had followed the very language and tone of their name: but the Lucans also and the Bruttians, ye, and the Salernies revolted from us, and rebelled: and are ye of believe that these will be quiet and remain in loyalty and obedience? If Philip once were pased over into Italy? yes may they there is no quelli- on: for they fled fast afterwards, and continued true in the Pyunic war, Nay, they never make reckoning that these States will not revolt from us so long as they know any oneunto whom they may turn and range themselves. If ye had thought much of it, and been loath to pafs over into Africk, in truth at this day ye should have had Anniball and the Carthaginians your enemies still in Italy. Let Macedonia therefore be the seat of war rather than Italy: let our enemies Cities and lands be destroyed with fire and sword, We have found well by good experience, that our fortune is better, and our forces were purfaint abroad in forain parts, than at home in our own Country. Go to therefore in the name of God to the Scrutiny and give your voices: and those things that the LL. of the Senat have devised to do,grant ye the same, and yield your assent. Ye have not only the Coniul of this advice and counsel, but also the immortal gods (who as I offered sacrifice and prayed devoutly unto them, that this war might redound to the good and benefit of my self, of the Senat, of you, of our allies, of the Latin nation, and finally of our armies and armades) have vouchsafed me all the signs and tokens of comfort and joy, and affured me that all shall be well and according to our hearts desire. This Oration of his once ended, they were presently to deliver up their voices and gave: affirmatively for the war, & suffered it to pafs according as he had propounded. Then by an order from the Senat there was a solemn supplication for
A for three days proclaimed: and in all Churches and Chapells, and before every shrine & altar the gods were praised unto, that the war (which the people had allowed of) against K. Philip might be well achiev'd and have an happy end. Moreover, the Consul Sulpicius conferred with the heralds, and asked their advice, Whether they would ordain, that the war to be denounced against King Philip should be intimat'd to himself in person: or thought it sufficient to be proclaimed within the confines of his dominion, at the next frontier town of all, where he kept a garrison and guard: they pronounced again, That it mattered not, but the Consul should please himself, and do full well in the one and the other. Then the Consul was permitted by the LS of the Senate to chuse whom he would: he were not a Senator, for to send as a messenger or purveyor of arms to give the King defiance and to publish war. After this it was debated in Council how the armies should be disposed as well of Consuls as Prætors. The Consuls were commanded to enroll two legions, and to dif-harsh and cafe the old armies. Sulpicius, who by a decree was to manage this new war of so great name and consequence, was allowed to take with him out of that army which Scipio the Vice-Consul had brought out of Africk, as many voluntaries as he could procure: but in no cafe to urge any old soldier against his will. Alto it was decreed, that the Consul should allow unto the Prætors L. Firminus Properius, and Quintus Minucius Rufus 5000 men space of thealiots of the Latine nation: whom they shou'd employ, the one in the Province of Gallicæ, and the other in the Burrians country to defend those parts and keep them in obedience. Q. Fulvius Cillo was himself like wise commanded to chuse out of that army which P. Aelius the Consul commanded, as many as had served twelve years, until he made up the number of 5000 also of the allies & Latines: which should be a garrison to keep in order and safety the Province of Sicily. M. Valerianus Fallo. Prætor the year before, and L. deputy of the Province of Campania, had his Commission signed anew, to continue for the term of one year longer, and as Vice-Prætor to pass over into Sardinia, with direction to chuse out of the army there 5000 of the allies and Latines such as had served late time. And the Consuls were commanded to take up two legions of Citizens, which might be sent to any place, as need should require, considering that many nations in Italy tained and needed with the fellowship and company of the Carthaginians during the wars and ever since, were revive'd with anger and despite against the Romans. Thus the Common-wealth for that year was to use the employment of six Roman legions.

Amidst these preparations for war, there arrived Embassadors from K. Proumey, giving intelligence, that the Athenians had craved aid of their King and Mallet, against Philip. And although they were confederate as well with him as the Romans, yet the King would lend into Greece neither a fleet of ships, nor an army of men, defensive, or offensive to any, but by authority and content of the people of Rome. In case therefore the Romans were resolved, and sufficient withal of themselves to defend their allies, he would be willing to fit full and take his repose at home. Otherwise, if the Romans were rather dispose to yield and take their ease, he would himself be well content to lend such forces to the aid of the Athenians, as should defend them early against all the power of Philip. The Senate returned great thanks unto the King, with this answer, That the people of Rome were purposed to protect their own allies: but if during this war they flood in need, upon any occurrence that might happen, they would give knowledge thereunto the King: as being allured and making full account, that all the plenitude and wealth of his kingdom was a sure prop and trusty pillar of their State and Common-wealth. This done by order from the Senate the Embassadors had been given them for a reward five thousand Ases apiece. Now whiles the Consuls were busy in taking matters: and providing all things meet for the war; the City very devout and given much to religion, in the beginnings especially all new wars, after they had performed their supplications aforefaid, and done their devotions at every altar and shrine, because nothing might be for -let and left out, that at any time heretofore had been done: ordained that the Col. unto whom the Province of Macedon fell, should vow solemnly to exhibit to the honour of Jupiter, the great games and plays, and a rich present before. But Lucius the High Priest laid this publice for the time that it went not forward, alleging that it was not lawful to make a vow of an uncertain sum of money not determined: & if such money might not serve for the use of war, it ought presently to be let by and laid up safe, and not be mingled and shuffled with other moneys: and unless that were duly done the vow could not be paid and performed according to the order of holy rites. Albeit the thing it fell and the person of the man that moved this statute, touched and troubled them much, yet they would needs that the Consul should propose the matter to the college of the Priests and Bishops, to know their resolution, whether a vow might not directly be made of an uncertain piece of money. The Bishops let down their opinion and judgment that it might be well enough, yea, and better than otherwise. Whereupon the Consul pronounced the vow, according to the very same form of words (as the High Priest entitl'd and spake before him) which aforetime they were wont to use, in making the quinquennial vows from five years to five: gave only thus much, that he vowed and promised to perform the plays, and to perform oblations unto Jupiter, amounting to such a sum of money as the Senate should let down when the vow was to be performed, so many times before had the great games been vowed, and a determinate sum of money ever assigned: but these were the fift that were not limited within any certain time and compasses. Now when men's minds were wholly bent upon the Macedonian war, behold on a sudden when by chance nothing less than such a thing there arose a rumour of French troubles and rumour:
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rums: for the Inhabitants the Cenomans and Beii, having solicited and raised up by way of injuri
H relation the Sallus, the Iuvatones, and other states of Leguriae, under the conduct of Amilcar the
Carthaginian, who in those parts stood behind with the remnant of Achaean his army, were seiz
of Pleciatia: and after they had sacked the City, and for very dissipate anger burnt a great par
of losing hardly two thousand perions of all sorts, which amidst the fire and ruins there-
of chance to have themselves, crossed the river Po, and advanced forward to the spoil and pillage
of Cremona. But the inhabitants of that Colony, having heard of the misery and calamity bet
upon their neighbour-City, had some respect and time to fluit their gares, and to bestow their
guards upon the walls: so as, they should at least while be first besieged or ever they were forced,
and might be able to dispatch messengers unto the people of Rome. L.Furius Purpureo was governor
of that Province for the time; who having by order from the Senate discharged all the rest of I
the army but only five thousand allies and those Liguriae, abode with that power in the next
country to that Province, about Aressinum. He then addressed his letters unto the Senate, signif-
ing in how bad terms the provinces good, namely, that of those two Colonies, which all the time
of the Punick war had escapced those great storms and tempests of strues, the one was won by
the enemies and put to the sackage, the other now besieged, and at hand to be lost: neither would
his forces be sufficient and able to help the distresse Cremonians, unless he should wilfully cast a
way five thousand allies, and expose them as a prey unto forty thousand of the enemies (for so
many they were strong to have their throats cut, and to be hewn in pieces: and by so great a loss
and overthrow of his, to give more heart and courage to the enemies, who are now in their ruff,
and pulled up with pride for the ruin of one Roman Colony already. Upon the reading of these
letters, there went forth a decree from the L.L. of the Senate, that C. Aurelius the Consul should
send out his precepts for the army to be ready at Aressinum that very day, on which he appointed
them to the Rendezvous in Hetruria: and there he himself in his own person, it might stand
with the good of the State, would go with a power to suppers the French commotions, or else
write to L.Furius the Praetor, that when the Roman Legions preferred themselves unto him out
of Hetruria, he should fend in their stead his own five thousand allies for the guard of Hetruria
in the meantime, and make a journey himself in person to raise the siege before Cremona, and to
set the Colony free that now was beleaguered. They thought good besides to dispatch Emba-
dors into Affrick, who should go to Carthage, and afterwards to Memphi in Numidia, To Car-
thage, to or to intimate unto them. That Amilcar, a Citizen of theirs, left behind in France, and (L
whether he were of the army of Achaean before or afterwards of Mosoy they knew not for cer-
tain.) Having war there, against the covenants in the League contained: that he had assembled cer-
tain forces of French and Ligurians, to enter into arms against the people of Rome: and therefore
if they had any love to entertain peace, they should call him home, and deliver him to the people
of Rome. Over and besides they had in commination to give them to understand, that delivery was
not yet made of all the running rebels, but many of them, by report, were retired to Carthage,
and there went up and down, and conversed openly: which persons were, after diligent search
made, to be attacked and apprehended, that they might, according to the tenor of the accord, be
sent home again, and delivered into the hands of the Romans. And thus much concerning their
message to the Carthaginians. Now they had in charge besides to congratulate with Mosafina, M.
and to declare what joy they took in his behalf particularly for that he had not only recovered the
inheritance of his fathers kingdom but also enlarged his dominion, by conquest of the most flourish
ing part of the Realm of Syphasis. Moreover, command them were to signify unto him, that
they had undertaken war upon King Philip because he had befriended and aided the Carthaginians
; and by offering and doing wrong to the friends of the people of Rome, even at what time as
all Italy was full of troubles and wars, enforced and put them to it, to send their armies and
their armadoes into Greece, and so by dismembering and dividing their forces into fundy places,
was the principal cause that they were for late so they passed over into Affrick: requiring him
for the maintenance of this war, to send over certain aids of Numidian horsemen. These Orators
had great gifts and honourable presents given them for to carry unto the King, to wit, divers pe-
nces of plate both of gold and silver, a purple robe of State, with a rich caskock or coat wrought
in palm-tree-work, with a royal sceptre of ivory, also a robe embroidered before with purple, with
an ivory chair of state, Laft of all, they were willed to make promise unto the King, that if he could
think upon any thing needfull and expedient either to establish his kingdom, or to advance his
royal estate, the people of Rome would endeavour respectively for his good demerits to compas
the fame to the uttermost of their power.

There arrived also about that time Embassadors from Vermina the son of Syphasis, and preten
themselves unto the Senate, excusing the error, and pretending the youth of the Prince, lea
ring him of all fault, and laying the whole blame upon the fraud and treachery of the Carthaginians,
proposing for their King and Master in this wise. That like as Mosafina of a professed enemy O
was become a sworn friend to the Romans, even so would Vermina do his best, and strain himself,
that in all offices of friendship toward the people of Rome neither Mosafina, nor any other should
fulfil and go beyond him: and making petition in his name that the Senate would vouchsafe to
give him the titles of King of Ally, and Friend unto the Romans. These Orators had this for their
answer. That not only Syphasis his father before him, of a conderate friend suddenly without any
cause at all proved an enemy to the people of Rome; but also himself had practised already in his
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A young years, and laid the first ground of his warfare in annoying and troubling the Romans by war; and therefore he was to seek pardon and cease peace at their hands, before he might be invetted by them with the terms of King of All, and Friends: for the honour of that title the people of Rome were wont to vouchsafe to none, but those Kings only who had deferred singularly well of them. Mary there should be certain Roman Legats in Affric, unto whom the Senate would give order to minisiter and tender unto Vermissa certain conditions of peace, according to a large and absolute commission that they had from the people of Rome. To do what they thought good, and in case the King mistook ought in those capitulations, and were desirous to have any article added, put out, or altered, he might recourse again to the Senate, and demand the same. So there were Legats or Commissioners sent to Affric with such a Commission above said named, C. Terentius Vero, Sp. Lucretius, and Ca. Olibius, and each of them had a galley directed with five rows of oars.

After this were the letters read of Q. Maminius Prator in the Province of the Bruttii, importing thus much, That the confecrated money of Pogreffy at Locri was by night stolen out of her treasury; but to say who should do the deed, they had no presumptions to give light and lead them directly. The Senate took the matter in very ill part, and grieved exceedingly, That sacrilegious men should fill Church-robbing, and would not give over: and that the late and fresh example of Pogressy (to notorious as well for the hainous fact as the fearful punishment) was not able to terrify them and give them warning. So C. Aurelius the Cof, was enjoined to write unto the Prator into the Bruttian country, to this effect: That it was the Senate pleasure, that due enquiry and examination should be had of the Treasury thus robbed. After the same precedent and course that M. Pompeius the Prator took three years before. And look what money could be found, it should be laid duly in the place; and what was not forth coming, it should be supplied and made good again, Alfo (as he thought meet) that there should be certain purgatory sacrifices, according to the Bishops before ordained in the like cafe, for the expiation and satisfaction of the violating and defiling of the Temple. Moreover, there chanced about the same time divers prodigious tokens from many places to be reported. In the Lucians country the rumor and voice were that the wekin was on fire; and at Perusinum, while the sky was bright and fair, the inn appeared red all day long. At Laronium, in the Temple of Juno Sospita, there was heard in the night-lesson a mighty great noise, Nay, and more than this, in sundry places (as men say) were many monstrous and strange births been. In the Sabins country one child was born, and no man knew what to make of it male or female: and another likewise was found of sixteen years of age, a very Hermaphroditic of douall sex between both. At Frunis there was a lamb yeaned with a swines head: and at Sinnaesa a low friarow a pig with the head of a man. In the Lucians country there was looted upon the common ground a coax with five feet. All these monstrosities were ugly to see and abominable, and holden for great defects and errors of nature working strangely out of kind. But above all others, those births both male and female, (or rather neuter) were most abhorred and detested and order was given presently, that they should be cast into the sea even as of late days when C. Claudius and M. Livius were Consuls the like deformed monstros was thither had away and drowned. Nevertheless the December were commanded to turn over and peruse the books of Sibylla, to know what such prodigies monitors might pertain: who by their learning and out of those books, gave direction to make the same sacrifices which list of all for the like incount fights were made. Moreover, they gave commandment, that certain hymns and songs should be chanted throughout the City by three severall quires, of nine virgins in every one: and an obligation to be offered by them with all devotion to queen Jone. C. Aurelius the Consul caused all this to be performed according to the order and direction of the December. And as in our fathers days Livius composed the ditty of the hymn, so at that time P. Licinius Tegdrat framed and set down a form of long which they could sing. Thus when all things were expatiated, and satisfaction made accordingly for the appealing of the wrath of the gods, (for even at Loci the sacrilege was found out by Q. Monintius, and the money missing was raised out of the goods of the offenders and guilty persons, and bestowed there again in the treasury) as the Consuls were minded to take their journey into their Provinces, there repaired many private Citizens unto the Senate, unto whom the third payment was due that year for the loan of money, which in the time of M. Valerius and M. Claudius Consuls they had lent out and disbursed, because that the Consuls had made them answer, That the stock of the City Chamber was hardly able to defray the charges of a new war, which required maintenance of a mighty Navy and of pillusive armies, and therefore faintly denied them, and laid, That they had not whereunto to satisfy and make present payment. The Senate could not endure that they should have this occasion to make complaint; considering, that if the Common-wealth would still employ the money upon the Macedonian war also, which was granted in loan for the Punic war, this would be the end of it that (one was following this in the neck of another) their own money which was lent upon a curteise and benevolence out of their private purses, should be little better than confiscate for some forfeitures, and fall to the Exchequer and common Chett of the City. These private persons demeaning nothing but respect and right, and the City withall not able to discharge her debt, the Lords set down a middle and indifferent course between honesty and prudence, and that was this: That forasmuch as many of these men said, that the City had much land upon sale, and they were to buy and make purchase, therefore the common grounds
The one and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

grounds lying and being within fifty miles of Rome every way, should be granted unto them in fee for farms, and the Cornhus to let down an estimate of their value and worth, and charge them with a chief rent or tribute of three farthings an acre by the year, to testify only that they were the Cities lands, to the end that if any man hereafter (when the City should be aorehand and in case to repay the former debt) were desirous to have money rather than land, he should restore the lands and possessions again into the Cities hands and receive his money. These private Citizens (who were the forefaid creditors) accepted gladly of this offer and condition. And hereupon this land was called by the name of Tributaria and Tributum, because it was set out and granted in lieu of a third part of the lone money. Then Paulinus after he had pronounced his vows above-said in the Capitol, and departed out of the City in his coat of arms, with the Lictors and Ushers afore him, arrived at Brundisium: and so with the old voluntary fouldeir drawn out of the army that was returned from Affricus, whom he had enrolled into legions and ships chosen out of the fleet of Cornhus the Cornhus he loosed from Brundisium, and the next day after landed in Macedonia: where attended him the Embassadors of the Athenians; who humbly besought him to deliver them from the siege that invested their City, So C. Clau. Cento was incontinent sent to Athens furnished with twenty long ships of war, and a strength of men of war the King himself in person belied not Athens, but even then made hot assualt upon the town Alydus, as having already given proof of his forces in sea-fight, both with the Rhodians and King Attalus, and in neither battel had good success: But besides the ordinary routs and pride engaged in him by nature, he was aolst now and looked high, by reason of the alliance made between him and Antiochus King of Syria, with whom he had parted the riches and Realm of Egypt, unto K which they both aspired, upon the news they heard of the death of Ptolemes. Now the Athenians had drawn upon themselves the war against King Philip, upon a small occasion and of no importance; who of all their ancient etate and glory, retain nothing else but great heart and haughty spirit. It fortunate that two young men of Acrarnania, who had taken no orders and were not consecrate, entered among the other multitude into the Temple of Ceres, in the time of the feast all days, and celebration of sacrifices to that goddes belonging: and being altogether ignorant in the cultume of that solemnity and religion, and asking some foolish absurd questions, nothing fit for that time or place, were soon bewrayed by their speech and language: who being accommoded before the Prelates of the said Temple, notwithstanding it was evidently proved and known, that upon an error only & oversight, and for no ill intent they were come into the L Church, yet were they put to death as fellows, and guilty of some hainous fact in the highest degree. The people of Acrarnania complained unto King Philip, and informed him of this villanous part and hostile act by them committed; and obtained a grant from him, that they might be permitted with the aid of the Macedonians to make war upon the Athenians. This army at first invaded the territories of Athens, and with fire and sword made waste & havoc of all, and so with a rich booty of all forts returned into Acrarnania. These were the first quarrels on both sides, that stirred coals and kindled fire between them. Afterwards was defiance given, and open war proclaimed, by the general decrees of both States; For when King Attalus and the Rhodians purfued after Philip as he retired into Macedonia, and were come asfar as Argos then the said King passed over to Pyreasmus to renew and confirm the league with the Athenians. Against his coming M the whole City went forth with their wives and children to meet him on the way: the Clergy with their rich vestments and goodly ornaments were ready to receive him as he entered the City: the very gods themselves in a manner abandoned their shrines to give him entertainment. Immediately was the people summoned to a general assembly, that the King might deliver his mind before them all: but afterwards, upon more sage advice, it was thought to stand better with the honour and Majesty of a Prince, that he should set down in writing what he thought good, rather than in open place either to blush himself in recounting his favors and good turns done unto the City, or in hearing the acclamations of the multitude in token of joy, to be abashed and ashamed of their gods and unmeasurable flattery. But in his letters which he sent unto the assembly, and were there openly read and published, first he made a rehearsal of the benefits that this confederate City had received at his hands. Secondly, he discarded of the worthy exploits which he had performed against Philip. And finally he knit up all with an exhortation, that whiles they had himself, the Rhodians, and especially the Romans to friend them, they should put themselves in arms and begin war: as who if they now forsook the enterprise, and let slip the present opportunity, should hereafter seek in vain to find it, which once they had it refariously loft. Then had the Rhodian Embassadors audience given them, who lately had done the Athenians a great pleasure, in recovering and sending home unto Athens four long boilers, which newly had been boord and taken by the Macedonians. Hereupon with general accord they decreed to denounced and wage war against King Philip. But first they did King Attalus incredible honour beyond all measure and then likewise to the Rhodians. Then and never before there was some speech moved of adjoyning unto the ten ancient tribes, one other tribe, which of the Kings name should be called Attalida, Unto the City of the Rhodians they gave in token of vertue, a Crown of beaten gold. And like as beforetime the men of Rhodes had granted free Burgeofie of their City to the Athenians, so they of Athens now endured the Rhodians with their liberties and franchises. This done, K. Attalus returned to his fleet in the rade of Egina. The Rhodians then weighed anchor, and from Egina failed to Con. From whence alone the illslands, they passed to the Rhedes: and
A and in their voyage considered themselves with them all, excepting "Andres," "Pillor," and "Cybe- 
me," which were guarded by garrisons of the Macedonians. In "Egina" King "Attalus" made his a-
bode a certain time, and entred into no action, by occasion of messengers whom he had sent into 
"Aetolia," and Embassadors that were expected from thence. But as he could not prevail with the 
"Aetolians," to invite them to take arms, containing themselves with the peace that in some sort 
they had concluded with "Philip" to himself, and the Rhodians (who no doubt, if they had pressed 
and followed hard upon "Philip" might have gained and enjoyed this glorious title. That they alone 
of themselves had delivered "Greece" from sedition by infuring him one again to cross the seas 
as far as "Hellepont," and to profess himself of the comminations and importunities of "Greece," 
thereby to re-enforce his power and gather more strength, gave nothing to the war, 
B and in the end the "Romans" go away with the honour, both of managing and also of limiting 
the fame, "Philip" carried with him yet a more princely mind and bodily courage; who, although 
he was not able to match and make his part good so much as with "Attalus" and the Rhodians his 
enemies, yet was he nothing at all dented with the threatening threats of the Roman war; but 
sent "Pheidias," a Captain of his, with a power of two thousand foot and two hundred horse, 
to invade and spoil the territory of the Athenians, committed his "Amado" to the charge of "Helle-
ides," to set fail for "Marseilles," and himself in person marched by land thither with another regi-
ment of two thousand footmen lightly appointed, and two hundred men of them. "Marseilles" 
was forced at the first assault. But as for "Euripus," after he had with much labour and travell laid siege 
thereto a long time, in the end he was Master thereof, through the treachery of "Gypsonia," depicted C L. Governor there for King "Peisistratus." After this he surprised and won other Citties, as "Cephal.
Doris," "Sestos," and many more. Thence he advanced forward to "Chersonesus," where he gained "Elias 
and Alpine conquest," which willingly surrendered: "Calipolis" also and "Marmara," with some other places 
of notable account and reckoning. But the "Abydians" that their gates against the King, and would 
not suffer so much as his Embassadors to set foot within their Citties. There lay "Philip" a long time 
before the town and beleaguered it; and of late had no "Attalus," and the Rhodians forelacked the 
time, it might have been saved and the siege raised. "Attalus" sent thither three hundred souldiers and 
more to lie in garrison, and the Rhodians one galley only with four banks of oars out of the navy when it rode at "Tenedos." And afterwards when "Attalus" himself was thither 
come, at what time the townsman could hardly hold out any longer against the siege, he made 
them anewly near at hand of some help: other relique would have afforded none to his allies either 
by land or sea. The "Abydians" at first planted their engines and arsilly along the walls, and 
with shot from thence not only disquieted their enemies, and kept them from approach and en-
trance, but also annoyed them as they lay in harbour with their ships: but afterwards, fellowing part 
of their walls minacate and laid open; and perceiving besides that the enemies had undermined 
and were come under the ground as far as the inner countermore, which the inhabitants in great 
haste had raised within, forthwith they sent Embassadors to the King to treat and article about some 
conditions for delivereng the Cittie. The townsman capitulated and demanded, that the 
Rhodian galley afoide, with all her mariners, and the garrison also of King "Attalus," 
might be sent away in safety, and themselves permitted to depart the town every one with a single 
only of apparel. But "Philip" made answer again that they had no peacemaker them at all, unless 
they would quit the place, and simply commit themselues unto his mercy. This Embassage 
related unto them, set them in such an heat and choler, that partly for upright and indignation, and 
partly upon despair, they fell into the like rage that the "Sagatenius" did in times past. All the 
dames and wives of the Cittie they commanded to be shut up within the Temple of "Diana:" their 
young boies and maiden that were free-born, the fucking babes, together with their nurces, they 
could be betwixt within the common place of publike exercise: their gold and silver 
they took order to be brought into the market place: their rich attire, their costly apparell and 
iiiture, to be call into the two Galles, the one of "Rhodes," and the other of "Cyzicus," which 
rid in the haven: and last of all, that their Priests should be brought forth with their heats for facri-
F ice and altars erected in the midst of the place. There first were certain men chosen of purpose: 
who so soon as they perceived the battallion of their countrimen decreated and flain, fighting 
before the breaches of the wall, immediately should run upon their wives and children, and kill 
them without mercy, call away into the sea their gold and silver, and all the furniture above said 
that was in the Gallies, and let the edifice and housees arise, as well publike as private, in as many 
places as possibly they could. For the performing and execution of these premises, they were 
bound by an oath minified unto them: the form whereof, with a curtail malversation thereto an-
nexed, they pronounced word for word from the Priests mouth. Then, as many as were of lawful 
age to bear arms, were likewise. That not one of them would depart out of the battallialive, 
but with victory. Thus remembering the oath they had taken, and how they called the gods to 
G witnesse, they fought so resolutely, that whereas the might would have parted the combata, the 
King terrified with their furious rage, first gave over the conflict. The chief and principal men of the 
City, whose charge was to play the more cruel and horrible part in this tragical act, seeing 
there remained but few alive after this skirmith, and those grievously wounded and tired out 
of heart for wearciness; the next morning early by day-break sent their Priests with their infules 
and veiles of peace to render the Cittie unto "Philip." Before the town was fully yielded, "M. Em-
libus" the youngel of those three Roman Embassadors which were sent to "Alexandria," hearing of 
the
the straight siege of the Abydens came by the consent of the other two unto Philip, Where he laid open their grievances, and made complaint, That he had ware upon Attalus and the Rhodians, and namely, even then besieged and affall'd Abyden most forcibly. And when the King answered, that "Attalus and the Rhodians without just cause on his part offered, began first to molest and troub'le him, What? (Quoth Eumenes again) were you molested and troubled first by the Abydens too? Philip who was not wont to be told the truth to plainly, thinking this rejoinder of his more bold and malignant than to be offered to a King, "Your youthful age, quoth he, & fair face, and above all the Roman name makest thou harshly and audaciously, But I would advise you all, first to remember your covenants, and to entertain peace with me. For in case ye once begin with me, and put me to it: Do you understand, that I also am fully resolv'd to make you feel the smart, and know, that the realm and nation of the Macedonians is no less renowned for its force of arms than the Romans. Philip having dismissed the ambassador, and seiz'd upon all the gold and silver that lay on an heap together, lost all the booty of men of quality that might have yielded him a round ransom. For the multitude of common people fell into such a fit of rage and madness, that all of a sudden they imagined those who let their lives in the conflict were betrayed: and so calling one in another's teeth their perjury, and charging the Priests especially that they were forsworn in delivering them alive unto the enemy whom they had devoted and appointed to death: they ran at once from all parts to the pitiful massacre of their own wives and children: and when they had so done, they made no more ado, but by fire, by sword, by drowning, hanging, and one way or other, they wrought a quick dispatch and clean riddance of themselves also. But the King allowed to see them thus hord-maid, laid his bloody hand to his heart, saying, that he would allow the Abydens three daies to dye in. During which time of the day the conquer'd Abydens exercis'd more fearful cruelty upon their own persons than ever the conquerors would have put in practice in the height of their heat and cholerick fury. Insomuch as there was not one of them came alive into the enemies hands; but such as were fpared were tied with bonds, or otherwise by some forcible means were ridd from being their own hangmen, and the butcher'd of their proper bodies. Philip after he had placed a garrison at Abyden returned unto his own Realm. Now when this miserable calamity of the Abydens had relieved Philip to enterprise war against the Romans, like as Amulius before him took heart by the wo'ul destruction of Sagum, to do the like; he was encountered with news, how the Conflul was in Epirus already, and had withdrawn his land-forces to Apollonia, and belowed his sailors at sea in Corcyra, there to winter.

In this while the Embassadors who were sent into Africa had their dispatch and this answer from the Carthaginian, First, ass'ouching Amilcar, the Generall of the army and forces in Africa, they could do no more but banish his person, and confiscate his goods. Then concerning the savage traitors and rebels which were ran from the Romans, they had sent home again unto them as many as they could search out and come by; and to that purpose they would addresse Embassadors themselves into the Romans, to satisfie the Senat in that behalf. And presently they sent to Rome two hundred thousand Modii of wheat, and other two hundred thousand into Macedon to the army there. From hence the Roman Embassadors went forward to the King in Numidias. To King Masinissa they delivered the presents which the Romans sent, and declared unto him their commission: at whose hands they received a thousand Numidian horses, whereas he offered them two thousand: himself took order for their embarking, and disposed them into Macedonia, with provision of two hundred thousand measures of wheat, and as many of barley. A third Embassage they had to Vermina, who met Embassadors. The Romans, as far as the utmost marches of his Realm, and to their disposition and direction referred the drawing and penning of all conditions of peace as they would themselves: saying withall, that he held any peace whatsoever that he should have with the people of Rome for good and just. So there were preferred unto him certain articles and conditions of peace, and forthwith the treaty thereof he was enjoyed to send his Embassadors to Rome.

Much about the very same time L. Cornelius Lentulus the Vice-Prator returned out of Spain: Who having declared in the Senate his valiant and fortunate exploits, that for many years together he had achieved in Spain; in consideration thereof, demanded, that it might be lawful for him to enter the City in triumph: the Senate judged that his noble acts deserved no less than he fued for: but they had no such precedent from their ancestors, that he should be allowed to triumph, who had wear'd neither as Dictator, nor Consul, nor Praetor: and as for Lentulus in quality of Vice-Prator only, and not of Consul or Praetor he took upon him the charge of the Province of Spain. However, in the end they came down to this point, that he should ride into the City on horseback as Orant. But T. Sempronius Longus, the Tribune of the Com, interposed his negative, alleging that they had as little example to shew for that; and no praetor or consule as all of their ancient predecessors. But in fine the Tribune gave place to the general accord of the L, O, and was content to be over-ruled. So after the order let down by the Senate, L. Lentulus entered Rome in that solemnity and pomp before-named. He preferred in shew of the pillar that he had 30,000 4500 pound weight of silver; 2450 pound weight of gold. To his foundlers he distributed out of the spoil 126 Ares specie.

Now was the army of the Conful translated already from Aretium to Ariminum, and five thousand Latin allies were posted out of France into Epirus. Therefore L. Eurius departed from Ariminum
Ariminum, made haste by taking great journeys to come against the Gauls, who then laid siege to Cremona, and encamped within a mile and an half from the enemy. Means and opportunity he had to do a notable exploit, and win a good hand of the enemies, it immediately upon his first coming he might have affaile their Camp: for they wandered to and fro in incontinent wise up and down the country a foraging, and had left no sufficient guard for the defence of their Camp. But he feared greatly that his soldiery were weary and tired: because the companies marched space thither in exceeding great haste. Howbeit the Gauls being called back by the hooping and hollowing of their fellows, let go their booty which they had in manner as good as in their hands, and returned to the Camp, and the morrow after ranged themselves in battle array. The Romans were not behind for their parts, albeit they had hardly time enough to let themselves in order, the enemies ran to suddenly, and made such haste to fight. The right wing (for the army of the allies was divided into wings) was placed in the vanguard: the two Roman legions in the rearward; M. Furius led the right wing, M. Cecilius had the conduct of the legions, and L. Valerius as Placens (all three Lieutenants) commanded the Cavalry. The Praetor kept with him two Lieutenants, Cn. Lollius, and P. Titinius, by whose means he might look about from every part, and be ready to oppose himself against all sudden attempts whatsoever of the enemies. At the sight, the Gauls hoped that with their numbers they should be able to tread down and trampie under their feet that right wing of allies which was in the forefront: and to that effect they reduced their multitudes into one place, and charged upon it with all their might and main together. But being that enterprise sped not well, they endeavoured to enround the corners and sides, and to compass the enemies round about: which they thought they might so do, being so many as they were in comparison of so few: when which the Praetor perceived, to the end that he also might spread out his battalions at large, he dispaired the two legions in the rearward, so as he compelled on both hands that wing which fought in the vanguard and therewith vowed two Chappels to Jupiter, that that day he might be so fortunate as to vanquish his enemies. To L. Valerius he gave direction, that of one side he should with the Cavalry of the two legions, and on the other side with the horse belonging to the allies charge upon the wings of the enemies, and not suffer them in any case to enclose the battell about. Herewithall himself also, eying the middle battalion of the Gauls to be but thinly reason they were stretched out from thence to the corners and points of each hand, commanded his soldiery to keep close together, to advance forward and break through their ranks. So were the wings of the Gauls by the horsemens discomfited, and they in the midst repulsed back & chased by the footmen: and when the enemies thus at once on every hand were beaten down and killed, they shewed their backs, and fled as fast as they could to the camp. The horse pursued them in the route and chase: and anon the legionary footmen made after also, and gave an assault upon their Camp. There escaped from thence not all out six thousand: slain there were and taken prisoners above 35000, with seventy banners and ensigns, and more than two hundred French wagons, charged and laden with much pillage. In this conflict, Amictar the General of the Carthagians lost his life, and three Noblemen of the French, Leaders of mark and name, The Placentine captives, to the number of two thousand men of free condition, were delivered again to them of their own Colony. This was a goodly victory: and upon the letters which came with tidings thereof to Rome, received there with great joy; and ordained it was, that a solemn procession should be held for the space of three days. Of Romans and allies one which died in this battell two thousand: most of them were of that right wing, upon which the enemies in the beginning of the conflict most of all dischargs them fury.

Albeit the Praetor had brought the war to a good pass, and in manner finished it, yet the Cousul alio C. Aurelius, having accomplished his necessary affairs at Rome, made no stay but took his journey into France, and received the victorius army of of the Praetor. The other Cousul who came into his Province but a little before the end of Autumn, wintered about Apollonia. The Roman galleys which from the Armado that lay in dock at Cosreae, were sent as is aforesaid to Athens with C. Claudius, were no sooner arrived at Pyrceum, but they mightily comforted the allies, whose hearts were well-nigh done: for neither were there any more inroads now by land as there were wont to be from Corinath side by the way of Megara along into their territorie: and the men of war and Pyrrhis ships which from Chalcis had made not only the less dangerous to the Athenians, but also the maritime & sea coasts, durst not now approach nearer than to the Cape of Siumin, no nor venture into the open main sea from out of the straights of Euripus. Over and besides, there came in to them three Rhodian galleys with four banks of oars: there were also three open ships of Athens well rigged and appointed, for to keep the quarters that lay along the river. Claudius was well appeased, and thought he had got enough for the present, in case the City and Territory of Athens might be sufficiently guarded by this fleet. But fee, there prevented him an occurrence besides of great importance and consequence. Certain banished perions of Chalcis, expelled from thence by the wrongs and violence of those that fled with King Philip, advertised him, that the City of Chalcis might be easily surprized without any conflict or resistance at all: for, not only the Macedonians ranged abroad every where up and down because there were no enemies near at hand to fear; but also the townsmen preying upon the garrison of the Macedonians, neglected the guard of the City. Upon the assurance of their words, he set forward: and although he was arrived at Siumin with so good speed, that he might with safe have failed to the entrance of the straights of Euboea, yet for fear of being
being discovered (when he was once got past the cape) he kept his fleet within the bay till until night: and at the shutting in of the evening he weighed anchor and lashed forth, and having a calm lee, he arrived before Chalcis a little before the break of day, and presented his forces against those parts of the city that were least peopled: and with the help of some few fojourners he scaled and got the Tower that stood next with the wall about it, whiles in some places the warders were found asleep; and in others not at all to be found. Then they advanced forward unto those parts that were more inhabited, and stood thicker with houses; where, after they had killed the guard and broke open a gate, they received into the town all the rest of their fojourners. Whereupon, there was running now on every hand into all parts of the city, and much hurry and confusion; which was the greater, because the enemies had set fire on the houses about the market place. The Kings' garrisons also were of a light fire, together with the arsennals and armory, where there I was exceeding store of provision, of engines, of artillery and other ordnance and instruments for war. After this they fell to execution and to mischief in every place, as well those that fled as those that made head so as they missed not one that was of age meet to bear arms: but either he was killed or put to flight. Sepher likewise the Acmantian Captain of the garrison was there slain. Then the pillage was still brought and piled up together in the common place of the city, and afterwards embarked. The common Goal besides was broke open by the Rhodian, and the prisoners and captives let out, whom Philip had theretofore as in a place of strict guard and custody. Then they overthrew the Images and statues of the King, and brake their necks; which done, they founded the retreat, went a shipboard and returned to Pyrgam from whence they came. But if the number of Roman fojourners there was but few, that they might have kept Chalcis still with a garrison, without quitting and abandoning the defence of Athens, a great matter had been got in the very beginning of the war: to wit, the City of Chalcis and the pillage of Eurytus, had been taken from the King. For as the narrow palls of Thermopylaeaspect, the water to Greece by land, so the streights of Eurytus maketh all fire by sea. Philip at Chalcis also, the City of Athens where, after he heard the news of the calamity befell upon a confederate City, albeit now it was too late to help when all was lost; yet because he would be avenged (which is a thing that cometh near to the nature of aid and incouragement) he went forth immediately with five thousand footmen lightly appointed and nimble, and three thousand horsemen, with all the speed and hasted he could to reach near unto Chalcis; making full reckoning that the Romans might be surprized upon a sudden: but being disappointed of this hope, and further cognizance where he could see nothing else but a pitious spectacle of a friend City ball himself and stillishing, and a few people left alive that they hardly were able to bury their dead, he returned as hastily as he came and having passed over Eurytus at a bridge, he lead straight to Athens by the way of Boiotia, with a deep peripatetick and hope that a like encounter into the Romans should have the like issue. And very likely he had not mislaid of the lemmable effect, correspondent to his designs, but that a certain watchman (one of those whom the Greeks call Hemerocroptes, that is, postes and carriers that in one day's space will run and rid a mighty deal of ground) descried from a watch-tower the Kings troops marching: whereupon he ran out at once, and came to Athens ere midnight. There were they all alage too, and as recheats as they of Chalcis were a few dails past, which was the loss of their town. The Praxer of the Athenians, and Dionysius the Captain of a regiment of hired strangers and aid M-fojourners, awoke at this to fearfull and suddenly tidings and got up, assembled the fojourners into the market-place, and commanded to the highest place of the City that all men might take knowledge that the enemies were near at hand. By which means they ran every man from all parts to the gates and up the walls. Within five hours after, and somewhat before day-light, he approached the City: and seeing many lights everywhere, hearing also a noise of people running to and fro as in time of such a tumult he bid his march commanded his fo- journers to fit them down and fell themselves, intending to proceed by overt and open action, since covert and crafty couched sped no better: and so at length he came before Dipnus, this Drypauis a gate, standing in the very front of the City, greater and wider a great deal than the rest. Both within and without that gate are large and broad streets, so thick both the inhabitants within may marchall an army, and lead in battalarray from the common place directly to the gate and all the enemies without have room at will to conduct a power as well of horse as foot, by means of a spacious caucy or high-way, which reacheth out almost a mile in length from the fozialgate and leadeth to the place of exercise or school called Academia. At this quarter of the City the Athenians, together with the garrison of Alexus, and the regiment of Dionysius, filled forth, and entred the caucy abovesaid, having first within the gate set their men in order of battel. Which was when Philip saw he made full account. The King his enemies as he would himself to do pleasure with them, and that now he should have his fill of a massacre and slaughter that he had wished for so long (for there was not a State or City in all Greece that he walked more than this of Athens.) And therefore he exhorited and encouraged his fojourners that they should have their eye upon him ever as they fought; and knew well this that where the King was, there should the banners and cornets be displayed there should the strength and fire of the battel be, and so he did spurs to his horse, and ran with full career to charge the enemies. Thus was he not only carried away with heat of choler, but ravished also with a desire of glory, exalting it a goodly thing, and a matter tending to his great honour, for to be seen fighting in the view of a great multitude of people that had taken up and filled the battalions of the walls.
A (as it were) to behold a solemn spectacle. Thus being advanced a good way before the main battalions, accompanied with some few men of arms, he rode among the sides of the enemies, where he bare himself so valiantly, that as he mightily hearted his own men, so he affrighted no less his enemies. Many a one he wounded with his own hand, reaching at them that were nearer, levelling at those that were farther off, and drove them afore him like sheep and followed hard upon them in person to the very gate; where he made so full work among them, thronged and crowded as they were together in the height of the pillage, so far they made to escape, and committed a grievous slaughter. And albeit this was but an unwise and rash adventure of his yet he retired himself in safety, without farther danger of his person by reason that they who were placed in the corners of the gate, forbode to thrust and lance their darts, because they would not hurt their own sides, intermingled among the enemies. But after this, when the Athenians kept their foot-soldiers within the walls, Philip founded the retreat, and pitched his tents at Cycnosiger, where there was a Temple of Hercules, and a school of learning, and a grove standing about it. As for Cycnosiger, and the school Lyceum, and whatsoever was either religious, or pleasant and delectable about the City, was burned. And not only the edifices, but the sepulchres also and monuments of the dead were defaced and cast down: in which furious heat of anger, nothing was spared, were it sacred or profane, without regard of God and man. The next morning, when the gates were still kept shut, and afterwards set open again upon a sudden, because the garrison of Actaulus entered into the City from Eginus, and the Roman from Pyraeum's side; Philip dilodge®d and removed back from the City almost three miles. From whence he went to Elenus, hoping to surprise the Temple at

Buna, warned together with the Town and Castle, which both environeth the Temple, and also commanded the same. But when he perceived that the corps de guard was not neglected, and that a fliebe besides was coming from Pyraeum to succour them, he gave over this design, and led his army to Megara, and so forth forward immediately to Corinth: and having intelligence, that the Achæans had held a general Diet, and counsel at Argos, thither he came unlooked for of the Achæans, and put himself among them at the very session and assembly. Conjunction there was, about waging war with Nabis the tyrant of the Lacedæmonians: Who seeing, that the Seignory of Achæas was taken from Philæumæans and conferred upon Cyclos, a Captain not to be named, and considering also that the aids which the Achæans had, were fallen from them and gone, took their vantage named the old quarter, and made fresh war upon them,

C waiting the villages and territories of the borderers, yeas, and threatening the good Towns and Cities also. Now whiles they so far devising and contriving together what number of foot-soldiers should be levied and enrolled out of every several State and City, tor to withstand this common enemy, Philip frantically promised to safely all of that care as touching Nabis and the Lacedæmonians: and not only to impeach them for spoiling the lands of their Allies, but also to lead his army out of hand into the very territory of Laconica and Sparta, and thither to turn the whole terror of this war. This kind speech and friendly offer of his, being with a general applause of them all accepted. Mary, this you must (quoth he) take withal, that good reason it is, whiles

E my self am content to defend and maintain your country by my forces, mine own territories in the mean time be not confounded of their garrisons and left naked: and therefore, if ye think good, provide me as many foot-soldiers as may suffice for the guard of Oenus, Choiæ, and Corinth, that thus making all sure behind me, I may be secure from danger that way, and with more confidence settle this siege: the war against Nabis and the Lacedæmonians. The Achæans smelt him quickly & knew full well, to what end this gracious promise of his and frank offer of aid against the Lacedæmonians tended. His only design was to draw forth of Philæumæans the youth and flower of the Achæans as a pledge and sure hostage, for to engage the whole nation so far as they should be interested in the war that he had with the Romans, Cyclos the Pretor of the Achæans thinking it bootles, and no good policy, to discover so much and to entice that point against him, inferred only this speech and said, That it was not lawful by the customs and ordinances of the Achæans, to propose other matters to parle of, than those for which they were assembled together: and so after the order enacted for levying and waging anarchy against Nabis, he dissolved and brake up the assembly, which he now had held right long and with the liberty of the place, who otherwise before that time was taken ever for no better than one of the Kings flatterers and favorites. Thus Philip put besides the great hopes that he had conceived, levied some small number of voluntary fouldiers, and returned to Corinth and the land of Attica.

During the time that Philip was in Achæas, Philæus a Captain under the King, departed out of Euboea with two thousand Thracians and Macedonians, to wait and spoil the confines of the Athenians: and over against Elenus passed over the forest and hill Cytherus, from whence having sent out the one-half of his forces every way to prey upon the plain country, he sat himself down close with the other half in a convenient place for an ambush, to the end, that if necessity should make him to come out from the Fort at Elenus, and set upon his fouldiers as they drove booty, he might suddenly arise and charge upon the enemies at sunaures, dispersed and scattered all abroad. But this ambushment was discovered. And therefore after he had called the fouldiers back who were run all abroad a foraging, he put them in order well armed & appointed to besiege and assault the Fort of Elenus against which he led all his forces: but after much hurt and many a wound received from them, he retired, and joined with Philip as he returned out of Achæas. The King also himself in person, assisted to force and batter the said hold: but the Roman
ships coming from Pyreum, and a fresh garrison received into the place, caused him perfecce to give over the enterprise. After this the King divided his power, and sent one part thereof against Athens, under the conduct of Philoctes, and himself with the other marched to Pyreum: that whiles Philoctes kept the Athenians within the city, by approaching their walls, and the monting to besiege and assault it, he might himself with facility win and gain Pyreum, wherein there was left but a small and light guard. But he found as hot a piece of service about the assailing of Pyreum, as before at Eleusis, by reason of the same soldiers in manner that defended as well the one as the other. So on a sudden he departed from Pyreum, & marched directly toward Athens. From whence he was repulsed and chafed by a sudden fall both of horse and foot, made from the frights of the wall half ruinat; which wall stretching out as it were, two arms, joyneth the port, and at last faltly fallen, as both the valiant and valiant at assault, and by the rage of the inhabitants, and the fear of the Romans, wherein there was left one hundred and eight hundred of their forces, all taken, and none of them escaped. But the King perceived the apprehension of the Athenians, and that the citizens of Athens were disposed to hail and adorat them for their victory, he himself, with the will and consent of his friends, to demolihe the tombs, and to make the city to more despicable and less quickish, he commanded the chapels of the Gods, which were consecrate in every village and hamlet, to be pulled down, razed, and burnt.

The country of Attica was marvailously beautiffed and embellished (as it were) with goodly pieces of work in that kind, (by reason as well of the store they had of native marble, as also of their industrious and excellent workmen) which minified matter and occasion unto him of this outrage and madness. For not contented and satisfied with the ruin of the Temples, and casting down of images, he commanded that the very stones should be broken and barr’d in pieces, that left being whole and found they might serve to make up and fop the breaches of the ruins. And after that his fell mood and anger was not so much satisfied and lattate, as it wanted matter to work upon in that place, he departed out of his enemies company into Bocis, and performed no other deed in Greece worthy of remembrance.

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A Conil. The Athenian Embassadors likewise were at this assembly. And first the Macedonians (with whom a league was but lately concluded, and therefore freest in remembrance) had audience, who said, They had no new matter to speak of, seeing there was no new occurring and business. But only this, that upon what motives and considerations they were entered into an accord and peace with King Philip, (as having experience that the alliance with the Romans never did them good) for the very fame they should maintain it still, being once concluded & confirmed. Or, love ye rather (quoth one above the rest of the Embassadors) to imitate the Romans licentiousnes or their liberty. I know not whether? who, as they gave order and commandment, that your Embassadors being at Rome, should receive their dispatch and answer in these terms: Come ye now to us indeed my masters of Etruria, when without your consent and warrants ye have made peace with Philip: Provided to you at this present accord ready to require that ye should band with them and war upon Philip. They pretended that sometime that they took arms against him, by occasion of you, in your quarrel and defence; & now they forbid you to be in peace with Philip. At first, they entered into Sec. IV. to aid and succour Messana. A second time they went thither to fetch free and deliver Syracuse out of the opprobrium of the Carthaginians. And now at this time they hold in possession both Messana and Syracuse: and all Sicily entire they have made it tributary, yes, and reduced it into the form of a Province, to be ruled under their sword, and the jurisdiction of their Deputies and Magistrates. In good faith, I affirme you that as ye according to your laws & customs hold your Diets & Councils at Nauapolis, by your own Magistrates elected & created amongst your selves, wherein ye have liberty to make choice both of friends and enemies amongst you, and to entertain either peace or war at your pleasure; so, your writs are sent out to the States of Sicily for their knights and burgesses, to assemble in Parliament at Syracuse, at Messana, or Lilybaeum. And the Roman Prefect it is and no other that honneth them thither, as also to their Allies and Subjects at his commandment & not otherwise. They are cited to general Councils. Him they see sitting on high in his tribunals seat, guarded with Levites, attended upon with Lithets, there to hear and determine causes, and from sloit to pronounce the hard sentences and proud awards. His rods threaten their backs and fides, his axes are ready to chop their heads from their shoulders & from year to year new Lords they choose and send among them. And in his dealing, none of them either an or ought to manifest: at for why they see Cities of Italy, by name Rhegium, Taranto and Cuma (to speak nothing of their neighbour Towns by whole the other three) by whose ruine grew mighty subject like-wise to the same rule and government. As for Conil, the very lepfulchers and Tomb of the Compan nation (now that the natural people thereof are either dead and buried, or driven out as exiled persons) remaineth at this day as a moniter and wonder in nature, resembling a headless and limbless dilumbrated trunk of a boddy Town (I say) without Senit, without Commonalty, without Magistrats; where more cruelty was showed in leaving it to itself than abandoned, and in this manner to be inhabited than it had been clean railed and laid even with the ground. Miser it is, and without all fencie and reason, to believe or hope, that if these strangers and aliens born (who differ more from us in language, in customs and laws, than they are distant and disjoyned by space between of land and sea) be once feized and possessed of these places, that any thing will continue long entrie in the present state. The Kingdom of Philip ye will say is a block in your way and preeminent to prejudice your freedom & liberties; yet he being made your heavy friend, and that through your own fault and defect, required no other thing than your hand at your discretion, to be pretended before; and, as a friend, and that through your own consent he had been chosen and sent in the manner of the samne, Acquire foreign legions once with this your country; you take the spoke of servitude upon your necks for ever. Accept the Romans once for your Lords; too late it will be then and in vain for you, to seek Philip again, and with him your ally. Small matters and momentary occasions may well cause the Etrolians, Acrarnanians and Macedonians, (men of one language) to fall out, and as felder motives, will soon make them friends again: a little thing being the agitators therein, but all Circuits both are and ever will be best war with Barbarians: enemies they are by nature, which is perpetual and immovable: and not by occasions which alter every day. But where I begin my speech there will I leave & make an end. In this very place you the same men agreed three years past to have peace with Philip: and the self-same friends as they mislikkened then & disdained that peace so now they will needs disquiet and trouble it after it is once past and accorded. And since the case full is all one and, fortune hath made no alteration, I fee no reason why ye should vary and change your minds.

After the Macedonians, the Athenian Embassadors entred in place, for the Romans were well contented therewith, and would needs have it so: Tho those Athenians having suffered many songs and indignities at the Kings hands, had better cause of complaint, and more reason to inveighe and aggravate matter against his cruelty and outrageous dealings. First, they bewailed the piteous

post & miserable case of their territories: neither complained they so much and found themselves grieved in that they had suffered harms and injured holibity to an enemy (for there be certain laws and rights belonging unto war, by vertue whereof, to give and take, to suffer harm and to do harm interchangeably is an ordinary matter and allowable. As for example the burning of horse & corn in the field, taking and pulling down of houses, harrying and driving of booyes both of men and cattle, rather pitiful calamities, than shameful indignities to endure.) But this is the point they say, and hereof we complain, That he who termed the Romans, 111 strangers
strangers born, and barbarous, hath so polluted and violated at once all laws of God and man, as in his former rode and expedition he seemed to make most impious war with the internal Gods and Spirits beneath: and in the second, with the heavenly powers and Gods above. All the monuments and tombs within their confines are defaced and destroyed: the dead in their graves are all laid bare, not so much as the bones of any one eye covered with mould. Temples we had and Chappels, which, as in times past when our ancestors inhabited those small holds, lie some scorched and half burnt: others headless and dismembered, among the pillars and posts of the Temples thrown alone on the ground. And look what foul work he hath made in the country of Attica, so rich and so beautifully adorned in times past, the like havoc he might be yet to make, would he make in Ætolia and in all Greece throughout. For had not the Romans come in time to succour, our very City also had been so served and pitifully disfigured... But with like mishievous intent came he to the City which worshipped those Gods, not sparing the gods of Minerva, the patronesses and protectresses of our Town and Country: the same wicked mind he carried against the Temple of Ceres Eleusinia: and no better affected was he to Jupiter and Minerva in Pyrgus. But being repulsed by force and arms not only from our Temples, but also from the walls of our City, he wreaked his anger and rage against those Chappels and religious houses, which had nothing for their defence but only the reverent regard of the Gods, whereof he had none. Hereupon, they prayed and humbly besought the Ætolians, to have compassion of the Athenians, and to enterprize the war, under the conduct first of the immortal Gods, and then of the Romans, who next to the Gods are most powerful and mighty. Then the Roman Embassador spake in this wise, 'The Macedonians first, and after them the Athenians, have altered the whole course and form of my speech. For, whereas my coming hither was to complain of the injuries done by Philip to so many Cities of our allies and associates: the Macedonians by acceding the Romans first, have put me so hardly to my fruits, that I need rather to employ my words in making a defence of our selves, than in framing an accusation against others. The Athenians again in reckoning up and recounting the impious, abominable, and inhuman parts of King Philip, committed against the Gods, both above and beneath, what have they left behind for me or any man else to object against him besides? What they have said, you may well think, and truly suppose, that the men of Chios, Ægina, Euboea, Mæonia, Tarsus, Paros, Samos, Lascaris and Melos; those also here of Achaia, complain of the same, yea, and of more grievous and cruel enormities: as whom he had greater means to annoy and hurt. As for such things as he hath laid to our charge, if they defer not honor and glory, I confesse they cannot be answered and defended. Reproached us he hath with Rhegium, with Capua and Syracusae. I cannot deny, but during the war of Pyrrhus we sent a legion to Rhegium, there to lie in garrison at the instant prayer of the Rhegins themselves, who requested us to send them. This legion I confess, most wickedly and treacherously seized upon the City, and polluted it to their own use, for the guard and defence whereof they were shut out. A vowed we (I pray you) that act of theirs? Nay, pursued we not by arms that lewd legion and usurpations? and when we had them in our power and at our devotion force not we them to make amends and satisfaction to our allies, with the smart of their backs and sides, and with the loss of their heads in the end? And when we had so done, restored we not unto the Rhegins their City, their Lands, all their goods whatsoever together with their liberties, franchises, and laws? As for the Syracusans, when they were oppressed by strange and fierce tyrants, we judging it to be a great indignity, relieved and inquired them out: and after we had been (for three years space almost) wearied and toiled out with continual siege and incessant assault both by land and sea of their City, so exceeding strong and so well fortified: we seeing that the Syracusians themselves made choice rather to be in extremity under those tyrants, than to be taken by us, gave them their City again both forced and freed by the same armies. Neither deny we that Scipio is our Provincia; and that the Cities which took part and sided with the Carthaginians & joyfully with them accorded to wage war against us, are tributaries unto us, and pay us yearly rents and pensions: nay, we are far from not taking this upon us, that contrary-wise we would, that both you and all nations besides well knew, that every one received at our hands that measure of fortune that he duly deserved. And now as touching the Capitans, should we report that we have chastified them in such fort, whereof they themselves verily can not complain? These men, after we had maintained war against the Samnites in their quarterly and defence, for the space well near of seventy years, to no small diligence of ours, and with many a loss and overthrow, after we had linked them unto us, first by league and alliance, then by marriage and affinity, and last of all, by freedom and burgage of our City: these men I say, in our adversity, were the first all other nations of Italy, that villainously maffacked our garrison there, and revoluted unto Annibald: and then for very sight and indignation that they were by us besieged, sent Annibald to affult the City of Rome. And if we had proceeded in that rigour against them, that we had left neither City standing nor any one person of them living, who could take offence thereat, and justly say, That they had been more hardly entreated and dealt withal than they deserv'd. There were more of them, that upon touch and prick of guilty conscience for their lewd and wicked deeds, made
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**A** "themselves away and so perished, than were by us executed and put to death. As for the rest, we took from them indeed their Town, we deprived them of their posessions and living, yet so, as we left them both lands to occupy, and place to dwell in: the gudilcs " Town it fell we suffered to stand still safe and sound, that whoever at this day feeth it, can not find the least token of shew of a City either forced or won. But what speak I of Capua? (seeing we have afforded unto Carthage (a City conquered and subdued) both peace and also liberty? Intomuch as we have caused rather to be afraid, left by remenfices and over-willings to pardon those whom we have vanquished, we give occasion to many more to be bold as to trie the hazard and fortune of war against us. And thus I had to say in defence of our selves. Now somewhat I have to speak against King Philip; whose horrible murders committed upon those of his own house, even his nearest kinsfolk and friends; who so loose life and unbridled lust (more unkend and inhuman in manner than his cruelty) ye know better that are nearer unto Macedonia. As for you, my masters of Aetolia, we have for your sakes begin war with Philip, and you again without us have concluded peace with him. It may be you will alledge, that whiles we were occupied in the Peric war: ye were forced and compelled for fear to take such conditions of peace at his hands, who was the stronger; we likewise (presied with greater affairs and troubles) forbade to profec and follow that war, which by you was lift laid down & given over. At this present, seeing by the grace and goodness of the Gods the Punick war is come to an end, both we have employed and bent all our forces against Macedonia and ye also have good occasion and opportunity offered to reemter into amity and alliance with us, unless ye had rather perish with Philip, than vanquish with the Romans.

When the Roman Embasfador had ended this Oration, the Aetolians generally were enclin'd and affected to the Romans; but Demetorius their Pretor (corrupted as the speech went with a sum of money receiv'd from King Philip, and made for him) gave silent neither to the one party nor the other, but said: That in councils of great weight and importance, there was nothing more hurtful and prejudicial, than half for repentence (as he) follow it never so soon, when a thing is once done, yet it cometh too late and too bootless not: considering, that rash councils can not be revoked, hasty and headlong courses cannot possibly be recalled, nor matters once past be reduced again to their former state. As for the proper time of that resolution now in hand, whereof my self am of advice, that the due maturity & full ripeness should be expected, it might now at this present be set down and concluded upon. For seeing that by our laws & ordinances provided it is that we may not treat of any affair concerning peace or war, but in the general councils called Panalatak or Phylak: therefore for the present I would have you to ordain and decree, that your Pretor without fraud or covin might call and hold a Diet or court of Parliament, whenever he is minded to treat of war or peace; and whatsoever then and there shall be proposed & determined, it may stand in as good force, strength, & vertue, as if it had pass'd in a full Panalatak or Phylak council. Thus the Embasfadors being dismissed and went away in infinence: and nothing decided and concluded, he said. That he had performed a singular piece of service to his nation and country. For now they would fide and take part with those, whose fortune it was to breed better in the field. Thus were matters in the assembly of the Aetolians.

Now Philip with all diligence prepared for war both by sea and land. His sea forces he assembled together unto Demetorius a port in Thessaly, making acoount that Attus and the Roman fleet would in the beginning of the next spring depart from Aegina. Over his navy and all the sea-coasts he appointed Thirrides Admiral, like as he had done aforetime. Himselfie led and gathered his land-forces, supposing veryly that he had debaured and bereft the Romans of two great means of aid, to wit, the Aetolians of the one side, and the Dardanians of the other; in that the narrow fireights and passage of Peleponisus, was stopp'd and made fast against them by his Ion Perseus. The Conful on the other side made not preparations for war, but was on foot and in action already, conducting his army through the confines of the Dafcaritians, and transporting with him out of his wintering harbors all the provision of grain, whereof the country yielded him sufficient to the maintenance of his foolders. The great Towns and Villages were intrenched unto him, partly for love and partly for fear, some were forced by assault, others abandoned by the inhabitants, and were found defolu, by reason that the barbarous people were retired into the mountains near by, to have themselves; and at Longinus near the river Betsus he encampd from whence he sent to purvue for corn out of the garners and barns of the Dafcaritians. Philip saw well enough that the country all about was in an hurry, and the people in great fear and fright; but being in certainty to what place the Conful intended to march he sent out a corne of light horsemens as espians to discover what way the enemies took, and whither they pretended to go. The Conful likewise for his part was as doubtful: well he wift that Philip was dislodged from the places where he had wintered, but in what quarter he journeyed, he knew not: and therefore also had set forth certain horne in espians to scour the coasts. These two bands or troops from divers and contrary parts, encounded in the end in one way, after they had a long time wandered at adventure through the country of the Dafcaritians. Both parts knew well by the noise they heard a far oft, as well of men as horse, that enemies approached: and therefore they had both horse & armours in readiness before they were in sight one of another for to loon as ever they were within their interview, they made no stay, but charged immediately and joyned issue. It fortuned, that for number and valour both, they were equally matched, as being choice and elect men of either side: whereupon they fought

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for certain hours alike, until such time as their own weariness and the faintness of their horses par-
ted the battle in doubtful victory. Of the Macedonians there died 40 horsemen: and of the Ro-
mans five and thirty. And for all this, neither brought the Macedonians any better intelligence to-
their King, nor the Romans to their Consul, of the place where the enemies were incamped. But

certain fugitive traitors gave advertisement thereof: who, cunningly in all wars, upon a running
head and light manner that naturally they have, are given to hurry after news, and to enquire
in what terms enemies stand. Philip imagining that it would avail somewhat both to purchase
the affection of his foudlers, and also to induce them more cheerfully and readily to un-
dertake all hazards for his sake, in case he seemed to have a careful regard to buy their horsemens
which were slain in the journey and expedition aforesaid: commanded their bodies to be brought
into the camp, to the end that all men might see what honour he did them in their funerals. But
see how nothing is more uncertain, nor whereof a man may make less reckoning than the minds
and affections of the multitude. That which was thought would have made them more willing
and forward to enter into any danger and jeopardy whatsoever, even that, wrought a contrary
effect and caused them to be most fearful and backward. For they who were used to fight with
Greeks and Illyrians, and to see mens bodies wounded with pith of galees, with arrows and
pierced with lance here and there, in this or that part, after they beheld once their fellows so
butcherly mangled with the Spanish cutelaxes and arming swords, the arms cut away from the bod-
y, the head either limeted clean off by the neck, or cloven down right, and lying on the fould-
iers their panches ript with the bowels open and guts drawing after; with other deep wounds
and broad slashes, so hideous and fearful to behold: then they saw all full (fearful creatures it
was they were,) what manner of weapons, and what kind of men they were to deal again. Nay, the
King himself was very affraid who had not as yet encountered with the Romans in any field,
Whereupon he sent for his sea to come back with the garrison that he had in the heightes of Me-
agonia, thereby to increase and strengthen his own forces, and laid open the way into Macedo-
nia, for Placentia and the Dardanians. Hisself in person with a power of 20,000 foot, and 4,000
horse, guided by the fugitives aforesaid, marshalled toward the enemy, and about a quarter of a
mile or somewhat less from the Roman camp, posted himself of a hill near to Actium, which he fortified with trench and rampier. From whence, when he beheld the Romans encamp-
med hard under him, he wondered (by report) to see not only the whole body of the camp, with
the form and order thereof in general, but also how every part was ranged and set out integral,
both in the manner of quartering and pitching their pavilions, and also in the proportion of the
ways for breadth and length between. And having viewed and considered every thing according-
lby "Believe me, (saith he) there is no man who seeth this, that can either think or say, it is the camp
of a barbarous nation. For two days (pace the Consul and the King) expecting one anothers at-
tempts and enterprises) kept their foudlers close within their holds. When the third day was
come, the Roman General brought forth his whole power into the field, But the King fearing to
hazard all so soon, upon a call drew forth 400 Triballians (which were, as we have said elsewhere,
of the Illyrian nation) and 300 Cretians, all footmen, accompanied with the like number of
horsemens: and sent them under the conduct of Atheneogoras, one of his curiers and gallants,
for to brave the Cavalry of the enemies, and to challenge them to fight. The Romans, whose
main battle was little above half a mile off, put out against them their light armed van-curiers,
and as it were, two companies or cornets of horsemens: to the end, that they might be equal
with the enemy in number, both of foot and horse. They of the Kings part supposed verily, that
they should fight after their old and accustomed manner: namely, that the horsemens should by
turns, one while ride forward in the face of the enemy, other while retire again; sometimes follow
in chase and have use of their darts and weapons, and sometimes turn and flee their back parts;
that the nimbleness and swiftness of the Illyrians would stand in good stead to make excursions
and infield skirmishes: also that the Cretian archers should be employed in shooting arrows
aloof at the enemies, as they advanced and came forward, or flung out all abroad on every side:
but the violent charge of the Romans, no less continual and obstinate, than fierce and eager, put
them quite out of this manner of service, and disordered all. For no otherwise than if it had been
a fret battle between two entire armies, their footmen lightly armed, so soon as they had lanced
and let go their javelins from them, took them to their swords, and came to hand fight: the
horsemens likewise, no sooner affronted the enemies, but either staying their horses they fought
on horseback, or else alighted on foot, and among the footmen maintained the skirmish. By this
means neither the Kings Cavalry could match the Romans, because they had not been used to a
steady battle: nor his footmen who were wont to traverse their grounds, and skirmish, never
standing still, and withal in manner half naked for any harness they had, was able to make their
parts good with the Roman light appointed footmen, who had their swords and bucklers, and
were furnished with armours, as well defensive as offensive. So they could not endure long to
maintain fight but were forced to retire into their camp, and by nothing else saved themselves but
by good footmanship and riding space. These passed one day between, when the King minding to
try a conflict with all his forces of Cavalry, and footmen lightly appointed, had laid in wait by
night certain targets, whom they call Pelisias, in a convenient place between both camps, and
given direction and charge unto Atheneogoras and his men of arms, That if they sped well in open
battel and plain fight, they should on still and follow their good fortune: but if they went by the
worse,
The Roman Confl had both obtained victory in open battle, and escaped the danger of a covert train, retired himself into his camp. The morrow after, he came down into the plain field with all his forces, and put them in battle array, having arranged his Elephants in the forefront of the vanguard. And this was the first time that ever the Romans had lost in their wars, of this host by occasion, that in the late Punic war they had taken some of them alive from their enemies. But perceiving that Philip kept himself close within his camp, he approached under the very rampart, and reproached him for this cowardice. And seeing for all that, he could not even then be drawn to a battle; considering also, that if he kept there a standing camp long, so near unto the enemy, his provision of corn should be exposed to dangers; for no sooner should the purveyors and forreagers be gone abroad into the country, and spread over the fields, but the enemies light horsemen would be ready at their heels to fetch them in, and cause them to come short home: therefore he removed his camp to a place almost eight miles off, called Olustophanes, where he might make his provision with less danger. Now when the Romans purveyed for corn and viand in the territory thereabout, and we came upon a time somewhat nearer and within danger of Philip at first the King let them alone, and kept his men within their camp, to the end, that they might be more bold and venturous, and withal less wary and circumspect: but玉石

and the auxiliaries of the Cadiots, and marched to fall, as the swiftest of his footmen by running might keep pace with the horsemen. Thus being gotten between them and home, he pitched down his enigets between the Roman camp and the forreagers. Then divided he his forces in two companies, the one he went forth to course and chase them, so dispersed as they were: giving special charge and direction, not to leave any of them alive, that they could reach with the other; he halted himself behind, and before all the waifs, and stopped the forgeries by which the enemies were like to retire and have recourse unto their camp. Soon were they killed or put to flight in every place, and as yet none escaped to the Roman camp, for to bring news of this disaster: for, as many as fled back chanced upon the guard that the King had set: and more were slain by them that before the waifs, than those that were sent out to the pursuit and execution. At length some happened to escape through the midst of the Kings corpi de guard, and in great haste and fearful manner came into the camp with a troublesome noise and tumult, rather than any certainties, the Confl, after order given to the horsemen, that every man should mucour and refuse what way whatsoever he could, their disfrighted fellows in this extremity, himself led forth the legions out of the camp, and marching in a fortrong battaillon advanced toward the enemies. The Horsemen beingsped over the fields in divers places, some lost their right way, being deceived by other outcures heard from a contrary part: othersome met with their enemies, and at one instant, the skirmish began in many and in Entry places. The band that guarded about the King, fought most fiercely and cruelly: for both they were for their number as well of horse as foot, a full army wales: and also most of the Romans light upon them, because they kept the very port and roadeway in the midst. In this regard also were the Macedonians: the better and had the vantage, because the King himself was present in person to encourage and exhume them: and withal the auxiliary Cadiots wounded many of the Romans ere they were aware of them: for why, they were well prepared for battle, ranged thick and close together, and fought against them that rode as far as abroad one from another, and without alarm. And verily, if they could have kept any mean and measure in their chase, they had mightily advanced themselves, not only in winning the honor of that day, but also, in the main point of the whole action. But pursuing them beyond all reason, and without discretion, upon a blind and thoughtless desire that they had of mischief they chanced upon the Roman Squadrums which were gone before with the Tribuns and Colonels: in so much as the Horsemen aforesaid, who before fled, when they once saw the enigets of their own infantry, leaned their horse heads, and turned again upon the enemy that ran with bridle in horse neck: and so in the turning of an hand, the fortune of the battaillon changed and came about, and they that erstwhile made purfue, now flowed their backs, and fled again. Many of them were slain that came to close handfight, many likewise of those that ran away. Neither fell they all upon the edge of the swords, for some there were who plunged into groves and masstives, where both horse and man sunk in the deep mud and mire, and so were swallowed up, and perished. The King himself also was in great danger: for his horse being wounded under him and fallen, he also came headlong down to the ground, and hardly escaped, but he had been troden under foot, and mickied as he lay along. One horseman above the rest saved his life, who hastily kept himself from horseback, and withal mounted the King (so feared as he was) upon his own horse: who being now on foot, and not able to run as fast as the horsemen that fled away, was with many a flab and thrust soon dispatched by the enemies that came running together to the King when he was seen to fall. And the King after he had ridden in fearful flight about the enemy meers, one while where there was some way, and other whiles where there was none at all to be seen, chanceit at length to come to his camp, when most men were in despair that he could possibly escape in safety. In this skirmish there were 200 Maces
Macedonians slain a hundred almost taken prisoners: four score brave and goodly courtiers, with rich caparisons and other furniture, together with the spoil of fair armours carried away.

There were that blamed the King for being too rash that day, and the Consul for his slackness. For Philip, say they, should have kept him quiet in rest and repose, knowing, as he did, that the enemies in few days would have brought to extremity want and penury, now that the territory all about was clean spoiled and wasted. And the Consul for his part, when he had failed the Cavalry and light armed soldiers of the enemies, and as good as taken the King prisoner, ought presently to have advanced against the Kings camp: for never would the enemies to discomfit have stood to it; and in the minute of an hour, they had been vanquished for ever. This is soon said, but (as most things else) not so soon done. For in case that the King had likewise brought forth into the field all his Infantry, peradventure in that tumult, when all his men were discussed and driven to fly out of the field to their camp, ye, and to keep within the rampier, for fear of the enemy, ready upon his victory to get over the counter-fac and other fortifications, the King might have been diffused of his hold, and lost all. Again considering, that the whole power of Philip his footmen remained still entire within the camp, the corps de guard before the gates warding; the sentinels and watch set in convenient places of the rampier attending: what other good should the Consul have done in advancing thisither, but imitated the rash fool-hardiness of the King, who a little before so hastily followed the chase of the hostmen discomfit? Neither was the Kings first designment to be reproved and found fault with, when he charged upon the foragers, scattered as they were over all the fields: if he could have seen when he was well, and have used his good hand in measure and moderation, Leis marvail it is besides, that he was willing to trye the fortune of a batall ; because there ran a rumor, that Pleuratus and the Dardaniens were departed from home, and with a puissant power entered already into Macedonia: And if he thus were before round about with these armies, there was no doubt but the Romans might have vanquished and subdued him, and never flirred foot for the matter. Philip therefore supposing that upon these two late received calls of the horsemen, he should have but unquiet and dangerous sitting in the same standing camp still: and minding to dislodge from thence, and in his remove to beguil the enemy and not be seen, dispatched a Purivative at arms or herald unto the Consul a little before fun setting, to crave surcease of arms, until he had buried his horsemen that were slain: and at the relief of the second watch he deceived the enemy: for leaving many fires through all his camp, he marched without any noise and departed. The Consul had newly supped, and was going to rest, when he was advertised that a Purivative was come, and what his errand was. And for the present, he made the messenger no other answer but this, that the next morning he would talk with him, and give him audience. But Philip by this means got the advantage of that whole night, and part of the next day, to gain riddance of way in his journey, which was the only thing he sought for. And toward the mountains he took his flight, for that way he would well the Romans would not follow after, with an army so heavy and charged as it was. The Consul by day break, granted the Purivative a ceasing of arms, and gave him his dispatch; but it was not long after that he was advertised how the enemy was gone: and not knowing which way to follow after, he passed some few days in foraging and purveying provision all about the place where he lay encamped.

After this he marched to Studera, and gathered together all the grain that was to be about Pelagonia. From thence he went forward as far as to Plovina, and all this while knew not for certain what of the country the enemies were retire. Philip having first set him down and encamped before Bruna, and departed from thence by crois and crooked ways, struck a sudden fear into the enemy, whereupon the Romans dilodge from Plovina, and neer unto the River Osbyges pitched their pavilions. The King likewise refted himself not far from thence, and had call a trench and tailed a rampier along the banks of the River, which the inhabitants call Erigonae. And after he was for certain advertised, that the Romans intended to go to Erusela, he marched afore to seize upon the frit, and to empeach the enemies, that they should not gain the passage that lyeth as it were in a narrow gullet, barred and enclosed on each side. There he tailed in one place a rampier, and call a trench in another; made barricades here and there, partly by piling stones up on heaps in fied of a wall, partly by felling of trees acroes, according as either the ground would give leave, or the place afford matter: And thus stopping up all the ways by fundry devices and means, he made the place (to his thinking) both impassable and impegnable, which of itself by nature was hard enough and troublesome. The country all about was for the most part forestous, and full of wood, very inconvenient, especially for that manner of battalions and ordnance of array, which the Macedonians call Thalamas: which serveth them in small or no need at all, unless with their long pikes they may make a pallisade, or fyall (as it were) and oppose them before their shields: which they cannot well do, unless they have free scope and liberty of plain and open ground. The Thracians also were founly troubled and cumbed with their spares named Romphes, which were likewise of a mighty length, and by reason thereof (catching as they did, and snarling within the boughs and branches of Trees that grew in their way) (where about) hindered them very much. There remained the Cohort or band of the Candies, that seemed of some ufe for to be employed. And yet the same also as it was able to discharge arrows against both Horse and man, and to annoy them so long as they lay open and exposed to shot, if haply they offered
offered to charge; so they were not of strength sufficient to drive their ships level, and to pierce thorough the Roman targets: for otherwise there was no part of the body offered it self unarmed and naked for to aim at. And therefore to soon as they perceived that kind of shot to serve them to little or no purpose, they caught up stones which lay all over the valley, and let them fall at the enemy. Which stones, as they light and bear upon their bowiers kept a great clattering, and with the bound they made (rather than with any hurt besides) kept the Romans for a time from mounting up the bank. But the Romans making no reckoning of these stones neither party by paroxysms and target-encens on their heads, made way directly through the thick kept of their enemies and partly by wheeling a little and feething some compacts about gained the pitch of the hill, and were got up to the very top: from whence they drove the Macedonians (as all armed as they were)

B

down the hill, and chaled them from their holds and guards: and by reason they had much ado to file (the ground was so rough and uneven), most of them were killed and cut in pieces. Thus the difficulty of the fight was overcame, and they were perplexed therewith, with far less trouble and conflict than they looked for and made account of. Then they marched on forward as far as to Eraclea, where the Conful after he had put the fields all over to the wall, retired himself to Eumes. From thence he forced Oroibes and assailed the Town of Celerium, situate as it were, in a demy land: there is a lake that environeth the wall, and but one way by land that leadeth to the Town from the main, and the same very bright and narrow, in form of a gutter. At the first when the Town was summoned the inhabitants: troubling to the natural strength of the place kept their gates shut against the Conful, and refused his summons. But after they saw once the ensigns displayed and marching against them, when they perceived the enemies defended under a paroito to approach close to the gate, and the narrow bright and avenue aforesaid, before with a band of them: before they would encounter fight and danger they yielded themselves for very fear. From Celerium he marched on towards the Dileareians, and was by assailing the City of Pechium. From thence he carried away the bondslaves, with the rest of the piglages: but all persons whatsoever free born, he let go at liberty without paying ransom. The Town he gave them again after he had planted in it a strong garrison: for it stood well, and in a very good place, for to make rodes and incursions into Macedonia. Thus the Conful having raged the country of the enemies, brought his army back through the peaceable parts into Apolonia, where he began first to make war.

C

now the Etolians the Athamanis, and Dardanians, and many other wars rising suddenly at once, from one place and some from another, had diverted and turned Phil. P contary way. Against the Dardanians (as they returned out of Macedonia) he sent Achaienar as with the footmen lightly armed and appointed the greater part also of the horse giving him in charge and direction to follow them hard at their heels as they departed, and to play upon their backs, and cut off the tail of their rearward: so to teach them against another time, not to be so hastily to fall abroad with an army again. Demetrius the Pretor of the Etolians (who in the Diet aforesaid held at Naupactum persuaded to take a longer time tor to commit about this war) had in the next Council or Parliament following, moved the Etolians to enter into arms: namely upon the fame that was spread abroad of the horsemens flight before Oiolobus: and a few upon the coming of the Dardanians, and Plataeans with the Illyrians into Macedonia: besides the arrival of the Roman fleet at Oceana and the general voice and bruit that went, how Macedonia should shortly be assailed also by sea over and above to many nations that from all parts about were come already by land. These motives regained Demetrius and the Etolians to try the Romans again. Who joying unto them Achaia the King of the Athamanis, went forth together for to besiege Ceresium. They within the Town had shut their gates, whether by contrivance willingly of themselves, it was not known for they had the Kings garnish within among them. How ever it was, within few dayes Ceresium was taken and burnt. As many as remained alive after that great defeat, as well bond as free one with another, were with the rest of the piglages carried away. This fearful example cauld all the people inhabiting about the marshis of Bodae, to abandon their cities, and to retire themselves for security into the mountains. The Etolians for want of rich prey and booty (which they could not find there) turned from them and marched toward Peribasia. In that quarter they were won by force the City Creticae, and cruelly put it to the ramrack. The inhabitants of Mala were reduced of themselves without compulsion and were received into protection as allies. Out of Peribasia Ammonar was of advice and desirable to march against Compsob, by reason that the country of Achaia was bordered to neer upon that City, and it seemed easy to be forced without much trouble. But the Etolians fingers tickled and itched again to be doing with the rich and fertile fields of Thessalia, and thither went they to raffe booties and take piglages. Achaia followed till for company, albeit he liked well neither of these business of the Etolians thus arrogantly to make rodes and to spoil everywhere: nor of their manner of encamping at adventure, in what places ever they chanced to come, without all discretion, regard, and care of fortifying and guarding the army. Fearing therefore left their inconsiderate rashness and supine negligence, might be an occasion that he, or his should come to a thousand turn, and incur some damage, iped his time; and seeing them to incamp in a plain near to the City Placentum, he took a little Hill little above half a mile off, where both he and his, might with the help of any small guard, lie in security. Now when as the Etolians seemed in manner to have forgotten that they were in the enemies country, but that they drove some booties: whiles they were some of them wandering and itraging, disbanded and half armed, others
The one and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

others within their camp without any corps du garde, swilling and sleeping all night and day long. And made no difference of the times, Philip came upon them before they looked for him. And it being once known by the report of some that fled out of the fields in great affright, that he approached them; Democrates and the rest of the Captains began to quake for fear. Now was it about noon on the day, at what time as most of them having taken their full lode of wine and victuals, lay along fast asleep. Then they fell to awake and raise another, and to give the alarm; anon they sent out every way to call in those that were spreading abroad in the fields; So much they were astonished, that for half many of the horsemen went forth without their swords, and most of them forget to put on their cuirasses. Thus being led out in post haste, and hardly in all foot and horse together able to make up the number of six hundred, they light upon the Kings Cavalry, for number, armour, and courage much better than theirselves; And therefore at the first push were discomfited: for before they were well entered into skirmish, they fled flamefully away toward their camp. Some of them came short thither, and were either slain or taken prisoners, even as many as the Kings horsemen overtook; and got between them and their other companies, Philip, when he saw his men approach near unto their camp, commanded to found the retreat: for both horse and man was weary, not so much with fight as with their long journey and the exceeding speed that they made. Whereupon he gave commandment, that the Horsemen by troops, and the light armed Footmen by their companies and Squadrons should water their horses one after another, and go to their dinner and repast. Others he kept still in armour for a guard attending the Regiment of the footmen, that came but slowly forward, by reason they were heavily armed at all pieces; who being come, they also were enjoyed to pitch down their enigons, and lay their weapons before them, and to take a short bait and halfyittance, pending two or three at the moment out of every band for to water the horses. All this while the horsemen, together with the light armed foilliers, flood well appointed and in readines, if haply the enemy would have given any attempt. The Attolians belovved armed men all about the gates and the rampier, intending to guard and defend their strength and fortifications; for now by this time they also that were scatterd over the fields, had retir'd themselves into the camp. And so long as they beheld the enemies to keep quiet, and not stirr, and were themselves in a sure hold, they made their bravadoes, and were very lutt: but after that the enigons of the Macedonians began to advance forward, and march in order of battle well appointed, close into their trenches at once they abandoned their guards and quarter, and ran out at the back part of their camp; and fled to the foresaid hill, where the Attolians were encamped. Many of the Attolians were likewise in this halfy flight killed or taken prisoners. Philip made no doubt, but that the Attolians also might have been driven from their hold, if there had been day enough behind them, but the day being spent already first in the skirmish, and afterward in the rummaging of their camp, he let him down upon the next plain, hard at the foot of the hill aforecited, intends very early the next morning to affil the enemy. The Attolians stared as much now, as they were before when they quit their own camp, and flee skirmishing away the night following. Here Aminander flou'd them in very good head, by whom good guidance and direction, the Attolians being skilful in the coasts of the country, conducted them into the Attolia, over the high mountains, whereas the enemies followed after them in blind and unknown by-ways. Some few of them hapned in this confused and scattered flight to lose their way and tumble upon the Macedonian horsemen, whom Philip by day light, had sent to cut off the tail of the enemies, so soon as he perceived the hill abandoned. About the very same time, Atheneus as a Captain under the King, overtook the Dardanians as they returned into their country, and at the first put their rearward in disarray. But afterward the Dardanians turned head again, and embattell'd themselves so they fought on even hand, and nothing was won nor lost on any side. The Dardanians began not so soon to advance forward and march on again, but the Kings power, with their horsemen and light armed foilliers came upon them at once, and put them to great trouble. For they had not such means of help, and were besides uncharg'd with heavy armour, and withal, the place gave great advantage to those of the Kings part. Very few were slain more wounded, none at all taken prisoners: but the Dardanians, as not to break out of their ranks and arteries for a little, and upon small occasions, but as they fight close, so they retire together, and part nor. Thus Philip having restrained these two nations, by two brave exploits, which were as happily perfor'd as bravely enterpris'd, recovered the losses again, by him received in the Roman war. There hapned besides another occurrence, which diminish'd the number of his enemies the Attolians. For Scopus, one of the chief noblemen of that nation, being sent from Alexandria by King Philip, with a mighty mass of gold, caried away with him into Egypt five thousand footmen, and certain horsemen, wadged for mony to serve. Neither had he left behind him any of the flour and youth of Attolia, if Democrates had not chastised and rebuked them, and so by that means kept some of them at home; making remonstrances into them, one while of the war that was toward, and another while of the defeation which was like to ensue thereupon. But whether he did this upon a good zeal and care that he had of his country, or only to crofs Scopus, because he had not fed him well with rich rewards and fat presents, it is not known. And thus much concerning the affairs passed between Philip and the Romans for that summer.

The Roman fleet having in the beginning of the same summer committed to Sea from Crete, together with the Lieutenant An, Apollinis passed beyond the point of the cape Malaga, and joyned
A joined with King Attalus, near Scylleum in the territory of Hermione. Then the whole City and State of Athens, upon hope of present aid and succour, brake out and poured forth at once all the hatred and malice which they had conceived against Philip, and which a long time for very fear they had held in, and therefore kept themselves in good and reasonable terms with him. Now in this City there never was prompt and ready tongues to stir up and provoke the common people to a commotion. And as in all free States generally such kind of men are entertained and born out by the favour of the multitude, so in Athens especially, where eloquence is in most request, and beareth great weight. PRETEN. therefore an Act was put up and proposed unto the common people, and by them granted and confirmed, That all the Statutes and Images of King Philip, together with their titles and titles, likewise of all his progenitors and predecessors, as well men as women, should be defaced, pulled down, and destroyed. 

B. That all the external dikes, the facvices and fectaries, which had been instituted and ordained for the honor of him, should be defaced, or inscriptions graven to his honour, should be held as detestable and accursed: and that from hence forward, it might not be lawful to set up there any of those things that ought to stand, and be dedicated in a pure and clean place.

C. That the publick Priests of the City, in all their prayers, and so often as they prayed for the good estate of the people of Athens and their allies, for the preservation of their armies and armadoes; should detest and curie by name King Philip, his children and realm, his forces both by land and sea, with all the race and name of the Macedonian nation. Moreover, it ran on in the decree, That if any man from that time forward,

D. would prefer and propose anything that might tend to the disgrace and intamie of Philip, the whole people of Athens should approve and allow the same whatsoever, and make an act thereof. Contrary-wise, if any person lay or do anything for honour, or to impeach and check his dishonour, whosoever should happen to kill the said party, he should be deemed and reputed, that he had killed him justly and lawfully. Finally, this branch was comprised within the decree, That all things ordained in times past against Philip's line and progeny, should be observed and stand in force against Philip. Thus very warred the Athenians against Philip with letters and words: wherein they are very rauant, and to say truth, good at nothing else. But Attalus and the Romans, having from Hermione Chaped their course for Pyreneus, arrived there. And after they had sojourned some few days in Athens, and were laden with a number of decrees, where-in the Athenians recounted the praises and commendations of their allies beyond all measure, like as they had before exceeded in shewing their malice against their enemies; they set sail from Pyreneus to Andros. Where, riding at anchor in the bay called Gaeulzoum, they sent certain men to find the minds of the inhabitants, Whether they would choose to yeeld the Town willingly, or rather abide the hazard of a forcible assault. Who answered again, that the Kings garrison being poptelled of the Castle, and keeping it for Philip, they were not their own masters. Whereupon the King and the Roman Lieutenant set their forces on land, and with all preparation of engines and artillery fit for an assault, approached the City divers ways. The Roman Standards and their arms, not seen before in those parts, the resolute courage also of the soldiery, who so lightly and nimly came neere to scale the walls, terffified and amazed the Greeks, much more than any thing else. Therefore immediately they fled into the Castle, and the enemies were LI. of the City.

E. Now after they had for two days space held out in the forrests, premissing more upon the strength of the place than the force of their armour and weapons: they and the garrison together, comprehended upon the third day to quitt the place, so they might be brought with a convoy to Delium, a Town in Boetia, and every man to have one single suit of apparel. Then the Romans leaving the bare City unto King Attalus, ranfacked it themselves, and took with them all the pillage and ornaments that beautified the same. And to the end, that the Ile should not lie waft and defart. Attalus persuaded the Macedonians in manner all, and certain alfo of the Andrians, there to remain. Afterwards they also who composition were transported to Delium, were by the fair promises of the King drawn away from thence: which they gave ear and credit unto the soonder, for the love of their native country the mis whereof they might hardly brooke. From Andros they crossed to Cythous. There they spent certain days in assaulting the City, to no purpose: and seeing the gains would hardly quit their pains, they departed from thence. Neer unto Pythia (which is a place of Attica within the main) there joined unto the Roman fleet twenty pinnaces of the Ileans, who were sent to rob and spoil the territory of the Carytians: the rest of the fleet remained at Geraulzoum, a noble roade and port of Euboea, until such time as the Ile was returned from Cythous. Then all together they made sail, and passing the mids of the main sea, they fell with the Ile of Icces, neere unto Scyros. There they staid forcertain days, by reason of the raging Northwind: which being once laid and the sea calm again, they passed to Scyathos a City lately pilled and ranfacked by K. Philip. The soldiery ranged over the country, and brought

G. corn with them to their ships; & whatsoever else was fit for mans food. Other booty neither was there any. nor delivered had the Greeks to be spoiled at their hands. Thence they bent their course for Cosandrea: & first they rode at anchor neer unto Mendes, a village situat by the sea side, and belonging to that State. From whence having failed beyond the cape, & desirous to come about with their veffels for to approach the very walls of the City, there arose a tempest & sudden gale: wherein they had like to have been cast away: but scattered they were ainder: & having for the most part lost the tacking of their ships, they escaped with much ado to land. This tempest at sea, was also
a fore-token prefaging unto them, that they were to follow the war by land; and to give over sea service. For when they had brought all their ships together and let their men a shore, they asailed the Town: but they had the repulse with many a bloody blow besides (for there was within, a strong garrison of the Kings) whereupon they gave over their enterprise, returned back and sailed over to Campania, a City of Palatine. And having doubled the point of Taurana, they let their course for Aeclhynus. There at first they torraged the territory; then forced the Town, and ranlaced it. And for that their ships had their full fraught and charge of pilgrage, they failed no farther forward, but returned from whence they came to Sicyonius, and from thence to Ebusus: where leaving behind them their main navy, they put in with ten ships lightly appointed, to the Bay or gulf of Malaxa, for to parley with the Aetolians about the whole course and managing of the wars. The chief of this embassage went from the State, was one Sypryphus an Aetolian, who came to Heraclea for to treat and confer about the affairs together with the King and the Roman Lieutenant. They demanded of Attalus by virtue of the accord and agreement before made, to furnish them with a thousand folding: for so many ought he by right to set out and maintain, whenever they were to wage war against Philip. But this demand was denied to the Aetolians: in regard that afoetime they likewise thought much to make a rode to spoil Macedonia, at what time as Philip kept foul work about Perigamus, burning all edifices before him, as well fared as prophane, when they might have drawn him perforce from thence into his own realm to look unto his proper affairs there. Thus the Aetolians were dimissed with more hope than help: for the Romans fed them them only with fair words, and large promies of all things. Then Apollines with King Attalus returned to the fleet.

After this they laid their heads together, and began to consult about the siege and assault of Oreum. A strong City this was both in regard of the walls, and also of a good garrison, by reason that heretofore it had been once asailed. Now there were so fail of Rhodian ships all close covered with hatches and decks, which under the conduct of Captain Agesimenes, had joined with the fleet of Attalus and the Romans, after the winning and conquest of Andros. These ships they sent to lie in the Bay of Zelaius, which is a promontory or cape above the City Demeteris, lying very conveniently over against Pobmia) for this intent, that if the Macedonian ships should come abroad from thence, they might be ready in guard to make fail against them. Heracleas an Admiral for King Philip, lay there at rode with the Navy, attending rather some enterprise by opportunity and vantage of the enemies negligence, than by plain and open force. The Romans and Attalus in the mean time planted their ordinance against Oreum at divers parts. The Romans at the Cattle side that standeth upon the Sea: The King from the vale that lieth between two forts, where as the City is enclosed also with a wall. And as they asailed in sundry places: so their manner of asailing was much different, and their engines divers. The Romans asfayed to approach the wall with torroies, pavoies and mantletes, and to shake it with the Ram: They of the Kings part used Crossbows, Balists, Catapults, and all manner of engines to shoot forth quarrels and darts, yea, and to level and weigh mighty floones of exceeding great weight. They undermined also: and in sum, they practised all means which they faw by experience did good during the former assault and siege. But the Macedonians were not only more in number than the time before to defend the City, but also of better courage and resolution; by reason that the King had rebuked them sharply for their fault padd: and they remembered well both his menaces, and also his promises for the time to come: in so much as the assailants had small hope to win the Town in haft. Mean while the Roman Lieutenant, supposing that some other exploit might be performed, leaving a sufficient number (as he thought) for the finishing of the Fabricks begun and other engines of assaut, put over to the next places of the continent: where he surprized on a sudden Lartia (not that noble and renowned City in Thessaly, but another, which they call Cremoë) and won it, all but the fortresses. Attalus in like fort took Egeleon, fearing nothing less than thus an accident from them that were busie in besieging another Town. By this time, as the engines and other Fabricks without Oreum were at the point of finishing, and ready to perform the battery for which they were made: so the garrison within was overcoiled with continual pain and travail, spent with watching night and day, and faint with many a grievous wound. Moreover, part of the wall, shaken underweath with a butt and push of the Ram, was already fallen down in sundry places: so much as the Romans entred by night at the open breakes, and all the way above the Key, and so were possessed of the Cattle. Attalus likewise by the break of day, after he faw the banner reared upon the fortresses, and the signal which the Romans put forth, entered the City: for now the walls in many places lay along. The garrison and the Townsmen fled to a second citadel that they had, from whence after two days they yeelded. The City was the Kings lot: the bodies of the prisoners were the Romans share. Now drew the sun nearer unto the Aquinoctial line in Autumn, at what time the Eubeian gulf called Calis is dangerous, and not well triested of mariners. Therefore being desrons to be gone into a place of fafe retreat, before the troubled winter weather overtook them, they turned their course and made head to Pyrceum, from whence they came: where Apollines leaving behind him thirty ships, fet a compas about the cape of Malaxa, and failed to Ceryra. But the King played still so long as the festival dayes of Ceris continued, becaufe he would be present at the celebration of those solemnities. After the feast ended, himself likewise retired into Agra: but first he sent Agesimenes and the Rhodians home again. There were the affairs and exploits performed this summer by sea and land,
by the Roman Consul, and the Lieutenant General, with the aid of King Attalus and the Rhodians, against King Philip, and his allies.

The other Consul, Aurelius, being come into his Province when the war was brought to an end, could not another and conceal his anger conceived against the Praetor for fighting in his absence. When he had taken order therefore to send him into Etruria, himself with the legions invaded the country of the enemies: where by way of robbing and spoiling he was led so as he got more prey than peace. But L. Furius, seeing there was little to do in Etruria, and withall deific:

gorous rather than his life of a triumph over the Gauls (which he supposed to obtain with more case, while the Consul was absent, who was both angry with him, and also envied at him) arrived at Rome, before any man looked for him; and assembled the Senate in the Temple of Bellona. Where, after he had declared what acts he had achieved, he requested that he might be permitted to ride into the City with triumph. In great credit and account he was with many of the Senators, both for his noble and worthy deeds, in which regard they honoured him: and also for a special favour and love, in which respect they affected him. But the more ancient and elder Senators denied him triumph, as well for that he had warred with the army of another, as also because he had abandoned his own Province, and government, upon a greedy desire to catch a triumph, by Tying his opportunity, and taking advantage: a thing not warrantable by any former precedent or example: And as many of them as had seen Consuls said moreover. That above all things he ought to attend upon the Consul his return. For well might he (lay they) be encamped near unto the City, have defended and guarded the Colony only, and so have drawn the time out until his coming, and never needed to have fought aet b provides for the matter. And although the Praetor for have omitted to do, yet ought not the Senate to follow his example, but expect the Consul. When as therefore they have heard the Consul and Praetor dicating and arguing the matter both together face to face, then they should be able to judge better and more soundly of the case. A great part of the house was of opinion that they ought to look unto nothing else but the service done, and whether he were lawfully called thereto, as a Magistrate of himself, and to manage his affairs by his proper conduct and the guidance of his own fortune. For, of the two Colonies (lay they) which were opposed as two forts and bulwarks to restrain the sudden impressions and tumults of the French: when the one was sacked and burnt, and the same fire like to leap from it to the other so near, (as from house to house that joyn together) D what could the Praetor have done otherwise in that case? For if there might be nothing attempted without the Consul, it must needs follow that either the Senate did amiss in giving the Praetor the charge of the army (for if their will was that the war should be managed not by the Consul but by the Consuls, they might have limited it in the Commision by especial words, expressly forbidding the service to be done by the Praetor, but only by the Consul) or else the Consul hath committed a fault, who having commanded the army to go out of Tuscany into France, came not himself in person to Ariminum to encounter the enemy and be present in that war, which without him might not be lawfully fought. Over and besides, the occasions and leasons of war attend no Staies, and terry for no politick delays of Generals. And otherwhiles, fight a man must, not because a man is willing thereto, but because his enemy puts him to it. To consider, the very battel they felt, and the happy issue thereof, ought only to be considered and regard;

The enemies are defeated and slain: their Camp taken and rancked: the siege raised from the one Colony, and it preferred: the captives of the other recovered and restored to their friends: and to be brief, in one battle the quarrel is decided, and the war finished. And not only men have rejoiced for this victory, but also there have been precedences for three days: in respect of the immortal gods: [For that L. Furius hath managed the Common-wealth well and happily and in great glory.] Finally, the French wars fall by a fatal destiny to the house and race of the Furiis. By these and such like remonstrances alleged by himself and his friends, the majesty of the Consul absent was over-weighed with the favour born to the Praetor prefer. And so in a frequent assembly of Senators a decree was granted, that L. Furius should ride in triumph. Thus triumphed over the Gauls L. Furius Praetor, while he was in office. He brought into the common treasury 37,000,000 Ases, 17,000 pound weight of silver. But neither were there any prisoners led captives in them, no spoils carried in pomp before his chariot, nor yet his foUdiers follwed after. So as it appeared that all other things besides victory alone, pertained properly to the Consul.

After this were the plagues exhibited with great magnificence by P. Cornelius Scipio, which he had vowed in Affric, during his Consulship. Also there past an order for the lands of his foUdiers: That for so long as each one had served in Spain or Affric, he should have two acres for every year: and that these lands should be let out and assigned into them by ten Decemvirs for the purpose deputed. Then were certain Triumphs created for to supply and make up the number of the Roman Inhabitants in Venuia. By reason that during the time of Aurelius his war, the strength of that Colony was much enfeebled and impaired: C. Teccius Florus, T. Quintius Flaminius, and P. Cornelius Scipio the son of Cneo, enrolled new Colonies to inhabit Venuia.

The same year, C. Cornelius Cethegus, who governed Spain as Pro-Consul, did confine a great holt of the enemies in the country of the Sedetans. In which battel, by report, were slain 15,000 Spaniards, and 78 military enligns taken. C. Aurelius, the Consul, when he was returned out.
The two and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the two and thirtieth Book.

Many strange and prodigious sights (as they were reported from divers countries) are here related and set down; among which, this is one, that in Macedonia there was a bay tree growing up of itself in the pop of a gallv, T. Quinius Flamininus the Consul fought fortunately against Philip in the sight of Epirus: and having put him to flight, he compelled him to return into his own kingdom, himself with the assent of the .. Atius and Athamas, infilled fire and plagued Thessaly, which had revolted from Macedonia. I. Quinius Flamininus the Consul his brother, by the aid of King Attalus and the Rhodians, made conquest by war at sea, of Euboea and all the sea-coast. The Achaei were received into the city. The confederacy of slaves, that conspired to deliver and set at large the hostages of the Carthaginians, was detected and took no effect. The number of Prati's was scarce 5000. The Consul Cornelius Cæcennus defeated the French Insurabians in pitched battle, League and army was concluded between the Romans and the Macedonians, with their tyrant Nabis. Over and besides, there is contained in this book the winning of many cities in Macedonia.
When the Consul and Praetors were entered into office upon the * Ides of March, they call lots for the government of the Provinces, To L. Lentulus, fell Italy; and to P. Villius, Macedonia. As for the Praetors, L. Quintus had the jurisdiction of the City of Rome, and C. Babinius the government of Ariminum; E. Valerius ruled Sicily, and L. Vibius his lot was to command Sardinia. Lentulus the Consul had order given him to levy new legions and Villius to receive the army of P. Sulpicius, with commission and licence to take up many fouldiers as he thought good himself to furnish the same with a sufficent supply. Those legions which C. Aurelius Consul had in charge, were assigned over to Babinius the Praetor, with condition to keep them with him, until the Consul were arrived in France with a new army; and in so much as he came, to discharge and dismiite all the fouldiers home to their houses except 5000 allies; forasmuch as this number was thought sufficient to govern the Province about Ariminum.

The Praetors of the former year continued still Commanders of their armies. C. Sergius was enjoyned to see and take order, that certain lands should be set out for those fouldiers who had served many years together in Spain, Italy, and Sardinia. And Q. Minutius had in charge to go through with that inquisition of certain conspirators and traitors in the Britains country, upon which he had taken already as Praetor with great fidelity and diligence: and also to lend unto Lepidus for to receive due punishment of those prisoners, whom being attainted and convicted of a crime, he had sent bound to Rome. And finally, to cause all the treasure taken out of the Temple of Proserpina, to be restored thither again, with an over-entreaty, to make satisfaction and to raise out the wicked part committed. The Latinefeats and holy-dates were solemnized again by virtue of an ordinance of the Bishops, upon this occasion. That certain Embassadors from Attal was complained in the Senat, how they had not their ordinary allowance of flesh at the Latinefeats aforesaid in the mount Alban, according to the old custom, News came from Sestri, that two of their city-gates, and all the wall between was assaulted with lightning. Messengers also from Formia reported that their Temple of Jupiter was likewise blasted. Moreover, they of Opis brought a word of the like mischief with them in the Church of Jupiter. And from Velitrae tidings came of the like mischief, fallen upon the Temples of Apollo and Sanguis. And that in the Temple of Hercules there sprung up a bush of hair. Letters came also from Q. Minutius the Pro-Praetor out of the Britains country, that there was a colt foaled with five feet, and three chickens hatched with three feet asleep. After all this, P. Sulpicius the Pro-Praetor sent letters from out of Macedonia, containing among other matters this news, that there was a Laurel tree grew of itSelf in the poop of a galley.

The Senat in regard of all the former prodigious sights, ordained, that the Consul should sacrifice greater beasts, unto what gods he thought good: but about this last rehearsed, the Soothsayers that pry into beasts inwards, were sent into the Senat-houfe; and by direction of their answer, an Edict went forth, That the people should go in procession, and make supplications one day, and in all Temples and Altars of the gods there were sacrifices celebrated with great devotion.

The Carthaginians this year came to Rome with the first payment of the tribute imposed upon them: and for that the treasurers and receivers of the City made report, that the silver was not good and lawful, and being brought to the treasurers, was found too light by one fourth part wash'd away those Carthaginians were constrained to take up money of the bankers of Rome, and to make good the defect and loss of the silver above said. They put up a petition besides unto the Senat that it might stand with their good pleasure to re-deliver now their holigies. Whereupon an hundred of them were rendred back, and good hope was of the rest, to be continued.

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When they made a farther request in behalf of those holigies which were not deliv'd, that they might be transported from Norba (where they were not to their good liking and ease) to some other place, granted it was, that they might remove to Signia and Feronien. In like fort, the Gadiitans made humble suit, and obtained this liberty, that there should not be sent from the Romans a captain to govern Gödes, anything to the contrary in their covenant (concluded with L. Murtius Septimius, when they yielded themselves under the sujection of the Romans) notwithstanding. Moreover, forasmuch as the Embassadors of Norba made complaint, that they had not their full number of inhabitants, and that there were certain fugitifs entring amongst them, not of their own nation, who bore themselves as Coloniers; therefore L. Cornelius the Consul was commanded to create three Deputies or Commissioners, called Tribunies, for to reform this disorder, and chosen there were for that purpose, Publius and Scipio Aelia, who had both of them the surname of Patius, and C. Cornelius Lentulius. This that was granted to them of Norba, was denied to the Embassadors of Coffs, who likewise requested that the number of their inhabitants might be encreased.

The affairs thus finished at Rome, that there were to be done, the Consuls went into their several Provinces. P. Villius so soon as he was arrived in Macedonia, was welcomed at his first coming with a dangerous mutiny of the fouldiers, which long store being kindled, was not well quenched.
at the first beginning, there were those two thousand, which after the defeat of Annibal, were first sent out of Africa into Sicily; and from hence, a year after almost, transported into Macedonia for voluntary soldiers: but they so far prevailed that they were not shipped by their Colonels and Tribunes full against their wills. And howsoever it was, whether they served willingly or unwillingly, it was but for the common interest, that the time of their fouldiers should run out, and their service have an end at length. Alluding, that for these many years they had not seen Italy; that they waxed old men under their harness, having born arms in Sicily, in Africa, and in Macedonia: that with toil and travel so tedious, they were weak and feeble; and after so many wounds and hurts received, they had no more blood to lose. The Consuls made them answer, that their cause was good and reasonable, but rather in the handling; and meet the thought of it, that they should be dismissed, if they could have requested it in moderate terms: but neither is, nor any cause else whatsoever was warrantable to make a mutiny and sedition. Therefore, if they could content to keep to their colours, and be at command as loyal fouldiers, he would in their behalf write his letters unto the Senate, as touching their commissary and disposition: for he well assured, that they should get more by lobers and gentle behaviour, than by any such stubborn, sordid, and wilful demeanour.

At the same time Philip sailed the City of Thessalicae with terraces and mantelets in all forcible manner, so that he was now at the point to batter & shake the wall with the ram. But the sudden arrival of the Macedonians enforced him to surcease the enterprise: who by the conduct of Archidamus having called through the midst of the Macedonian guards, & entered the town, never ceased day nor night to make failest with one while upon their standing watch, other whilsts upon theirke"}

The fight of the city Thessalicae. * Amiable, or moneterull.
A aloof, the royal pavilion of the king himself was pitched before the rampier upon a bank in a most conspicuous place of open sight, for to terrify the enemy, and also to encourage and hearten his own men, when they should see him to confide and to follow. The consul advantized by Gracchus the Epirus, what paragings the king with his army was posted off; after he had passed the winter in Corcyra, himself likewise in the beginning of spring, went up into the main land, and held on his march toward the enemy. And being advanced almost within the miles of the Kings' camps, he left his legions in a strong fended place, and went himself in person forward with certain lighty appointed in epistles to discover the quarters; and then, too, through held a consultation, whether he might do better to fight his way through the place which the enemy kept, not considering how he saw evidently before his eyes great trouble and hazard in that adventure; or to bring his army about and lead it a comp the same way, whereas the year before Sulperius entered into Macedonia. This deliberation him for certain days in due balance and suspense, until news came unto him that T. Quinctius was elected consul; and having the Province of Macedonia allotted unto him made haste thither and was already passed to Corcyra.

Valerius Antias writeth how Vitulus was entred the pas before & because he could not take the straight and direct way (by reason that the king and his forces had betet all places followed the valley along through the middle whereof the river Aruns runneth and having made a bridge over it, in great haste passed over the bank, whereas the king was encamped, and there fought a battle: wherein the king was didi omitted and put to flight, and driven out of his camp; that 3,000 enemies were slain in that conflict. 2,000 taken prisoners, 1,525 enigns won and carried a way besides 2,000 horse. Also that during the conflict there was a Temple vowed unto Jupiter, in case the Consil sped well in the battle. But all other writers both Greek and Latin, at all whose hands I have read, report that Vitulus performed no memorable act, and that the Consil T. Quinctius who next proceeded took in hand the whole and entire war himself.

Whiles things so pised in Macedonia, the other Consil L. Lentulus who flaid behind at Rome, held a general assembly for the election of Censors: And among many famous and noble perfomers who vied for that dignity, P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, and P. Aemilius Paetus were the Censors. These two ag eing together in great conford, both elected: Scaurus without deeming any person; and also formed out the toll for portage of all things that were sold at Copon: Item, they let & to farm let the uffome for passage that way whereas the camp stood and where now there is a town built and enclosed three hundred Colones (for that number was limited by the Senate) there to inhabit. They sold all the lands of Copon lying under the hill of Palaia.

About the same time L. Mucius Acilus departed out of Spain, and was prohibited by M. Porcius Loca a Tribune of the Commons, to enter at his returninto the city with the solemn pomp of an Oration notwithstanding he had that honour granted by the Senate. So he came into Rome as a private person and brought into the Chamber of the City 2,000 pound weight of silver, and thirty pound weight well-near of gold. The same year Cn. Batinus Laophatius, who had received the Province of France from C. Aemilius the Consil of the former year, engaged himself rashly within the marches of the French Inhabitants, and was enviroined and enclosed round about, both he and in manner his whole army, he left above 6600 men. See what an overthrow was received in a war, whereat there was no confoning made, and from when no danger was feared any more. This caused L. Lentulus the Consil to come unto the city of Rome, who being arrived into a province of trouble and tumult after he had received the three E. stripped and disarmed a man gave the praetor a great check and rebuke, & took him up Junily with reproachable terms, and commanded him to get him gone out of the Province, and to repair to Rome. Neither performed the Consil himself any exploit worthy of remembrance by reason that he was made home to Rome for to hold the solemn election of Magistrates: which also was laid by M. Fulvius and M. Curtius Tribunes of the Commons: who likewise would not suffer T. Quinctius Flamininus, having been but Quozil for to stand for a Consilship. Now adays, saythey, the dignities of Ediles and Praetors are sought for, and not worth the seeking for: and these noblemen will needs mount into the Consilis place, not by fleps and degrees of other offices, whereby they should make proof and give good testimony what their carriage is, but leaping over those in the midst, joyed the lowest and highest together. This debate which began in Martis field in the assembly of the people, came at length to be decided before the Senate. And the L. ordained, That forasmuch as he which voted for that dignity, was by law capable thereof, it was reason that the people should have plenary and absolute power to create him, or whomsoever else they pleased: so the Tribunes submitted themselves under the authority of the Senators. And for Cill, were elected Sex. Albius Porcius, and T. Quinctius Flamininus, Then elected the election of the Praetors, in which were created C. Cornelianus Merulas, M. Claudianus Marcellus, M. Porcius Cato, and C. Heliacus, who had been Ediles of the Commons: By whom the Plebeian plains were received, and a solemn fact made in the honour of Jupiter in regard of those places. The Curule Ediles likewise c. Valerius Flaccus, who also was the Flaminian Disilis or Priest of Jupiter, and C. Cornelius Celsus,
either agree betwixt themselves, or else cast lots whether of them should govern the one or the other: And that he, whole hap was to have the charge of Macedon, should enroll of Romans three thousand foote, and three hundred horsemen: Aio of Latine allies five thousand foot, and five hundred horset; for to supply and furnish the legions. And for the other Conui, it was decreed, that he should have an army all entire and new. L. Lentulus the Conui of the former years; continued till Governour in the Provinces with express commandment, that neither himself should leave the government, nor withdraw his forces from thence, before the Conui were come with the new legions. So the Conui referred themselves to the direction of the lots. To Aelius fell Italy: and Macedon to Quintius. As for the Pratours, who all were guided by lots, L. Corelius Merulla had the jurisdiction of the City of Rome. M. Claudius governed Sicily. To M. Perclus was allotted Sardinia, and C. Helvius his lot was to be L. Deputy in Gaul. After this they began to take mutiners. For over and besides the Conui, the Pratours alo were charged to levy souldiers. To Marcellus were assign'd four thousand foote of Latine allies, and three hundred horsemen to go into Sicily, and for Cato three thousand foot of the same kind of souldiers with two hundred horse to serve in Sar'dinia: upon condition, that when both these Pratours were come into their Provinces they should discharge all the old souldiers there, as well foote as horsemen.

Then the Conui granted the Embassadors of King Attalus leafe to come into the Senate house: where having audience given them, * after they had declared how their King and Maiter had affidur'd the State of Rome with his forces as well by sea as land, and shewd himself cheerfull, ready, and obedient to this present day for to execute and perform whatsoever the Roman Conui had enjoyned him to do: they laid now that they much feared lef from hence forward he would not be able to do the same by reason he was impeach'd by Antiochus. For Antiochus taking his vantadge, and finding the realm of Attalus dishonour'd of garrisons, and unprovided of forces both by sea and land, had invad'd the same. For which occasion Attalus begu'd the L.L of the Senat there assembled, that they minded to use his navy, and employ the means that he could make, in the service of the Macedonian war: they would then lend him a sufficient garrison to defend his kingdom: but if they thought not well thereof, their request was to permitt him to return with his fleet and other forces to the defence of his own. The Senat gave order to return this answer unto the Embassadors: Whereas King Attalus had succour'd the Roman Captains with his Armado and other means of war, the Senat accepted thereof in the bell part. But as touching Antiochus the King, anally and friend of the people of Rome, they neither would send any aid against him: nor yet detain the aids of King Attalus in any service of theirs, longer than the King himself should think it fit with his own comodity. For the manner of the people of Rome hath always been to serve their own turn with the help and alliance of others, yet at the good pleasure & discretion of others. And whooeuer were willing to relieve the Romans, they were at their own liberty to begin and end when they would themselves. Howbeit they purposed to address their Embassadors unto Antiochus to advertise him and let him understand, that the people of Rome employed the help of Attalus his ships and souldiers against Philip a common enemy: and the Senat would take it kindly at his hands, if for theirakes he tolerate the Realm of Attalus, and abstained from war. For meet and reasonably it was, that the Kings who were friends and allies to the people of Rome, should likewise enter into peace and amity among themselves.

T. Quinuin the Conui made haste to be gone into his Province: and when he had leaved and mustered his forces, so as he had enrolled those old experienced servitors for the most part, who had given good proof of their valour in the service of Spina and Affrick, he was detained fo long at Rome by occasion of certain prodigious signs reported, until he had taken order for the appeaing of the gods, and expiation of them. The lightning forshed and blasted the great portway from Venet the Common Hall likewise of publicke assemblies, and the Temple of Jupiter in Leumunio; also the Temple of Heracles in Ardeis: the walls beside and turrets of Capua, and the Temple there which is called Aem. At Arceum the sky appeared to be on a light fire. At Veneti the earth felted and sunk down, leaving a great gaping chink for the compass of three acres of ground. Word moreover was brought that in Sufia Arvunc a lamb was yeaned with two heads; and in Sulla a porcher with a mans head. In regard of these prodigies, there was a procession and supplication one whole day, and the Conui intended devoutly to their faccients. And after they had pacified the gods, they took their journey into their Provinces. Eliciu, together with C. Helviius the Pratour went into France and gave unto the said Pratour the army which he receiv'd L. Lentulus, and should have dismissed and discharge of their service; because he purposed himself to employ in his own wars the fresh and new legions which he brought with him: but he performed no action worth the report. The other Conui T. Quinuin having taken the sea, and departed from Brundisium sooner than other Conui were wont, arrived at Coreya O with eight thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. From thence he crost the seas with a galley of five tanks of oars, directing his course for the nearest coasts of Epirus, and by great journeys made haste until he was come to the Roman camp: from whence after he had licenc'd Pliinis to depart, and laid there some few daies, until his forces which were at Coreya could overtake him, he called his Council together to resolve, Whether he should keep on his journey directly, and make way through the midst of his enemies where they lay encamp'd, or rather without any fish
Attacking (which could not but carry with it great pain and peril) fetch a compact about with facility, and to enter into Macedonia by the way of the Dardaniots country and Locris. And verily, this latter course of the twain had taken place, but that he feared, when he were retired once far from the sea, and had let the enemy slip out of his hand—li as the King happily were minded (as he had done before) to defend himself within the deserts and forests, that he should spend all the long summer, and do no good. Therefore come what would did he resolve to affaire the enemy in that very place as difficult as it was, with all the disadvantage whatsoeuer. But as they determined in their intention thus to do, so they were not so ready in the means to execute and effect the same. Thus they fast till and spent to try dates within the eye of the enemy, and made no attempt.

Then Philip conceived some hope to affaire a peace, by the mean and intercession of the Epipolæ nation. And after consideration had, there were certain agents chosen for that purpose to wit, Simonianus the Prætor, and Alexander Gepellan of the horse, who brought the Conful and the King together for to parle unto a place whereas the river Axios was not too wide, and the banks nearest together. The demands of the Conful in these were these: That Philip should remove his garrisons out of the Cities Ionæ. That which territories or towns he had pill'd and spoileth, he should make restitution again unto them all those things that were extant and to be found: as for the rest, they should be priz'd and valued indifferently to their worth. Philip made answer again, Thus all those pieces were not of like quality and condition. As for such as he had taken himself, he would be content to let them at liberty: but for those that were left unto him by his progenitors and predeceivers, he would not lose the possession thereof, since he held them lawfully in right of inheritance. Finally, if those Cities wherewith he had wrack'd men complaint, that they were ever endanger'd by him, he would report himself to what Cities and States they would themselves, and stand to their award in they were neuters. or in peace as well with the one as the other. The Conful hereupon replied and said, That for this matter it was needless to refer them elcs to the arbitrement or doom of any. For who feeth not evidently (quoth he) that he hath done the wrong who hath took arms? And that Philip before ever that he was molested and troubled by any war from others, offered violence first unto all? After, when it was debated what Cities should best meet the Conful named first of all Thebæ and Athens, which word the King was in it a heat of choler that he cried out aloud: What harder condition O Quintus would you impose upon him that you had conquistet? and withall, he flung away in a chafe from off the place of meeting and entrance, and would no longer parle. And much ado they had on both sides to hold their hands from shoving one at another, for the river ran in the midle between them that they could not try it out by the ears. The morrow after there passed many light skirmishes between the epig. de guard upon both parts by way of excursions, full in a plain that lay our broad enough for that purpose: but afterwards the Kings men retir'd themselves into the narrow frowns and rough rugged places, the Romans of an argent defete to be fighting, entered thereupon. The Romans had on their side the benefit of good order and military discipline and were furnished with such kind of weapons as were fittest to maintain a skirmish in a just batall. The enemies again for their parts had the vintage of the ground, and the help of sundry engines to cast forth their fire off (as ballist and catapults) planted and range almost upon every hill and rock as it had been upon the walls of a City. After they had on both sides given and taken many a wound, so as divers of them were left dead on the earth, as if they had length in a full battall the night at length parties of both sides stood.
he made unto him many fine and large promises if it might appear, that he meant truth, and dealt faithfully; howbeit in the mean time he delivered him bound to the custody of the said Colonel. When their companies were thus sent away, the Roman General travelled and endeavoured to much the more to gain vantage of the enemies guards. All this while the Romans that were left out with the Colonel, marched forward: and upon the third day, when they had given token by smoke, that they had won the pitch of the hill as they intended, and had set fill; then the Comil divided his forces into three squadrons and entered the midst of the valley with the main strength of his army, but he led forth the wings of his battalion, both the right and the left, against the very camp of the enemies, who also for their parts were not behind to be encountered and receive him. And all the while that they advanced without their fortifications; of defence upon a hot desire of conflict it fell out, that the Romanoulter had the better a good deal, as being more valourous, more skillful, and better appointed with weapons for that kind of service. But after that the Kings followed, so many were round or killed outright, retired themselves to places of safety, either by natural situation or by art of man the danger returned upon the Romans heads, who inconsiderate were engag'd into places of disadvantage, and into narrow frequents, from whence they could not retire with safety. And surely they had not returned back again unprovided for their safety but that the Kings men hearing hit an onency behind their backs, and seeing also a skirmish began, were attuned at the sudden terror, and put besides themselves. Some fled here and there away, others that made a stand and entered fill, for that they rather were wond'red to flie than that had heart enough to fight it out, were environ'd by their enemies both before and behind. The whole army might have been utterly defeated, if the winners had but ill followed the chase. But the straights and the roughness of the ways hindered the horse, and the weight of armor confounded the footmen. At first the King rode again with bridle in horse neck, without regard of any thing, or looking behind him: but after he was got five miles before &2 gueffing (as it was indeed) that by reason of the disadvantage of the place the enemy could not possibly make way after he refueled upon a certain mount, and sent his people all abroad over hills and dales, to rally his soldiers together that were dispers'd. Thus with the lost not all out of two thousand men the rest of the multitude met together, as if they had repaired to a Redresed and taken their stand &2 form'd with a great train into Thrif. The Romans prud'd them afar they might with safety, killing them, and rifing the deadsmen and manac'd the Kings camp which though it were not naked without defendants, yet for the difficulty aces into it, they had much trouble to win: & that night large they lodg'd in their own camp, The next day the Comil in de pursuit after the enemy along the straights, whereas the river ran through among the villages, The King came the fifth day into the hold or camp of Pyrrhus (a place so called in Triphila, belonging to the territory of Molus) From whence the sword, after he had matched a mighty journey with his whole army (for needs he, must go that fear drives) & approach'd the mountain Longus. These Mountains are in Epom, situated between Macedon and Thrif. The side that lieth to Thrif regards to the East: that which breadth upon Macedon hath the North directly before it. Covered they are and overspread with abundance of woods; yet so as the very tops do afford open and running waters. The King keeping his camp there for certain dates, was much troubled and perplex'd in his mind, looking and revolving whether it were expedient or him to return immediately into his own kingdom, or possible M to retire himself into Thrif. In him, his resolution was to bring down his army into Thrif. And so to the rear he matched the next way he possibly could. From then he passed in great haste through all the Cities that were in his way. As many men as were able to follow, he forced to quit their habitations and dwelling houses, The towns he set on fire yet he permitted every one to carry away with him as much as he could of his own good; all the rest fell to the followers there. No manner of cruelty there was, that the very enemy could exercise, but he practis'd among his own allies, and Philip himself in the execution thereof, grieved not a little, and was vexed at the heart, but as he could do no other yet his deserv'd was in that country which in a while should be possest by the enemy to lose the bodies at least of his auxiliates. In this manner were ranvixed & spoil'd those towns following Phocis, Tegea, Eurylium, Epirus, & Palamium. Against his coming to Pher the gates were shut upon him, And because it would some time to win that town by assault and no leisure he had thereto, he gave over that enterprise & pass'd into Macedon for the bruit went that the Etruscans also approch'd. Who having heard of the whole of the battalion fought by the river. The first waited and ranac'd all the country near unto Speeath and Muse Camp (as they call it) and having from thence pass'd over into Thrif, at Cymis and Agoris with the first assault, Howbeit, a repulse they took at Metropolis, whiles they harried the fields about it by reason that the towns men ran together to the defence of their walls. After this they gave the stress upon Callibea. where they found the like resistance and violence of the enemies, but they there perished longer, and gave not over, still, they drove the enemies that fled forth within their walls, and contesting themselves with that viciosis they depart out thence seeing no great hope to force the town, Then they won and pillag'd two villages Themam and Alumnae, As for Aphrodis, it was investibly by composition, And upon the like fear It was abandoned of her own inhabitants, These Citizens thus driven out of their own houses, humbled as a venture upon a garrison which was a leading into Athenia, for the better guard of the foragers that were to purvey corn. This multitude, I say, marching disorderly without armour, fell into together, with a sort that were unmeet for war, was hewn in pieces by
by the armed souldiers, and Xyane was latched, thus left and forsaken as it was. After this, the Etrians won Cypbaria, a fort and town of strength, well fitted for to emeape and command. D. A

Thee exploits performed the Etrians hastily, all in few days.

Neither rified Ammander nor the Athaman quiet and still, after they heard the news of the prosperous battle which the Romans had fought, but Ammander replying small triumph in his own his own hand, crevied on the Conful a small supply of other forces: and as he marched toward Gomphus, he surprized forthwith and forced a town named Plata, situated between Gomphus and the straits that divide the Sees from Athamanis. From thence he advanced before Gomphus, and assailed the town, which was defended right valiantly, for certain days: but after that he had erected scaling ladders against it, he took the townmen within, for very year to yield and render all to his \n
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B hands. The surrender of this City terrified the Thebians exceeding; y in such sort, that the Citizens of Argeta, Phleum, Thelaum, Lida, Tham, Simon, and Lampessum, one after another submitted themselves, with other pieces thereof of small importance.

While the Athamanians and Etrians (secured from all danger of the Macedonians) made spoil and raised again to themselves by the victory of others: whilst Thessaly was pillaged and sacked by three armies at once, and knew not their friends from their foes, nor whom to trust the Conful palled over into the country of Epirus, by the way of the straits which he had opened and made大切 by reason that the enemies were fled. And albeit he knew full well which way all the Etrios in general went, and with whom they had sided. Excepting only the Timion and Locrus, yet because he saw them not only carefully to make amends and satisfaction, but also willing and forward to do whatsoever he commanded, he esteemed and regarded them by their present state, more than by their demoral plight, and to by sweeping himself inclined to mercy and ease to pardon a fault, he won their hearts, and gained them him to the for the time to come. After this he dispatched messengers to Locrus, to will that the hark and ships of burden should put into the gulf of Aembracia, whilst himself travelled by easy journeys; and the fourth day after pitched his tent upon the hill: Cereus: and thither he sent for Ammander to repair with his aids, not for any need he had of his forces, so much as of his guidance to direct him in his journeys for Thessaly. Most of the Epirios also, for the same intent were received, who voluntarily offered their help and assistance. The first City that he afforded in Thessaly was Phaleria, wherein there lay a garrison of two thousand Macedonians. Who at first held out and resisted most manfully, and as much as each arm or the walls were able to do, defended themselves. But the affrt & battery continuing incessantly both night and day, overcame at length the constant and resolute jaw of the Macedonians. And who the Conful made this resounding. That upon this point depended the hearts and dispositions of all the other Thessaliens: if the first should not able to subdue the violence and force of the Romans, Phaleria was no sooner won, but there came Embassadors from Metopota and Perea to render up their Cities into his hands, who raved pardon and obtained it. Phaleria was burnt and laded. From thence he set forward to Epirus, but seeing the place defensible with any small garrison and in manner impregnable, he bestowed some small force of his upon the next cap de guart, and turned his army toward the country against Gomphus, and from whence he marched down into the Plains of Thessaly, and set up his camp. And he was left as an army, was disturbed of all necessaries, for that he had forborne to make spoil in the territories of the Etrians, after he had sent out espials, to discover whether the hands above said were a riced at. Lacho or Epirus, he sent out his companies one after another to Aembracia, to procure corn and victuals. The way between Gomphus and Aembracia, as it is mountainous and hard to passage, so again, it is but short and very comprehensible. So that within few days he had transported certain conscripts of victuals from the port of Gomphus, where the camp was stored with plenty of all provision. From thence he palled to Rhages, a town at ten miles distant from Larissa, The city and country of which were defended from Perylia, and the City itself seated upon the river Peneus. The Thebians were nothing afraid at the first coming of the Romans. As for Philip, like as he durst not him self in person march forward into Thessaly, to have taken a place within Tempe, and even as he could find opportunity and advantage, sent underhand succour and relief thither accordingly.

Much about the same time that the Conful first encamped against Philip in the straits of Epirus, L. Quintras also, the Conful his brother, who by commision from the Senat had the charge of the fleet and the government of all sea-coasts, failed beyond Corcyra with two Gallesse of five banks of oars: and hearing that the navy was departed from thence, seeing also there was no staying there, he made sail after space, and having overtaken them at the ile Zima he di miffed Apfins in a whole place he succeeded: from thence he went fair & foilly hailing after him the most part of the ships which he followed with the provision of victuals, until he came to M. A. From thence, when he had given order, that the rest should make as good speed as possibly they could alter him, he went with three Quinqueremes lightly appointed, and arrived before at Pyramus, where he received the other ships that L. Apfins the Lieutenant had left there for the guard and defence of Aetolias.

At the same time there were two Armadoes set out of Asia, the one conducted by King Antialus, confining of four and twenty fail of Quinqueremes; the other were of Rhodians, and stock of twenty corvet ships with decks and hatches, commanded by Agesilomas the Admiral. These
The two and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

These fleets joyning together about the [Island] Andros, crossed the narrow seas from thence to [Island] Euboea. And first they foraged the territory of the Caryatians: afterwards seeing Carthage strong enough against them by reason of agarrison lent to them in all haste from Chalcedon, they approach-ed to [Island] Etruria, L. Quinctius having intelligence that King Attalus was come, repaired thither also with those vessels which had been at Pyrrhus, and gave commandment, that as many ships as arri ved thither belonging to his fleet, should bend their course for Euboea. Now was Etruria by all forcible means allured, for not only the vessels of those joynt navies had brought thither all forts of engines and artillery devised to shake and batter: the walls of Cities, but also the fields and country hard by, yielded them plenty of timber, and other matter to make new. The towns-men from the very first day shewed no valour and courage in defending their walls: and afterwards when they were wearied, and some of them hurt, and saw withall a part of their wall overthrown by the ordnance and engines of the enemy, enclin'd to yield: but they had amongst them a garrison of Macedonians, whom they feared no leas than the Romans. Moreover, Philoctet a Captain under the King sent messengers unto them from Chalcedon, affuring them, that if they could hold out still and endure the siege, he would in good time be with them, and bring relief. Thence hope and fear together constrained them to drive off longer than either they were willing or well able to do. But when they heard once that Philoctet had a regale by the way, and in great haste and fear was retired and fled to Chalcedon again, then immediately they sent their Embassadors unto Attalus, to crave pardon and protection. Whiles they were wholly bent to seek peace (whereof they had some hope) and forelacked the affairs of war-service, opposing their corpore guard on that side only of the wall where the breaches were, and neglecting all besides, behold, Quintinius in the night-leafon gave a camillasso in that quarter which was least suspected, and with scaling-ladders won the town. The whole multitude of the inhabitants fled with their wives and children into the Cattle, whic also afterwards was rendred up. As for money, gold, and silver, there was no great store to speak of: but Images, and painted tables of antique work, artificially wrought, and such like ornament, there were more found, than for the proportion of the bignes, of other wealth besides, of such a City as that was. From thence they sent two regale again for Carthage, where the whole multitude, before the enemies were put on land, having abandoned the City, were fled into their forterefs: from whence they sent their Orators unto the Roman General, humbly craving their mercifull protection. The towns-men presently had their lives and libertie granted them. But the Macedonians were put to their ransom, and they compounded to pay three hundred sil-L everefettus apace, and to give up their armour and weapons, and lo to depart: With this sum of money having redeemed them selves they were set out disarmed into Bithynia. These forces at sea having in few days gained two noble and renowned Cities in Euboea, called about Sestium, a promontory or cape within the territory of Attica, and arrived before Cenebora, a town of mer-chandise and traffic belonging to the Corinhians.

The Conful all this while had a longer and more dangerous piece of service in the siege (of Rhages) than all men looked for. And the enemies within made resistance, where he would have leATURE hid all suspected. For he suppoeted verity that all the trouble and difficulty would be in battre-ting down the wall, & making some breach. For this he thought that it he had once opened way for his armed loundiers to enter into the town, the enemies afterwards would either flee or be bestrafed as it fialfe on commonly in Cities when they are forced. Howbeit, when part of the wall by the battery of the Ramayl flat on, and the enemies were get over at the breaches & ruins there of; then began their labour and pains anew, as if they had had no trouble not to afor. For the Macedonians in garrison, who were many in number, and those approved and selecte loundiers, thinking how honourable a service it would be to defend the City by valour and dint of sword, rather than by the strength of walls had ranged themselves in a batteriwell strongly marshalled into many ranks and files close together: and when they perceived the Romans were mounting o-ver the breaches to enter the City, they repelled and beat them back in that place of great disad-vantage, where they had much ado to recover and retire themselves. The Cof, hereat was much dis-pleased, and vexed himself: and making this account, that such a foul foil and disgrace was not only an example of a longer tract of time, before he could force that one City; but also material and important for the main progress and proceeding of the whole war, which commonly de-pended upon the occurrences of light matters and of small moment in the beginning: after he had rid and cleansed the place which was chock'd up with the ruins of the half-broken wallying there upon hamps, he raised a tower or frame of timber of a huge height to overtop the walls, confiding of many stories and floors one over another, which contained and carried a mighty number of armed men, and drove the same upon wheels and rollers close to the wall. Moreover he sent out certain enjings one after another by turns, to break through by force (if it were possible) that strong and close barraiion of the Macedonians (which they themselves call Phalanx). But the place being go freight (for that the breach of the wall was nothing broad) the enemies had the vantage both in regard of the weapons which they used, and of the form of battle wherein they were ranged. For when the Macedonians standing close one to ano-ther with continued roof or fence of targets over their heads, opposed their pikes before them which were of an exceeding length: the Romans neither with their darts could hurt them al fir, nor with their swords drawn come near them to fight close at hand, or cut their pikes in two: and if it chance that they whipt off or shape any alander, yet the steel and truncheon there-
thereof being sharp still at the point (headles though it were) among the other pikes that were headed, served to make a fence as it were an hay or palisado. Over and besides that part of the wall that, solid whole and sound still, was a true defence unto both the fronts of the enemies: neither had the Romans any room at length to return, and from thence to letch their beir, and to give a violent charge which is the thing, that usually breaks and disconcerts ranks. Moreover, there chance one thing by mere fortune that encouraged them within a sensor as the tower before said was in driving over a terrace or bank whereof the floor was not flat and soundly hardened with the rammer, one of the wheels happened to sink in and make a deep rong in the ground, whereby the whole frame, nodded to forward that the enemies without thought verily it was ready to fall, and the armoured fouldiers standing upon it within masked for fear, and were put well near besides their wits.

Thus when nothing that was provided might avail and come to any great effect, the Conful was vast at the heart, and rose him elbo over mixed in fouldiers, in armours, and in manner of service and with all he had that he had not to force the City and to win it in any short time, nor could make means to pass the winter in those parts far from sea, and left naked already and wale by those calamities that follow wars. Whereupon he raised the siege: and because there was to have in all the trial and coast of Acarnania and Aetolia, which was able both to serve and harbour all his ships that brought victory to his army, and also to yield winter lodging for his legions, he thought upon the Illyria Aetiae within the country of Phocis, which lying toward the gulph of Corinth, seemed to him most fit and commodious to his purpose; because they should not remove far from Teffalon, and the territories belonging to the enemies having besides Illyria a front over which against them, divided by a small arm of the sea: at their back Aetolia and Acrania and of each side Locri and Batha. At the first assault, the Conful without any relation won Panoplia in Phocis. Aetiae, likewise long endured not the siege. Then Ambrose and Haemulus were received by cold position, Darius by reason that it was situated upon a high hill which neither could be scaled nor forced by instruments and engines of battery. But the Romans by lancings their darts and shooting arrows against them that were in guard, trained them forth to skirmish: and alter some light rushings to no effect, whilst one while they seemed off, and other whilsts to pursue, they brought them to be to caelest to neg leg and to let escape, that when the enemies fled back within the gate, they entered perilous with the people to be Masters of the town. Other small forts likewise of Phocis yielded rather for less than any force offered unto them. Elseis kept their gates shut and made a counterenemey, that under that were driven thenceunto, they would receive within their walls neither Roman captain nor any.

While the Conful lay at the siege before Aetolia, there was presented unto him the hope of a greater matter, namely of withdrawing the nation of the Abbe from the Kings alliance to the enemy of the Romans. For they had expelled and banished Cybeleus the chief of that faction that sided with Philip and Aristopenes who intended the Romans and sought to be confedered with them was Pastor for the time.

Now the Romans agreed together with Aetolis and the Rhodians, rode at anchor in the haven of Thessalon, and they all were agreed in common to assail Corinth. But the Conful thought good, before that they should make that designment in action to send Embassadors to the State of Abbea, promising them that they would send him from the King and turn to them to deliver Corinth into their hands. By the same a league into the ancient league and council of their nation, and to by the same of the Conful, there were Embassadors sent to the Abbea from his brother L. Quinctius, from Aetolis, the Rhodians and the Athenians, and at that very day there was a Council and Embassadors held for to give them audience. Now the Athenians were not all one mind and alike affected. The Athenians (a dangerous and continual enemy of theirs) put them in fear of a conspiracy: the Romans they had in dread and honour of another. To the Macedonians they were obliged and bound by many good turns and favours, as well old as new. The X. himself they held in jealousy for his cruelty and treachery: and calling a proof and confinour by those couples which he then took and by his practices for the time they foreknew that after the war ended he would be inolerable and a very tyrant over them. They were besides not only ignorant, what every man had laid in the several counsels of every particular State, and in the general Diers of the whole nation, when they were required to declare their opinions; but also uncertain and unversed among themselves in their own minds what to will or wish. Unto men thus doubtful did express and undeceived, the Embassadors above said were admitted, and senee was given them to declare their message. For the Roman Embassadors L. Calpurnius, after him, thole that were for King Abbea, and in the third place, the Rhodians spoke and made discours: and consequently, the Embassadors of Philip were permitted to part. The Athenians had audience given them of all, and were referred of purpose to confute whatsoever she should be spoken and alleged by the Macedonians. And these Athenians in eigne made sharp and bitterly against the King: none had received either: more wrongs, or suffered the like indignities at his hands as they had. So this assembly verily for that time, by reason that the day was spent in hearing the continued orations of so many Embassadors) broke up about luncheon. The morrow after the Embassadors again: where the Magistrates by the voice of the Beadle or pulpite crier, after the return of the Greeks gave liberty to every person to deliver his mind, and no man stepped forth. Great silence there was, and not a word among them for a long time, looking

whitely
with one upon another who should begin first. And no marvell if they whose spirits were affo-
nied in some parts within them, when they of their own accord cast and tossed in their minds
things so different and contrary, were now more troubled and perplexed by those orations besides
that had lasted all the long day, broaching, uttering, and advising many matters so hard, so difficult,
and unpleasant unto them. At length, because the Council should not be dissolv'd without some
speech and part, Aristides the Prætor of the Achæans began to speak, and said: What is be-

ome (my Matters of Achæa) of those hearts of yours and courageous Romans, whereby at all
your seats and in your private meetings (when talk is muffled of Philip and the Romans) you
cannot hold your hands, but are ready to fly one in another's face? And now, when this
honourable Con. of Parliament is published & held for the same purpose only, when we have
heard the reasons & allegations of the Embassadors of all parts; when the Magistrates propos'd
the matter to be debated in council; when the publick crier calleth you to give your opinions, ye
are mum and mute? If the regard of the common good and welfare of us all, will not cause you
to open your lips; cannot the private respects & affections which have entwined and
carried your minds to the one side or the other, fetch out a word from any of your mouths?
Considering especially, that no man is so gross and blockish, who can be ignorant that now is
the very time or never for each one to say and deliver his mind as he will himself, and as he think-
eth best, before we resolve and determine of any course: and when a decree or act is once pas-
sed that all men are bound (even they themselves that before disliked it) to defend and main-
tain the same, as a good and profitable accord. This admonition of the Prætor was so far short
of drawing any one of them to utter his opinion, that it cau'd not so much as the least noise of
humming in so frequent an auditory and congregation of so many States together. Then Aristides
the Prætor began again and followed his speech in this manner, It seemeth (my Matters
and friends of Achæa, here assembled) that ye are not so much to feck for counsel and advice,
but ye are as short of your tongues and loath to speak. And every one here is unwilling to pro-
vide for their general good; for fear least he should in any particular peril, My fellowlikewise
peers endure would be silent and hold my peace if I were a private person: But now being Præ-
tor, I speak thus much. That either there should have no audience at all been given unto the Em-
badgers of Achæa, that they ought not to be lent away from hence without an answer: and an-
swer then, how can I without your ordination? now seeing that there is none of you all, who
have been summoned hitheer to this Council, that either will or dare say a word to the caucis: L
let us examine throughly and consider well in your opinions, those speeces which ye-
said yesterday were pronounc'd by the Embassadors; let us (I say) re-view them, as if they had not de-
manded those things which concerned their own good and commodity, but as though they pro-
posed such points as they esteemed profitable and expedient for us all. The Romans, the Rhodi-
ans and King Achæus require our alliance and amity: and in that war which they wage against
Philip they think it reason to be aid'd from us, Philip again putreth us in mind of our society
with him and of our oath. One while he requireth us to stand and band with him: otherwhiles,
he saith he will be content that we should sit still, and meddle neither one way nor other. Is
there no man here knoweth the reason, why they that are not yet our allies demand and crave
more than he that is our ally already? It is neither the modesty of Philip, nor the impudence of M
the Romans that is the cause hereof. The ports and haven-towns they be of Achæa, which mi-
mister confidence and assurance to those demanders, and take away the fame from them again.
From Philip we fee nothing but only, an Embassador. The sea-forces of the Romans and their
fleet, ride in the harbours of Euboea: they carry all sort of them in the spoiles of the Cities in
Euboea. The Conul himself with his land-army of the legions we see disjoynd from us by a
small arm, only of the sea ranging at their pleasure all over Phocis and Laris. Marvell now long-
er if you can, why Cleomedon the Embassador of Philip demanded erewhile so coldly and diffi-
cidely, that we should take arms for the King against the Romans; who, if we by vertue of the
same league and oath, wherewith he seem'd to charge us in confidence, required of him again,
that Philip should defend us both from Nabis and the Lacedaemonians, and also from the Ro-
manians; would be to seek not only of a garrisson and power of armed men to shild us, but like-
wise of a very answer to shape us. And verily he would be no more ready to satisfy us, than
Philip was himself the last year; who notwithstanding he frankly promis'd to levy war against
Nabis & thereby affi'd to train and draw the flower of our youth from hence into Euboea, af-
ter that he was alone; that if we ourselves agreed to lend him that power, nor yet were willing to en-
tangle our selves to be intercel'd in the Roman war, forgot soon, that society that now he ta-
deth and vanteth so much of, and left us to the mercy and devotion of Nabis and the Laced-
aemonians, to be spoil'd pilfer'd, and wafted at their pleasures. And surely, so much as I can con-
ceive of Cleomedon his Oration me thinks it hangeth not well together, and one peace thereof for
to be yet another. He seemeth to speak of the Roman war contemptuously, as if it were a
matter of nothing; sayling the event & issue thereof to be like the former, which they main-
tained with Philip. How is it then, that he keepeth himself away, and in his absence demandeth
'out help rather than with his personal presence protecteth us both from Nabis & the Romans?
Us, I say, his ancient allies? But what speak I of us? Why hath our suffereth them so to force and
win Etruria and Corsica? Why endured he, that so many Cities of Thessaly should be lost?
Now could he abide Laris and Phocis to be over-run so as they are? And Ellis now at this day

Negropont.
day so fraughtfully beleaguered, and hocty affaitied? Why quit he the heights of Epirus, and aban-
doned those impregnable holds upon the River Arsus, by forces neither of his own accord, or 
howsoever, and when he had forgone and detested himself of that life, which he held, why re-
tired he into the inland parts of his realm for safety? If warning of his own accord he 
abandoned so many of his allies, and left them to be iopiled and dishonored by the enemy, what 
can he alledge or say for himself, why those allies aforesaid may not rise for themselves the 
belt they can? If for fear, let him pardon us likewise if we bearrayed, that we were vauntified 
by force of armes, and therefore retir'd back, shall we, good Cleon: so remain and endure the 
army of the Gauls, and their mighty armies, against whom Macedonians were not able to 
stand? Or, would you have us to believe you, that bear us in hand, henceforth a Roman was not at 
B present, either with greater numbers of stronger forces than the Aquileto, 
rather than trust our own eyes, and that which daily we recieve out of receipt, but we do 
that they encoucrd the Aeolians with their navy, and warred neither men nor ships, nor with 
the army of a Conul, The maritime Cities of the confederates of This, were also 
and turned: but all the mediteraneen parts within the continent, were by the 
from the Roman forces, that Philip iopiled and forragcd the Aeolians in pofturing and seaing 
for help of the Romans, but all in vain, but now at this day the Romans having flighted the 
Carthaginian war, which for fifteen years space they supported in the very heart and bowels of 
Italy, have not sent a garrison to succour and maintain the Aeolians in their wars, but are come 
themselves, as leaders and commanders General, and by Land and Sea at once have warred up-
C on Macedon. And this is the third Conul of theirs, who at this present maintained mortal 
war upon it, to the uttermost of his power, Selinus hath encountered the King in the midst 
of Macedon, hidden him battell, did omittcd and put him to flight, after he had laid waft and de-
fot the wealthiest quarter of all his Kingdom. Quintius lately hath driven him out of camp 
and field, not withstanding he were posseffcd of the freights avemies of Epirus, and bare himself 
boltly and confidently upon the natural intuation of the ground,of his strong defences, and force 
of a complete army: and having purfued him as he fled into Thessaly, hath taken the garrison 
Towns of the King, and in manner within his own sight, won by mere force his confederate Citi-
ties. Suppose and say, that all those things which the Athenians erewhile have alledged con-
cerning the cruelty, the avarice, and unbridled lust of the King, be not true, but supposcd han-
ders: that admit that those enormities and wicked parts committed within the Attick land, against 
D the Gods of Heaven above, of the infernal spirts beneath, touch not us at all, and are much lefs 
pertinent, than those outrages which the Elxantas and the Abydens,so far remote from us, have 
endured. Forget we our felves, if ye will, the hurts, the wounds, and loffes that we have recei-
vved, the murders the pillage and ridding of the goods of Messen in the midst of 
Likewise, how his friend and holf Gritterus at Cyparissus, was killed against all Law of God and 
man, even in a manner fittting at the board with meat in his mouth. Say we nothing also of 
Attalus the father and fon both Sicylonians, who were cruelly maffacrd and yet he was wont to 
call the filthy and wicked old man, Father. Also forbear us to speak of the sons wife, who was 
carried away into Macedon, to make her his harlot and combinate to abufe her at his plea-
fire. Let other rapes of virgin, forcings of honorable dames be forgotten: let us imagine that 
we have nothing to do, nor to meddle with Philip for fear of whole cruelty ye were all so mute, 
and could not open our mouth, For what other cause of silence had ye, being called hither to 
this counsell? Let us put the case, that we were to debate the matter with Antigonus, that motl 
mild and just Prince, at whom gracious hands we have received so many favours and pleasures 
above all others Kings: would he demand, think ye, that we should do that whi. posibly then 
could not be done? Peloponnesus is a deann Island, joined to the firm continent and main land, by 
the narrow Strait or Bank of Ithamns, lying open and exposer to nothing more than to Seas 
forces. If one hundred covert and decked ships with hatches and fifty lighter vessels which are 
open together, with thirty Britangers or foils of fife, should come to pill and spoil our coasts, 
and begin and afflict our Towns and Cities that lie open upon the River even on the very strand 
and Seabanks; should we retire our felves, think ye, into our Cities within the Land? Why? 
what else? As though we were not already allisterd and plagued with interine war, which flic-
eketh even within our ribs and bowels? When Nabis and the Lacedemonians by land, the Ro-
man navy by Sea shall lie upon us, to do us all annoy, how should I call upon the Kings society, 
or for the help of the Macedonians? Or shall we of our felves, by our own strength and means 
date our Cities which shall be aflafted, against the puifance and power of the Romans? For in 
the former war we bravely defended (did we not?) the City of Dyme. We have examples 
ough of the fevere calamities and loffes of others, that we need not to make our felves examples 
unto others. Take heed (I bedefee you) how you fet light and disdain that the Romans have 
over theirown motive offered their friendship and alliace, which indeed ye were to wish for, 
and seek all that ever ye could. It is for very fear (no doubt) that they are driven, being in a 
strange land to flie unto you for your alliance, because they would gladly throuth themselves un-
der the shadow of your wings, be harboured within your havens, and inflaued by your vicinal 
and provision. No, no, Lords, they are first of the feas who can deny it? there is not a land they 
set foot into, but immediately it is their own and in subjection unto them, whatsoever they leem 
to requet, they can command if they lift, And because they are willing to spare and forbear you, 
therefor
therefore it is that they suffer you not to enter into any action that might be cause of your ruin or overthrow. For whereas Cleomenes erewhile deemed to throw and lay before you a mean and indifferent course and that fortooth, which should be the fadest way that you could take, name-ly, to enter into no arms at all, to fit fill and sleep in awhile from that, I lay, is no middle way, nor (to speak truth,) any way at all. For besides this, that ye must either accept or refuse the alli-
ance with the Romans, what else will become of us, but to be a prey unto the conqueror, having
loft the grace and favour both of the one and the other? As men that like neuters, expecting the
issue of the war-frame our demigods and counsels to the blind direction of fortune, Wel, once
again I lay, take heed thou think not fcom of that which with all your heart you should with &
pray for, only for that it is tendered and presented unto you. And never think, that because to
day you have the choice both in your own hands, therefore ye shall ever have the same liber-
ty hereafter. Occasions & opportunities are not always the same, neither do they continue long.
All this whiles have ye had a desire to have and free your selves from Philip, but evermore by
wishes & prayers in secret hearts, rather than by taking arms in open hand. Now there are those
which with great armies & armadoes have paffed the seas, who without your pain and peril are
ready to deliver you from his hands. These men, ye reject and refuse for your allies, ye are not
well in your wits, & have them you must either your allies or your enemies, there is no remedy.

After this Oration the Preator, there arose a muttering and noise in the assembly, whiles some
approved and gave assent unto that which he said, others rebuked in chamber, while those that ac-
corded. Intomuch, as they jangled not one with another in particular, but the very States there
assembled were at variance, & this debate between the Magistrates of the whole nation K
(whom they call Demagogi, and ten they are in number) was as hotly maintained, as among the
multitude. Five of them said, they would propose unto the people, and debate with them in
counsel about accepting the alliance of the people of Rome, and put it to voices. The other five
protested, that this was directly against a law, in that case prohibited, for bidding expressly that no
Magistrates should either propose or determine in any Diet, prejudicial to the society and league
with Philip. Thus was this day also spent in debating and wrangling, and nothing done.
There remained one day yet of a full Diet and Council, for by law they were to conclude and de-
termine somewhat within three days at the farthest. Against that time, the parties were so hotly
bent one against the other, that the fathers could hardly forbear to offer violence to their very
children. There was one Rhysaphis of Peller, who had a son named Memnon, and he was a De-

L

mago, who took part and sided with them that would not permit the matter to be put to ques-
tion, and determined by a scrutiny of voices. This Rhysaphis having instantly a long time importuned
his son, and besought him to suffer the Achæans to provide for their well public, and not by his
peevish forwardness undo the state of the whole nation: when he saw once that all his prayers
prevailed nothing, he swore a great oath that he would kill him with his own hands and not take
him for his son, but for an errant enemy. By which his menaces, he gained such much in the end,
that content he was the next day to join with them that put the matter to question: who now being
more in number than the other made a report and proposed the cause to the assembly: and when
all the States in manner there met, and lined therein, and approved thereof, as they owed
openly what they would ordain; the Dymanes, Megapolitans, and certain Argives, before the
decree was enacted, rose up all at once, and departed out of the assembly, and no man either
wondered at it, or blamed them for it. As for the Megapolitans, no longer ago than when their
great fires days, at what time as they were expelled out of their country by the Macedonians K, An-
tigonus had restored them again. The Dymanes being but lately taken prisoners, and ravished by
the Roman army, Philip having given order, that they should be redeemed wherefoever they were
in slavery and bondage, he not only set free, but also replenished in their own country. The Argives
left, of all, besides that they are of a settled opinion and belief that the Macedonian Kings are de-
cended from them, were for the most part linked unto Philip in the right and regard of private hos-

tility, and familiarship. In these respects, they went out of that assembly which inclined to the
contract of alliance with the Romans, and were held excused for this departure; being thus
obliged unto Philip the averse part by great favours and benefits, ye, and those newly received
at his hands, all the other States of the Achæans, when they were demanded their opinions, with-
out delay confirmed by their immediate decree, the society with Alcetas and the Rhodians: but
the league with the people of Rome, because it could not be ratified and established without the
Act of the people, was referred and put off until the time that Embassadors might be sent unto
Rome. But for the present it was thought good that three Embassadors should be addrest unto
L. Quintius, and that all the forces of the Achæans should march toward Corinth, for that Quintius
having won the port of Cenobrea, was already at the siege and assault of that City.

The Achæans encamped themselves over against that gate that openeth toward Siquione: the
Romans lay against that part of the City which looketh toward Cenobrea, and Alcetas having led
his army through the narrow street of Thybuns, affailed them of Lechans side, which is an haven
of the other Sea. At the first they made no hot assaill, hoping that there would be some mutiny
between the Towns-men and the Kings garrison. But perceiving they were all of one mind and
resolution, and that both the Macedonians defended the City, as their own native country:
and also the Corinthians were content to be at the full command and direction of Androbonus
the Captain of the garrison, as well as if he had been their fellow-citizen, and lawfully chosen by their
A their own election and suffrages: then the affillants had no other hope but in the violent force of arms and engines. And of all sides they had raised banks and mures, and were come close to the walls, although with hard access thereto. Now had the Ram, from that quarter where the Romans lay, beaten down a good part of the wall. To which breach, because it lay naked without defence, all the Macedonians ran to guard and defend it by strength of arms: where there was a cruel fight between them and the Romans. At the first the Romans were soon repulsed by means of the great numbers of defendants: but after the succours of the Achæi and Aetolus came unto them, they received them with equal valor: neither doubted they but to be able with ease to drive the Macedonians and the Greeks from their standings, and force them to retreat. But there were within the Town a multitude of Italian fugitives resented and fled from the Romans: part of them, a residue left of Aetolus his army: who having transgressed the laws, forfear of punishment were fled from the Romans, and took part with Philip: part also were mariners and seafaring men, who, for hope of more honorable entertainment and service, had abandoned their ships, and were gotten into the City of Corinth. These fellows had all hope of life, if the Romans had not should have the better hand, armed more like mad men than hardy and audacious foillours. Now there is over-against Sicyone a promontory of Iuno which they call the Cape of Acres, and it runneth into the Sea: from whence the passage over to Corinth is a cut almost of seven miles. Thither Philoctes, a Captain also under King Philip, had conducted through Pythias 1500 foillours: and certain Brigands of Corinth were there ready to embark that supply of aid, and to transport to them to Loc. At this time Aetolus advised to let on the engines and fabrics that they had made, and presently to give over the siege. Quimius persisted yet more obstinately in his enterprise began. But he also seeing the Kings guards ranged and quartered at every gate, and that they should have to fully out their violence would hardly be restrained, was of the same mind with Aetolus. So without effecting anything, the Achæans were dismissed, and the ret returned to their ships, Aetolus to Parnassus, the Romans to Coeryra.

During this service by Sea, etc., the (other) Coniol who lay in camp before Elasa in Phocis, first assailed to gain the City by conference and party with the principal citizens thereof: but after answer made, that it lay not in their hands, and that they who were for the King, went out and the Townsmen both in number and strength: then at one from all parts he gave an assault unto the City both by fire of arms, and also by engines of artillery. The Ram was bent against the walls, and as much thereof beaten down with a minute crash and fearful noise, as stood between the Towers: whereupon the town was dismayed, and laid naked and withal a Cohorte of Roman soldiers entered at the open breach; and so from at once the defendants abandoned their guards, and ran to that place that thus was despoiled by the enemy. And at one instant the Romans advanced themselves over the breach, and let up scalingadders against the wall which was standing, and whiles the enemies were armed wholly, and had their eyes only upon that one place where the onslung was, the wall in many parts was railed, and armed soldiers mounted into the City. At which sudden tumult and alarm, the armed men having quit the place which they guarded with a thick troop fled all into the castle for fear and the unarmed and naked multitude followed after. Thus the Coniol was master of the City: which being ransacked, he went unto the Castle certain meleesens, promising life to a many of the Kings garrison as would depart away without arms, and offering liberty to the Elasians: and after security given hereof, within few days the Castle also was rended into his hands. Moreover, by the arrival of Philoctes (a commander for the King) in Aetolus, not Corinth was delivered from siege, but the City also of the Argives, was by certain of their principal rulers betrayed unto Philoctes, who before had founded and solicited the minds and affections of the common people. There was a tumult in this City that upon the first day of their general assemblies, the Preitor should in token of good luck pronounce the names of Juno, Apollo, and Hercules: and afterwards ordained it was besides by a law, that the name of Philip should make up the fourth. Now after the alliance accorded between them and the Romans it hapned that the beadle or publick cryer left out the name of Philip: whereat the multitude first began to matter and grumble: then arose a loud cry of those that put him in mind to name the King, willing him to give him his honor due by law: until at last his name was also pronounced with great applause and consent. Upon the confidence and assurance of this favour, Philoctes was sent for who by night seated upon an hill that commandeth the City, which commonly is called the fort of Lur Pilis: and having put a garrison thereon the next morning betimes he advanced forward with banner displied, and came down toward the common place lying under the厉害s aforesaid: where there encountered him a band of armed men well appointed in order of battall. These were the garrison of the Achaian lately there placed to the number of 5000 elect men chosen forth of all the States of Achaia: and one Euclides as a Dyman was their commander. Unto him Philoctes (one of the Kings Captains aforesaid) addrest a special messenger to persuade and exhort him to quit the City: giving him to understand, That he and his Company were not able to match the Townsmen alone: who caried the same mind that the Macedonians had done: much less then should they stand out when the Macedonians were joined unto them: the Macedonians (1152) whom the very Romans themselves could not sustain at Corinth. At first he did no good either with lesser or foillours: yea, and when within a while they beheld the Argives also marching armed against them with great troop from another part, and saw present death before their eyes, yet it seemed they would have put it to the hazard of a conflict, and
and fought to the last man, in case their Captain would have stuck to it, and not relented. But
Eufidemus for fear left together with the City, the flour of all the youth of Acharn should perish,
capitalized with Philades, that they might be compelled to depart and go their way: but himself
kept his ground still in his armour, with some few of his followers and valets, and removed not a
foot. Then Philades sent out unto him, to demand, What he meant thereby? Unto whom he
gave no other words, but holding forth his shield before him made answer, That armed as he
was he would live and die in the guard and defence of that City which was committed to his
charge. Then by the commandment of the Captains, the Thracians lanced their darts and shot at
him; and both he and the company about him were slain every one. Thus after the accord
of alliance between the Achaean and Romans, two most noble and famous Cities (Argi and Cor-
rinch) came under the subjection of the King. These were the acts achieved by the Romans as
well by land as Sea this summer.

In France there was no exploit performed worth remembrance by Sext. Aelius the Consul, not-
withstanding he had under his government two entire armies: the one that he retained still
with him, which by order he should have discharged, and was the fame that had before been com-
manded by L. Cornelius the Pro-consul, and now by him was committed to the charge of C. Aelius:
the other, that he brought himself with him into the Province. So that he employed the whole
year almost in compelling the men of Cremona and Placentia to return into their Colonies, from
whence by sundry casualties of war they were chased and dispersed, As France that year was in
quiet beyond all hope and expectation, so about the City of Rome there had like to have been a
commotion and tumult of bondslaves. The Carthaginian hostages were in guard and kept at
Setia, where they had attending about them (as meet was for the children of the chief Nobles
and Princes of Carthage) a mighty train and retinue of servants. The number of them was the
greater by occasion of the late African war: during which time and presently after, the Setins also
themselves had bought up many of that nation which were taken captives, and came in port-fee
with the reil of the prizes. Thesel having conspired together, sent out certain of their own com-
pany to solicitate also the other slaves that were in the territory of Setia, and so forth, as many as
they could find about Norba and Circeti. Their plot was, that when all things were provided a
forehand, they should upon the very day of the solemn games and plays (which shortly were to
be exhibited and set forth in Setia) take the opportunity of the time, when as the people were
busy in beholding the spectacle and showed represented unto their eye, and to run upon them:
and when they had by massacre in this sudden hurriedly possessed themselves of Setia, then to go
forward and surprize Norba and Circeti. This horrible compot and conspiracy was detected, and
information given at Rome to L. Cornelius Merula Pretor at that time of the City. For two bond-
slaves early in a morning before day, presented themselves unto him, and opened from point to
point in order, namely, what had been contrived and done, and what remained yet to do. The
Pretor having taken order for their safe custody at home within his own house, called the Senate
together; where, after he had recounted and declared unto them what these informers had re-
vealed, he was commanded to go abroad to search out and repres this conspiracy. Forth he
matched with five Lieutenants of the camp, and look how many he could meet with in his way
all over the fields, villages, and hamlets, he tended unto them a military oath, and constrained
them to arm and follow him. Thus in this hasty manner of levy, he armed well near 2000, and
with them all together (who knew not whither he meant to go, nor to what piece of service he
led them) to Setia he came. At his first entrance, he suddenly in great haste apprehended the principal
heads of the conspiracy: whereupon the slaves fled out of the Town. Then were sent out
certain into the fields, to trace and to find them out by their tracks. In this business there were
two bondslaves and one free man that performed singular good service. Unto him the LL. of the
Senate gave order that there should be paid 100000 Allies in bras coin: but unto the slaves 25000
and their freedom. For the redemption of whom, their masters were contented their full price out
of the Chamber of the City. Not long after, it was reported that the remnant of this conspiracy
purposed to surprize Fraccia. Thither marched L. Cornelius the Pretor of the City, where he exe-
cuted about 300 persons who were found guilty. The City was in great fear to see how the hol-
gests and captives of the Carthaginians prefixed such troubles. Therefore in Rome a standing
watch was kept in every street: and the inferior Magistrates were charged to see to it and to walk
the street, and the Tribunals likewise (for three Sheriffs) to have a better eye and look to the
Quarry-prison. The Pretor also directed his letters into all quarters of the Latin nation to this
effect, That all the hostages should be kept within doors, and not suffer to go abroad into the
streets: That all captives and prisoners should have gives about their heels of pound weight at
least, and be kept in no other ward but in the common goal.
The same year came Embassadors from King Attalus, who prefented in the Capitol a golden
Crown of 246 pound weight, with great thanksgiving unto the Senate, that King Antiochus in
regard of the authority and countenance of the Roman Embassadors, had withdrawn his forces
out of the confines of Attalus. The same number two hundred men of arms, ten Elephants, and
200000 Modii of wheat sent from King Mysamia, arrived at the camp in Greece. Likewise out
of Sicily and Sardinia, there was sent great store of victual and livery for the army. In Sicily
M. Marcellus was Governor, and in Sardinia M. Porcius Cato, an upright man and living
without touch and reproach, lave only he was thought somewhat too severe in refraining of
ultery.
The two and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

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Six Proconsuls being returned to Rome out of France in regard of the general assembly for election of Magistrates, created Conflus on, Cornelius Cæcilius and Q. Qeminius Rupas. And two days after, the election was held for Proconsuls. This year first were chosen six Proconsuls. Thereupon the number of Provinces increased; and the Roman Empire and Seignory extended farther. And there were, to wit, L. Manilius Volo, Cn. Sempronius Tidiantus, M. Sergius Sicius, M. Helvius, M. Munius Rufus, and L. Aelius. Of these, Sempronius and Helvius were Electors of the Commons; Q. Minucius Thurinus and T. Sempronius Longus Ediles of the chair. The Roman games this year were four times renewed. Cn. Cornelius and Q. Qeminius being Conflus,

above all things went in hand with the Province of Conflus and Proconsuls; and first they disputed the matter that concerned the Proconsuls (a matter that might be decided by calling lots.) To Sergius fell the jurisdiction of the City, and to Minucius the herculean, or strangers. Aelius was appointed to Cæcilius, M. Munius to Sicily. Sempronius to that part of Spain between Italy and Tunis; and Helvius into the other beyond the River.

When the Proconsuls were upon the point to call lots likewise for their provinces: namely, Italy and Macedon, L. Oppius, and Q. Fulvius Tribunes of the Commons, interposed themselves and aided them, alledgeing: 'That Macedonia was a province lying far off, and there was no one thing that had more empowered and hindered the proceeding of wars to that day than this, that in to remove part, the Consul ever of the former year was called home before he were led in his affairs, and when he should be employed most in wars. Now have there four years already gone over our heads, i.e. we desired and continued to follow the Macedonian war; during which time, Sulpicius spent the greatest part of his year in seeking after the King and his army; Fulvius, when he should encounter the enemy, was called away before he had liked any exploit.' For Quintus, he was kept at Rome still for the most part of the year, in attendance, because the King and his, and the affairs of war under his conduct were managed so well, that either he had gone sooner into his province, or the winter had been later, he might have dispatched the wars; and now, that he is ready to retire into his standing camp and wintering, the republic is, that he hath brought the war to that good pace and forwardress that we see he be not hindered by a new successor, in all likelyhood and appearance, he will make a final end thereof this next summer.

With these specers they prevailed so much, that the Conflus for their part promised to be ordered and let down by the Senate on this behalf, upon condition, that the Tribunes would be content to do the like. Now when of both sides, they had referred themselves to a free and absolute consultation the LL. of the Senate assigned to both the Conflus the government of Italy, and continued the command of the army fell with Q. Minucius, until there came another to succeed him. Two legions were appointed for the Conflus, with commission to war upon the Greeks between Rome and the Alps, who had revolted from the people of Rome. And for Quintus ordained it was, that there should be sent into Macedonia into him, a new supply of 5000 foot, 300 horse, and 3000 seadivers and mariners. And likewise, that the same L. Quintus Flaminius should be Admiral of the navy, as before. For the Proconsuls who were to go into Spain, there was an allowance of 8000 footmen out of the allies of the Latin nation, and 400 horse men, so that they diffimil the old footmen out of Spain; and enjoined they were to limit and let out the bounds of their several provinces, whereas the higher Spain and the lower should part. And for Macedonia there were two Lieutenant-masters for the army appointed, to wit, P. Sulpisius and P. Villius, who had been Conflus both, and in that province.

Before that either Conflus or Proconsuls went out into their provinces, it was thought good to take order for the prodigious tokens which happened. For at Rome the Temple of Vesta and S. Quiri at Fregilla the wall and a gate of the City, were broken with lightning. At Praeneste it appeared light (as it had been clear day) in the night thatason. At Asculum a Lamb was seeing hanging two heads and five feet. Also at Forma two wolves entered into the Town, and worried some that were in their way. Last of all, at Rome there was a wolf, that not only came into the City, but went forward as far as to the Capitol.

C. Aelius a Tribune of the Commons proposed a law, that there should be five Colonies conducted to the sea side and there plantee: two at the mouth of the Rivers Tiberina and Litterina, one at Praestia, another in the Burrough Town of Salapia, and to make the rest, * Luccenium was adjoined to the rest. Into every Colony order was taken, that there should be thirty hundred men. The three Commissaries, called Triumphs, for the conducting of these Colonies were created: namely, M. Sexilicus Gemmian, Q. Minucius Thurinus and T. Sempronius Longus, * Scaean. These three had commission to continue in the charge of this office three years. After the manner, and all other matters accomplished, pertaining to God and man that were by the Conflus to be performed, then they let forth both into their provinces. Conflus took his way directly against the Insulians, who accompanied with the Cenomani, were entered at that time into arms: Q. Minucius in his journey bare on the left hand of Italy toward the nearer sea; and conducting his army to Gemina, begin with the Ligurians to make war. C. Fiscinum and Lutobadii, Towns both of the Ligurians, likewise two States of the fame nation, the Celcusi and the Cerdicats succeduced unto him: innumerable as all the country on this side the Po, were in insubordination to the

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Romans,
Romans, except the Boians among the Gauls, and the Illustri among the Ligurians. By report H there were fifteen Towns containing twenty thousand men, which yielded unto them. From thence he led the legions into the territory of the Boians. The army of the Boians had passed over the Po a little before, and joined with the Insubrians and Cannons: for hearing that the Confuls would war jointly with both their forces, they intended likewise to make themselves more strong, by uniting and bringing their power together. But the truth being blown abroad, that once of the Confuls invaded and fired the country of the Boians, presently there were arumal. For the Boians demanded, that they all in general would help them in their diffirtles. The Insubrians refused and laid, That they would not abandon their own confines: by which occasion they distanced. The Boians went to the defence of their own country, and the Insubrians with the Cannons, fat them down upon the banks of the River Aunius. Five miles beneath that place, the Conful I Cornelius also encamped himself near the said River: from whence he sent certain messengers all about the villages, and to Brixia, the head City of that nation: and being advertised sufficiently that the youth was up in arms, without the warrant and content of their ancients; and that the Cannons joined not with the Insubrians in their rebellion by virtue of public counsel and authority: he sent for the principal persons among them, and began to labour and deal with them, that the Cannons would forsake the Insubrians, and openly with their ensigns advanced, either to return into their own country, or turn to the Romans. This they could not bring them to: howbeit they assur'd the Conful, that in the field they would either fit full and do nothing else, if any good opportunity was presented unto them, they would aid the Romans. The Insubrians knew nothing of this complicity: and yet, some doubt and suspicion they had, that their allies halted, and were not K found of all hours: and therefore when there was occasion to lead forth to fight a field, they durst not trust them with either of the two wings and points of the battle, for fear if they retreated like fable brethren, they should hazard the main chance: but placed them behind the ensigns in the rearguard. The Conful in the beginning of the battle vowed a Temple to Jesus Spathius, in case he discomfited the enemies that day, and put them to the rout. The footsoldiers set up a shout, and cried aloud that they would bring it to pass that the Conful should have his desire, and therewith charged the enemy right fiercely. The Insubrians could not abide the first shock. Some write, that in the very conflict the Cannons also suddenly let upon their back, whereby they were distressed, and in danger both before and behind; and that there were slain enclosed in the mids five and thirty thousand of the enemies, and seven hundred taken prisoners, and among them Amilcar the General of L the Carthaginians, who was the cause of this war: also that there were a hundred and thirty ensigns carried away, and of chariots above two hundred. All the Towns that followed this revolt, yielded to the Romans.

Aunius the Conful, at the beginning made excursions into the country of the Boians, walling and spoiling it all over; but afterwards when they had forstaken the Insubrians, and were retired home to defend and save their own, he kept himself within camp, making full account to trie a last battle with the enemy. Neither would the Boians for their part have been behind, but ready to have answered them, had not the rumor of the Insubrians overthrow, daunted and broken their hearts. Wherupon they forsook their leader, quit the camp, and betowered themselves in the Towns and Villages to guard every man his own, and quite altered the course of their enemy his M war, and put him besides his account. For the Conful put all hope now to determine the quarrel in one ranged battle, began again to forrage the fields, burn all buildings, and force Towns by assault. Much about the same time Cladius was set on fire. And from thence the legions were conducted against the Insubrians among the Ligurians, who only flew out and would not come in, and yielded obedience. Which nation like wise hearing that the Insubrians were defeated in a battle, and that the Boians were so feared, that they durst not venture the fortune of a field, submitted themselves. At the same time the letters of the Conuls, containing their happy affairs in France, were brought to Rome. Cladius the Praetor of the City first read them in the Senate, and after wards by the advice of the Senators, rehearsed them in a full audience and assembly of the people. And a procession was decreed for the space of four days.

Now was winter come, and whilst T. Quininius after the winning of Elatea, attended his armies in divers harbors within Pius and Locres, there arose a mutiny in Opus. The one faction sent for the Aetolians their near neighbours to side with them; and the other for the Romans. The Aetolians came first, but the mightier faction would not suffer them to enter in: for having dispatched a messenger to the Roman General, they held the Town until his coming. The Kings garrison kept the fortresses, neither could they be brought to a sanction either with the menaces of the O-puntians, or the authority and countenance of the Roman commander. The only let and stay why it was not immediately assailed was this: Because there was come an herald from the King, requiring time and place of a parle, which with much ado was granted to the King: not because Quininius of him self was not defirous and wished that he might be thought to have ended this war, O by force of arms or conditions of peace; for as yet he knew not whether one of the new Conuls should be sent to succeed him, or his government continued full unto him (according as he had given his friends and kinsfolk in charge to bring that about by all the endeavours and means that he could make;) but he supposed verily, that this parling would be to good purpose for him, if it might be in his liberty to drive matters unto war if he stayed full, or draw to a peace if he departed home. So upon the Brand and shore of the gulf Maera, they chose a place near unto Nysa, Thither
A Thither came the King by water from Demetrios with five brigantins or pinnaces, and one ship of war with a brace beak-head. There accompanied him the chief I. of Macedonia, and Cyclades a noble personage of great mark among the Achæans, and one that was thence banished. With the Roman General were King Aminander, Dionysodorus an Embassador of King Attalus, and Aegeomnnes Admiral of the Rhodian fleet. Phanes the chief and principal Magistrate of the Achæans, and two Achæans Aristobulus and Xenophon. The Roman General in the mids of the e, advanced himself forward to the edge of the very shore, even to the bank side, whiles the King came forward to the beforedeck of his ship standing at anchor : and thus he began and said unto the King: "Sir, you may do better to come ashore that we may commune and confer together close, and both speak and hear one another more easily. The King refrained to do so: and why? quoth

B "Quintus, who is it that you fear? a man may know? Then with a hasty spirit and kindlike: If

C feart none (quent he) but the immortal Gods: but I mistrust not the fidelity of all that I see here ab:

count you, and, namely, the Achæans least of all other. Why (quoth Quintus again) this is the

crime of all them that come to play with enemies; namely, to be in danger one of ano-

other. Yeansly, quoth the King, but by your leave Quintus, the price and recompence of tre-

chery and falsehood (if it should come to that) is not all one for killing Philip and Phanes: for

the Achæans should not find it so hard a matter to substitute another Pretor, as the Macedonians

to create another King in my room. This said, there was not a word more to the point: while
the Roman General thought it reason that he should begin who fought for a pæle; and the King
supposed it meet that it was his part to speak first who should give conditions, and not for him
that stood at receipt, and was to accept thereof. Then Quintus began and said, that his speech
should be plain and simple: for he would say no more, but propose only those points which if it
might not be performed, there would be no peace upon any condition at all. First, that the King
must withdraw his garrisons out of all the Cities of Greece, Item, that he is to deliver up all the
prisoners and fugitives revoluted that he hath, unto the allies of the people of Rome, Item, That he re-
ture to against the Romans all his fort pieces in Abydus, which after the peace concluded in Epistus,
he had seized upon. Last of all, that he surrender unto Ptolemaeus King of Egypt, all those Cities
which he poissessed himself of after the death of Ptolemaeus Philopator. These (faith he) are the con-
ditions, that I and the people of Rome do demand: but meet it besides, that you hear the de-

mands also of the allies. Then the Emassador or agent for King Attalus required, that the ships
captives which had been taken in the Sea-fight before Chius, should be rendered and that Nica-
ceropolis and the Temple of Venus, which he had pillaged and spoilt, should be restored as good
and entire, as they were before. After him, the Rhodians made claim to Pera (a country in the
continent right over-against their Isle, and an ancient appurtenance of their Seignory) and demand-
ded within, that the garrisons should quit Isatis, Bargon, and the City of the Eunomians, and
about Hellespontus, likewise the Cities of Selinus and Abidos. Item, that Panopolis should be re-

stowed unto the Bizanzians, with the ancient charter of their franchises and liberties. Finally, that all
the Merchant Towns and Ports in Asia might be freed from paying customs. Then came upon
him the Achæi, and challenged Corinbas and Argos as their own. After them, when as Phanes
the Pretor of the Achæans) had demanded in a manner the same that the Romans had before;

E namely, that the Kings forces should depart out of Greece, adding moreover, that those Cities
should be rendred unto the Achæans which in times past belonged to their dominion and juridicit
then one of the heads of the Achæans named Alexander, an eloquent man among them, as any
other, presently interred and said, "That he had long time often seen, and opened not his
mouth, not because he thought that in all this conference they would grow to any point or con-
clusion, but for that he would not interrupt any of their allies in their speech. And as for Philip,
quoth he, he dealt not soundly and bom-fide in treaties of peace, no more than ever herebefore
he had managed his wars with verite and true value. For in all these parleys and conferences
he layed trains, and liet to catch advantages: in war he never triketh a battral in plain field,

not come to clothe fight hand to hand, but in his routes and fights, burneth and lacketh Ci-
pies: and thus being himself vanquished,spoilet and makes havoc of that which by right is

due reward and recompence of conquerors. But the noble Macedonian Kings in old-time,
took no such courtesies. Their manner was to fight it out in open field, and to fare Cities and

Towns, all that ever possibily they could; to the end that their dominion might be more wrestly
and perilous. For what kind of policy is it, for him to ruinate and destroy utterly that, about the
pollition whereof he is in question, and relieve nothing for himself but only war? This Philip
the year past hath laid before in Thessale more Cities of his allies there, than all the enemies
have done that ever Thessale had; and hath taken more from the Achæans themselves, while he
was a confederate and friend with them, than all the time that he was their professed enemy. He

hath jeazed upon Xemodamus, expelled their Pretor, and chased out the garrision of the Achæans.

C/u/e afo, a City under his own injustice he hath raised, subdued and quite destroyed. By en-

ablefull falsehood and deceit he is poissessed of * Thebes in Phthia, Echnuns, Lariqas, and Vberonas.

Philip netted and galled at these words of Alexander, commanded that his ship should approach
nearer to the bank, to the end that himself might be better heard. And as he began to frame bitter
involves against the Achæans principally, Phanes cut him off,Isaying, That the quarrel was not
to be decided by word, but with the sword: and either he must win it by mere force, or yield
obedience to the mightier. That is true, quoth Philip, and to evident, that a blind man may see it;

 najle. For difficli-

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Tolhas in Egypt and other places.
The text seems to be a page from Livy's history. It discusses various events and individuals, mentioning kings, assemblies, and different states. The text is fragmented, with some words or phrases difficult to decipher due to the style and structure. The text contains historical references and narrative elements, typical of Livy's works.
A to his mind, or else would come off and suffer himself to be persuaded and over-ruled by them. The place of meeting was appointed upon the strand near Tharsis: and thither they repaired on both parts betimes. There Philip first and foremost, befought both Quintus and all those that were present, not to disturb the hope of peace, but that it might come to some effects: and in conclusion, craved time wherein he might send his Embassadors unto the Senate of Rome: assuring them, that if he could not obtain peace under those articles aforesaid, he would accept of any other conditions, which it should please the Senate to put upon him. All the rest thought he did suppose that he ought for nothing else but delays and tract of time, whiles he might gather his forces together. But Quintus interfered again, That well it might be to and at truth indeed that they alledged, if it were summer time and a season fit for war and mortal exploits: but now, considering winter was at hand, they could lose nothing by granting him respite to address an embassage.

For neither (as he) will any capillimation and composition which we should make with Philip stand good and firm without the approbation of the Senate, and in this one winter (when of necessity we must first ease from war) it may be known what the Senate by their authority will approve. To this advice the chief of the confederates acceded, and therein refuted. So there was a cessation of arms for two months granted: in which mean time it was thought good, that each of them likewise should dispatch one Embassador to advertise the Senate, to take heed they were not over-rush'd by the solicitude and strain of the King. But provided it was in the covenant of the truce aforesaid, That incontinently the Kings garrisons should void the territories of Phocis and Locris. Quintus also himself sent (together with the Embassadors of the allies) to Amissus, King C. of the Athenians; and to make the embassage more honourable, Q. Fabius (his own wives filters) for Q. Fabius and P. Claudius accompanied the King.

When they were arrived at Rome, the Embassadors of the allies had audience given them before those that were sent from King Philip. Most of their speeches were spent in railing against the King; but in this one point they most of all moved the Senate to give ear unto them, namely, when they described by demonstration (as in a map) the situation of those countries as well by land as sea, that all men might plainly see, that if the King might hold in his hands the City Demetrius in Thessaly, Chalcis in Euboea, and Corinth in Achaea, Greece could not possibly be at liberty, considering that Philip himself was wont to term them (no less than tauntingly) The shackles and fetters of Greece. After them were the Kings Embassadors permitted to enter into the Senat-house: and having begun to make a long Oration, their speech was cut off with this one brief and short interrogatory, Whether Philip would quit those three Cities aforesaid, or no? Whereunto they made this answer, That they had no express warrant in their comminution touching that matter by name. So the Kings Embassadors were sent away without conclusion of any peace: and Quintus had full authority to determine of war or peace at his pleasure. Who seeing plainly by this, that the Senate was not weary of war, and being himself more desirous of victory than peace, he would never after grant Philip any more parleys, but gave him to understand, that he would admit no other embassage from him, but that which should bring him news of his departure quite out of Greece.

Philip seeing no other way now but that he must needs fight and trie the issue by a main battle, and that he was to gather his forces together from all parts, being perplexed most of all for the Cities of Achaea (a country far remote from him) and yet more careful in regard of Argi than Corinth; he thought it best policy to make it over (as it were upon guilt) into the hands of Nabis the tyrant of the Lacedemonians, upon condition, That if he obtained the victory, Nabis should deliver it up unto him again: but if it ought should come to him but well then Nabis himself to have and hold it as his own, unto Philip, Governor of Corinth and Argi, he dispatched his letters, That he should himself in person commune with the tyrant above-named about it. Pholetes, besides that he came now with a present, added moreover of his own head (for the better assurance and pawn of amity between the tyrant and the King) That Philip would give his daughters in marriage to Nabis his sons. The tyrant refused at the first to accept of that City, unless he were sent for, by a decree of the Argives themselves to come for to aid the City. But afterwards when he heard say, That in a frequent assembly there, they not only rejected him, but also detested and abhorred the very name of a tyrant, as an execrable abomination: supposing now that he had a good occasion and quarrel offered to make a spoil of them, he willed Pholetes to deliver the City unto him when he would. So the tyrant was received into the Town in the night, without the privy and knowledge of any person: and by break of day he feit upon all the higher places. The gates were shut, and few of the principal heads in the beginning of the tumult made shift to escape. Those that were absent had their houses ranstaked and their goods pillaged: as many as were present, had all their gold and silver taken from them: besides, great sums of money were impofed upon them to be paid. They that made speed and were not long about it, but tendered ready coin, were let go without any outrage or hurt done unto their bodies: but such as were suspected either to hide or keep ought back, were mangled and tortured like bondslaves. After this, he assembled the people together and published two Laws: the one, for crofting all debt-books and cancelling obligations: the other, for division of Lands among the people by the poll: two fire-brands to serve their turn that look for change and alteration in a State: enough to set on fire the Commons against the Nobles and chief of a City.
When the City of Argos was thus brought in subjection under Nabis, the tyrant never remembering all his hands, nor upon what condition he had received it, sent ambassadors to Livius unto Quinius, like-wise to Aesclom: warning them that Argos was in his hands and in his devotion; and if Quinius would repair thither to partake with him, it doubted not but they two should agree well enough in every point. Quinius granted to come thither to the end, that by this means he might distract Philip of that garrison: and he sent likewise to Aesclom, willing him that he would depart from Argos and meet him at Sicyon: himself loosed from Antiochia, and with ten Galleyes called Quinquetermes; which (as hap was) L. Quinius his brother some days before had put to sea out of the wintring harbor of Corinth, creole over to Sicyon. Now was Aesclom there already, who making remonstrance unto Quinius, that he became a tyrant to come unto a Roman General and not a Roman General to go unto a tyrant, induced Quinius to condescend unto his opinion, and not to enter the City of Argos. Not far from the City there is a place called Mycenae, where they agreed to meet and commune together. Quinius came to the place, accompanied with his brother and certain Colonels. Aesclom was guarded with his Princely and Royal train, Neostratus the Precor of the Acharians repaired thither, attended with some few auxiliary foot-soldiers, and there they found the tyrant expecting their coming with all his forces. And armed as he was, with his guards likewise armed he advanced himself into the midst (well neer) of the plain that lay between, Quinius unarmed came forward with his brother and two Colonels. King Aesclom like-wise between the Precor of the Acharians on the one hand, and a chiefe of his on the other, both unarmed. The tyrant began the speach with an excuse, that being in arms and attended with a guard of armed men, he presented himself to a partie seeing the General of the Romans and King Aesclom unarmed: and said that he did not in fear of them but of certain exiled persons of the Argives. After this, when they came to treat of touching the conditions and covenants for the contract of amity, Quinius the General demanded two things the one. That Nabis would make an end of warring with the Achaes on the other. That he would send with him certain aids against Philip. And wisely to lend in our grant; and in lieu of peace he was content there should be a truce, until the war with Philip was dispatched. Also about Arges King Attalus to enter into some question saying, That having the City tres-horribly betrayed unto him, by Philip, he now held it by force of arms but he answered again, That he was sent for by the Argives themselves to protect them. Then the King required that the Argives might be assembled together, that he might know the truth. The tyrant made no denial therefore. The King replied again that the Argives should be free, and at their liberty to speak, and to effect the garrisons yet to be removed out of the City, and no Lacedemonians intermeddling among them, that he would make them speak their minds, but the tyrant flatly denied to withdraw from them the guards: whereupon the Argives fell into so great a passion, to no conclusion, and the conference brake up after that the tyrant had given the Roman General 60000 Deniers, and a truce made for the term of four months, between Neostratus the Precor of the Acharians, and Nabis the tyrant of the Laedemonians. From hence Quinius departed to Corinth and approached the gate with a Regiment of Cretians, that it might appear to Philetas the King. Captain there that the tyrant was revolted from Philip. Philetas also entered into a partie with the Roman General and when he was exhorted by him to depart out of hand and yield the City, he returned such an answer unto him that he deemed rather to defer, than to deny the thing. From Corinth Quinius crossed the Sea to Antiochia, from whence he sent his brother to found the nation of the Achaesians. And Aesclom departed directly from Argos to Sicyon. Where the City not only exalted the ancient honours of the King, with the addition of new, but also the King over and besides that he had purchased for them in time past the great land of Apollo, with a great sum of money, be sure he would not learn now also to pass by this friend. City allied unto him, without some royal bounty and munificence, he gave freely unto them and tenants of silver, and 30000 Medimmin of corn: and so returned to his ships at Cenebra. Nabis also having strengthened the garrison in Argos, returned to Lacedemon: and after himself had loosed the men of their mony and goods he sent his wife thither to do the like by the women. Who ending for the honourable & N. worshipful dames of the City inviting them one by one to their house, and otherwheres many together at once such as were of kin one to another, by flattering and by threatening got from them not only all the gold that they had, but in the end stript off their apparel also, and all the jewels and ornaments that they wore.

The three and thirtieth Book
Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the three and thirtieth Book.
The three and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

A conful having forced Lemos the head City of Acaarnia, received the *Acaarnians* upon their submission and surrender. C. Sempronius Tudicinus the Pretor was slain, and his army defeated by the Celtiberians. Atallus being fallen suddenly sick, was removed from Thebes to Pergamus, and there departed this life. Peace was granted to Philip upon his surety, and liberty restored to Greece, L. Furius and C. Claudius Marcellus, the two Conuls, finished the Boeotians and Thracesians in Gaul. Marcellus triumphed. Annual being prattled in Altrock to raise war, but to no effect, was therapeuton acceded unto the Romans, by letter sent from the principal of the adverse faction: but for fear of the Romans, who had dispatched their Embassadors to the Carthaginians seats about him, he fled unto Antochius King of Syria, who also prepared then to make war upon the Romans.

B. The beginning is not extant in the Latin.

adjoining in those quarters to Acaarnia. There was a freight paid or gullet there, half a mile aloft in length, but not half a mile in breadth: at the end of this freight standeth the City Lemos planted against an hill that turneth to the East, and looketh toward Acaarnia. The baie Town is built upon a plain reaching along the sea that divideth Lencanas from Acaarnia. Whereupon the City, as well on the land side, as by sea, is easy to be forced. For the foords of the water reseem a standing lake rather than a sea, and the whole soil is a light earth, running east and west to be wrought into. So that in many places on one the walls either undermined or shaken with the rain, came tumbling down. But as the Town it fell was insufficient, so the hearts of the Townsmen were inflamed. For night and day they gave not over, to repair the cracks of the shaken walls, to fill up the open breaches and ruins to make head inutility, and skirmish with the enemy, and rather to defend the walls by force of arms, than to save themselves by strength of their walls. And Jurely a longer siege they would have made of it than the Romans hoped but that certain banished perions, Italians born, dwelling in Lemos let in and received armed solderiers on the Castile side. Howbeit the Lencadians embattel'd themselves in their market place, encountered them as they ran down from the higher ground with a great cry and noise, and maintained battle with them for a long time. In this mean while, the walls in diverse places were scale'd with ladders, and the enemies mounting over the heaps of stones that lay at the breaches, entered the Town. And now by this time the Lieutenants in person, with many companies environed them as they sought some thin in the midst, others shun'd away their weapons, and yeelded to the conqueror. After few days, upon the news of the field fought at Cynocephale, all the States of Acaarnia came in, and submitted themselves to the Lictor.

At the same time, whiles fortune turn'd thus about, and bare down a side all at once, the Rhodians also sent out Paonfratius their Pretor with 300 footmen of Achæans about 1900 soldieris well armed, gathered out of all sorts of auxiliaries, to regain and reconquest from Philip the country of Peræas, lying in the main and firm land, which had been holden sometime, and possesse'd by their ancenours. And these soldieris were compounded and mixed of French, Nufeas, Puteus, Thaïans, and Areas of Affrikos, and Laodiacanes of Asia. With these forces Paonfratius encamp'd in the territory of Stratonicea, and there he seiz'd of a commodious place, and very good for his purpose, as unwares to the Kings company that had holden the same. Thither came 3000 and to aid them in very great numbers, a Regiment of 1000 foot and 100 horse of Achæans, levied for that purpose, and were commanded by Theoxenus, Democrates a captain under the King, willing to recover the said hold again, first pitch'd his tent hard against the enemies' camp. But afterwards he removed to another fort in the territory like wise of Stratonicea, which they call Affragon: and having rais'd together all the garrisons, did stirr up divers places, and lent for the auxiliary bands all of Thessalius, even from Stratonicea, he took his way and march'd toward Alabard, where the enemies were. The Rhodians like wise for their part were ready for battle, and after they were encamp'd of both sides near together immediately they entred into the field to fight it out. Dimosthenes placed in the right point 500 Macedonians, and the Agrians he put in the left, in the main battalions, he belterow'd all tho' that he had gather'd together out of the garrisons belonging to the forts above said, who for the most part were Carians, the points he flank'd round about with his cors of Horse. The Rhodian cohort was march'd in this manner: The auxiliaries of the Candiots and Phocians kept the right point, the hired soldiers (and they were a power of elect soldiers) stood in the left, in the midst were the aidis (a mixture of many nations) the cavalry and all the light armed soldiers that were, compos'd the corners like wings. All that day the two armys stood only upon the bank of a brook which ran between them with a small and shallow water: and after some loose shot discharged, they retir'd into their tents. The next day they were ranged in like order, and struck a battle exceeding the proportion of their number; for on each side there were not above three thousand foot, and upon a hundred horse: but they were even

G matched not in number only and armour, but also in equal courage and hope alike. The Achæi first pitch'd over the laid brook, and charg'd upon the Agrians: afterwards the whole armay ran as one would lay, over the River. The fight continued long doubtful. The Achæi being of themselves in number a thousand, disterd some four hundred of the other, and forced them to retreat, and afterwards the entire right point of the battalions began to shrink and give ground. As for the Macedonians, so long as their battalions called Phalans kept their array and stood close together, could not possibly be miss'd or removed; but after their left side was laid naked, and they began
began to reach out on all hands their long pikes against the enemy, charging them across upon the flanks, they were presently troubled; and first they put themselves in disarray, afterwards they turned their backs, and laid of all flung their weapons from them, and ran away for life; until they were come to Bargis, Thither also was done the war. The Rhodians having followed the chase as long as they had any day to see, retired into their camp. And for certain it is known, if in this train of victory they had presently made speed to Stratonicea, they might have been masters of the Town, and never drawn word for it: but whiles they spent time in recovering the burrough Towns and forts of Peræa, they let this opportunity flip out of their hands, and lost it for ever. For in the mean space, they that lay in garrison and held Stratonicea, were encouraged, and took better heart, done also anon with those forces of his that remained, put himself within the walls. Then was the Tower besieged and assailed, all in vain, neither could it be forced and won but by Antiochus, a certain time after. Thus went the affairs in Thessalon, in Achaia, and in Asia, much about one and the fel%t-name.

Philip being advertised that the Dardanians were entered within the confines of his realm, and bade the whole country of Macedonia, albeit he saw that almost in all parts of the world unhappy fortune still followed and courted both him and his wherefore they were: yet esteeming it more grievous and heavy than death itself to be disfaced of the possession of Macedonia also, he made a levy in great haste out of all his cities of six thousand foot, and 300 horses; with which power of Macedonians, he suddenly surprised the enemy (unprovided and not aware of his coming) about Stobi in Pelagonia. Great numbers of men were slain in conflict, but more in the fields, such as were disbanded, and ranged abroad for greediness of booty and pillage. But as many as could make means to lie more readily and easily away, never fownd out the trial of a battle, but returned home into their country. Having thus put life as it were again into his men by this one expedition and exploit (a matter of no consequence to the total adventure of his whole estate) he retired himself to Thessalonica.

The Punick war was not achieved and brought to an end so happily and in so good a time for the Romans (who otherwife should have wanried at once both against the Carthaginians and Philip) but it tell out as well and in as a season, that Philip was now vanquished; just against the time that Antiochus in Syria prepared to levy war against them. For besides that the service was much more easily managed against them single and apart, than it would have been if they had banded both at once, and brought their forces together, I chance also that Spain about the very same instant brake out into tumultuous insurrection.

Antiochus being returned to Antioch there to winter, after he had the summer before brought under his subjection all the Cities belonging to Ptolemaus, within the country of Coat-Syria, was yet never the more at quiet, and mindful of peace afterwards. For when he had assembled a puissant power both of land and also of sea, made and purposed to employ the whole strength of his realm, he sent afore by land in the beginning of the spring, his two sons Ardaus and Hasdrubal with a mighty army, commanding them to attend him at Sardis: himself in person set forth a Voyage by Sea, with a fleet of a hundred sail of covert ships with decks and hatches, besides two hundred lighter Vessels, as Galions and Brigantins, purposing at one time to assay all the Cities in Cicilia and Caria, coasting along the Sea side; which were within the Dominion of Ptolemaus and withal to aid Philip as well with shipping as soldiers, for as yet Philip was not utterly subdued, nor the war with him brought to a final end. Many brave and worthy expostures enterprised the Rhodians both by Sea and Land, in their loyalty and faithfulness to the Romans, and for the safeguard and defence of all the Greekish Nation. But no one thing shewed their magnificence more than this, that being nothing terrified at that time with such a World of wars threatened against them, they sent Embassadors to the King to let him understand, that if he failed forward and played not his Armado, they would encounter him at the Bay of Nepheus (which is a promontory or Cape of Cicilia, renowned for the ancient league of the Athenians.) And this did they, not upon any hatred they bare to his person, but to impeach him only for coming to join with Philip; whereby to hinder the Romans in their good course of setting Greece at liberty.

At the same time Antiochus was busied in the siege and assault of Coraxenium, against which he had placed all ordnance and engines of battery: for he was already master of the Cities of Iphyrivm, Soloi, Abprimus and Carina, and having doubled the point of a promontory or cape or forland also of Cicilia he had won likewise the City of Selinus. All these, and many other forts of that coast being yielded unto him by composition, either for fear or willingly, without any assault, only Coraxenium that their gates against him, and laid his progress beyond his expectation.

There the Embassadors of the Rhodians had audience. And albeit that embassage was such as might have set a King into a fit of choler and chafed his blood, yet he tempered his anger, and made answer that he would send his Embassadors to Rhodes, and give them in charge to renew the ancient rights and privileges as well of his own as of his ancestors with that City and State, and to will them not to stand in fear of the Kings coming, for that neither they nor any allies of theirs should sustain harm or damage by him. For it was no part of his meaning to infringe and break the amity which he had with the Romans, as it may appear as well by his late embassage sent unto them, as also by the honorable decrees and answers made by the Senat and sent unto him. For it fortuned that even then the Embassadors of King Antiochus were returned from Rome, having had a friendly audience there, and a gracious dispatch, according as the time required:

* Ptolemaus, and Crispina.
* Rhodians, or Rhobal.
* The consul, or Bo-Callalter.
* Torcanians, and Finicia.

* Scandolara.
* S. Thesdera, Cusc, or Charachifera.
* Statemara. or Sibera.
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A quired: for as yet the issue of the war against Philip was uncertain. While the Kings Embassadors delivered their points in the assembly of the Rhodians, there arrived a post with news, that the war was ended by means of a victory achieved by the Romans against Philip at Croesusphate. These tidings being once heard, the Rhodians put all fear now of Philip were of advice to meet Antiochus at sea with their navy. For they had a second care besides which they neglected not, to maintain the liberty of those allied Cities pertaining to King Priam, against which war was menace from Antiochus. Some of them concurred with sending side unto them, and others by fore-cast and giving them warning of the disengagements and enterprizes of their enemies: whereby they were a caution, that the Conatii, Mysics, they of Helicarnassus and Samos enjoyed still their entire freedom. But needless is it for me, to relate all the occurrences and affairs that passed in these parts, considering how little have enough to do, and hardly be able to jet down and go through with those that properly concern the Roman war. At the same time also King Attalus was brought back from Thessalonica, and there departed this world in the sixteenth year of his age; when had reigned forty four. This man was beholden to Fortune for nothing else but riches, that might commend him to the hope of a kingdom. He employed the same with such wisdom and magnificence, that first in his own conceit, and afterwards in the judgment of others, he was not thought unworthy to be a King. Afterwards when he had vanquished in one battell the Gauls; (a nation at that time newly arrived in Asia, and therefore the more dread and terrible) he took upon him to be styled King, and ever after carried a mind answerable to the grandeur and Majesty of that name. His own subjects he governed with singular justice. To his allies he showed himself most fair and faithful. His friends he used with all kindnels and bounty. A wife and four children he had living when himself died; and left his kingdom so fair and well settled, that the possession thereof continued firm to the third digest and generation after him.

Whiles things stood thus in Asia, Greece, and Macedonia, and the war with Philip speedily ended, or at least wise peace not fully concluded, there arose a mighty war in the Province of Spain beyond the river Iberus. M. Hebrons at that time was governor there, who by his letters advertised the Senate, that Cotta and Lufrinius, two Princes in those parts, were gone out, and had taken arms; that with Cotta there banded seventeene towns, and with Lufrinius the strong and pleasant Cities Cordo and Bardo: that the whole sea coast, which hitherto by open rebellion showed not their rebellious hearts, would doubtles upon the commotion of those their neighbours, make like a an intestine particular with them. After these letters were read by M. Sergius the Praetor, who had the jurisdiction between Citizens and aliens, the LL. of the Senate ordained, that after the election of new Praetors was past, he to whole lot the government of Spain fell, should propose unto the Senate in all convenient speed as touching the war in Spain.

About that very time the Conulis repaired to Rome (from their Provinces) who held an assembly of the Senate in the Temple of Bellona: and when they demanded triumph in consideration of their good service, and happy exploits in war achieved: C. Atius Laboe and C. Rufinius, Tribunes of the Commons required, That the Conulis should speak severally by themselves concerning their obtaining triumph: for ifser them they would not joyfully to propound that thing in the house, to the end, that equal and imblamable honour should not be conferred upon persons of unlike quality, worth, and defect. And when Minutihs inferred again and said, That the Province of Italy fell unto them both in one comission, and Cornelius secured him withall averring, That he and his companion in government had managed all their affairs with one mind by common counsel and advice; that the Boians who passed over the river Po against him for to fascour the Julianians and Cenomans, were forced to turn back again to defend their own, by reason that the other Conuli his College made such waile and pillage in their fields and villages. The Tribunes concurred that Cornelius indeed had achieved to worthy exploits in war, that there was no more doubt to be made of his triumph, than of sending praise and thanks to the immortal gods: but neither he nor any other Citizen food ever at any time in such grace, favour, and credit, that having obtained the honour of a triumph for himself, he should impart that glory unto his College and fellow; we were to himselfe as to crave it. As for Q. Minutius (lay they) he made some flight skirmishes with the Ligurians not worth the talking of: many in France he left a good number of his foellards. And with that they named T. Juventius and Cneus the brother of Laboe, two Colounets of Tribunies of the camp, who were slain in an unfortniate battell, with many a brave and hardy man besides, as well Citizens as allies. And to conclude, there were some few towns and villages colourably yielded and rendred up for the time, without any assurance and security. These janglings and debates between the Conulis and the Tribunes continued for two days: but in the end, the Conuli being overcome with the importunity of the Tribunes, were content to propose the matter distinctly by themselves. And with the general voice and accord of all, a triumph was decreed for Q. Cornelius. The Placentins also and men of Cremona, were a great caule that this Conuli found more favours by reason that they gave thanks, and reported on his behalf, that they were delivered by his good means from the siege, yes, and most of them recovered from servitude out of the hands of their enemies. Q. Minutihs having only calt a profit and made an affay of propounding his cause to the Senate, seeing them wholly bandied and set against him, said aloud, That in maintenance of Conultar authority, and by venue of
that place, ye, and according to the good examples of divers noble and renowned personages he would triumph, and ask them no leave, in the mount Albin. But Cn. Cornelius whiles he was still in office triumphed over the Inhabitants and Cenomans. He carried in pomp before him a number of military engravings: he carried great store of French spoil and pillage to part in a pageant upon chariots taken from the enemy. Many Noblemen of France were led in a show before his own triumphal chariot: among whom (as some write) was Amilcar General of the Carthaginians. But above all others, the goodliest light was, a number of Colonizers and inhabitants of Cremona and Piacenza, who with bones or caps of liberty on their heads followed his chariot. He bare in triumph 235,700 Sesterces 7500 Bigats of silver coin, He divided among his horsemens seventy Alies apiece to every horsemans he gave double, and to each Centurion tributae so much. Q. Minnurus likewise triumphed in mount Albion over the Ligurians and the Boians in Gaul. The honoour of this triumph as it was lost, in regard of the place, and of the name that went of his acts, as also because all men knew full well, that the charges were not out of the common Cheif or Cam-

an of the City: 10 for number of engravings, of chariots and spoils gained from the enemies, it was in manner equal, and comparable to the other. And of money he brought well-near as much as Cor- mius: for of bigat coins he had in prey 25,000 Alies, of silver coin in Bigat pieces 53,300. To common soldiers or footmen, to Centurions and horsemans he gave as much as his College. After this triumph there was a general assembly held for the election of Magistrats: wherein were created Conuls, L. Fabius Pauperus, and M. Claudius Marcellus. The next day after these Prators were chosen, Q. Fabius Buteo, T. Sempronius Langus, Q. Minnurus Thamos, M. Acnthus Gabrio, L. Apulius Flbas and C. Laelius.

In the end of that former year, letters came from T. Quinctius with this intelligence, That he had fought in battle, ranged with King Philip within Thracia, where the army of the enemies was defeated and put to rout. Thse letters were first read in the Senate by Sergius the Prator, and then by order from the LL, in the publick assembly of the people. For this happy success, it was ordained. That there should be solemn processions for five days. Shortly after there arrived Embassadors both from T. Quinctius, and also from the King. The Macedonian Embassadors were brought without the City to the place of an ancient called Fulia palatia, where they were appointed their lodging rich presents were given them, and allowed they were the charges for themselves and their train. In the temple of Bello the Senate was assembled, where there passed not many words by reason that the Macedonians promised. That the King should perform whatsoever the L. Senat would let down. So (according to the ancient custom and manner) there were appointed ten Committees or Delegates, by whose advice and counsell T. Quinctius the General, was to present and tender unto Philip, particular and conditions of peace: provided, that in the said number of Delegates, P. Sul panicked and P. Valerius should be comprised by name; who when they were Conuls governed the Province of Macedon. The same day, the Collins demanded and made suit, That the number of their Colonizers or inhabitants might be augmented: whereupon a new order was granted. That there should be a thousand new enrolled to the former: with this proviso, that in this number none of them should be matriculated, who after the Conulship of P. Sul panicked and P. Vembius had been enemies to the people of Rome. The Roman games and plays were that year exhibited as well in the Circus as upon the stage in the Theatre, by the Ediles Curule L. Cornelius Scipio and Cn. M. Manlius Vulso: who, as they were set out with more splendour and magnificence than ever before, so they were beheld with more joy contentment; and pleasure in regard that all things fell out to the advantage in the wars: and they were renewed and represented all three over. As for the plays called Phebe: they were set forth no less than seven times one after another. Acnthus Gabrio and C. Laelius exhibited those pastimes: who allo of their silver that arose of mines and fortiesses, carried three cast images of brais to be made, and erected them to the honour of Ce- res Liber and * Liber.

Now when L. Fabius and M. Claudius Marcellus were entered into their Magistracy, and after question made concerning their Provinces, the Senate passed a decree. That both of them joyfully should govern Italy: they requested that they might call lots for Macedon and Italy together, N. Marcellus more desirous of the town of the Province of Macedon, alleged, that the peace was not found but commiserable, pretended, and deceitfully; and that the King would take arms and war against the army were withdrawn from thence: by which words he put the LL, of the Senat into a deep study and inquiry, what to do or to think of it. And haply the Conuls had obtained their request, but that Q. Marinus Rex, and C. Atinus Labeos, two Tribunes of the Commons, protestated, that they would oppose themselves and crost it by their negative voice, unless they might still propose unto the people to know, Whether their will and pleasure was to entertain peace with King Philip, or no? This bill being preferred and read in the Capitol before the people, was granted, and all the tribes or wards, even five and thirty, every one gave their affirmative voice, Hoi sophas! I.e. So be it as ye demanded.] And to the end, that all men might have more cause to rejoice that peace was confirmed with Macedon, there came heavy news out of Spain: and letters were divulged abroad containing thus much, That C. Sempronius Tuditanus the Vice-Prator in the hither Province of Spain, was vanquished in battle, that his army was dis- confused and put to flight, and divers men of name and mark slain, That Tuditanus himself was car- ried forth of the conflict grievously wounded, and soon after died. The Province of Italy was al- lured for both the Collins with those two legions which the former Collins had in charge, and
A order granted, that they should levy and enroll four new legions, whereof two should be sent whether it pleased the Senate to appoint, And T. Quintius Flamininus was commanded to rule his Province still with the same army, and his Communion of longer government was renewed. After this, the Praetors call for the parting of their Provinces, T. Aulus Fullo obtained the jurisdiction of the Citizens of Rome, and M. Actius Glabrus was Chief Justice between Citizens and forraiers. Q. Fabius Buteo had the government of the baie or farther Spain, and Q. Minucius Thermus of the higher or nearer Spain, T. Licinius Sicilius, and Sardinia to T. Sempronius Longus. And ordained it was, that unto Q. Fabius Buteo, and Q. Minucius, to whom the rule of the Provinces in Spain belongeth, the Consuls should out of those four legions which they had enrolled, deliver one legion special, which they thought good, and of allies and of the Latin nation, four thousand footmen besides, and three hundred horsemen to either of them. And these Praetors were enjoyed to go to their charges with all speed possible.

The war in Spain began afresh, in the fifth after that the former together with the Punick war was ended, but before that these Praetors went forth to this war: (which may be counted as it were now, in regard that the Spaniards now first, and never before, was reviled in their own proper name, without either leader or army of Corinose) and before that the Consuls themselves departed out of the City, order was given, that according to the old custom they should provide for the providions tokens that were reported, L. Julius, as he rode on her back into the Sabinus country, was both himself and his horse dead with lightning. The temple of Ferona in the territory of Capena, was likewise smitten and blasted from heaven. At the Temple of Mars, the iron heads of two spear were sent to burn on a light fire. A Woof expressed to enter into the City at the gate Esquilina and ran through the most populous part thereof as far as unto the market place; and so forward to the Tufican street, and from thence through the Melius, and paffed forth again at the gate Capena untouched; and in manner without taking any harm.

These prodigious signs were purged by the sacrifices of greater beasts. At the same time Cr. Cornelius Lentulus, who had governed the Province of high Spain before T. Quinctius, entered the City by order from the Senate in a kind of triumph, and carried before him in pomp 1515 pound weight of gold: of silver likewise in bullion 2000 pound weight: and in coin 34550 deniers. L. Scribonius from the nearer Spain, brought into the city 5000 pound weight of silver, and never pretended any hope that he had to obtain a triumph. Moreover, of the prizes and spoiles D won from the enemies, hecaused two arches to be erected in the beast market, even before the Temple of Fortune, and the goddesses Minerva and one besides in the grand Cirque or show-place.

And upon these arches he set up gilded Statues. These were all the affairs, to speak of, that passed this winter-feast.

There winterted at that time in Athens Quintus, and among many other letters that came unto him with their petitions, the Boetians exhibited a request, and obtained the fame, to wit, that as many of their nation as had served in the wars under Philip, might be restored and sent home again unto them: which was easily granted by Quinctius, not so much, for that he thought them worthy of that favour, but because he was to win the love and affections of the States in Greece unto the Roman name, now especially that he had some doubt of King Astroclus. They were not delivered to soon, but seen it was, how little the Boetians would be beholding to him for it. For they sent presently unto Philip, and gave him thanks for the rendering of those men, as if they had been delivered by him, and not by Quintius and the Romans. And in their next assembly generally for their solemn election, they chose one Baccilas for their Baccilas, or Lord governour of Baccilas for no other reason, but because he had been the Colonell of those Boetians that bare arms for the King; but they passed by Zeroppas, Piffroensus, and others, that had persuaded to make a league with the Romans, this wrought discontentment in their petitions for the present, and fear for the time to come. For thus they reasoned with themselves, if they would do thus while the Roman army lay encamped near to their gates, what should become of them when the Romans were departed into Italy, and whiles Philip was near at hand to affist those that sided with him, and to annoy those of the adverse part and faction? Therefore they composed and concluded in the end to make away Baccilas the head of the Kings bend, whiles the Roman forces were at hand. And so chusing a convenient and fit opportunity for their purpose, at what time as he returned home ward drunk from a publick solemn feast, accompanied with certain pleasant and effeminate persons who to make sport and mirth had been at that great feast; he was overtarped and beft with fix armed men whereof three were Italians, and three Etilians, and so murdured. His train that attended him ran away, and railed hte and cry, and called for help. Much trouble and hurly-burly there was throughout the City, much running to and fro with torch-light. But they that did the deed were escaped out at the next gate. In the morning betimes the people in great number assembled in the Theatre, being called together by the voice of the common Beadle, as if the murderers had been detected. Openly it was in every mans mouth, that he was killed by his own retinue, even those filthy wanton persons that he had about him: but secretly in their minds they deemed Zeroppas the author of the murder. For the present it was thought good to apprehend them that were in his train, and that they should be examined. Whiles search was made for them, Zeroppas came forth into the assembly, with the like intent to aver all suspicion of crime from himself, saying, that men were much deceived to think that so horrible and strange a murder was committed by such weaklings & persons as they were.
This he argued and discoursed by many likelihoods and probabilities to the same effect; by which he means some were very persuaded, that if himself had been guilty of the fact, he would never have offered and pretended himself in the face of the assembly, or broached any words at all of the murder, especially when no man urged him thereto. Others there were again, who made no doubt but by this impudent fiction, his drift was to prevent an accusation, and to turn away all suspicion from himself. The innocent and guiltless creatures within a while after being examined upon the rack and tortured, knowing what was the general opinion and conceit of men, made their tale for to bolt out and reveal the fact; and so they named Zеноppus and Пiσδραυας for the principals, without any preumption or light given how they should seem to come to the knowledge of anything. Howbeit Zenoppus accompanied with one Στρατονιακι fled by night to Тαμαγα, testing the remorse and prick of his own conscience more than the appealing and in formation of those persons who neither were party nor privy to any thing. But Pisdras making no regard of their accusers, remained still at Θήβαι, Now had Zenoppus one bondslave, (who hand in hand was in all this action, and had been a courier between) whom Pisdras feared that he would betray him, and by that very fear cauht him to open and declare the whole matter. He dispatched therefore his letters unto Zenoppus, advising him to rid that flait from out the way, who was privy to their dealing; advertising him, that in his conceit he was not so meet to conceal the thing now done, as he was a fit instrument at the time to execute the same. The bearer of these letters he straightly charged to deliver them unto Zenoppus immediately with all speed. But he, because he could not spy a convenient time to meet with him himself, gave the letters to the very same slave, whom he supposed to be most fit and truly to his Master: adding moreover, and saying, That they came from Pisdras unto Zenoppus, and imported matter of great consequence. The bond slave promised to deliver them incontinently; but being touched in conscience, he was so bold as to break them open; and when he had read them through, he fled back in great fear to Θήβαι (where he bewrayed Pisdras). Zenoppus troubled in spirit for the flight of his bond man, retired himself to Αθήναι, supposing it a place of more security to live in, as a banished man. As for Pisdras, after he had been divers times examined upon the rack, was put to death in the end. This murder wondrously estranged the Thebans and Βοιωτιοι, and let their hearts against the Romans: insomuch as they hated and detested them to death. Taking great indignation that Zenoppus (a principal and chief personage of their nation) had committed so foul and hainous a fact. To rebel in open terms, they had neither force sufficient to maintain them, nor a principal head to direct and lead them. Whereupon they fell to that which is next cousin to plain war, even to the robbing and pillaging by the high ways side, in each fort, as they surprized as well some soldiers who lodged near unto them, and were their guests, as others that wandered and ranged abroad from the garrisons in winter time, and travelled about their affairs, who otherwheres were caught up by the way, and came short home. Some passengers were killed in the port-rode-waies, by those that lay in wait for them in notorious thievish corners: others were trained and led deceitfully through by-lanes into defect places, there to take up their innes and lodging, and then were murdered. At length they paid these pranks not only of malice unto them but also for greedy desire of booty and spoil, by reason that commonly these waiting men went about their trade and merchandize, and therefore had some charge about them, and carried silver in their belts. Now when as at first there were come out of the way, and every day more than other many men missing, and no man knew what was become of them, all Αρχαῖα began to have an ill name, and the soldiers were more afraid to travel there, than in the enemies country. Then Κοπαῖς sent certain Embassadors to all the Cities for to make complaint of these robberies and enormities. Many footmen there were found dead about the mead or lake * Copais, where their carcases were raked forth of the mud and mire, and drawn out of the standing water, tied and fastned as they were to heavy stones or some great vessels, that by their poise they might be plunged, and sink to the bottom. Many such like outrages were found to have been committed at Αρεσπεδω and Κόρονας, Κυκλάντιοι at the first demanded to have the offenders delivered unto him; and for five hundred soldiers (for so many were caught up by the way and murdered) he enjoined the Βοιωτιοι to make payment of five hundred talents of silver. But the Cities would do neither the one nor the other: only they paid with bare words, and excused themselves in that nothing had been done by publice warrant or counsell from the State. Whereupon the Embassadors were sent to Αθήναι, and into Αχαια, to make protestation unto their allies, that they would pursue the Βοιωτιοι with open war, upon good ground and just cause offered. And so after he had given commandment unto Π. Κλεονις to go unto Αρεσπεδω with one part of his forces, himself with the other set him down about Κόρονας, and placed siege unto it. But first the territory was laid waste, all the way as the two armies marched from Ελαίνα in divers quarters. The Βοιωτιοι plagued with these lofes and calamities, seeing nothing but fear and flight in every place, sent their Embassadors unto him: but when they could not be admitted into the camp, the Αχαιαns and the Αθηναῖοι were so lain to come with them. The Αχαιαns were of greater credit, to entreat in their behalf: for unless they might obtain pardon and peace for the Βοιωτιοι, they determined also to enter into the quarter, and to make war themselves. By whole mediation the Βοιωτιοι had access unto the Roman General, and audience granted. Who after they were enjoined to deliver up the offenders and molefactors to Justice, and to pay thirty talents for amends and satisfaction, obtained peace: and so the siege was raised.
After some few days, the ten Delegates or Committees from Rome, were arrived, by whose advice and counsell peace was artificed and capitulated with King Philip, upon these conditions: *In primis, That all the Greek Cities, as well in Europe as in Asia, should enjoy their liberty, and live under their own laws. Item, That Philip should withdraw his garrisons out of all as many of them as had been in subjection under him. Item, That he do the like by those which were in Asia to wit, Euromus, Pedasos, Brygylus, Iasius, Myrina, Abydus, Thessalonica, and Perinthus, all which the Romans required be left. As concerning the liberty and freedom of the Greeks, it was commanded, That Quintus should write his letters to Prusias, the King of Bithynia, giving him an understanding of the advice and pleasure of the Senate, and the ten Delegates aforesaid, Item, That Philip render all the prisoners and fugitive traitors to the Romans and yield up all the covered ships with Batches: and over and besides, one huge royal Galliace or Argolick, which by reason of the exceeding bigness was unwieldy and of little use, and was directed with sixteen banks of oars on a side, Item, That he should not have above five hundred men in arms, nor one Elephant at all, Item, That he should not war (but by leave and permission of the Senate) without the marches of Macedonia. Item, That he pay unto the people of Rome a thousand talents, the one half in hand, and the other at ten payments, within the term of ten years. Valerius Antias writeth moreover, that there was imposed upon him a tribute of four thousand pound weight of silver yearly, for ten years: and besides, twenty thousand pound weight presently, the same author fath that expressly it was capitulated, that Philip should not war at all with Eumenes the son of Attalus, who was newly come to the crown. For the assurance of these covenants, there were received hostages, and among them Demetrius King Philip his son, Valerius Antias hath written moreover, that the Island of Lecina, and certain Elephants were given in pure gift to Attalus in his absence: and that upon the Rhodians was bestowed Stratonicus, a City in Caria, with other Cities also which Philip had poftified. To conclude, that the Athenians received of free gift their Isles following to wit, Paros, Imbrus, Delos, and Sceira.

When all the States of Greece approved and thought well of this peace, only the Acullians secretly muttered & found fault with this order set down by ten Delegates above aforesaid; giving out, that they were but bare letters and vain words, shadowed with a counterfeit appearance of liberty. For to what end, they should some Cities be delivered to the Romans, and those not named? or others again be named, and yet order taken, that they without delivery should be free? but only for this purpose, that those Cities which are in Asia should be set free, because they bear off and therefore in more safety; but those that are in Greece, being not precisely named, should be seised upon by them to wit, Corinth, Chalcis, and Oreum, with Etruria, and Demetrias. And to this truth, this finding fault of theirs was not altogether frivolous, and without occasion taken: for some doubt there was of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias: because in the order and act of the Senate, by virtue whereof those ten Delegates aforesaid were sent from the City, all other Cities of Asia and of Greece were doubled in plain terms freed: but as touching the three before named, the Delegates had in commission to take order, as they should declare it, and with the good of the Common-wealth, according to their own judgment and discretion, and the truth that was committed unto them. For well they witt that King Antiochus would pass over into Europe, so Efoon it ever he could bring his affairs about to his mind, and unwilling they were on any hand, that these Cities to commodious for his designs, should lie open and ready to his hand for to seize upon at his pleasure. So Quintus together with the ten Delegates failed from Elia into Antioch, and from thence to Corinth, where they held their Council and consulted of their affairs, Quinctus would very often lay unto them, That all Greece might be delivered and set at liberty, if they could restrain the tongues of the Acullians: if they were willing that their good affection should be deemed sincere, and the majority of the Roman name maintained among all; finally, if they would pretend and make it known abroad, that they were passed the less to set Greece free, and not after they had taken off the feignity of Philip to translate it unto themselves. The other again condemned nothing as touching the liberty of those Cities: howbeit, they made remonstrance, that it was the safer course for them, to remain awhile under the protection and safeguard of the Romans than that instead of Philip they should receive Antiochus for their Lord. In conclusion declared it was. That Corinth should be rendered to the Achæans, but yet so, that there should be a Roman garrison in the highest quarter of the City called Aeromantia, Item, That Chalcis and Demetrias should be retained still, untill such time as they were no more in fear and doubt of Antiochus.

Now approached the ordinary solemnity of the Ithmian games, unto which at all times usually there was great recourse of people, as well in regard of the natural disposition of that nation (devisers to see in what sports and pastimes, wherein was represented the trial of maisters in all kind of arts, in all feats either of mere strength, or agility and nimbleness of the body) as also in regard of the commodious feast of the place: whereunto from all parts of Greece they repaired thither by two divers and fainflessfeas. But being amused in expectation to know what the estate of Greeks, and what their own particular condition would be hereafter, divers men not only desired secretly with themselves, but also gave out and whispered in their speech and talk, Well, the Romans were set to behold this solemnity: and the publicke Crier with a trumpeter went forth into the midst of the Cirque or thrw-place, from whence the manner was to proclaim the sports and games aforesaid in a solemn set form of words: and after he had by sound of trumpets...
made silence, he pronounced with a loud voice in this manner, "Be it known unto all men, that the
H "Senat of Rome, and T. Quintius the General of their army, having vanquished King Philip and
"the Macedonians, do ordain, that the Corinthians, the Phocensians, and the Locrenians, be all
"free, and delivereth from all taxes whatsoever, and to live according to their own laws, Item, That
"the Ille Eulaces, the Magneiases, Thesaliaces, Perrhbaniansez, Acheiines, and Phthiotcs do enjoy the
"like freedom and immunity, And consequently he deceased all the nations which had been in
"subjection to Philip. Upon this proclamation of the beard there was such joy, that men were
not able to conceive and comprehend it. Every man could hardly believe that he had heard the
thing which he so wished and desired afores to hear: one looked upon another wondering at the
matter, as if it had been a vain vision or illusion of some dream; and well they trusted not their own
ears in hearing that which particularly concerned every one, but enquired of them that ftood next
unto them. The Crier was called back again: such a desire had each one not only to hear the glad
tidings, but also to behold the happy messenger of this their liberty: and no remedy there was, but
once again he must publish and pronounce the same. Now when their joy was once confirmed,
they let up such a shout, and followed it so with clapping of hands, redoubling the fame (so often,
as evidently it appeared, how there is no earthly good in the world more pleasing and welcome
unto a multitude than is liberty. After this, the games were performed in such haste, that neither
the mind of any man was bent to intend, nor the eye busied to behold the fight thereof; so wholly
had that one joy possessed them and forestalled the fense of all other pleasures and delights. But
when the pageanes were once ended, they all in manner ran apace to the Roman General, in such
fort, that his person was in danger of the multitude, crowding too hard upon him alone, for K
"desire they had to come unto him, to touch his right hand, and to cast garlands of flowers and la-
"belis of fountain colours upon him: but being a man fat upon thence and thirty years of age, both
"the vigour of youth, and also the joy that he took for the accomplishment of so glorious an act,
"afforded him strength enough to abide the pref of the people. This gladness of all men shewed it
"felt not only for the present, but continued also for many days space, entertained not only in
"thankful minds, but expressed also in joyful discourses: namely, "That there was one nation yet in
"the world, which at their proper cost and charges, with their own pain and peril made war for
"the freedom of others: who afforded this favour and pleasure not to the neighbours and bor-
"ders only, but to those that were joyed near to them in the continent and lamb land, but pas-
"fed over the seas to the end, that throughout the whole world there should be no unjust and I
"tyrannical government, but in all places, right, reason, and law, might prevail most and carry
"greatest sway. Lo, how by the only voice of one beard all the Cities of Greece and Asia are let
"free. To conccive and enterprize to great a thing proceedeth from a brave mind and noble heart:
"but to effect the fame is a singular vertue and rare felicity.

This done, Quintius and the ten Delegates gave audience to the embassadors of Kings and
"Princes, Nations and States, And first of all others were the Embassadors of King Antiochus called
"in: who used the same speech in manner that they had at Rome, vantage great words without
"any ground and subsistance of credit. But answcr was returned unto them, not covertly by way of
circumstance as aforetime (when Philip was on foot and things did not doubtfull) but openly in
plain terms. Imprimis, That Antiochus must quit and abandon all the Cities of Asia, which belong-
g at any time either to King Philip or King Peloponnesus, Item, That he meddle not with any tree
City or State, and especially with those of Greece: but above all, warned he was and forbidden,
either to pass over himself, or to send any forces into Europe. After the Kings Embassadors were
"licensed to depart, all the nations and states had a general election and meeting together, which
"was the sooner dispatched, for that in the decrees of the ten Delegates all the Cities and States
were pronounced by name, Unto the Oretians (a people in Macedon) for that they revolted
first from the Kings their own lands and privileges were restored. The Magnesians, the Perrhban-
is and Dolopian were likewise declared free. Unto the people of Thebaid over and above the
grant of their liberty, the Phthiotian Achaeans were annexed, excepting the City of Thebek in
Phthia and Pharsalus. As for the Arelians who required, that according to covenant Pharsalis N
and Leucus should be rended unto them, they were put over unto the Senat. But they awarded
them the Phocenses and Locrenses, with other apperences adjoyned before veritude of the
decree, Corinth, Tebyphia, and Heraea (which also is a City of Peloponnesus) were rended unto the
"Achaens. Moreover, these ten Delegates gave Ooreae and Eretria unto Emonese the son of Atta-
"lus but by reason that Quintius would not agree thereto, the matter was referred over to the Se-
"nat for to be decided: and the Senat granted freedom unto these Cities, together with Corinthus.
"Unto Plestros were freely given Linguas and Parthumus, which were two nations in Illyricum,
and had been both subject to Philip. It was ordained also, that Antiochus should hold thoese
Casteis still, which during the wars he had won from Philip. When the assembly was dissolved,
the ten Delegates having divided between themselves their several charges, departed every man to
O set free the Cities of their particular regions and quarters, P. Lentulus Bagryla, L. Sestius to
Hephaestus, Thessal, and other Cities of Thracia; P. Villius and L. Terentius toward King Antio-
chus; and Ga. Cornelius toward Philip, Unto whom after Cornelius had declared his Commision
concerning some smaller matters, and withall demanded of him, Whether he could with patience
abide to their counsel not only profitable unto himself but also necessary? The King made answer
again and said, That he would not only give him the hearing, but also yield him thanks besides,
The three and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

A in case he would deliver ought unto him for his good. Whereupon he prevailed him earnestly, that forasmuch as he had obtained peace already he should send his Embassadors to Rome to crave league alio and amnesty; to the end, that if Antiochus began to fight, he might not be thought to have attended and waited for some occasions and opportunities to make war. [This conference and communication with Philip was at Tempe in Thessaly.] And when he answered, That he would immediately dispatch his Embassadors Cornelius came to Thebes, where a solemn Diet and assembly of all Greece was wont to be held upon certain fast days, and thither refract great numbers of people, which meeting is called Pylenem: where he advised the Eotolians especially to receive constant and faithful in the amity of the people of Rome. Some of the principal Eotolians seemed to complain between whiles, that the Romans were not so well affected to their nation after victory, as they were in time of the war; but others, more sharply blamed and reproached them, yea, and upbraided them with this, That Philip could not have been vanquished no, nor the Romans ever able so much as to pass over into Greece, without the help of the Eotolians. Cornelius forbade to make answer again to those points, for fear of further wrangling and altercation; and promised, that if they sent to Rome they should obtain anything that was real. Whereupon by his advice and approbation there were decreed Embassadors. This was the issue and end of the war with Philip.

While these affairs thus palled in Greece, Macedonia, and Asia, all the Grecian manner was gone out and riven up in arms by occasion of a conspiracy of bondslaves. For to enquire into their troubles and to repel the fame, there was sent M. Acilius Praetor [who had the civil jurisdiction between Citizens and aliens] with one of the two legions of Roman Citizens. Some of them, who were already assembled together and grown to an head, he overcame in fight; of whom many were slain and many taken prisoners. Others he scourged and round trunfled up, hanging them on gybsters, even as many as were the principal and chief of the conspiracy: and others there were, whom he sent home again to their Masters.

Now the Conuls were gone into their Provinces, Marcellus so soon as he was entered into the marches of the Boians, and had over-wearied his fojourners with marching all day long, fate him down upon a certain rising of a hill, and there as he was encamping himself and his men, Coriolanus a Prince or great Lord of the Boians, with a mighty power essayed and charged him, and flew upon three thousand of his men. In which sudden and tumultuous skirmish, certain brave men of mark were slain; among whom were T. Sempronius Gracchus, and M. Junius Silanus two Colonels of the allies; also A. Ocius and P. Claudius two Knight Marshals or Tribunes of the second legion. Howbeit the Romans strongly fortified their tents and defended them valiantly, which the enemies upon their forlorn victory had long essayed to no effect. And in the same standing camp he continued certain days, whiles he cured his fojourners of their wounds, and recovered their hearts after to great a fright. The Boians as they are a nation that of all things cannot endure any tedious delay of time dispersed themselves into their towns and forts. Then Marcellus presently crossed the Po, and led his army into the territory of Conus, where the Infubrians lay encamped after they had solicited and confud the allies of Conus to take arms. The legions made no more ado, but gave them battall in the very way: and at the first encounter the enemies charged them so hotly that they forced the forefront of the battall to give ground. Which when Marcellus perceived, fearing left being once discovered they should be repulsed and discomfited, he made a cohort of Matians to make head; and at once set forth all the troops of the Latin Cavalry against them. Their first and second charge both, mightily impasted and quailed the enemy, advancing forward swiftly and pestling upon them in great fury: whereby the rest of the Roman army taking heart again and being encouraged at the first received them manfully and made resistance only, but after wards followed fiercely upon them: insomuch as the Gauls were able no longer to abide their violence, but turned their backs, took them to their heels, and ran away by heaps, Velarius Antonius writeth, that in this battall there were forty thousand men slain and above five hundred and seven military ensigns taken, with 432 chariots besides many chains of gold, whereof Claudius presented one (very massive above the rest and of great weight) unto Jupiter, which was hung up within the Temple in the Capitol, as he writeth. The same day was the Camp of the Gauls forced and ravished, and the town of Conus also within few days taken by assault. Upon this there were eight and twenty boroughs or forts that fell away and revolted to the Conuls, but the Historiographers agree not upon this. Whether the Conuls led his forces against the Infubrians first, or the Boians; and whether he raised out the dishonour of a former soil and defeat by a fortunate victory in this battall; or contrariwise, after a prosperous right achieved before Conus, he blotted and defaced the fame with a flambeul overthrow received at this hand.

During this variable and alternative fortune, L. Purpurio the other Conul, marched into the Boian Country through the tribe Soppusia. And when he was approached near to a Cattle called Matians, he feared lest he should be enclosed and intercepted by the Boians and Ligurians: whereupon he retired with his forces the same way that he came, and fetched a great compass about through the open country in safety and security, he came at length to his Colleague, who having joined both their powers together, first ranged over the Boians territories, wasting and spoiling until they came as far as Felina. This Town with other strong burroughs and forts, and in a manner all the Boians yielded themselves, gave only their youth, who were up.

* Matiliius, Blundo, Molin, Leo, Leandro.
up in arms to pill and spoil, and were at that time retired unto the forrests and glins out of the H way. After this the army marched toward the Ligurians. The Boians making full account to assail the Roman army at unawares, which marched without good regard of themselaves, and not close together (for that their enemies seemed to be far off) followed after through the blind and con-
vert forrests. But when they saw that they could not overtake them, they suddenly all at once pas-
shed over the Po in small boathoms and pumps, and after they had spoiled and pill'd the Levians and 
Lubians, as they returned from thence with a booty raised out of the country, they chanced in the umm' roll frontities of Liguria, to light upon the army of the Romans in their march, Sooner and 
with more exaggers fell they to fight, than if they had appointed both time and place, and been 
prepared aforesaid to strike a battell. There it well appeared, of what force anger is to prick on 
and sharpen mens spirits to conflict, For the Romans more greedy of murder and bloodshed, I 
than of victory, fought so, as they scarce left the enemies one messenger to carry the news of their 
unhappy overthrow, In regard of these exploits, upon the ComiiIs letters brought to Rome, ordain-
ed it was, that there should be a solemn process and thanksgiving to the gods for these three daies. 
Shortly after Marcellus came to Rome, unto whom was granted a triumph with great content of 
the L.L. of the Senate; and whiles he was in his Magnificity he triumphed over the Inhabitants and 
Comians, leaving for his Colleague good hope likewise of a triumph, because himself to say 
truth Jin that nation fought but unfortunately, whereas his Colleague sped well enough, and had a 
lucky hand, Much more of the enemies was carried in a pomp upon the Chariots that were taken 
and won from them, Many ensigns and banners were born in a show, besides in money, to the va-
lue of 365000 drachms of bronz coin; and 234000 bigge pieces of silver. The footmen had 800 stles K 
given them spacious, every horseman and centurion had trisco as much.

The same year King Antiocbus, whiles he kept his winter at Ephesus, affaid to reduce all the 
Cities and States of Asia unto the ancient form of government and subjection, afirming himself, 
that the revt would not be hard to be subdued and brought under, because the towns were either 
situate upon plains or nothing well fortified with walls, and not furnished with men and muni-
cions. As for * Smyrna and * Lamphacus, they stood upon their freedom, and challenged it. Doubted 
it was, and great danger, that if he should let them go clear away fo, some Cities in * Esody and 
Ionia would take after Smyrna, and others in Hellefons follow the example of Lamphacus, 
Therefore both themself went from Ephesus to lay siege unto Smyrna, and gave commandment, 
That the forces which were at Abdyus (leaving only a small garrison behind 8) should be lead to 
the siege and affault of Lamphacus. And yet he threatened and terrifed them not so much with 
forces and violence, but affaid them rather by fair means, sending to them his Embassadors, fo 
as, partly by flattering and gente words wherewith he entreated them, and partly by mild re-
proof for their rashness and obstinacy, he endeavoured to put them in some hope, that shortly 
they should have whatsoever they desired: and then, both they themselves, and all others should 
evidence see, that they had obtained their liberty by the especial grace and favour of the King, 
and not usurped and gained it by occasion of some advantage and opporunity. To this they an-
fwered again, That Antiocbus sought neither to marvell, nor be offended and displeased at them, 
if they could not we endorse the hope which they had of freedom thus to be deferred from time to 
time. Then he departing from Ephesus in the beginning of the spring failed unto Hellefons with 
his fleet. His land forces he transported over to * Maditos a City in Chersohnesfand joined them to 
his strength by fea. And because they shut the gates upon him, he environed the town with armed 
men, and when he was at the point to give the affault, and to bend his engines of batter at 
against the walls it was surrendered into his hands. Upon the like fear the Inhabitants alfo of other 
Cities in Chersonneus yielded themselves. After this he came to * Lysmachia with his whole 
power, as well of land-fouldiers as sea-servitors. And finding it abandoned, ruinat, and lying (as 
if it were ) along, (for but few years before the Thrascians had forced sacked, and burnt it) he had 
great desire to rear and set upright again that noble and famous City, seated in good and com-
modious a place. And therefore he took great care, and employed all his endeavours to re-edifie 
the walls, to re-build the edifices, to redeem and ronisom the Lysmachians that were in supremacy, 
ry, to seek out all those that were defivered over Hellefons and Chersonneus, and gather them 
together, yea and to enroll new inhabitants upon hope of gain and profit, and by all means possible 
fo to se and people the City again. And withall, because he would eafe them of the fear they had of the Thrascians, he went in perfon with the one half of his land-forces to waste and spoil 
the confines of Thrace, the other part with all the sea-fouldiers and mariners he left hard at work 
about the repairing of the City.

About this time as L. Cornelius (being fent by the Senate to compose the controversies and va-
riance between the two Kings, Antiocbus and Ptolemy) abode at Seleymbria: fo of the ten Com-
mitters abovesaid, P. Lentulus departed from Baregyle, P. Villius and L. Terentius from Thaflus, 
and arrived all three at Selymbria: where L. Cornelius likewise met them from Seleymbria: and O 
only afterwards divers amiable kindnesse and loving entertainments mutually. But when they 
entered once to part of their Commission that they had in charge, and of the present State of Asia, 
then there was fretting and fumming and their bIoud up. The Roman Agents fluck not to tell him 
to his face, that all that he had done, since he took the sea and departed with his fleet out of Syria
A was displeasent unto the Senat, saying, "That they thought it meet, that all the Cities should be appealed into King Pidomus, which had been under his dominion. For as touching those towns, which sometime Philip had been possetled of, and which Antiochus had surprized and feised upon, taking his time and vantage, when Philip was employed another way in the Roman wars, it was no reason, nor thing tolerable, that the Romans should for so many years, price, by land and sea endure to great toil, and hazard such perils, and suffer Antiochus in the end to go away with the fruit and reward of all the service, But let the care, that the Romans would have no knowledge of his coming into Asia, as a matter imperinent to them: for they disemble so, that now he is come over into Europ with all his forces both for land and sea, and little wanchest of making open war upon the Romans? Mary, as for him, he will not let to deny that he levies any war, although he were arrived and landed in Italy, To these challenges the King made answer, and said, That he saw well enough and knew before that the Romans were inquiet, and curious enough to search what King Antiochus ought to do, but they never once thought of their own selves, how far they should by right proceed, as well by land as by sea, as for Asia, it appertained not at all to the people of Rome, neither had they more reason to enquire what Antiochus did in Asia, than Antiochus to search into the actions of the people of Rome in Italy. As concerning Pidomus from whom they complain, that he had taken certain Cities; they did them understand, that there was animity between him and Pidomus, and they were now in terms of knitting themselves shortly in nearer bonds of alliance and amity. Neither sought he the poil of Philip, and to enrich himself by his adversity and misfortune for settled other into Europe against the Romans." But when he had vanquished one, all else he had by right and law of war, became the possessions of Seleucus, and to conjonquently as he took it, appertained unto him. And during the time, that his successors and predecessors, were cut and troubled with other affairs, first Pidomus caught at some things, and Philip after another, and to between them, was swayed and forced upon other mens possessions, and namely, of certain places near and hard by in Tarsus, which without all controversy belonged unto Lycaonia, and forc'd the poor subjects to his ancient State, was thither come, and now was in hand to re-edit Lycaonia, anew lately destroyed by the violence of the Thracians, to the end that Seleucus his son might hold it as the royal seat of his kingdom, Thus as they continued arguing and debating for certain dates, there ran a rumor, but without any certain author, that King Pidomus was dead: whereupon they could grow to the conclusion of all their pastimes; yet they made blambe on both sides, that they heard nothing thereof. And as well L.Cornelius, who was sent in Embassage to both the Kings, Antiochus and Pidomus, requeste to some small time to confer with Pidomus, to the end that himself might be arrived in Egypt, before any alteration were made in the new possession of that kingdom; as also Antiochus made reckoning, that Egypt would be his if this good occasion then were prevented in him. Therefore having dismissed the Romans, and left his son Seleucus behind him, with all the hand forces, for to finish the building again of Lycaonia, which he had begun, himself with all his fleet failed to Ephesus; and having left his Embassadors to Quintus to treat soberly about a league and amity he coasted along Asia, and so arrived "Lyctis. And when he heard for certain at "Paxea that Pidomus was yet living, he gave to his purpose of falling into Egypt, but nevertheless he shaf his course & set sail for Cypurs; and when he had doubled the point of Chelidion, he said awhile in "Pamphylia about the river "Euphrates, by occasion of a mutiny among the men, & one or two, from thence he weighed anchor, and when he was failed as far as a place called "The hale of the river "Sirus there stole a guilt and fearful tempest, wherein he had like to have been cast away and drowned with all his fleet. Many of his ships were run aground, & many of them swallowed up of the sea, so as there eschewed not one of them by swimming to land. A number of men there perished, not of base men: officer, and unknown common soldiers but also of his near: and special friends. Having rallied the dipterely ballasts of this shipwreck, seeing there had been no means & was not able to reach and gain Cypurs, he returned again to Seleucus, with an arm of a thing fit prudent nor so well furnished, as when he set out in his voyage. There he commanded his ships to be haled ashore, and laid up in their docks (for winter now approached) & himself took his journey to Antiochus, there to lye all that winter time, And in their terms flood the affairs of the Kings, At Rome, there were first instilled in this year three Triumphs called Ephesius, to wit. C. Licinius Lucullus to C. Romuleius (who was the man that put up the bill for their creation) and P. Porcius Lcean. And by a law in that behalf ordained, thec Triumphs were allowed as well as a Bishop, the long embroidered robe of purple. But in this year great debate & variance was between the Quoaters or Treasurers of the City Q. Fabius Labor & L. Annius of the one side, and all the Priests on the other side. These treasurers were at some fault for mony, because they were minded, and appointed to make the last payment unto certain private persons, for the loan-toller which G. had disbursed for the wars; these monies the Treasurers demanded of the Augurs and Bishops to furnish out the said payment; for that during the wars, they only had not been contributers in any levy. The Priests appealed to the Tribunes, and called for their lawful favour: but all was in vain, and so they were forced to satishe all the arrears for the years past, wherein they had paid nothing. This year there died two Bishops, and new were installed in their rooms, M. Meculceianus the Consul entered in place of T. Sempronius Tuditanus, who deceased Praetor in Spain, and L. Fatherus instead of M. Cornelius Gethbati. Q. Fabius Maximus also an Angur died a very young
young man before he had born any office of State: but for that year there was not substituted a H
ew Augur in his room.

After this, M. Marcellus the Conful held the solemn assembly for the election of Conuls. And
Conuls were created L. Valerius Flaccus, and M. Porcius Cat. Then were the Prators chosen,
and P. Porcius Leccus. The Ediles of the chair M. Fulvius Nabores, and C. Flaminius divided a-
mong the people 100,000 modii of wheat, at two asis a Modius. This flore of corn had the Si-
cilians brought to Rome for the honour of C. Flaminius and his father. And Flaminius was content
that his companion in office should reap a full part of the thanks for this gratuity. The games cal-
led Roman were exhibited in most fumptuous manner, and thrice represented all over again. The
Ediles of the Commons Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus, and C. Sempronius, who also was the high Pa-
rist-Priest, and Superintendent, called Carus Maxi called in question many of the City Ballists that
gathered their rents for pariares, judicially to answer upon their accounts before the people. Three
of them were condemned, and of their silver raised upon their fines, they built the Temple of Fa-
mus in the isleland. The Plebeian plaies were renewed for two dates, and a solemn publick feast was
celebrated in regard of them.

The same day that L. Valerius Flaccus and M. Porcius entered their office, they proposed unto
the Senate concerning the government of the Provinces. And order was given by the I. I. of the
Council, that forasmuch as the war increased in Spain, as required not only a Conuliar army, but
a Conul also for the Leader: the Conuls should either agree between themselves for the go-
vernment of the two Provinces, to wit, the hither Spain, and Italy, or else to call lots therefore: K
that he whole hap it was to rule Spain, should have with him two legions, five thousand Latinie
allies, and five hundred horse; and likewise to have the conduct of a fleet of twenty galleys of
war: that the other Conul should levy and enroll two legions; which were thought sufficient
to defend and keep France in obedience, considering the courages of the Infrubians and Boirs were
well cooled and abated the last year. Case by lot had the charge of Spain, and Valerius of Italy.
Then the Prators call lots for their Provinces, To C. Fabricius Lucanus fell the jurisdiction over
the Citizens of Rome, to C. Atinius Libeci over the strangers, C. Manlius Volfus governed Sicily,
and Ap. Claudius Nero the farther Spain. M. Porcius Leccus was assigned to rule Pife, to the end
he might be upon the back of the Ligurians, and P. Manlius was appointed as an auxiliary and co-
adjutor to the Conul in the higher Spain. As for T. Quintus, his Conulship was renewed for L
one year longer, in regard that not only Antiochus and the Attolans, but also Nabia the Lacede-
monian Tyrant, were doubted and suspected not to stand fiand found to the Romans: and for him were
set out two legions: and if need were of any supply to make up the companies thereof, the Con-
uls were enjoined to enroll new soldiers, and to lend them over into Macedon. Alto Appius
Claudius had a warrant to take up 5000 foot, and two hundred horse, over and above that legion
which Q. Fabius had. The like number of fresh horse and foot was appointed for P. Manlius to be
sent into the higher Spain: and the same legion was granted unto him, which was command-
used by Minatius the Prator. Moreover, P. Porcius Leccus was to have the leading of two hun-
dred lorumur, and fifty horse, drawn out of the Royals army, for to lie in Hinturis about Pife. Laik
of all, in Sardinia, P. Sempronius Longus continued still in place of command. Thus the Provinces M
being distributed, the Conuls before they departed out of the City, by advice and counsel of the
Bishops performed the solemnity of the sacred Spring which was vowed before by the Prator C.
Cornius Mammius, according to the mind of the Senate and the good liking of the people, in the
year when Cn. Serenius and Cn. Flaminius were Conuls: and so it was celebrated one and twenty
years after it was first vowed. Much about this time was C. Claudius Pulcher, the son of Appius,
elected Augur, and invested in that Sacerdotal dignity, in the place of Q. Fabius Maximus, who
died the year before.

When men began now to marvell that there was so little account made of the war began al-
ready in Spain, there were letters brought from Q. Minatius with news, that he had fought a
fortunate battle before the town of Turbo, with Budares and Befades, two Spanish Generals and great
N commanders: that he had slain twelve thousand enemies, taken Budares the General himself pri-
itioner: and that the reft were dissolved and put to flight. Upon the reading of these letters, les
fear there was of Spain, from whence they looked for great wars.

After the return of the ten Delegates or Commissioners above said, all the care was, and
no talk else but about Antiochus and his affairs. Threfe men, after they had declared first how
their proceeding went with King Philip, and upon what conditions they had grained peace,
informed and gave them to understand, that there was as great a war behind from Antiochus:
that he had passed over the seas into Europe with a mighty Armado, and as populous an army
for land service, and had not been averted another way by a vain hope to invade and seize
upon Egypt, which he conceived of a vaine brut and rumor of Procyon his death, all Greece
would have been aston on a flight fire, and up in arms. For the very Attolans themselves, a na-
tion naturally of an unquiet spirit, and incendiaries besides against the Romans, would not have
fit still and been in rest. Moreover, there was another malady and mischief as dangerous, jetted
as it were within the ribs & in the very celt of Greece: to wit, Nabia, the tyrant at this present
of the Lacedemonians only, but shortly, if he may be let alone, of all Greece. who for vairce
and cruelty is equal and all the famous and noted tyrants that ever were: and if he be interfered to
posils
The haply behoved caterpillar, judge was inline, great and be the primary and made an edimate and made an edimate, and who made report of all things not by hearsay, but upon their own knowledge, were of advice and resolved to have a good eye and regard with all speed into Antiochus, considering the King was palled already into Syria, whatsoever the occasion was. But as touching the Tyrrant, after they had disputed and debated the matter long time, whether they had sufficient cause already to determine upon some small conclusion, or had had rather unto the will, done and judgment of T. Quinctius the managing of those affairs, therein to proceed, and do according as he should deem it good and expedient for the Common-wealth: in fine, they permitted him to use his own discretion concerning the Macedonian Tyrrant: supposing that the matter was not of such weight and consequence as to concern the main state of the self-publike to materially, whether it were hardened or protruded; but rather it believed them to be advised and consider well, what Amnial and the Carthaginians would do, if ha'pily the war with Amnial be begun and once afoot. They [at Carthage] that faded with the adverse faction of Amnial, had sent divers and sundry letters unto the principal LL. at Rome, every one privately to his friends to this effect, that there palled messengers and letters to Amnial to Antiochus, and that there were Embassadors again that secretly came from the King to him. And like as there be some beatis for wild and savage as never can be tamed, so the courage and spirit of the King was such, as might not possibly be dulced or appeased. For he daily complained that the City languished and grew feeble with idleness, and by sitting still and doing nothing, was overgrown as it were with moss, and unpolish'd it was to raise and stir it up but with sound of corn and weapons. These ad-daemptions carried likelihood of truth and good credit with them, in regard of the late war, so fresh in memory, which had done much, and managed to the last. Oftentimes, he had provoked by a sight of his, many great and mighty personages, who left their houses against him. But the order and degree of Judges: that they had his envoy and foreign authority to the realm in this respect, principally for that the same Judges, were perpetual. The goods, the honour and reputation, yes, and the life of every man lay in their hands, and that displeased one of that bench, war due to have all the rest enemies and to be upon him; and there never wanted one promoter or other to carry tales and give information to these Judges against a man, if they saw them inflicted once and bent against one. During the time of this impetuous and tyrannical rule of theirs, (for as their power was exceeding all measure, so they bare themselves therein as outrageously beyond the limits of civility) it was Amnial's hap to be Praetor: and by virtue of his place he sent for one of the treasurers to come before him: but he made no reckoning of his authority, and resolved to obey: for the said treasurer was one of the contrary side: and because from the degrees of those treasurers they mounted profectly into the highest order of the Judges, therefore he carried with him an haughty mind already, in regard of the high room that he was shortly steep into. Amnial you may be sure took this as a great disgrace and indignity to his person, and therefore he sent a purveyance or warrant, to attach the body of the Treasurer aforesaid: and pretendingly calling the people to a general assembl: he commanded him there to be presented: where he accused and blamed the pey him; not more than the whole order and degree of the Judges: through whole litter pride and exorbitant power, both laws and Magistrates were nothing regarded but trodden under foot. And perceiving that these words of his tickled the itching ears of the people, considering also that their proud demeanor prejudiced the liberty of the nearest persons: immediately he published a law, and got it enacted. That those Judges should be chosen every year and that even therefore one and the same man might not be a Judge two years together. But look how much than he had at the Commons hands for this act. For many he offended many of the great men and principals of the City. Another thing besides he did, whereby he hurted to himself the ill will of some private persons, in rending the common good of the self-publike. The fines and revenues of the State, partly, through negligence went to decay, and partly, were flushed out in dividends between some certain of the head Citizens and Magistrates: and more than that, the money which by way of tribute was to be paid yearly unto the Romans, was too short and not to be found: and it appeared, that a fore ley would be imposed upon private persons thence to make their payments out of their own purses. Amnial after he had call up the books, and made an estimate and just abstract how much the rents and revenues of the City amounted unto as well from customs by sea as land, and to what use they were employed: and perceiving thereby what was devis'd in the ordinary charges of the State, and what went a wrong way, and was cavilled at by these thieves to their own selves, he pronounced aloud in open audience of the whole assembly. That the arrears should be gathered up and brought into the common Chett: and to private persons might be discharged and called of their impositions of tribute, and the Common-wealth would be rich enough and able to perform and furnish the monies due to the people of Rome. And as he thus said, so he was as good as his word: and executed it accordingly. Then there carousers, who for certain years lived by robbery of the common treasures and laden upon the limits of the City, faced (nightly) against Amnial, as if he had done them
them great wrong in taking their own goods from them, and not proceeded in justice to red
out of their hands their fntain substances: am great malice and bitterness ceaFd not to provoke
against Ambulce the Romans, who were ready enough of themselves to pick some quarrel to him,
to seek occasion of hatred, and to find an hole in his coat. Septo Africanus for a long time gave
the deafe upon them, and disliked the course: for he supposed it was not for the honour and
majefty of the people of Rome to subcribe unto those expectations charged upon Ambulce, to en-
tertain the fright and hatred of men; and to interest and inflame publice authority within the pri-
tal factions of the Carthaginians; and not to be content to have vanquished Ambulce in war,
unless they also took upon them the permons of accurers, and preferred a flanderous libel & bill of
indictment, and swore thereto Billia vera. But at length they wrought and brought about, that
Embassadors should be sent to Carthage, who in the Senate there might charge Ambulce categor-
ically, with plotting and practing with Antiochus for to wage war against them. And these three
were addressed to this Embathe, C. Sercellus, M. Claudius Marsullius, and Q. Terentius Cade,
who being arrived there, caufed it to be given out to as many as should demand the cause of their
coming, and all by induction from the adversaries of Ambulce, that their errand was to compose
and end the debates between Massinissa, King of the Numidians, and the Carthaginians. This was
commonly divulged and beleved for truth. But Ambulce found them fright and smite this juf-
tling, and was not ignorant that he was only a man that the Romans shot at, and howsoever
peace was granted to the Carthaginians, yet they continued an endless and inexpiable war with him
alone with him. Whereupon he resolved to frame himself to give place to the time, and yield unto
fortune, and being furnished achofand with all things requisite to take his flight, when he had of K
purpose all the day long threwd himself in the public place of assembly very formally, to turn by
all intimation of his intended resolution, so soon as it began to be dark night, in his Citizens gown
as he went a day, and attended in the Hall, he gave him forth forth to the City gate, accompa-
nied only with two persons, and these not privy at all to his purpose and device. And having
found his horses ready in the place appointed, he mounted and rode apace that night until he
was come to a certain quarter of the territory of Voca: and by the next morning, he passe
between Acri: and Thapsus, and recovered a tower or fort of his own; where he was imbarred
in a ship ready riged and appointed with full and ou to take sea and way. Thus departed
Ambulce out of Affricke, lamenting more often the hard hap and calamity of his country, than of his
own friends and kindred. And the same day he fell with the island Cernea: where the Cartha-
ginians found in the roce certain hulks charged with mercantile: and when at his coming a
shore out of his ship, there came many running toward him for to salute and welcome him thil-
er, he charged his own company, that if any asked concerning him, they should make answer,
that he went upon an Embaffege to Tyrs: but fearing left any of their ships should discharger
that night, and make report at Thapsus or Acri: that he was seen in Cernea: he caufed a beall to
be killed for such; and invited the Masters of the ships and all the Merchants to supper; and
there with commanded all the foes and cross-sail yards to be had out of the veils to make there-
of a large pavilion, that they might fit in the shade at their supper: for that, as it fell out, it was
then midsummer. And as the time and such provision as they had, would give leaves, he fet out on
a feast and banket: he farred for no wine, and continued the merriment far within night. Then M
Ambulce, so soon as he could elupe his time for to deceive those that were in the harbor, weighed
anchor. The rest were sail abroad: and when the next day they awoke and roused themselves, with
their drunken and drowsy souls (and far forth day it was, and late ere they awoke) they were fain
to spend some hours in fitting their oars again in their right places, and the tacking of the ships in
good order.

In this while, at Carthage the ordinary multitude that used to frequent the house of Ambulce
repaired as their manner was to his gate-honie: and when it was voted abroad, that he was not to
be found, all the company gathered together in the market place, seeking and enquiring for the
principal and chief personage of their City. Some gave out (as the truth was) that he was fled: ot-
ther said plainly, that he was murdered and made away through the filthhood and villany of the N
Romans: and this they stuck not to avouch. There might a man have seen rudy and divers
ourences (as it was commonly in Cities where there is hiding and parts-taking) as each one is
affected to his own priity and faction. At last, news came that he was slain at Cernea. The Ro-
man Embassadors having upon audience given, declared in the Senate of Carthage, that the LL. of
their Senate had certain intelligence, that both aforetime King Philip was by Ambulce especially
polllicited and set on to make war with the people of Rome: and also now there hath been letters and
messengers with credence from him to King Antiochus: and that he would never rest until he
had set all the world together in arms: and therefore if the Carthaginians were desirous to con-
tent and satisfy the Romans, they should not suffer these parts of his to escape unpunished:
then the Carthaginians made answer, and said, That nothing of all this passed by publice council
or consent or allowance of the State, howbeit they would be willing to do whatsoever the Ro-
mans thought to be reason.

Ambulce this while had a boen voyage, and with a merry gale of wind arrived at Tyrs: where
he was received of the Tyrians, the first founders of Carthage, as if he had been in another coun-
try of his own; received he was, I say, and entertained with all kind of honour; becomine a man
lo famous and renowned. After he had journeied there some few daies, he failed to Antioch
where understanding that the King himself was already departed from thence, he repaired to his son, and conferred with him, as he was letting out an yearly solemnity of games and pageantry near Dyropolis, and being courteously also by him intreated, he made no stay, but to ship-board and Sea again. And at Ephesus overtook the King, whom he found floating and wavering still in his mind, and unprepared what to do as touching the Roman war. But this coming of Annibals, was no small point to turn the balance, and to move him to enter into the enterprise thereto. The Actolians likewise at the same time were enraged and alienated in affection from the Roman league and society, whose Embassadors demanding to have Plancium and Bocca again, with other Cities, according to the tenor and form of the first league, the Senate turned over and referred to Quinctius.

The four and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the four and thirtieth Book.

H. Law Oppia p. ... and by force of arms (beginning first to war in Empire) brought the cities province Spain on this side thence to quittance. T. Quinctius Flaminius led against the Lacedemonians and Nabs their tyrants, in which he was fortunately, and so proceeded, as he made out thereof, granted them place to his own good liking and pleasure, delivered Argos, and set it free, which was before subject to the tyrant. The Senate then, and never before, bethought on their games and amusements for the people, apart from the rest of the people. Which to bring about Secillus Pactus and L. Coruncius Cæcrops set in four and thirty days of the year, to the general content and satisfaction of the Commons. More colonies were planted with Roman ensign. M. Pollius Cato crowned over Spain. The wars also of which fortunately were achieved at country, the Bois and the other Infidels are here recorded. T. Quinctius Flaminius, who had vanquished Philip King of the Macedonians and Nabiss tyrants of the Lacedemonians sea, and freed all Grec from their oppression, for these many and noble exploits, rode in triumph three days together. The Carthaginian Embassadors brought word, that Annibal who was invited into Antiochus, banded with him and combined to make war, Annibal had besides advised by means of one Ariosto Tyrannus (sent as a courier with credence only and no letters, to Carthage) for to move and follow the Carthaginians to rebellion.

The four and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

Between the troublesome cares of great wars which either were not fully ended, or at hand ready to begin, there happened an occurrence, which in itself being but a small matter to speak of, and of little regard; considering the fides and part-taking about it, grew to a mighty head and contention in the City. M. Fundaminius and L. Valerius Tribunes of the Commons, preferred a bill into the people touching the abrogation of the Law Oppia. For C. Oppius, after time, when the Punic war was at the hottest, and whiles S. Fabius and T. Sempronius were Consuls, had pronounced a statute, by virtue whereof, no woman of what degree soever might either have in ornaments and jewells aboveth an ounce weight of gold, nor wear any habiliments wrought of undyed colours, nor yet ride in Coaches within the City of Rome, or any other Town nor more than half a mile from then. Unless it were upon occasion of some sollemn feast or publick festival. Now V. J. Junius Brutus, and P. Junius Brutus, both Tribunes likewise of the Commons, stood in defence and maintenance of the said law Oppia, and affirmed plainly they would not suffer it to be abridged. Many a nobleman was seen in this quarrel: some spoke for the law and others gain aid it. The Capitol was full of people, either taking part and favouring the cause, or else opposing them. And urging the contrary. The very dames of the City themselves could neither by persuasion and advice, nor by any reverent and womanly regard, nor yet by the express and absolute commandment of their husbands be kept withines doors; but do what they could they helped all the streets of the City, befecked and kept all the waies into the common place, before and entering their husband; as they passed by and went down thither to permit and give their consent, that feeling the good effect of the Common-weal now flourishing, and the private wealth of every man increased daily, their wives also and matrons might be allowed to have their ancient ornaments and gay attire again. The number of these women grew every day more then other for now they flocked also out of the Towns, Villages and other places of resort in the country and flewed themselves at Rome. In so much as they took heart at length, and were fobold as to encounter the Consuls, the Pretors, and other Magistrates, requesting and
beleeching their favour, to stand with them, and forward the cause. But as for one of the Consuls, Marcus Porcius Cato by name, they could not with all their prayers entreat him to encline unto their suit: who in the maintenance of the said law, and that it might not be revoked, made in the frequent assembly of the people to this effect, "My Masters and citizens of Rome, If every one of us had fully resolved and purposed with himself to hold his own, and keep the rightful authority and preeminence that he hath over his own wife, less ado and trouble we should have had with them all together at this day. Now having given them the head at home so much, that the curfiness and thwartness of women hath conquored our liberty and freehold there; behold, here also in publick place it is troden down and trampled underfoot: and because we were not able every man to rule his own in several, now we stand in fear and dread them all in general. Certainly, I my self thought ever until now, that it was but a fein'd fable and devised tale that went of a certain "land, wherein by a conspiracy of women, all the men were murdered every one, and that it utterly made way and rooted out. But well I see now, but they creatures never so weak, so fally and lesele, let them once have their meetings, their conveiencies and secret confequences, they will work mischief in the highest degree, and be as dangerous as any other. And surely for mine own part, I cannot resolve in mine own confequence and determine whether of the twain be worse: the thing I mean in itself, or the precedent example and confequences thereof, considering the manner how it is handled. Of which two, the one toucheth us that are Consuls and the reft of the magistrates the other concerneth you rather my masters and citizens of Rome. As for the matter in question, and propased unto you, whether it be good and expedient for the weal-publick or no, that refleth in you to determine and judge, who are to give your voices and suffrages. But this feditious insurrection here, of women be it of themselves, or procured by your motion and infligation, M. Fundamin & L. Valerius, no doubt it argeth and implith a great defect in the Magistrates, and I wot not whether it will be a fouler blot and dishonour to you that are Tribunes, than to us Consuls. Yours will the blame be if ye have brought women now to ruffle and stir up tributious seditions: and ours the blame if we needs must admit and accept of laws whether we will or no. For fear of com partion and separation of our women, as sometimes we were forced to do by the departure and insurrection of our Commons, I assure you for mine own self. when I passed ere whilst in to this common-place through the pref and thorofe of these women, I was abashed & could not chafe but blush, And had I not been more refractive of the reputation, the honour and reverence of some in particular than of them all together, because it should not be thought & said, that they had been checked and taken up by the Consuls: I would have faid unto them, What new fashion is this good wives to run gadding abroad into the open streets, to beftir the paffages, and to afffront, yea, and hang upon other women husbands as ye do? What? could ye not every one at home have dealt with your own good-men in the caufe, and travailed their help? or can ye speak fair and better utter, can ye be more pleasant and affable abroad in the Town, than within your houses? or make love to other men, rather than to your owne husbands? And yet to speak rightly, if wives were of that modesty and womanly carriage, as to keep themselves within the compass and bounds of their owne liberty, and pass no farther: it were not befitting you I wot, so much as at home to trouble your selves about our laws here, nor to bury your brains, to know either what new Statutes passed, or what old were called. Our ancestors in old time would not, that women in any wise should dispose so much as of their owne private matters without the advice and direction of a Goove nor Overleeer: and therefore in great widome they ordained, that they should be ordered and ruled by their parents, by their brethren by their husbands. But we (and God will) can abide them to intermeddle in state matters, to govern the weal-publick, to converse with us in the common place, in publicke assemblies and courts of parliament. For what else do they now in the streets, in the coxes waies & at all avances, but some of them give their voyces that the bills of the Tribunes may pass and others advice and be of opinion, that the law Oppia may be repealed: Let this outrageous & unreasonable nature of theirs have the head; let those unruly creatures and untamed animals have their will and bridle them not. Then how of themselves they will keep a mean andmeasure in their licentiousnes, unles ye curb them & hold them in, Tuttis, this is the least matter of all that displeaseth their women there are a 1000 things besides that they think hardly of, and are discontented to be held unto by old customes and positive laws, Liberty in all thingmys to speake more truly, a loose and disloate licentiousnes, is the very thing they long after and desire. For go they away cleeer with this once, what is it that they will not attemp and give the ventour for? Do but run through and count the laws provided in this behalf for women, whereby our fore-fathers and predecessors have kept down and remaid their disorderly appetites, and with which they have fought to subject them to their husbands: yet, hardly can ye with the help of them all, keep them in awe and tied fast, but break out they will and have their owne waies. What then? how and if ye suffer them to catch this and that, and tother thing to it? if I lay, ye let them wret from you one thing after another, until at length they be check-mates with their husbands, think ye that ever shall be able to support and endure them? Begin they once to be equals they will soon be superior and make them your fellows, and strait-ways they will be your masters. But alas, we lay too hardly to their charge. The thing that they stand upon is no more but this: That no new Act & statute pases against them for no equal and reasonable thing do they refuse: their desire and prayer is only that.
that they might not be wronged. No, no, it is clean contrary. That law which ye have received and admitted, that which by your suffrages you first granted, that which by the practice exercis'd so many years you have allowed and approved; they would have you to revoke and abolish: which is as much to say, as by annulling that one, to bring all, and diminishing the authority and virtue of the rest. No law is there so well devised, that is good and commodious and agreeable unto all. This only is intended principally to be considered, that it may be profitable to the molt part, and serve in general. For it as each person shall find an act prejudicial, hurtful, and offensive to himself, he may be allowed by and by to undo and demolish the fame to what end should all the people assembly together to the making of those statutes, which they anon against whom they were enacted may abolish & overthrow? But glad would I know the great occasion and cause for which our dames in such trouble and uprore run out into the streets, and have much ado to forbear the common place and to mount up into the Refect to make an occasion to this audience? Is it for this to redeem out of the hands of Abuses, their fathers, their husbands, their children and brethren, whom be keepeth prisoners? Nay, that calamity is far enough off at this day, and far may it ever be I pray God from our City and Common-weal. And yet when the time was of that hard fortune and calamity, you would not hearken to their piece, and kind prayers in that behalf. But it may well be that it is neither natural love and kind affection nor careen regard of their dear friends but mere touch of confidence and sense of religion that hath brought them thus together in a congregation, And ready they are, it may be, to receive and entertain dame Cibele or Iduna, coming from Pergamus out of Phrygia. What honest colour and show so much as in word only can be pretended to bear out and cover this mutinous sedition of women? Many this (say they) that we may glitter in our golden jewels, and thine in purp-to be seen a far off: that as well on world-days as holy-days, we may be let up and ride in our coaches and chariots through the City, as it were in triumph, for the conquist and victory of a law by us repealed and disanulled: for winning from you, and wringing out of your hands, mangles your beards, the liberty of your voices and suffrages: to the end that we might not be timed and gaged in our excelle expenses, in our diffolute profation, in costly vices and superfluities. Many a time ye have heard me complain of the wafiful and lumpsirous bravery of women: and as often have ye known me to inveigh against the lavish spending of men, not private persons only but magistrates also in higher place: and how this City of ours is fick as it were at one time of two contrary discontents and maladies, to wit pinchining atvarice, and imperious prodigality, two plagues I say, that have been the bane and overthrow of all great Monarchies and flourishing empires. These pestilent mischiefs I dread to much the more, as our Greece and common-weal encroacheth to the better: growth wealthy every day more than other; and as our dominion extended still farther and farther. And now that we are come over unto Greece and Asia provinces full of all enticing pleasures and alluring delights of the world, nor that we are come to finger and handle the rich treasures of mighty Monarchies. I fear me that even these things have rather captivated us than we them. The goodly images, statues and pictures that came from Scythe fortress (trust me truly) dangerous to this City, and threaten no les than to many enigmas of the field displayed against it. And I hear say already. that there are many, and too many of the city, that prattle and have in admiration the beautiful ornaments of Carthage & Athens, and begin to make a form and game of the images of the Roman Gods made of potteries earthly only, laughing much at them where they leave them standing forth of the walls. Well, for my part I had rather have these gods so propice and favorable to us as they be than such as theore: and for I hope they will ever be so, if we can suffer still in their usual trines and places accustomed. No longer ago than in our fathers days, King Persius sent his Embassador Cynes of purposes, and allay'd by rich and goodly gifts, to tempt the minds not only of our men, but also of our women. There was no law Oppi as then in force to bridge and keep down the costly pomp and bravely of women: and yet not one of them all received ought at his hands. And what think ye was the cause? even the same and no other, for which our ancestors in times past, never forsook their trunes and remedies: even feast and desires and enormous lots had need to bud forth spring before the laws, which should repress and cut them down. What caused the law Licinia to be made, concerning 500 acres of ground, forbidding that no man should posses above, but the exceeding courtesies of men, teaching till and laying land to land? What brought in the law Cistus, of touching gifts and presents but this that the Commons began already to be visaul as it were and tributarries to the Senat. No marvel therefore it is, nor strange it may be seen, that neither the law Oppi nor any other providing for the cutting off the unmeasurable expences of women, was required and thought needful in those dates: when gold, when purple freely terrified and offered unto them was refused. If now at this day Cynes was come, and went with rich gifts round about in the City, he should find receivers enough of women standing in every street ready for him. And verily, with all the wit I have, I cannot devise what the cane and reason should be of many lustful desires and appetites that reign in this age. For say that if one of you were kept short and debauched of that which another might lawfully have: for adventure there might rise in your hearts (through infirmity) some flame and abatement in nature, or else difference, pleasure and discontentment in reason: so being all as ye are brought within one compass of furn-.
The four and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

"nature and apparel, and no ods at all between you, what need any one of you to fear, left the H
e should be looked into, marked or observed, more than another, I mutt needs say, the fame that
followeth, and attendeth upon their negligence or poverty, is woful of all others: but the law quit-
eth and freeth you of both, when you want but that only which by law ye may not have, and
no man shall reproach you therefore, Yes, man, sooth some rich and weighty, this same ease
and quality of differention at all among you, of all things I can not abide: why may it not accordingly
and therewith he been raised in purpose, and adorned with gold? And why is not the poor estate
of others known, but lieth hidden under this pretext of cloak of a law, so as they may be thought
yet, (were it not for the law) that much and such things they would have where as indeed they
are not able to maintain and bear it out? Would ye (in faith) my matters and citizens of Rome,
have your wives to strive thus, that the richer must desire to have that, which no other I
can reach unto: and the poor again, because by that means they would not be defiled, over-
shrinethem to go above their calling and ability? Certainly I dare avow, if they begin once
to shame at that which is not shame-worthy, they will not abash any thing, be it never so
shameful. Have it the will out of her own, so long as it is tallow and when all is gone to her hus-
bands purtle she will go, Alas poor man and woman begins is that husband as well he that is increa-
ted by his wife, to stretch his purpose, as he that is not, when he shall see another man to give
her that, which he would not allow himself. And even now ye see how openly in the street (un-
shame-faced as they be) they are in hand with other women husbands yeas, & that which more
is, they keep an interesting for to call the law & for the favour of their voices only, For of some
they have got the good wills no doubt already, whilst themselves will not be intreated, but draw K
miserly upon them, whereby they are, and upon their children, We let the law once cease to let down
a gage and proportion of thy wives expenses, and never think to have remedy, and to lay the
same of thy self with all that can do, be not deceived, firs, to think that the world will be ever
again at the same pass, as it was before this, law took pace. And as it is a bitter conic and leste
dangerous to let a naughty and obstinate person alone, that he not called into question at all;
than after he is once accustomed to utter him to be quit, and go away unpunished; even fo this ex-
cessive impiety would have been the more intolerable, if it had not been medled & tempered with,
althan it will be now upon the very binding and tiding thereof, much like a wild and savage
beast let loose after it, hath been tven up a bore and to made more fell and angry. To conclude
thereof this opinion am I, that no hand of law Oppo be repealed so & I pray all the L
Gods to vouchsafe for to bless, and turn to good whatever do or go about. When he had
thus said, those Tribunes also of the Common, who openly promised and protected to oppose
themselves, and to cross the revolting of this law, and
spake as followeth. If private men had kept death and advanced forward either to approve
and perivide, or to reject & disallow that which u- was proposed I may tell all without opening
my mouth would have attended your will & expected the delivery of your satisfaction, as thinking
it had been sufficiently debated and discussed already whatsoever might be said for both
parties, But now fith that the Conful M. Purcus Lass, a man of great reputation & gravity not
only by his counselle and authority (which alone without any word at all spoken hath been
important enough & effectual,) but also in a long premeditated Oration framed with much study
and forethinking, hath impugned and inveighed against our proposed ordinance, I must of ne-
cessity answer him again as bitely as I can. Which over and besides hath spent more words in repro-
ving and challenging ther & names of the City, that he hath belaboured reason to the pur-
pose in disallowing our new law & all cly of this intent that he might leave it doubtful whether
the women had done that which he blamed them for, as induced by their own motives or
seduced by us and by our suspicions. As for me, the protection specially of the case I will take in
hand, and not bufy and trouble my head in defence of our provisions, against whom the Conful
hath rather glanced and girded at by way of big words then charged indeed by sublound refon
It hath plente them to all this, in an assembly and mutinous meeting, yeas and otherwises he ter-
meth it. An insurrection and celeration of women because the wives in open place intreated you
nto repeal that law, now in time of peace, in the furnishing and belief of the Common
well; which during those troubles, the dates of war, had been enstated against the wives, I was full
well that both these words and other besides are very significant thought our and words for the
purpose, to enforce and aggravate the matter. And we all knew that. Lass is in an Orator not
only grave and earnest, but otherwises also fell, string and bitter how ever other wise by natural
disposition he be of a mild spirit and courteous enough. But to the point. What new & strange
thing is this that our wives have done coming abroad and assembling themselves in companies,
ought a matter that so much concerneth and importeth themselves? What were they neces
sary for now abroad in open streets? I will take the point. Of a return over your own O
book of Originals against your self. Listen and mark, how often they have done the impleible,
and always truly for the common good and benefit of the State. And first and foremost, in the
very beginning and infancy of this City, even in the reign of K. Romulus, when the Capitol was
taken and held by the Sabines, when in the midst of the Common pace they were ranged in bat-
tle array and ready to fight a bloody field, was not the quarrel ended and the conflict stayed by
names and wives that ran in & put themselves between the two armies? After the KK, were driven
driven out and expelled. What hapned then? When the legions of the Volsciians under the con-
duct of C. Marius, incamped within 5 miles of Rome, were they not the matrons of the City that
turned back this army, which doubtless would have forced our City & put it to ranck? And
is not this likewise true, that when the Gauls were posed of Rome and matters thereof, the
dames of the City and none but they, even by the consent of all men, came forth into the open
streets, made a contribution, and laid down that gold which paid for the ranck and redemption
of the City? No longer than in the last Punic war (because I will not stand to much
upon antiquities) was it not thus, that not only when the City was at a fault for money, the
widows supplied the want of the common treausre; but also at what time as we were
driven to seek for new Gods, and to fend for them afar off to succour us in our extremities: all
the wives & matrons of the City went to the Sea side forte to receive the goddes Mother Idea.
The occasiones (yes. yes.) are different, and the case is not alike. Neither is it any purpose or any
part of my meaning, to compare causes, and to prove they are all one. This I fland upon, and
fale it sufficient to strike and clear the women for bringing up no strange novelty, in that they
shewed themselves in open place. To proceed therefore: seeing that no man made any wonder
then, of that which women did in undertaking the affairs that concerned all alike as well men
as women: marvail we now that they do the lemmable, in a cause that properly and peculiarly
pertained to themselves? And what great thing was it they did? Now in good faith we are too
coy and queamish of our hearing, and our ears over nice and delicate, if when matter disdains
not to hear the prayers of their servants and slaves, we ftrive to give ear to the requits of ladies
and dames of honor. But now I come to the matter in question, in regard whereas the Coniel
his Oration compiled in two points. For first, he took it for ill that any law at all once enabled
should be revoked: and secondly, he stood upon this that above all others the law devised and
made for reprefenting the superfuous ornamentes and attire of women should remain in force for
ever. So it should seem, that the first part (a common defense) if it were, of all the laws) was a
speech befitting the place and person of a Coniel: but the other against the exceeding pomp of
women, more properly became a man (as himself) of most severe life and precise carriage. And
therefore it is great doubt and to be feared, lest we should lead you into some errors, if we
lay not down and shew plainly the vanity and defect both in the one and in the other. For as I
contes, that of those laws which are devised and established not for a time and by occasion
of some particular occurrence, but for ever and to the perpetual good of a City, none ought to be
abolished: unless it be so that by use and experience the same be shewed not to be needful, or
by some change of the State become needles and superfuous: to see evidently that those fur-
ritus and ordinances which are imposed to be kept and observe, are mortal (if I may to
say) and mutable with the tides. And oftentimes we fee that war disclaimeth those laws which
peace proclaimeth; and peace pulleth down that which was set up: like as in the government
and rule of a ship, one thing is requist in fair weather and calm Seamanother in storm and trouble-
some tempests. These things thus being in nature divers and divers, let us consider I pray you,
of whether fort this law that now we are in hand to revoke, What is it one of the ancient
and royal laws made by the Kings and equal in time with the foundation of our City? or (that
which is the next in time and authority) was it set down and written in the twelve Tables by
the Decemvirs, created of purpose to devise and make laws? Is it of that nature without which
as our ancestors were of opinion, that the honesty and honour of manners could not
be preferred: so we are to fear likewise left by the repealing thereof, we overthrow the mode-
ity, chastity, and integrity of married women? Why who kneweth not that this is a new law
of 20 years standing and continuance and no more, made whiles Q. Fabius and T. Sempronius
were Coniel? And seeing that without that lives lived so many years before in good name and fame,
and in passing good order: tell me what danger can ensue, and why we need to fear it if
be annulled, they should break out to all loosefons and disorder. Mary! if this law had been made
at first, to gage the wantonnes of women, believe me then it were greatly to be doubted, that
the putting down thereof would stir them up again to their former outrage. But to what end
it was devised, the time it fell is able to shew and telisfie. Annul'd being in re,c., had won a vi-
tory at Canna; he was now master of Tarreton, Lord of Arpi, and possesed of Capua; every
hour in looked when he would march forward and advance his enions against Rome: our alli-
lies were revoluted and gone: soldiers we had no more of our own to supply and make up the
decayt bands: no mariners and Sea liftitors we could find for the maintenance of our Arm-
ado: all our treasure in the City Chamber was spent and consumed. Driven we were to this
exigence as to take up bondslaves for to serve in wars, and to buy them of their matrons for day,
yea, and to make payment of their price after the war was ended. For want of money also the
Purbutans and Farmers of our domain and publick profits, undertook to serve the army with
our own proper and private charges; and a rate and proportion was set down according to our
revenues and worth in the fabley book, what number every one should be charged with.
All the gold and silver that we had in private we brought forth in common, and the Senators
themselves led the way first, and gave good example. The widows and orphans children
brought in their hocks of money to the City Chamber. Straight order was given, that

we
we should not have in our houses either of gold or silver, wrought in plate or otherwise above that much, nor of silver and brass in coin and current money beyond a certain proportion limited. At such a time, our dames (belike) were set upon their bravery, pruning, trimming, and sticking themselves, in such sort, as the law Oppia must needs be devised, there was no other remedy to keep down their excessive pride and superfluous expense in their attire and ornaments: even then, I say, when by occasion that the solemn feast and sacrifice of Ceres was discontinuited, by reason of the general mourning and heavy cheer of all the wives of the City, the Senate was fain to take order, that they should finish and end their sorrowful mourning within thirty days. Who is so blind that feeth not, how in regard only of the poverty and extremity of calamity, and because all the monies of private persons should be converted into a common stock, and for a publick use, this law was last framed, drawn, and set down, so long only to stand in strength and vertue, as the cause of penning and writing it should endure and continue? For otherwise, if such acts and decrees of the Senate, if such orders and ordinances of the Commons, respective unto that present time, should be in force, and observed forever: Why make we payment of the loan money unto private men? Why do we fet and to form let our commodities, our customs and revenues of the City unto farmers for ready rent? Why put we forth our publick works for present money paid down upon the nail? Wherefore buy we not slaves to serve in our wars? Lastly, why we not put to find mariners and oarsmen, at our own proper charges, as then we did? All other elites and degrees, all men else, of what calling forever, feel a great change in the lare of the City, from who we to weal, from adversity to prosperity; and shall we everills the good thereof, and not once salt nor enjoy the fruits of peace, and publick repose and tranquility? Shall we that are men be in purple and scarlet? shall we wear our embroidered gowns and robes when we are Magistrates? shall we put on our rich amercs and copes, when we exercise the function and ministrations of the high Priests? shall our children go in their idle garments, purled aore with purple? shall we permit and privilege the head Officers and Magistrates in our Colonies and Borough Towns? Nay, shall we suffer here at Rome the Masters and Constables of every parish, the mayor and bafett officers of all other to wear embroidered gowns, fludded with purple; and not only so, forsoe grace and credit themselves, with these goodly ornaments and badges of worship and honour during their life, but also after their death, the fame to be burned and buried with them? And shall we debar and forbind our women only to use purple and scarlet in their apparel? And when you the husband may have purple and scarlet, carpets, curtains, points, and foot-cloths, what reason is there to deny your wife, the mistress of the house, a gown or mantle of the fame? And shall your horse be trapped and barbed more richly, and better set out with his caparison than your wife arrayed in her apparel? But in truth, for purple and scarlet, which is the worst for the wearing, and wasteth bare, means I see some reason, such as it is (although it be very hard) of sparing and restraints: purple for gold wherein little or nothing is lost, but the fashion and workmanship, which signifies, what miterly is this to make spare of it, and to deny it them? Nay, I dare assert and abide by it, there is great benefit and use thereof in time of extremity; and it may help at a pinch both in publick affairs, and in private occasions, as ye have found by good experience: But Catara said moreover, There would be no emulation and envy between this good wife and that; neither one nor other were allowed that liberty of apparel and ornaments. True it is, but indeed there of they all are mightily discontented and grieved at the heart in the mean while, disdaining to see the wives of their allies of the Latine name and Nation, permitted to wear those ornaments which they are forbidden to have, to see them, I say, all gorgeously let out with spangles and jewels of gold, clad in their purple and scarlet clothes riding in their coaches all over their cities, whiles they at Rome take pains to go afoot on their ten toes, as if the State of the Empire were feasted in their Towns, and not in this their own City of Rome. This indignity were enough to wound the hearts of men, and make them blee: what hurt doth it then, think you, to silly women, whose small matters, God wot, are wont to trouble? As poor souls: no magistracy and place of government in State, no facetious dignities in the Church, no triumphs no ornaments and titles of honour, are they capable of, no gifts, no spoils and prizes gotten in war, can fall to their shares. Neatness and fineness, gay garments trim attire and gorgeous habiliments, are the honour and ornaments of women: in it they take delight, on it they set their hearts, on it they make their joy, and therefore well have our ancestors called all furniture for the decking of women Mundus Malichris. What lay they off in time of sorrow and mourning, but their gold and purple? what put they on and resume again when their mourning is past, but their gold and purple? what hang they on them besides in time of publick joy and solemn processions but their better apparel their richest attire & most costly ornaments? But peradventure ye have once repealed the law Oppia. it will not be in your power to over-rule them, if haply you should forbid them to wear any thing that now the law restrained them of. And perhaps some shall have more ado with their daughters, their wives, and sisters, and find them less tasteful and pliable unto their minds than now they are. Never fear that: women cannot shake off their obedience, so long as their Governors (be they fathers, husbands, or brethren) are alive; nay, of all other things they abhor and cannot brook to bear their own liberty, when it cometh by the death either of husband or parents: Widows and Orphans lie; they may not abide. Be sure therefore, they had rather have their ornaments and attire to be at the disposition of your felves, than
of the law. And therefore, to speak a truth, you must in equity and reason protect and defend them in kindness, and not oppress them with hardnes and bondagae: delight ye must to call their fathers and husbands, rather than their Lords and Maiters. It pleased the Consil tothwise
to give them hard words and odious terms, calling this their meeting, A mutiny of women, and
a very inmotion and departure of theirs: and danger there is no doubt, left being upone they
will seize upon the mount Sacer, as sometimes the Commons did in their furious anger or else
poffefs themselves of the Aventine, and there encamp and keep an hold. Well, this weak and
veedle sex, born to bear, mutt suffer and endure whatsoever ye shall ordain and let them against
them, But take this withall at the looe for a final conclusion that the greater power and author-
ity ye have over them, the more discretion and moderation ye ought to use in that concernag
ye of yours. After debate of words passed in this wise, in favor and discretion of the law, the day fol-
lowing the women flocked in greater multitudes into the open streets, and banding themselves
together, as it were, in one troop, they beat the doors and houses of the Exar, who by inspecting
themselves, had binded and crofled the bill preferred by their fellow Tribuns: and never gave they The law Oopia
over to keep this fur, until those Tribuns flaked in their opposition for to inhibit the fame. While it regaled,
done, there was no doubt then, but all the tribes with one voice would abrogate and abolith
that law. Thus twenty years after the enacting thereof, it was repealed and annulled.

M. Porcius Catn after the abrogation of the law Oopia, presently departed with a fleet of five
and twenty Gallies, whereof five were lent out by Allies, and arrived in the Port of Land, to
which place he commanded his forces to assemble: and after by venue of an edifices also along
C the sea-coast, he had gathered together vessels of all sorts as he pleased from. Lust and promised
that they should all follow after him to the Port of Pyreneus, from whence he proposid to
lefe forth against the enemy, with an Armado of many Gll, and well appointed. Who having an
passed beyond the mountains of Longania, and the Gulf of Gulf, arrived and met all together at a
place and appointed. From thence they came against Rhoda, where they extrud the spanish
garrifon that held the forrefts. From Rhoda with a good gate of wind. They landed to Emporia,
Where, all the whole army, excepting the mariners, were let a land. At the land that appro
were two Towns, separate one from the other by a wall. The one of them was inhabited by
Greeks, who came from Phocca, from whence the Malliains also are descended: the others
poisfoled be Spaniards. But the Greeks Town leith out into the Sea, to as the whole, compare
the wall is not half a mile about: but the Spanish Town leathed farther into the Land, and divided
from the Sea, is defended with a wall three miles in circuit. A third sort of it inhabited
were joymed unto them by Cesar for the Emperor of famous memory, after he had receivd
Pompey's children. And at this day they are confudled and mingled one with another, and become
one entire body, by reason that first the Spaniards, and afterward the Greeks went in, as the recogni-
nizes of the City of Rome. A man might well marvail seeing open the sea, and all side to the
main Sea, how exposed they are on the other side to the danger of the Spanish, a nation so fierce and warlike, what thing it was to guard and proteced them: Discipline it was, en-erected government, and nothing else which maintained and preserved them in that weaknes: it establishment: discipline I say, which is ever bell intertained of them, who live in tenter of the migrans: and one

round about them. One quarter of the wall looking to the fields, is paffing strong and exceeding
well fortifed, having but one gate in all that side: which ordinarily is allways warded by one of
the Magistrats, in the night one third part usually of the citizen kept watch upon the walls. And
this watch they maintained not for outome and fashion nor by vesture of any law, but they per-
formed it with as great care, yes, and went the round and law to the sentinels with as much diliga-
cence, as the enemies were hard at gages. A Spaniard came not within the City's neither went
they forth themselves, unleaff it were upon just occasion. But on the Sea side the lane was open for
any man at his pleasure, by that gate which turneth toward the Spanish Town they never used to
go forth but in great number even a third part weener of the Townsmen, and those who the night
before had watched upon the walls. And this cause induced them to go abroad, for that the Span-
iards being no men at Sea gladly would traffick and trade with them: willingly buying of them
their orange merchandize from forces parts brought in by ships: and venturing upon them again
their Land commodities and fruits arising of the main. The desire of this mutual commerce and
necesary intercourse was the cause, that the Spanish Town was open to the Greeks. And in greater
tidest and securit they were also, by reason that they were shadowed under the wing of the
Roman armie, which they intertained with as great loyalty as the Malliains although they were
nothing to mighty and prudent. And even at this time they received the Consil and his army with
great concienc and liberalitie. Catn sojourned there some few days whiles he was adverst by
hicide where his enemies abode, and what their forces were: and because he would not be idle
whiles he tayed there, he bestowed all that time in training and exercising his soldiees. It
happned to be that season of the year, when the Spaniards had their corn within their granges
ready for the threshing floor, whereupon he forbid the cornvivors to provide grain, and sent
them home to Rome. Way, which he shall feed and maintain it fell. Being departed from Emporia
he walked and burnt the territory of the enemies, forced them to run away in every place where he
came, and put them in exceeding fright.

At the same time, as M. Helius departed out of the farther Province of Spul, with great
garrison soldiars delivered unto him by the Pretor, he was encounterd by a great army of the
Celti-
The four and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

Celtiberians, before the Town Iliturgum, Valerint writeth, that they were 20000 strong: that if 12000 of them were slain, the Town Iliturgum won again: and all above 14 years of age put to the sword. From thence Helvius marched to the camp of Caesar: and because the country was clear from enemies, he sent back the garrison into the nearer Spain, and took his journey to Rome, where he entered the City Octavia in petty triumph, for the happy success achieved in his affairs. He brought into the treasury, of silver in bullion or ingots, 14732 pounds weight: of silver coin 17923 bigate peces: and of Orcean silver 120338 pound weight. The cause why the Senate denied him full triumph, was this, that he waited under the conduct and name of another, and not in his own province, but it was two years before he returned, by reason that the year between he was played there, lying sick of a long and grievous diseasę, and put over his government to Qu. Minucius his successor. Whereupon Helvius likewise entered the City of Rome in that manner of triumph, two months only before his successor Q. Minucius triumphed. He likewise brought into the Chamber of the City 34800 pound weight of silver in mals: of bigats in coin 78000: of Orcean silver 278000 pound.

All this while the Consul lay encamped in Spain not far from Emporia. Thither repaired unto him from Borsigates a Prince of the Ilergetes, three Embassadors, whereof his son was one: complaining that their forts were assailed by force of arms, and they had no other hope to make resistance, unless they might have a guard of Roman soldiers to defend them, 5000 fay they will be sufficient: for never would the enemies abide by it if it were a power came against them. The Consul answered them and said, that he had a feeling and compassion of the peril or fear (whether it was) wherein they stood: howbeit, he was not at that time furnished with such forces, that he K might lately spare so many out of his main army, whereby to dismember the same and to enwrap his forces, considering a mighty host of his enemies was not far off, with whom he looked every day, and he knew not how soon, to join battail in open field with banners displayed. The Embassadors hearing this, fell down prostrate at the Consul's feet, and shed tears, humbly beseeching him not to forsake them in this picturesque. "For whether (say they) shall we go if we be repulsed from the Romans? No allies we have besides, nor other hope in all the world. This danger we might have avoided were it well we would have been taken and difloyal; if we would have bandied and rebelled with other Spaniards: but no menaces, nor terror preferred unto us, could drive us to renounce our fealty, hoping always that we should have help and succour enough from the Romans: but now it no help, if no relief come from thence: if we be denied at the L Consul hard: heaven and earth call to witness, that we must be forced full against our wills, and upon mere necessity, to revolt from the Romans, for fear we drink of the same cup that the Saguntins have done afore us: and choose we will to die with the rest of the Spaniards for company, rather than perish alone by our les. So for that day they were dismissed without another answer. But all the next following, the Consul was much distracted in mind, and careful in both respects. Unwilling he was to set off his allies and see them delitiate: and as unwilling again to break his army: considering that in doing, he might either delay the opportunity of giving battle or endanger himself in the very instant of conflict. But at length he resolved in no wise to diminish his own forces, doubting left in the mean while he should receive some dishonor at the enemies hand. As for his associates, he thought it best to interest them with good hopes, for want of better helps; considering that occasions and especially in war, outward semblances and vain flames, are held and taken for truth and substanse, and serve the turn well enough: and when a man is strongly persuaded that he hath aid and succour, the very truth and confidence thereof hath minified hearts to give the venture of some exploit and preferred him as well as the thing itself. The next morrow he delivered this answer unto the Embassadors, That albeit he feared to abate his own strength, in leaving other men's turn with any part of his forces, yet he had at this present more regard of their occasions and dangerous estate than of his own. Whereupon he gave commandment, that a third part of all his bands and companies should have warning to bake and dress viands with all speed, to be below and lay in the ships: and strictly he charged, that they should be rigged and ready appointed against the third day: and whilest within, two of the Embassadors to report to much to Borsigates and the Ilergetes. As for the young Prince his son, he detained still with him, used him graciously, and beloved favours and rich gifts upon him bounteously. The Embassadors took not their leave nor departed, before they saw the fouldiers embarked: and thus by making relation hereof, as a thing asssured and past all peradventure, they filled the heads not of their own friends only, but also of the enemies with the brutish of Roman aids coming near at hand. The Consul now, when he had set this countenance of the matter, and made sufficient semblance to serve his purpose, gave order that the fouldiers should be disbarred again & set a land: and himself seeing now that the time of the year approached commodious for action and execution of martial affairs, dislodged and removed his standing winter camp within a mile of Emporia. From whence (as any occasions and opportunities were preferred) he led forth his fouldiers a foraging and plundering into the enemies land, sometimel one way and sometimel another, leaving always a competent guard to defend the camp. Ordinarily their manner was to press out by night, to the intent that both they might go on till further from their leaguer. And so surprize the enemies at unaswers and unprovided: by which means not only his new & raw fouldiers were exercised, but also many of his enemies were caught up and came short home: whereupon they durst no more peep out of their forts & holds of defence. Now after he had made sufficient proof
A proof of the hearts as well of his own men as of his enemies, he commanded all the Marshals, Colonels, Horse-men, and Centurions, to assemble before him: and unto them he made this speech, "The time (quoth he) is now come, that you to often have waited for; in which you may the full your venture and valour. Your service hitherto hath been more like the manner of for-ragers than warriors: but now shall ye come to a main battall, and as enemies, fight hand to hand with professed enemies. From henceforth you may if you will not wait their fields only and put their territory, but ramack the pillegage of rich and wealthy cities. Our fathers before us and ancestors in times past, when as in Spain there were both Generals and armies of Car-thaginians, having themselves no leaders and commanders, no loundiers and forces there, yet would they need have this article among others, capitulated in the accord and composition with the Spaniards. That the River of Iterus should limit their Seigniory and dominion. Now at this day, when two Pretors and a Consul, when three entire Roman armies have the go-vernment and charge of Spain now, I hay, after ten years space almost, wherein no Carthaginians have set foot and been seen in all these quarters of both provinces, we have lost our seg-ondy on this side Iterus. This must ye recover and win again by force of arms, by monhood and valour; yennull I say, compel this nation, more rath and inconsiderate in rebelling than con-tant and relolute in maintaining war, for to receive once more the yoke of sujection, which they have shaken from off their necks. Having exchorted and encouraged them in this manner, he gave them to understand, that he would let forward in the night and lead against the enemies camp. And so he let them depart to refresh their bodies. At midnight, after he had devoutly taken with him the signs and approbations of the birds for his better speed, he put himself in his journey; and because he might be dezier of some place to his liking before the enemies should defray him he let a compa's in his march, and led his loundiers clean beyond their camp. And having by day light let his companies in battall array, he sent out three cohorts, even close to the rampier and trench of the enemy. The barbarrons people wondering to see the Romans shew themselves behind at their back, ran to and fro to take arms. Mean while, the Consul held his men with stouf and such like speeches: 'My loundiers (quoth he) there is no other hope now left, but in mere strength and valour, and I of very purpose have wrought it. Between us and our camp the enemies are encamped all: behind at our back we have our enemies Land. The bravest cowards are ever last, namely, to build and ground our hope purely upon vertue. D) And herewithal he gave order, that the cohorts asoreaid should retire or purpose to train forth the barbarrons people, by making leembiance of retreat and flight. And so set it out in very deed as he thought and supposed: for they imagining that the Romans for very fear were retir'd, fill'd forth by heaps out of the gate, and bended with armed men all the ground, that lay between their own camp and the enemies battall. And whiles they made great holl to embattell themselves, the Consul, who was already arranged in battell array, and in all respects well appointed, charged upon them before they were marshalled and fet in order. First he put forth the corners and wings of horsemen from both points and flanks of the battall: but they of the right side were straightways repelled, and by their hasty and feardly retreating, caused the fort men also to be mightily afraid. Which the Consul perceiving, he commanded two elect cohorts of footmen to wheel about the right flank of the enemies, and to shew themselves at their backes before the other companies of footmen, and charged one another. This did exacter or afforded the enemies, but lest all upright again and recover'd the battall of the Romans which through the fear of the Cavalry began to shrunk and go down. Howbeit the horsemen and footmen both of the right point, were too troubled and too far out of order, that the Consul was forced to pluck some of them back with his own hand, and turn them with their faces against the enemy. Thus all the while that the footfalled the skirmish was doubtful: so now the Romans in the skirmish had much ado to make head and stand to in the right side, whereas the light and light first began. But on the left and alllfront the barbarrons had the worst: and with great horror they looked behind and saw their enemies how they played upon their backs and relied not. After they had done with flinging their iron darts and lancing their fiery javelins, they drew their swords and herewith begin the conflict afresh. They were not wounded now from a fire off by blind chance and haphazard, they knew not from whence; but foot to foot they flank, and hand to hand they coped and let drive one at another: no hope at all was now but to trust in pure strength and main force. The Consul seeing his men wearied, encouraged and releaved them by sending for to relieve and maintain the fight, certain cohorts out of the rearward. This new battallion well in heart, and with fresh weapons charged the enemies tired and tried: and being engag'd in point'd wite like a quoyt or wedge at the first hot on fire brake their errands and bringing one disorder'd, put them to flight, and in flattering wite they ran as fast as their legs would carry them to their camp. Cose seeing them flee on all hands, mounted on horseback and rode himself to the second legion, which was in the rearward for supply and commanded to advance the standards and enignes before him to march space, and to approach the camp of the enemies for to give an assult. If the elipted any one to step out of his rank he would ride before and rap him with his light javelin that he had in his hand: commanding the Marshals and Captains to chastise him for it. Now was the enemies camp at the point to be assualt, and the Romans were with stones, pikes, speches and all kind of weapons set back and driven from the trench. But when this fifth legion approached nearer, then the assailants were more encouraged, and also the
the enemies fought more lustily in defence of their rampiers. The Consil called his eye all about him, to see how to break in at some place or other where least resistance might be made: and seeing the guard thin about the left gate, thither he conducted the Principals and the Hаllаtі of the second legion: but the corps de guard which guarded that gate, was not able to endure their violent charge. The rest on the other side, seeing the enemies within the rampier, abandoned the camp, and flung away their ensigns and weapons. The soldiers of the second legion followed the chaise and killed them as they ran away, while the other ranfacked and piled their tents. Vаlеriаns Аnnіs wrote, that there were 60000 fell that day upon the edge of the world. Cesar himself (that never loved to make the leaf of his own praise worthy evil faith, there were many slain: but (leteth not down what number. He is thought to have performed that day three preces of service worthy of great praise and commendation: first, in that he set a compais with his army far from his ships, far from his camp, and gave battle in the middle of the enemies, where his men could repose no hope at all but in their own virtue and valour: secondly, for sending those cohosts behind the enemies to charge upon their backs: and thirdly, for that he called the second legion to march a great pace under their colours displicated, ranged as they were and ordered in battle array, for to approach and affait the gates of the enemies camp, whiles all the rest were disbanded and spread all abroad to purse the enemies in chaise.

After this victory achieved, he sat not still in reit and repose, but having founded the retreat and brought his own fouldiers loden with pilage into the camp, he allowed them some few hours for their night sleep, and led them forth into the territory of the enemy to forrage and spoil: which was as effectual to enforce the Spanish Empitians, and all their neighbour bordeis to yield subjection, as the unhappy battle fought the day before. Many also of other Cities, which were retired to Empire for refuge, tendered themselves to his devotion: whom he entertained all with gracious words, and when he had made them good cheer, beastowing wine and cates plentifully upon them, he lent them home to their own houses. Then immediately he dislodged and removed his camp. And all the way as he marched with his army there referred Embassiators from divers States that yielded themselves unto him. By that time that he was come as far as Varion, all Spain on this side iberus, was wholly subdued: and the barbarous people brought in as presents unto the Consil, all the captives and prisoners, as well Romans as Allies, and namely, Latins, who by many and fundry hands had been taken in Spain. The bruit went commonly abroad that the Consil would lead his power into Turdœnіa. There was a false alarm likewise given, and spoken it was, That he would visit the mountainers that lay out of the way. Upon this vain and headless rumour, there were seven forts belonging to the State of the Bergians that revolted from him: but the Consil led his army against them, and without any memorable battle reduced them under obedience. And the Consil his back was no sooner turned, and he went to Tarcon, but they rebelled again, even before he was departed from thence in any other expedition. Suhdied they were the second time, but they found not the like as our as before, to have pardon: for they were all fold like flames in open market, under the gandal, because they should not thus every while trouble the peace.

In this meantime P. Manlius the Factor, after he had received the old army at the hands of Q. Minus whom he succeeded, and joined there to the other army of old fouldiers belonging to Appius Claudius, and which were come out of the farther Spain, he made an expedition into Turdœnіа. Now these Turdetsians of all other Spaniards are accounted to be the worst fouldiers, howbeit, in confidence of their great numbers and multitudes they came forward and encountered the Roman forces. But the men of arms had no sooner charged them, but presently, they were disarranged. As for the footmen, they fought in manner not at all. The old approved fouldiers, who knew the enemies very well, and were exercised in feats of arms, made a quick dispath of this skirmish, and soon put all paff peradventure. Howbeit, the war was not so ended, nor determined in one battel. The Turdets levied and waged 1000 Cethribers, and so maintained war afield with forraim mercenary forces.

The Consil being already with the Rebellion of the Turdetsians, and supposing that other N Cities would do the like, upon any good occasion and opportunity, disturbed all the Spaniards on this side iberus of their armor and munition, Which they took for such an indignity that many of them for very melancholy killed themselves: a martial and warlike nation, that thought they were as good be out of the world as turned out of their arms, and reckoned no lie, without their weapons, The Consil having intelligence hereof, commanded the Senators of all those Cities to repair into him: and when they were assembled together, he used this speech unto them. cе It concerneth you (saith he) no less than us, to give over this rebelling and warring. For never yet to this day have ye entered into the action, but with more loss and damage of Spaniards, than till and travel of the Roman army. To prevent this mischief that it should not happen, I implore you in one good way, it is, to contrive and work it, that ye might not possibly be able to rebel. Then this I would fain be, if it please your excellency and concern of all other. Affiet me I pray you herein with your good counsel. I assure you I will not be directed by any advice more willingly, than by that which you and your selves shall give me. When they held their tongues, and would not speak a word, he said unto them again, that he was content they should pause upon the matter, and consult thereof a few days. When they were called again and kept silence in this second meeting and conference as well as in the former he made no more ado, but in one day raised the walls of all their Cities, which
A which done, he went forward against those that hitherto were not come in, not yielded obedience: and into what quarters sooner he came, he received all the States one after another, there bordering and adjoining, into his protection save only Segesta, a wealthy City and of importance, the which he forced with maestets and rolling pavilions, and such like fabrics. More difficulty in subduing these enemies he found, than others afore who first came into Spain in this regard, for that in times past the Spaniards at the beginning revolted unto them, as being weary of the tedious yoke of subjection under the lordly government and tyranny of the Carthaginians.

But Carthage had more ado with them now, in that out of liberty and freedom, which they had usurped and been used to, he was to engage them (as it were) bond, and to bring them again to servitude. Besides, he found all out of frame and order, whiles some of them were up in arms, others were forced by fierce to revolt, as not able to have held out long unless they had been reduced and incouraged in time. But of this nature and courageous mind was the Conslul, that he would himself in person be present and manage all affairs, as well those of smallest moment, as also those of greatest weight and consequence: and not only devise and give direction whatever was best to be done, but would himself set to his hand, and execute most of the exploits and effect them fully. There was not one amongst all that he commanded with more severity and rigour, than his own left. In this, being near in spare feeding, in much watching, in painful travel, he tried to terrify and ouce the meanest common soldiers, and no privilege challenged he, no advantage bought he to himself in his whole army above others, but only honour and sovereign command.

The Pretor P. Mutilius had the more trouble in his war-service, e. g. on account of the Celtiberians, whom (as it hath been said before) the enemies had levied and hived with their mony, and therefore the Conslul being sent unto by the Pretor his letters, led his legions aloft that he might arrive, (now the Celtiberians and Turditi were severally encamped apart one from the other) the Romans fell presently to maintain light skirmishes with the Turditi, and ever and anon charged their corps de guard, and how rashly and inconsiderably ever they began the game, yet they ever went away victors. As for the Celtiberians, the Conslul sent certain Tribuns or Knight Matills unto them to entice, giving them in charge to make them an offer and tender unto them the choice of three conditions. First, if they could be content to arrange themselves to serve under the Romans, and to receive at their hands double wages so that they bargained for with the Turditi; Secondly, whether they would be willing to go their waies home under safe conduct and publick security, besides that their riding with the Roman enemies should not be laid to their charge, nor bring them within the compass of any danger. Thirdly, if they had more mind to war, then that they should let down some time and place, when and where they might come to an issue, and trie it out in a set battall. The Celtiberians required to take a day for to consider better upon their points. So they assembled together in counsel, with great trouble and confusion, by reason that some Turditi were truth in amongst them; upon which occasion, they might worse grow to any conclusion. Now albeit uncertain it was, whether there would be any war or peace with the Celtiberians, yet the Romans gathered their provision out of the territory and burthous of their enemies, like as in time of peace: yea, and more than that, they entred oftentimes within their fortifications and defences, as if there had been some common traffick and commerce agreed between them, by way of private truce. The Conslul seeing he could not draw the enemy to a battall, sent led certain companies lightly appointed with banners displayed, to raise hostes in one quarter of the country, which as yet was free, and not tainted of the wars; but afterwards hearing that all the bag and baggage and other cargio of the Celtiberians was left as Segesta, he sent forward thither to give an assault to the Town. But seeing that nothing would move and stir them, he paid not only his own loundiers their wages, but also the Pretor's army their dues, and leaving the main host in the Pretor his camp, himself returned to the River Ebro, accompanied only with seven cohorts. With their forces, as small as they were, he went certain Towns, and thence revolted unto him the Sedetans, Anietans, and Sueftetans. The Lactetans (a Nation living out of the way after a savage manner within the wilds and woods) kept still in arms, not only upon a natural and inbred wildness, but also upon a guilty conscience, in that whilsts the Conslul and his army was employed in the Turditi war, they had made tuddish roads and in unions into the lands of their Allies, and pitifullly waited the same. And therefore the Conslul advanced forward to assault their Town, and led against it not only his own cohorts and bands, but also the youth of his Allies, who had good cause to be angry, and to oppose themselves unto them. The Town which they inhabited, lay out in length, but was nothing to wide and large in breadth: and within one half mile or les, he pitched down his ensigns, and planted himself. There he left behind a guard of choice companies, and frethly did he himself not to stir out of that place, before he came unto them himself. The rest of his forces he led about unto the farther side beyond the Town. Of all the aid-loudiers that he had about him, the greatest number were the youth of the Sueftetans, and thence he commanded to approach the wall for to give an assault. The Lactetans, when they took knowledge of their armor and colours calling to mind how often they had overthrown them at their pleasure, and wasted their lands without check or empasschment, how many and fundry times they had in ranged baddly distinguished & put them to flight, all at once set open the gates, and fallied out upon them. The Sueftetans were so little able to maintain the forcible charge of their onsets, that they hardly could abide their very floor: and first cry, The Conslul now, that is come to pass, indeed which he suspected would be...
be for rode a gallop upon the spur to those said cohorts of his own that were left on the other side under the Town, and taking them with him in great haste, whiles all the Townsmen were spread abroad in following the chase after the Suenetians, led them into the Town at a pace where there was no noise, no stirring, and not a man to be seen: and made himself matter of all, before the Lacedeumans were returned back: but within a while he received them to mercy upon their submission: who, poor men, had nothing to yield and lose but their bare armor and weapons. Immediately he followed the train of this victory, and led his forces against the high and strong Town of Vergrum. This was a receptacle and place of fire receive for certain Rovers and Theevies, who from thence used to make many rodes into the peaceable parts of that Province. The principal and chief person of Vergrum quit the place, and betook himself unto the Consul, and began to excite as well himself as the Townsmen: saying, that the government of the Town I and the (late thereof) lay not in their hands. For why these robbers after they were once received in among them, seized themselves wholly of that strength, and had all at their command. The Consul willed him to go home again, and to devise and forge some likely and probable cause why he had been absent and one of the way: with this charge and direction, that when he saw him approach under the walls, and the robbers aforefoold wholly snuffed and occupied in defence thereof, then he should remember to join with the rest of his part and faction, and be poffessed of the fortresses and hold of the Town. This put he in practice and execution accordingly. So whiles the Romans of one side seized the walls, and they on the other side had taken the fortresses, these barbarians were suddenly at once surpris'd with a two-fold fear before and behind. The Consul when he had gotten the place into his own hands, gave order, that all those who were gotten into the Caflle and held it, should remain free, themselves and all their kindred, and likewise enjoy their goods. The rest of the Vergrumans he commanded the Treasurer to fell and make many of them. As for the Rovers, they suffered according to their defects. After he had met the Provinct in quict, he laid great tributes and imposts upon the mires of iron and silver: which being once ordained and established, the whole province grew in wealth and riches, every day more than other. For these his exploits achieved in Spain, the LL. of the Senate decreed, that there should be a solemn procession at Rome, to endure for three days.

The same winter, L. Valerius Flaccus the other Consul, fought in France a fet field with the power of the Boians, near the forest of Litania, and won the victory. And by report, there were eight thousand Gauls there slain: the rest abandoned the war and flipp every one into their own L. Hamlets and Villages. The rest of the winter the Consul kept his army at Placentia and Cremona about the Po, and repaired in those Cities whatsoever had been daediaed and demolished during the wars.

The affairs in Italy and Spain standing in these terms: when T. Quinctius had so paffed the winter in Greece, the setting aside the Aetolians (who neither had been renounced according to the hope that they conceived of the victory, nor yet could long time like of repose) all Greece throughout in general enjoying the blessing of peace and liberty, flourished and maintained their state exceeding well, admiring no less the temperance, justice, and moderation of the Roman General after victory, than his valour and prowess in war: there was an Act of the Senate of Rome brought and presented unto him, importuning this much, That war was determined against Nabis, the tyrant of the Lacedeumans. Which when Quinctius had read, he published and proclaimed a general Diet or Council at Corinath against a certain day: when and where all the States associats should assemble by their delegates and Embassadors. Now when there was met together from all parts a frequent number of Princes and great personages, in such sort, that the very Aetolians also were not absent, Quinctius called unto them this or the like speech. T. The Romans & Greeks have forsworn against King Philip, ye well know; and as with one mind and common counsel they have done, so either of them had several quarters unto him, and private causes and occasions by themselves to take arms. For Philip had broken the league and amity with us Romans, one while by sending aid and maintenance to the Carthaginians our enemies; otherwhiles by affailing our allies in the fea ports: and to you wards he hath to demeann himself, that albeit we could not forget and put up all the wrongs that he hath done unto us, the very injures that ye have received at his hands, minster sufficient cause unto us to war against him for your sake. As for this dayes conflagration, it relish wholly in your selves. For, this I propound unto you, Whether your will is to suffer Argos (which as ye know your selves Nabis the tyrant holdeth) to remain still under him in obedience; or whether you think it meet and right that a most noble and ancient City as it is, nestled in the very heart of Greece, should be reduced unto liberty, and enjoy the same condition and state wherein other Cities of Peloponnesus and Greece do stand. This conciliacon I say, as you well see, entirely toucheth you and your good, and concerneth us Romans no farther than thus, that by the vertuice of that one only City, we can not have the full and entire glory of setting Greece wholly in liberty. But if you regard not the state of O that City, and are not moved with the example thereof and the danger, for fear the contagion of this mischiefbred farther: we for our parts are content, and take all in good worth, and will not let you down and teach you what to do. Only 1 require your advice in this point, minding to relieve upon that which the Major part of you shall carry by voices. After the Roman General had ended his speech, all the rest began to deliver their opinions. And when the denoted delegate or agent for the Athenians had magnified and extoll'd as highly as possibly he could, the good
A good demersit of the Romans towards Greece, yielding them great thanks, that upon their request they had granted them aid against Philip, and without any petition at all, offered their help and succour against Nabir the tyrant; and seemed therewith to be offended and displeased at some, who nevertheless in their talk and speeches found fault and carped at these forgreat favours and debts: yea, and spake badly of future events, whereas it behoved them rather to acknowledge and confess how much they were bound and beholden already to the Romans for good turns past: it well appeared that he pointed out directly the Eotolians, and girded at them. Whereupon Alexander, a principal and chief man of their nation, inveighed still against the Athenians, who having been in times past the head Captains and maintainers of freedom, betrayed now the common cause, for love of their own private flatteries. Moreover, he complained that the Achaean, who first served Philip in his wars, and at the last (when they saw him down the wind and fortune to frown upon him) fell away like disloyal traitors & professed themselves of Corinth to their own behoof, preaching also to compass and gain unto them the City of Argos. As for the Eotolians, the first and principal enemies of Philip, and allavies and allies to the Romans, howsoever they had expressly and precisely covenanted in the league, to enjoy their towns and territories, after Philip was vanquished, were notwithstanding put besides Echium and Pharsalus. He charged the Romans with fraud and deceit, pretending an outward shew, a vain tinct and colour of liberty, held the Cities of Calchis and Demetrias with strong garrisons: and yet when Philip made some stay and halting to withdraw and void from thence his armed guards, they were ever wont to object and say, that Greece would not be in freedom, so long as

C Calchis-Demetrias and Corinth were in his hand: and finally he alluded against them, that under pretence of Argos and Nabir, they ought occasion to remain still in Greece and keep their armies there. Let them (quoth he) transport their legions once into Italy, the Eotolians would then undertake and promise, that Nabir should remove his garrisons out of Argos, upon composition and with good will, or else they would compel him by force and arms, to be over-ruled by the prudence of all Greece united together in one general consent. By this vain babble of his, he rouled Aristoemn at first, the Praetor of the Achaean, who spake in this wise. Never will Jupiter Ope Max, quoth he, and Queen Jove the Patrooncrs of Argos, suffer that City to be the recompence or prize between the Lacedemonian Tyrant, and their pilling and theiving Eotolians: to be brought to this hard point and their terms of extremity, as to sustain more misery and calamities,

D ty when it is recovered by us, than when it was won and taken by him. O Quintus, it is not the feaying between us and them that can defend us from these robberies. What will then become of us, in case they should make themselves a fort and Castle of strength in the midst of Peloponnesus? Nought have they of the Greeks but their language, like as they carry nothing of men but their shape and visage. For look into their manners, their fashions and behaviour, they are more rude and cruel than any barbarians, nay, they are more savage than the most wild and ravenous beasts that be. We believe you therefore, O Romans, both to recover Argos out of the hands of Nabir, and also to establish the State of Greece in such fort, that ye leave these parts also safe and secure enough from the robberies and theiving hostility of these Eotolians. The Roman General Quintus, seeing them all five to blame and rebuke the Eotolians, said, that he would have answered

E them himself, but that he perceived them all so hateful,ly bent against them, that more needfull it was that they were to be appeased, than farther provoked. And therefore holding himself satisfied and contented with that opinion which was conceived of the Romans and Eotolians, he said, that he would demand what their pleasure was to advise, concerning the war against Nabir; unless he rendred Argos to the Achaean? And when they all were of one mind to make war, he exhorted them to send aids proportionably to the power and strength of each State and City, To the Eotolians he sent an Embassador, more to discourse and lay open their intention (as it fell out accordingly) than upon any hope he had to obtain ought at their hands. Unto the Provost Marshals of the camp, he gave commandment to send for the army from Etalias.

F About this time, when the Embassadors of King Antiochus came unto him to treat about alliance and league, he answered, That he could say nothing to them nor determine of that point in the absence of those Delegates above said: and therefore they were to repair unto the Senate of Rome. Then, himself in person prepared to make an expedition and voyage against Argos, with those forces which were brought from Etalias. And when he was about Cleone, Aristobulus the Praetor, with 10,000 foot of Achaean, and 1,000 horse met him in the way: and not far from thence they joyned both their forces and encamped together. The next day after they came down into the Plain of Arogo, and chose a place to fortifie and lye in leaguer about four miles from Argo. Now was Pythogoras the Captain of the Lacedemonian garrison, who had both married the tyrant his daughter, and was his wives brother besides. This Pythogoras against the coming of the Romans, had fortified with strong guards both the Castles (for two there are within Argos) and other places, which either had easy access or were suspected, But as he was employed in their provisions and preparations, he could not dispute and hide the fear which this arrival and appearance of the Romans strike into him: and besides this fear from without, there happened also an intestine mutiny within. There was one Damocles an Argeian. (a young Gentleman of more spirit and courage than wisdom and discretion) who at the first by intercepting a mutual and reciprocal oath, had conferred with certain persons of good sufficiency, about expelling the garrison; but whiles he studied to strengthen the conspiracy and his own side, he was not well assured.
affured of their fidelity, and could not judge which of them were true and which not. As he tal-
ked upon a time with his complices the captain of the garrison went for him by one of his guards;
whereupon he perceived that his compot was revealed: he exhorted therefore the conspirators
that were in the way to take arms with him, rather than to die by torture upon the rack: and for
with some few about him he marched forward into the market-place, crying often aloud. That as
many as loved the safety of the Common-weal should follow him as their head and maintainer
of their liberty; but no man moved he with his speech to go after him and take his part; for no
hope saw they of any succour at all near at hand: so far off were they from making good account
of a sure gaud of defence. And as he spoke those words, the Lacedamonians were come round
about him, and killed both him and his fellows. After this were others also apprehended; the
most part of them were slain, and some few cast into prison. A great number the next following I
slew down the wall by ropes, and fled to the Romans. Thee affured the Romans, that if their ar-
my had been near the gates the communions and conspiracy thereof would have taken effect: and
in case their camp approached nearer, the Argives would not be in quiet, but make four infor-
medion: whereupon Quintus sent out the footmen lightly appointed, together with the horse-
men; who skirmished with the Lacedamonians about Cynarhie (a publick school and place of
exercitc about a quarter of a mile out of the City) who were fall'd out at the gate; and without
any great difficulty chaz'd them within the town: and in that very place where the conflict was,
the Roman Generall encamped. One day he spent in confancing an espial, whether any new trouble
and uproars arose among them within the City. But when he perceived one that they were
all amot for fear, he assembled a Councill to take advice. Whether he were bel to give the af-
fault upon Argos, or no? All the heads of Greece, (except Aristophon) accorded with one accord,
that since there was no other cause of war elsewher, it should begin therewith especially. Quintus
in no case would like of that counsel, but willingly he gave ear with evident approbation unto
Aristophon, as he discours'd and reason'd against the genrell opinion and content of them all: and
over and besides added this of himself. That considering the war was enterprised and taken in hand
in the behalf of the Argives against the tyrant, there was nothing else becoming and more with-
outness, than to leave the enemy himself, and to assail and batter the poor City of Argos. For his
part he would fight at the head, even against the Lacedamonians and their tyrant. the principal
cause of this war. Then having dissolved the Council, he sent certain cohorts lightly appointed
to peruse there of grain. As much as could be found ripe in those parts was cut mowed and rea-

ded down immediately and laid up: all that was green they trampled under foot and spoiled,
that the enemies from after might have no good thereof. So he disposed and removed from thence,
and having passed over the mountain Porthium, at three days end he encamp'd in the territory
of Carystus to regt. In which place he expected the aids of his allies before he would invade
the territory of the enemies. From Phocis there came a thousand and five hundred Macedoni-
ans, and of the Thessalians forty horse, the Roman Generall said not now for succours of men
(whereof he had sufficient and plenty) but tor his provision of victuals, which he had comman-
ded the towns bordering near hand to furnish him withall. Besides there came great forces by sea,
and met him there: for by this time was Lucius Quintinus thriven with forty fall from Lucanis al-
so eighteen covered ships of Rhodes. And now also was Eumenes the King, about the Islands Cy-
enides with ten close hatched and decked ships, thirty gallions, with other smaller vessels among
of sundry sorts. Likewise of Lacedamonians that were exiled and banish'd persons there were very
many; who chaf'd and driven out by the onerous and wrongfull dealing of their tyrants, re-
paired now into the Roman Camp, in hope to recover their native country again. Now a great many
had been expell'd in divers and sundry ages, since time that the tyrants first usurp'd rule, and
were poissett of Lacedamon. The chief of these exiled persons was one Agesipolis, a man to whom
by right of descent and lineage the inheritance of the kingdom of Lacedamon appertain'd. He
whiles he was but an infant happen'd to be expell'd by Lycurgus after the death of Cimon,
who was the first tyrant at Lacedamon.

The tyrant before thus found round about with wars threatening both from sea and land, and destruc-
tion in manner of all hope, (considering the proportion of his forces to the power of his enemies) yet
nevertheless neglected not to wage war, but left out of Crete one thousand more (even the choos
flower of all their youth) to the other thousand that he had from thence already. He had
besides of mercenary soulidiers three thousand in arms: also ten thousand of his own subjects
and Citizens of Lacedamon, together with those that he had taken out of the burroughs and villages
in the country. Moreover, he fortified the City with trench and more. And there that might
arise no trouble and stir within the town, he held the spirits of men in awe with fear of sharp
and rigorous punishments. And forasmuch as he could not hope nor imagine that they defied and
wished his good and sake: for that he held some Citizens in filiation and jealousy: after he had
brought forth all his forces into the plain, which they call Dromos, he commanded the Laceda-
omians to assemble together without any armour and weapons to an audience: and when they
were assembled he environ'd them with his armed guard. And after some few remonstrances by
way of a short preamble. Why they ought to hold him excused at such a time. If he feared every
thing, and made all suffre as well as he could: considering withall, it was expedient even for them
also (as many as the present state of the world might bring in suflcription) to be kept short for being
able to execute any attempt, rather than be surpriz'd in the midst of their practises and complots,
and
A and be punished accordingly: even for this cause (quoth he) I will have certain persons in stake custody and during, until the time as the temple be overthrown which now is coming. And when the enemies be once repulsed (from whom lest danger there will be in case domestic crimes may be prevented) then incontinent will I enlarge them and for them at liberty. This said, he commanded the names to be called of fouriere or thereabout of the principal of the youths and as every one of them answered to his name, he clapt him up into prison: and the next night following, murdered them every one. After this, certain licts (these were they who ever of old time were the Burghers and Villagers, a kind of seafarers and country kerns) were accused to have intended to fly unto the enemy and to band with him: who likewise were whipped and scourged throughout all the streets, and then put to death. By the fullest example of this cruelty, these images of the common fort were well cooled and abated, sea, and so attainted, that they durst not once quench nor give attempt of any new defigments tending to change and alteration. His forces he kept within his strength and places of defence, for neither thought he himselves strong enough to enter the field and fight a feet battell, nor durst abandon the City seeing the minds of men so wavering, and their affections so unconstant.

Quintius having made his provision and set all things in good order, departed from his standing camp, and the second one came to Selinucia upon the river Oe us: in which very place Antigonus sometime King of the Macedonians stuck a battell (men say) with Cleomenes the tyrant of the Lacedemonians. And there, having intelligence, that from thence he was to mount upon hard ascent and narrow passage, he set a short compass through the mountains, having it first before.

Certain men to levell the ground and make the way even, and so got into a large and broad post-gate, until be came to the river Eurymedon, which runneth in manner hard under the walls of the City of Sparta: where, as the Romans were pitching their tents, even as Quintius himself with the horsemens and light van-courtiers gone before, the Auxiliaries of the tyrant charged upon them: who looking for nothing less, because no man had encountered them all the way as they marched, but pasted on in their journey as in a peaceable country, were much troubled and disquieted here-with. This fear of theirs continued a good while, while the horsemens called upon the footmen, and they again unto the horsemens; and both the one fort and the other metred in themselves but little or nothing at all. At length the standards of the legions with their ensigns came forward; and were within sight, and so long as the companies of the van guard advanced forth to fight.

D they who ere while terrified others, were driven in fearfull halfe themselves into the City. The Romans being retired so far from the wall, as that they were without dart-shots, flood a while ranged in battall array. But after that they saw none of the enemies come abroad against them, returned to their leaguer. The next day after Quintius took his way and marched with his army in order of battell along the town side, near unto the river-hart at the foot of the hill Menedon. The companies of the legionary footmen led the march in the vanguard, the light footmen and the horsemens followed in the rewarward, and Flasked the ret, Nabis kept within the walls his mercenary scoulfers (in whom he repose greatest confidence) arranged under their ensigns, and in readines to fight, purposing to charge the back of his enemies. And the rewarward of the Romans was not so soon paied by, but they called out of the town at sundry places at once, with tumultuous noise as they made the day before. Appius Claudius had the leading of the rewarward, who having prepared beforehand and heareth of his fellowmen, and advertised them to be prout and ready for what occasion ever might happen, presently turned the ensigns and set a compass with the whole army to make head against the enemies. Whereupon there ensued a hot fight which endured a good time as if two armies had directly encountered one another. In the end, the soulers of Nabis began to give ground and flee; in which flight of theirs they had made leafls hurt, and better saved themselves, but that the Achans who were acquainted well with the ground and knew the coasts of the country, hotly followed the chases: these made a tae slaughter and butcherery among them; and the most part, such as were dispersed here and there in their flight they disarmed. Then Quintius encamped near unto Amphipolis, and having harried and wasted all the territory.

F round about the City (which places were very well peopled and very pleasaunt) when he saw no enemies issue out at the City gates, he removed his camp hard to the river Eurus. From whence he made excursions, wasted all the vale lying under the hill Taurus and the lands, butting and adjoyning close to the sea.

Much about the same time L. Quintius made himself Master of the towns, found on the sea side: some yielded willingly, others for fear or pereforce, And being afterwards advertised that the town Gytaunom (served for a place of safe retreat and refuge unto the Lacedemonians in all their exploits and service at sea, and that the Romans lay encamped not far from the sea side, he resolved to affail it with all forcible means. This town at that time was very strong well peopled with Citizens and other inhabitants; and sufficiently furnished with all warlike provisions and munition.

G And in very good time it fell out, that as Quintius was entered into this difficult enterpise, King Emeneus and the Rhodian fleet arrived. A mighty number of mariners and sea-servitors, gathered out of three Armadoes, within few days made and furnished all engines and fabrics, which were to assault the City so well fortified both by sea and land. Now was the town wall broken down with the undermining of the tortures, now was the wall shaken by the puth of the rim, and with all there was one tower that by continual batterie was overthrown: and with the fall thereof all the wall that stood by the side came tumbling down and lay along. And the Romans evermore
red at one time to enter the town, both from the haven (where the passage was more plain and easy) to the end, that the enemies might abandon the defence of the more open place; and also at the breach made in the wall; and they miffed but very little of entrance there where they intended, but the hope they conceived of yielding the city, which anon was crossed again, and turned to nothing, laid their violence and heat of assault. Desagoridas and Corasias governed the town then in equal authority. Desagoridas had dispatched a courier to the Roman lieutenant, to signify that he would betray the town; and when the time and place of execution of this designment was agreed upon between them, the traitor was killed by Corasias: by occasion whereof, the City was the better defended with more careful heed by him alone; yea, and the assault thereto had been more difficult, but that \textit{Lucius Quinctius} came to succour and help with four thousand chosen soldiers. He was no sooner discovered with an army arranged in battle array from the brow and top of the hill that is not far distant from the town; whilst \textit{L. Quinctius} with all from another side followed the assault with his ordnance and artillery both by sea and land, but Corasias then began himself to delpair in very deep and was driven perforce to take that very course, which in another he had punished by death; and upon composition that he might depart and have away with him those soldiers which he had ingarriage, he delivered up the City to \textit{Quinctius}. Before that \textit{Gytheion} was rendered, \textit{Pythagoras} left as Captains at \textit{Argos}, leaving the guard and defence of the City unto the charge of "Temporaries" of Pelonius, came with a thousand wounded soldiers, and two thousand Argives unto \textit{Nabia} at \textit{Lacedemon}. And \textit{Nabia} like as at the first arrival of the Roman fleet, and the surrender withall of the town standing by the sea side, was much affected; so he had recovered again some little hope and was well quieted in mind, so long as \textit{Gytheion} held out still & his garrison within the town kept their own. But after he heard once, that it also was yielded unto the Romans, and lo! seeing no hope left by land side, which was wholly poffessed by the enemies, and that he was altogether shut up from the sea, thought it best to yield unto Fortune. And first he sent in herald into the camp to know whether the enemies would permit and suffer him to send his Embassadors unto them. Which being granted, \textit{Pythagoras} repaired unto the General with no other charge and commission, but only to request that they might part with the Roman General, & hereupon the Council was assembled: and generally opined it was that there should be granted unto him a conference; in which, both time and place was agreed upon, and appointed. Now when they were come to the hills standing in the midst of that quarter, with some small companies of soldiers attending on either side upon them, they left their cohorts behind them, standing in guard, within the open view and sight of both parts: and then \textit{Nabia} came down with a certain chosen guard for his body; and \textit{Quinctius} accompanied with his brother. \textit{Lucius} the King \textit{Sabinus} the Rhodian, and \textit{Aristomen} the Priest of the A. heirs, with some few Knight Marshals and Colonels. And then the tyrant being put to his choice, whether he would speak first or hear another, began his speech in this wise.

"If I could have bethought my self (O \textit{Quinctius} and you all that are here present) & imagined what the cause should be that you either proclaimed or made war first against me. I would have attended the issue of my fortune with patience. But now I could not have that Matter and command of my self to forbear, but that before I perished, I would needs know the reason and cause of my ruin and overthrow. Surely if ye were such men as the Carthaginians are reported to be (with whom there is no regard of truth, no trust and security in covenants of society and alliance), would not then make all at a lift if you made small reckoning, & cared but little what matters ye offered unto me. But now, that I behold and advice you well, I see you are Romans, whose manner is to entertain most dully and precisely the observation of holy rites & divine Religion and the faithful keeping of human league and alliance, when I consider and look into my self, I hope and think verily that I am one, with whom in general as well as with the rest of the Lacedemonians ye are linked by virtue of a most ancient league and in particular regard of my self, a private amity and society hath been lately renewed by the war with \textit{Philip}, but peradventure some man will say, That I have broken and overthrown the same first in that I hold the City of the Argives. And how shall I be able to answer this, and excuse my self? Shall I plead to the inhabitant of the matter or to the circumstance of the time? The thing itself prefethunter unto me to a twofold plea for my defence. For being called by the inhabitants themselves of the City, who offered the town unto me, I received it at their hands, and in no wise seiz'd upon it by force: I received it, I say, when it was tendered and took part with \textit{Philip}, before it was comprised within your league. As for the time it justified and cleareth me also and my doings. For even then when as I was possfessd of \textit{Argos}, I was allied and associat with you in good accord: and in our covenants, we articled and stipulat to send aids unto you for your wars, and not to withdraw the garrison from \textit{Argos}. And verily, in this difference and question about \textit{Argos}, I have the vantage as well in regard of the equity of the fact (in that I received a City not of yours but of your enemies received it I say not unrightfully by force, but offered and delivered willingly) as also by your own confession, for that in the conditions of the association agreed between us, ye left \textit{Argos} free unto me. But it may be that the name of tyrant hurtest me: and some of mine actions condemn me much, and namely, that I let slaves free and divide lands to the poor commons. As for the name this much I am able to answer: that such as I am, better or worse, still I am the very same man, and no other than I was when you even you O \textit{Quinctius}, entered alliance with me: then, I remember well, I was called King among you; and now I see I am termed a Tyrant; And therefore
A therefore if I my self had changed the title and file of my dignity and government, I must have yielded a reason and account of my levity and inconstancy: but seeing you have altered it, ye ought to answer for your vanity, now as concerning the multitude, so augmented by the enlargement of slaves; as touching the land also, parted and distributed among the poor and needy, I can maintain and justify my doings herein. & protect me under the defence and privildge of the very time. For all these things be they as they be may, I had done already, when ye made a league and covenant with me, and receiv'd aids at my hand in the war against Philip. But in case I had done to at this very prentice, I had not now upon this, whether I either had offended you or broken your amity, but thus much I leave, that done I had according to the custom and fapiency of our ancestors. And ye must not think to squyre and try the practice of Lacedemon according to the rule and square of your laws, and ordinances. For to pass many other things, and needles it is to compare particulars: ye chuse your gentemen or men of arms according to their revenue; according to these ye chuse likewise the footmen. Your will is that some few should excel in wealth and power & the commons be subject and valadils unto them. Our Law-giver thought no good that the common wealth should be ruled by one, whom you call a Senate; nor that one or two States should excel, & have a preeminence in the City: but he thought that in the equality of wealth & worship, there would be many more to bear arms for their country, I have made a longer discourse I confess, than the ordinary and naturs: brevity of our speech in these parts will bear. And I might have skitt'd all up in one word and said, that I had done nothing after what I was entered into amity with you, wherewith you needed to have taken any offence & been displeased. Then the Roman General made answer to these points in this manner, No friendship nor association at all have we made with you, but with Pcealy the true & lawful k. of the Lae-
demonians: whereof, I must needs say that the tyrants alfo who after wards held the seigniny & sovereignty of Lacedemon, have usurped the right, and enjoyed the benefit during the time that they were otherwise employed, and wholly busied, one while in the Punic wars, another whiles in the Gauls, and evermore in one or other: like as you also have done in this late Macedonian war. For what was less unfitting and more absurd, than for us who waged war against Philip or the liberty of Greece, to conclude amity with a tyrant, and such a tyrant, as of all others that ever have been is most cruel, most violent and outrageous with his own subjects? And considering that we were entered into the court and train of setting all Greece at liberty, albeit you had not posseff'd your self of Argo by coyn, nor held the fame by force, yet it behoved us to restore La-cedemon all to her ancient liberty, and to settle her in her owne laws, whereof ere while you would seem to make mention, as if you had followed the steps of Lycurgus. We shall make care and take the pains to void the garrisons of Philip out of Iaffus & Bagriiles: and when we have done, leave to be trodden under your feet Argos & Lacedemon, two most noble Cities, the two lights as it were in times past of all Greece, which remaining still in servitude and slav'ry, might deface the title of our glory, & mar the title that we aim at, of Saviours and Deliverers of Greece. But you say, that the Argives friend'd Philip and took his part. We are content well enough, that you should not trouble your self, and be angry for our sake. For we know for certain, that this was the fault of two or three persons at most, and not of the whole City: and we know as well, that it was not agreed in any publique connivell that you and your garrion were lent for and received into the Cattle. As for the Thessalian, the Phocians & Locrians, they sided with Philip, we wrought well by a general consent of all, and yet when we enfranchiz'd all Greece besides, we also set them at liberty. What think you then should we do in regard of the Argives, who are innocent for any publique connivell intended against us? You said that you were blamed & charged fore for setting bond slaves free. However objections there are, I assure you, not of little importance. But what are they in comparison of other bad parts and heinous facts committed by you and your followers day by day, one in the head of another: Grant but liberty of an Assembly general either at Argos or Lacedemon, wherein the people may speak their minds freely, and what they know by you without empecement: if you would learn the truth indeed, and hear the particular of a most proud and unassailable dominion and tyranny. And to let all old matters go by, what a bloody massacre committed this in law of your Pityogras, even almost within my very fight in Argos, nay, what a slaughter and butcherly made you your self, even when I was well near within the marches of Lacedemon. But come on these persons whom in a generall assembly you caugbt to be attached, and promis'd in the presence of all the Citizens to keep them safe and faire in ward: come on. I say, command them to be brought forth now bound as they be: that their poor fathers & mothers may understand they are alive, whom they have mournd for to much, without cause, as if they had been dead. But you will say, I can't care all this be true, what is that to you Romans? Date you indeed I speak out and lay so much to those that deliver Greece and set it free? to those I say, that for the freedom thereof have paffed the seas have warred both by land and sea? And yet all this while (say you) I have not directly & truly wronged you nor properly infringed & broken your friendship and amity. No have you not? How often would you have me to convince you of the contrary? But I will not use many words & much circumstance, but come to the very catch and point of the matter, what is the things I pray you, wherewith friendship is commonly broken? I take it they are the two else tally, namely, if you take my friends for your foes; and joy your self to my enemies. You have done both the one and the other: for you have taken by force and arms Messena, a City received
into our feciety and alliance by the very fame conditions and counefts that \textit{Lacedemon} wis \textit{Anhon}. If you I lay our allies have forced a City allied unto us, Again, with \textit{Philip} our enemy, you have not only concluded amity, but (God save all) contracted alliance and amity by means of \textit{Philades} a Colonell and Commander of his: and making warfare against us, you have kept the seas all about \textit{Macedon} with your men of war and rovers: and I think I may safely say, you have taken pirates, and killed more Roman Citizens than \textit{Philip} himself. And the whole sea-coast of \textit{Macedon} hath leased inflected our ships that use to bring provision unto our armies, and been more safe for passage than the promo nertry & cape of \textit{Macedon}. Do you forbear therefore to make such vaunt of seiden·tery: spare you of all other to speak of the rights of alliance; and laying off the mask of popular language and civil speech: talk as a tyrant and enemy as you are. Upon this, \textit{Arcisius} dealt with \textit{Nabonid} while admonishing and advertising him, another while requelling and entreatyng, I now that the opportunity was offered, to provide for himself and his whole estate: he began to diuerte offrute of him of the Tyrants of all the states containing together about one another by name, who when they had inligned up and laid down their absolute sovereignty of command, and restored liberty to their subjects, passed their old age among their Citizens, not only in peace and security but also in great honour and reputation. These words uttered & heard between them to and fro, the night drew on space & parted the conference. The morrow after, \textit{Nabonid} promised seeing the Romans would have it to quit the City \textit{Argos}, to withdraw his Garrison from thence and to deliver again all the captives and fugitive traitors that were under his hands: and if they demanded any more of him, he requested that they would set it down in writing, that he might confer thereof with his friends. So both the Tyrant had reft and time granted to take advice, and also \textit{Orestes} late in Council with the principal heads of his allies what to do. The most part were of opinion to maintain the war till, and to kill the tyrant out of the way: for never would the liberty of Greece be otherwise firm and fast: and better far had it been, never to have entered into arms with him than being once began to give it over. And he will, they say, be greater and more strong hereafter, as if his tyrannical government were approved, and no doubt would reach the people of \textit{Rom} for author of his unjust rule and dominion, and will induce and induce by his example many in other free States and Cities, to lie in wait to work means to overthrow the liberty of \textit{Citizens}, and to bring them into thraldom and bondage. The General of himself was more affected and inclined to peace: for he saw, that if the enemy were once driven within the walls, there was no way but to lie in siege against the City, and that would re-entire length of time: forasmuch as it was not \textit{Gliscius} (and yet that was betrayed and renounced nor forced by affay) but \textit{Lacedemon}, a most strong town both for men and munition, that they were to lay siege unto and assault. And whereas the only hope was, that when they approached with the army, there might some dissention and sedition have rife among themselves within now when as they saw the enemys in manner advanced hard to the City gates, there was not one that mused or flew at all. He added moreover and said, That \textit{Villius} the \textit{Embassador} newly returned from \textit{Antiochus}, reported, how all was not found there, not the peculiar to like and that he had passed over into \textit{Europe} with far greater forces both for end and at sea than at any time heretofore: and (quoth he) the army should be wholly emploied in the siege of \textit{Lacedemon}, what other power have we to maintain war withall against \textit{so puissant and mighty a Prince} as \textit{Antiochus}? These were the remonstrances that openly he gave out; but secretly he was troubled in mind for fear lest a new Conflil should come in his place, and have the government of the Province of \textit{Greece}: and fo he should leave unto his successor, the honour of the victory of a war commenced by him, and in good forwardness. But when he perceived that his allies were nothing inclined to his ways, without adding all his contradictions and bending to the contrary, by making remonstrant that he now drew with them and was of their mind, he won them all to approve his designation and intention. Well, \textit{God} fee our hand (quoth he): \textit{Let us besiege \textit{Lacedemon} since ye will have it so: but considering that the laying siege unto Cities, is a thing as ye well know, that goeth so slowly forward, and oftentimes maketh the assailants sooner weary than the defendents: ye ought even now to call this account presently with your selves, that we must lie all winter long about the walls of \textit{Lacedemon}. And were there nothing but travel and peril, that during so long time we were to endure, I would exhort and encourage you to suffer and abide the fame, with stout bodies and resolute minds. But besides all that, we must be at great cost and expences about fabrics, engines, and instruments of artillery, requir'd to the assait of so great a City: we must I say be provided of victuals good (fore against winter, as well to serve us as you. Bewell advised therefore to the end that you should not suddenly in haste huddle up these matters, after ye are once enred into the action, give over and abandon it with flame) that ye dispatch your letters and hand every one to the State wherein he liveth, and found them to the depth, how their hearts serve them, and what strength and forces they have, of aids & succours. How enough and to spare: but the more in number we are, the more maintenance shall we need. At this time the territory of our enemies hath nothing but bare foile and naked ground: and withall, the winter is coming on apace, all which faction, carriage (especially far off) is cum·brons and hard. This Oration at the first caus'd them every one to regard and look homeward to domestical difficulties and inconveniences, namely, the idleness, the envy and backbiring of those which stay at home, against them that are employed in warfare: the common liberty (which
A (which causeth men of one society and communally hardly to accord and fort together) the public-like want of treasure, and the negligence of private persons, when they are to part with anything out of their own purses, and therefore suddenly changing their minds, they put to the discretion of the Roman Generall, to do and determine what he thought expedient for the good of the people of Rome and their allies. Whereupon Quintus, taking the advice only of his own Lieutenants and Provost-Marshal, enroled these Articles and conditions following, according to which peace should be concluded with the Tyrants. Imprimis, That there be true made for the term of ten months between Nabos and the Romans. King Eumenes and the Rhodians. Items, That both T. Quintus and Nabos should immediately send Embassadors to Rome, that peace might be ratified and confirmed by the authority of the Senate. Items, That from that day forward wherever

B in the conditions put down in writing shou'd be preterred unto Nabos, the same aforesaid should begin, Items, That within ten days next after ending, all the citizens quit Argos and the rest of the towns within the territory of the Argives and then those places be delivered void and free unto the Romans. Items, That no prince taken captive in wars, belonging either to the King, or to any publick State, or private person be had away from those towns: and if any former time had been carried forth, they should be restored again duly to their right Masters. Items, That Nabos should deliver again those ships that he had gotten from the maritime Cities, and that himself have no vessel at all but only two galleons, and those to have no more than him and twenty oars, sixe to direct and rule them, Items, That he render all the runagate Traitors and captives unto all the Cities confederate with the people of Rome, as also make restitution to the Meffennians of all their goods again, that either could be found, or the owners know certainly to be theirs. Items, That he restore to all the banished Macedonians their wives and children but of the wives, so many only as would be content to follow their husbands: and that none of them should be compelled against their wills to go with any enquired person. Items, That as many mercenary bandits of Nabos, as were either gone from him into their own Cities or to the Romans, all their own goods should be justly and truly delivered again, Items, That in the Island of Grec he should not be possessed of any one City: and look what Cities he then held, he yield them to the Romans, Items, That he enter into alliance with no Candiots, nor with any other whatsoever, nor yet make war with them: Items, That he remove all the garrisons out of all the Cities that himself had delivered up, and which had surrendered themselves and all they had, under the protection and obedience of the people of Rome, and not molest them neither by himself nor any of his. Items, That he build no town nor Castle, either in his own land or in any other, Items, That for the more assurance of performing these covenants, he give five hostages, such as it should please the Roman Generall to choose: and namely, his own Son for one of them. Last of all, That he make present payment of one hundred talents of silver, and fifty more yearly until the term of eight years be run out. These Articles enroled, were sent to Macedonias, where the Camp was removed nearer to the City, But nothing well pleased was the time with any of them. Only he was well apaid, that beyond his hope and expectation, there was no mention at all therein of reducing the exiled persons home into the City, But that which offended and displeased him most was this, that both shipping was taken from him, and also the maritime towns: for great commodity he got by the sea. In curing the coast from the Cape of Malea with his pyrats and men of war: and besides, the youth and able men of those Cities, were very well furnish'd and man his ships with the very best soldiers and men of service that were. And albeit he planned and consider'd upon these articles in great secrecy with his friends, yet were they all of them diverted abroad and current in every min's mouth: so that were the couriers commonly and hardly to be trusted, as in all things else especially in keeping of secret counsell. These conditions were controlled and found fault with, noto much by all men in general, as by each one in particular, as they took exceptions against those points that touched and concerned themselves. They that had married the wives of the banished, or were possessed of any part of their substance, chaited, and corrected them, as if they were to lose and forg're their own, and not to render and restore the goods of others. The slaves who had been freed by the tyrants, were now not only to lose the benefit of their freedom, but also to endure harder servitude and bondage than at soetime; setting before their eyes how they should return again in the houses and hands of their old Masters, angry and incensed now against them. The hired soldiers were malecontent, for that they saw they should lose their pay after peace concluded: and faw full well, that there was no being for them in those States and Cities, who hated the tyrants themselves no more than their followers and attendants. At first they muttered and murmured, whispering these things among themselves in their secret meetings and conversations: afterwards they muttered, and on a sudden ran and took arms. The Tyrants seeing the multitude disquieted enough of themselves with this tumult, assembled the people together. Where, after he had declared the conditions impos'd upon him by the Romans, and in every article had unruly put to somewhat of his own devising, to aggravate all matters and make them seem more grievous and intolerable, at the rehearsing of every particular the whole assembly one while cried out, and another while the fudgery parts thereof: for up a note of utter dislike, Then he asked their opinion what answer they would have him to return unto those Articles, and what to do? They all in manner with one voice accordan't and said: that there was no anwering of the matter, but that he should plainly go to war, and make no more ado,
ado. And that every man for his own part (as the usual manner is of a multitude, when they are together) should take a good heart, and hope the best, saying that Fortune favoureth Fortitude. The tyrant incited with their words, seconded them himself; and assured them that Antochus and the Aetolians would take their parts and assist them; and if they did not yet were they strong enough of themselves, and had sufficient means to endure the siege. No more talking now nor thinking of peace, but every man was ready to run in haste to his several quarter, and stand upon their own guard, without any rest or repose from thenceforth. The Romans so soon as they saw some few of them to fly out of the City, and to discharge their darts among them, were soon put out of all doubt, that no other remedy there was, but they must to war again. After this, there passed certain light skirmishes four daries together at first without any assisted issue of good speed, either of the one part or the other; but the fight day after one conflict fought in manner almost of a set battle, certain Roman soldiers following the chafe upon their enemies, and killing them in their flight, entered the City at certain void places, where the wall was not united: for in that order were the walls built of that town in those daires. Quintus then verily, having well bridged and named by this terror his enemies for making any more excursions, and opposing that there remained no more, but lastly to go to an assault, sent one certain of his provost officers to call the mariners and sea-soldiers from Gyttium, while himself in person, accompanied with the Provost Marshals, rode about the walls to view the situation of the City. This Sports in times past without murage. And the tyrants of late days had built walls against the open flats and plain fields. The higher ground and of harder access, they fortified with strong corps de guards of armed soldiers, instead of bulwarks of defence. When Quintus had diligently considered every corner, he perceived there was no other way but to invent round about, and thereupon with all his forces united (which being all together Roman Citizens and Latin allies, foot and horse, land-soldiers and sea-soldiers one with another amounted to 50000 fighting men) he compassed and environed the City, some brought female, and every man one thing or other, not only to give an assault, but also to terrify and amaze them, with direction and express command, with a loud shout and shout at one in all places to approach the walls, and give the venture upon them; to the end that the Lacedaemonians, when at one instant on every side, might not know which way to turn them, and be to see, where first to make head against the enemies, and in what place to come with success. Having therefore divided the whole power of his army into three parts, he gave the one of them in charge to all that quarter which was called Phleumum, and a second likewise to set upon that which is named Termum, and the third to force the canton Heptagonia: places lying open and without a wall. The City being thus feized on all sides with so great fear, the tyrant moved and troubled to hear so sudden outcries and fearful news brought unto him by hasty messengers, according as any place was most in danger, at the first, either presented himself in proper person, or else sent some to the place, but afterwards, seeing the fear so general, and no one place void of danger, he was engaged, that uncle he was either himself to give good direction to others or to hear their, and was he and disturbed of advice and coun sel, and bereft of his right wisd and senses. The Lacedaemonians at first hand inflamed the furious violence of the Romans in the narrow streets and passages, and at one time in divers places, three armies fought on either side but a教育资源的; as the best of the fight encroached, the service was M nothing equal of both parties; so the Lacedaemonians discharged shot from which the Roman soldiers easily saved themselves, by means of their large targets, and withall much thereof either fell short and beside, or else to feebly flung from them that little or no harm they could do. For by reason of the brightness of the place, and the multitude so thronged and thrust together, they had not only no space to take their run, when they should lance their darts (the feet means of all other to enforce them) but not so much as lure looking, and at ease to drive and level them with all their strength, insomuch as all the darts and javelins which were directly shot at them, none at all pierced to their bodies & very few so much as fell in their bucklers. Mary some happened to be wounded from the higher places, by those that fell down near unto them, and about their sides. And anon as they advanced forward they changed to be hurt, not only with arrows & darts from off the honies, but also with tiles and flats ere they were aware. But afterwards, they covered their heads with their targets, which they set to close united together one under the other, feather wise, that not only there was no place of entrance for the darts thrown and cast at random afar, no, not so much as any room for a weapon to get between, levelled though it were, and aimed near at hand; in as under this target hence they approached nearer and nearer in safety. At the first the narrow and straight passages filled with the throng both of themselves and also of the enemies to thrust and crowded together, levelled them for a while; but afterwards when they had by little and little gathered upon the enemies, and put them back, and were come into a larger and more spacious street of the City, then their force and violence could not possibly be endured any longer. Now when the Lacedaemonians turned their backs and red appearance to gain the higher places for their advantage, Nabis verily for his part trembling and quaking as if the City had been quite lost, looked about him on every side, which way himself might escape and in his life. But Pythogeneus as in all things else he performed the devoir and part of a correct Captain, so he was the only canis that the town was no loss: for he commanded to set fire to the honies standing next to the wall, which in the minute of an hour burned one on a light there as being let forward by the help of the thosse, who otherwise were wont to quench the like care
whereupon the houses came crying and tumbling down upon the Romans' heads, and not only the tile harvests, but also the timber pieces half burnt fell upon the armed louders, the flame spread far and near, and the mothering smoke put them in tear of more danger than was. And therefore, as well those Romans who were without the City in the hotliest of their assault, retreated from the walls, as also those that were entred already, for fear left by the fire behind them they should be separated from their fellows, retired themselves. Quintus also seeing how the cafe stood, caused to sound the retreat, and so being recalled, they returned out of the City which they had as good as won, into the camp. And Quintus conceiving more hope by the tear of the enemies, than of the thing it fell and the service done, never gave over for three days to terrifie them partly by skirmishing, and partly by incursions and stopping up certain quarters, that they might have no passage at all to fight, and so for themselves. The tyrant continued at length with these dangers men ready Pythagoras again as an Orator unto Quintus, but he at first rejected him, and commanded him to avoyt out of the camp; yet in the end after he had made most humble supplication, and set himself prostrate at his feet, he gave him audience. The beginning of his speech was this: that he yielded all to the discretion and former award of the Romans. But seeing that he gained nothing thereby, and that his words took no effect, they grew at length to this point, That upon the same capitulations which few days before were exhibited up in writing, a sum he'd have been made, and hereupon was both the money and also the hostages received.

Whiles the tyrant was besieged and affaird, there came��st upon point to Arch, that Lacadena was at the point of being lost: whereupon the Argives took such hearts and courage unto them (by reason that Pythagoras with the bell part of the Garrison louders was departed before out of their town) that contaminating the small number which remained in their fortresses, under the leading of one Archippus, they expelled the rest of the parchment. As for Timocrates of Pelene their Captain, because he had heaved himself in his charge and government gently and mildly, they sent him away alive with faire conduct: At the very instant of this joyful event, T. Quintus arrived after he had granted peace to the tyrant, and sent away from Lacadena Euceneres and the Rhodians together with L. Quintus his brother to the fleet. The City of Argos in great joy proclaimed the celebration of their most solemn feast, and those to famous and renowned games and palatines called Nemesis against the coming of the Roman army and their Generall. which they had foreseen upon the ordinary time and day, by occasion of the troubles of war. And for the honor of Quintus they ordained him to be the overier of these solemnities. Many things there were to redouble and increase this their joy and solace to the full. The Citizens were reduced from Lacadena whom Pythagoras of late and Nobis aforesaid had carried away. They also were returned home again who had fled and escaped, after the conspiracy of Pythagoras was discovered, and the massacre begun. Now they saw their liberty again, whereby they had left the light a long time now; then the Romans the authors thereof, and who for their sakes were induced to take arms and enterprize the war with the tyrant, As long as the very day of the Nemean games, the liberty of the Argives was published and proclaimed by the voice of the public beadle, beadle and crier of the City. But took how much joy and hearts content the Achaeans conceived in their common and general Counsell or all Achaia, for the restoring of Argos unto its ancient freedom, so much troubled they were again, in regard that Lacadena was left still in trepidation, and the tyrant to near amongst them ready ever to prick their sides, whereby their joy was not found and entire. But the Eotians in all their Diets inveighed mightily against this, saying, That the Romans never gave over the war with Philip before he had abandoned all the Cities of Greece; as for Lacadena, it was left still under a tyrant and in the mean while the lawfull and natural King who had been in the Roman camp, and all the rest of the nobler Citizens should live in exile. For now the people of Rome were become a pensioner to guard the body of tyrannizing N. bus. Then Quintus brought back his army from Augustus Elam, from whence he departed to the Spartan war, some write, that the tyrant when he fought with the Romans came not immediately out of the City; but that he was lodged without him full opposite to the Roman camp; and that after he had made good a long time, expediting the aid of the Eotians, he was driven in to the end from a battall, by occasion that the Romans charged upon the terrangers and purveyors of his camp: in which battall he was vanquished and beaten out of the field, and craved peace after that fifteen thousand of his men were slain, and four thousand taken prisoners, and above.

At one and the same time in a manner were letters brought both from T. Quintus touching the affairs at Lacadena, and also from M. Porcius the Consul out of Spain. And by order of the State, it was granted in the name of either of them a solemn procession to continue three days. L. Valerius the Consul, after he had governed his Province in quietness upon the defeat of the Boians about the forrest of Litania, returned to Rome against the general assembly for election of Magistrates, and created Consuls, P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the second time, and T. Sempronius Longus: whose fathers had been Consuls in the first year of the second Punick war. Then the Assembly was holden for the election of Praetors, wherein were chosen P. Cornelius Scipio and the two Cnei Cornelii, the one M. Merentius, and the other Bino: Ca. Domitius Aeschnur, Sextus Diginitus, and T. Jovinianus Toba. When these elections were finnished, the Consul returned again into his Province, That year the Perentiniis affared to obtain a new privilege: to wit, That as many Latines as were enrolled in any Roman Colony, should be
be Citizens of Rome. But they of Paters, Salernum, and Buxentum, who were Coloniers and had their names entered there, and by that means carrying themselves as Roman Citizens, were adjudged by the Senate to be no Citizens of Rome.

In the beginning of this year, wherein P. Scipio Africanus was Conful the second time, with T. Sempronius Longus, two Embassadors of Naissus the tyrant, arrived at Rome. For to give them audience, the Senate assembled together without the City in the Temple of Apollo. Their petition was, That the peace agreed upon with Quinctius might be ratified: and their suit was granted. When it was moved, as touching the government of the Provinces; the Senate (assembled in great frequency) were all of this opinion. That so much as in Spain and Macedon the war was ended, both Conuls should have the government of Italy. Scipio was of advice, That one Conul was sufficient for Italy, and that the other should be employed in Macedon. And why? there was cruel war menaced from King Antiochus; himself already was palled over into Europe: And what think you, seniores, will he then do, when the Epirians (who doublets are enemies) of one side shall solicit and call upon him for war, and Antiochus, a warriour and commander so renowned for the defeats and overthrowes of the Romans, shall prick him forward of the other? Whiles they debated thus about the Provinces of the Conuls, the Praetors call lots for their several governments. The City jurisdiction fell to Cn. Domitius, the foraini to T. Junius; To P. Cornelius the farther Spain was allotted, and the bishop to Sex. Digidius. Cn. Cornelius Bulo had Sicily assigned unto him, and M. Mercurius was charged with Sardis. It was not thought good that a new army should be transported over into Macedon; but concluded it was, that the army there should be brought back by Quinctius into Italy. Scipio charged, Item, That the army likewife should be cased, which had served under M. Fontinius Capo in Spain, I. e. That both Conuls should govern Italy, and levy two legions of Citizens to go thither, that when those forces were dismissed and licenced to go home, which pleased the Senate to let at liberty, there should be eight Roman legions in all, and no more pay.

In the former years, when M. Porcius and L. Valerius were Conuls, there had been held a solemnity of a fared Spring. But when P. Licinius the high Pontiffes made report first to the College of the Priests, and by the advice and authority of that College, unto the L. of the Council. That there was some error committed, and that it was not performed accordingly; the Senators ordained, that it should be done again anew, according to the direction and direction of the Pontiffes aforesaid. Also that the great Roman Places, which together with that Spring were vowed, should be exhibited with the accustomed toll and expenses: And that all young captalls that fell between the Calends of March, and the last day of April, in that year wherein P. Cornelius, Scipio, and T. Sempronius Longus were Conuls, should be accounted as consecrated for that sacred Spring above-named. After this, there was an assembly held for the choosing of Gentiores, wherein were created Sex. Aelius Pans, and C. Cornelicus Collerus: who elected P. Scipio the Conul, President of the Senate, like as the Conuls before them had done. In the survey and review of the whole Senate they left out and disdained three only, and none of them who had born office of State, and sat in the Iovis chair. Great love these Conuls, won amongst them of that calling and equality in giving commandment to the Eedle's unble. That the Roman games and plays they should let out places apart from the rest of the people for the Senators to behold the said diports. For aforetime they beheld the sports and diversions all together, without regard and distinction. Few also of the Gentlemen or Knights of Rome had their offices of service taken from them; and rigorously dealt with them at the rate and degree. The porche of Liberty, and the hamlet called Villa publica were by them required and enlarged. The Sacred Spring was celebrate; and the games vowed by Se c. Sulpisius the Conul, were by them exhibited, And whiles all men were armed and their minds occupied thereunto, Q. Plemius, who had been cast in prison for divers and sundry outrages committed at Locri, to the great annoyance of God and man, had procured certain persons, who in the night leson at one instant should set on fire many places of the City, to the end that whiles all the people were affrighted in this night-time, he might break prison and elapse. This compier was discovered and reported to the Senate by some of them that were privy and accedant therunto, And Plemius was let down into a lower dungeon and there killed.

That year there were certain Colonies of Roman Citizens conducted to Paters, Volturnum, and Liternum, and three hundred men planted in each of them. Likewise Coloniers of Roman Citizens were brought to Salernum and Buxentum. The Triumvirs who had the placings of them were T. Sempronius Longus, Conul for the time being; M. Servilius and Q. Minutius Thermus. The territory of the Campanians was divided among them. Three other also departed for the like purpose, D. Iunius Brutus, M. Bibius Tamphus, and M. Helvius placed a Colony of Roman Citizens in Sempronium to enjoy the lands of the Arpinians. Likewise other Colonies of Roman Citizens were planted in Templa and Cerone. The lands belonging to Tempia were won from the Bruniis, who had expelled the Greeks: and the Greeks remained in Cerone. The Triumvirs for Cerone were Cn. Otho, L. Eumolpus Paulus, and C. Plebrus, and for Tempia L. Cornel, Merula, and C. Sabinius. Also that year were seen at Rome divers wonders and prodigious sights: and some were reported from other parts. In the common place place, in the publice Hall, Comitium, and Capitol, were seen certain drops of blood. And sometimes it rained earth. The head of Paters was on fire. News came that at Interamna there ran a stream of milk, Alto that at Ariminum there were
the four and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

A were two Insants both of free condition, born without eyes and nose; and another in the Picene country handlest and footles. These strange tokens were by order given from the chief Pontes, looked unto and expacted, and a Novendial lastice continued for nine dites, became the Adrians brought word, that in their territory it rained lions.

In Gaul, near to Mediolanus, L. Valerius Flaccus the Pro-Consul, fought a last field with the French Influbrians and Boians, which Boians under the conduct of Dumnaticus, passed over the river Padus, thus to sollicit and raise the Influbrians. In which conflict were slain ten thousand enemies. About the same time his Colleague in government, M. Perrinius Cato, triumphed over Spain. In this triumph he carried in pomp and show 25060 pound weight of silver in bullion, and in coin 153000 Biga pieces of Ocean silver 540 pound weight, and of gold 40000 pound weight.

B the booty won from the enemies he dealt among his foudliers that were footmen 270 ailes, and tremble so much to every man of them.

T. Sempronius the Consul having put himself in his journey toward his Province, led first his legions into the Boian country, both at that time their Prince with his two brethren, having raised the whole nation to rebellion, encamped in certain commodious places, as it appeared that if the enemy entered their confines, they were ready to give him battle. The Consul perceiving how strong and confident the enemies were, dispatched a courier to his Colleague, to make haste if he thought good and come unto him: for until his coming he would fall off, seem to retire and not fight. But the same cause that moved the Consul to stay, gave occasion to the Gauls to make more haste: for besides that the delaying & lingering of the Consul encouraged the enemies, they were desirous to have the trial of a battell before the forces of both Consuls were joined together. Howbeit, for two dases space they did nothing but stand ready ranged for fight, if any should come forth to brave and dare them. On the third day they approached the trench and rampier of the Consul's Camp, and on every side at once gave the alman. The Consul immediately commanded the foudliers to arm, and when they were armed, he kept them in while, with intent to encrease the foolish confidence in the enemies, and to dispose of his own forces, and give direction, what companies should fall out at every gate. The two legions he commanded to issue forth under their colours: at the two first gates called Principates: but in the very passage without the Gauls stood thick and made head again, so that the way was flopp'd up. A long time they fought in those fight, and they belittled themselves no more.

D with their hands and fwords, than they prefled one upon another with their bodies and targets; whiles the Romans thrust to advance their enigns out of the gates, and the Gauls endeavoured no less, either to enter themselves within the camp, or else to impeach the Romans going forth. But in this conflict there was nothing between them either won or lost, no ground gained the one of the other, before that Q. Valerius a principal Centurion of the Pilum in the second legion, and C. Atinius, a Tribune or Marshall of the fourth, caught the banners from the enign-bearers (a thing often praftised in time of extremity) and thum them among the enemies. For whiles thelaboured and strained themselves to recover each one a banner, they of the second legions first brake through and got forth of the gate: so as now, they maintained skirmish without the trench, and the fourth the best still in the gap. By which time there profe another tumult and noise in the contrary side of the camp: for the Gauls were broken at the Quartors gate (or the gate against the Quartors) and thin hole that valiantly made head and held them play; to wit, Lucius Poppiminius a treaty forenamed Tyrannus, Marcus Atinius and Publius Sempronius two Colonels of the allies, and well near two hundred foudliers besides. Thus the camp on that part was won, until such time as one extraordinary cohort was sent from the Consul to defend the Quartors gate aforesaid: which either flew that hole that were within the rampier, or else drive them forth, and so withlood those that would have rush'd in. And much about this time the fourth legions also with two extraordinary squadrons brake forth at the gate. Thus at once there were three several battells in sundry places about the camp: and the dilomat crying and noises (according to the divers occasion of every party minisht by their fellows) turned and withdrew the minds and spirers of those that were in fight, from the present skirmish before them. In this manner maintained they the fight till noon: equally matcht in strength and number, and little or no odds between them for hope of victory: but redions travel and extremity of heat compelled the Gauls (whose bodies are hot and open, and soon running to sweat, and of all other things can leave away with their) to abandon the battell: and those few that remained behind, the Romans ran upon, ruffled their colours, and chafed them into their own field. Then the Consul sounded the retreat, at which signall given the most part retired themselves: but a few of them, upon a hot desire of fight, and good hope to be Masters of their camp persisted still close to their trench, The Gauls disdaining their small number issued all forth out of their Camp: and then the Romans being discomfited, were glad now of themselves for fear and flight to edge into the strength of their own bold, which they would not retire into at the commandment of the Consul. Thus on both sides there was one while victory, and another while fearfull flight: bowseit, when all cards were told and the reckoning made, the Gauls had the worst of the game: for of them were lain eleven thousand, whereas of Romans there died but five thousand. Then the Gauls retired themselves into the most inward parts of their country, and the Consul marched with his legions to Placentia. Some write, that Scipio and his Colleague with their
this joint forces, invaded and spoiled the countries of the Boians and Ligurians, so far forth as they could pass for woods and bogs; others again record, that he having done no memorable exploit at all, returned to Rome about the assembly for election of Consuls.

The same year T. Quinctius spent the whole winter season at Elatia (whither he had retired his forces for winter harbour) in hearing men's caues and ministring justice to every one; also in reforming and redressing all such disorders as had palsied in the States and Cities, through the licentious government and jurisdiction either of Philip himself or his Captains, while he advanced those favourite of his own faction, and put down the right and liberty of others. In the beginning of the spring he came to Corsiæ, where he had given summons, that there should be held a general Diet of the State. There in the assembly of all the Embassadors and agents from the Cities, gathered about him as if there were to hear an Oration, he made a speech unto them: beginning I first, with the amnesty contrived between the Romans and Greeks: and proceeding to the acts achieved in Spain by the Generals afore him, and those also of his own, all that he spake was heard and received with great applause, until he touched the point concerning Nabæs: for it was generally thought uniting, that he undertaking to fet all Greeks at liberty, had left a tyrant (not only a grievous oppressor of his own subjects, but also dangerous to all the Cities about him,) to remain till as a fearful malady settled in the very bowels and heart of a most noble and renowned State. Quinctius, not ignorant of their affections and dispositions, confuted, that he should not indeed have any ear at all to the motion or mention of peace with the tyrant, in case that Lacedæmon might have flood in safety without so doing: but now since that Nabæs might not possibly be confounded and overthrown, without the present ruin and fearful downfall of the City, he thought it a better course in policy to leave the tyrant enfeebled and disannihilated of all means to offend and hurt any man, than to suffer to goody a City to die in the cure, and under the hand as it were of the Physician, anidio the quick and sharp remedies which it was never able to endure: and so as to recover liberty, and persever in their liberty until ten days they should hear news how all the garrisons had quitted Demetrius and Chæcias: and that he would deliver out of hand unto the Achæans in their very right, the territories of Corses: that all the world may know, whether it be the Romans guile or the faction of the Eroians, to over-reach and lie: who, in their common talk have not let it discomme, to low murmurs, and to buzz into mens heads that it was danger for Greeks, to put their liberty into the hands of & that they had made an exchange of their lordly rights, admiring the Romans in lieu of the Macedonian: But as for them (quoth he) their tongues is no fonder of being such persons as never took heed and made regard what either they did or said. But the other Cities he advertiseth to weigh their friends by deeds and not by words, to be wise and well advised whom they are to truff, and whom they are to beware of, to muse their liberty in measure and moderation; which if it be well tempered and qualified, is good and wholesome to particular persons and general States: but exceeding if it be, it would not only be grievous and unsupported to others, but also unruly, and pernicious to themselves that have it. He gave them counsell, that the Princes and States in each City should maintain concord not only among themselves, but also with all other in one common munificence: for so long as they accord and agree together, no king nor tyrant should be strong enough for them: whereas discord and sedition maketh overture and openen ease way to enemies that lie in wait for the vantage: considering that the side which in civil contention is the weaker and goeth to the wall, will band rather with a forrainer, than give place and slop to a Citizen. In Conclusion, he advised them, to keep and preserve by their careful regard, this their liberty put, hated for them by foreign forces, and delivered unto them with faithfull security of strangers and aliens; that the people of Rome might see, that they have given freedom to well deserving people: and this their great benefit hath been well bestowed upon worthy persons. While they hearkned to these sage admonitions as uttered out of the mouth of a very father, the tears gushed plentifully out of their eyes for kind heart and joy: insomuch as they troubled him in the delivery of the rest of his speech. For a while there was a plentiful noise heard among them as they approved his words, and advised one another to ponder these sage sayings, and to impressed them deeply in their hearts, proceeding as it were from divine oracle. After silence made, he requested them to seek up all those Roman Citizens (if haply there were any) who lived in fervitude and slavery among them, and within two months to lend them unto him into Thessaly: for it were a great ignominy and shame even for them, that in their countries there should remain in bondage any of those, by whose means themselves they were fet free and delivered out of bondage. With that, they all cried aloud with one voice, That for this above all the rest they rendered thanks unto him, in that they were admonished and warned by him, to perform their devoir and duty, and honest to religions, and to necessary. Now a mighty number there was of captives in the Punic war, such as Arminæus (when their friends redeemed them not by ransom) had fold in open market. And how great the multitude of them was, this may prove and tell which Polybius writeth to wit, that this sent the Achaæans for their part one hundred talents: and yet they ordained and set down, that there should but 500 Demæis be repaid unto their Masters for the redemption of every poll: but by this account Achaæans had 1200 of them. And now unto them as many as all Greece was like to have by that proportion and see what number may arise.
The assembly was not broken up and dismissed, before they might see the garrison defending from the fortress of Corinthus, who marched directly to the gate and went their waives. The General presently followed after, and being accompanied with them all, who called him with a loud voice, Their Savities and Redeemers: he took his leave and bad them farewell: and so returned the same way he came to Epirus. From thence he sent his Lieutenant Ap, Claudius with all the forces, commanding him to conduct the army to Oretum by the way of Thessalia and Epirus, and there to expect and wait his coming: for he purposed there to take Sea and set over his army into Italy. He wrote also to L. Quinctius his brother and Lieutenant and Admiral likewise of the fleet, to gather all the ships of burden from along the Sea coast of Greece into that place. Himself went to Chalcis, and having withdrawn the garrisons not only from thence but also from Oretum and Eretria, he held a general Conclave: there of all the cities of Euboea: and after he had made remonstrance unto them in what case he found them, and in what estate he left them, he dismissed the assembly. From thence he departed to Demetrius, where also he removed the garrison, and being attended with a train of all the citizens, like as at Corinthus and Chalce before, he took his journey into Thessalia: where the cities were not only to be set free, but also to be reformed, and from a general disorder and confusion wherein they stood, to be reduced and framed into some tolerable order and form of government. For they were not only tainted and infected with the corruption of the times, and the violent current of licentious outrage, which had taken head under the government of the King; but also of an inbred troublesome spirit and humor of their own, whereby, since their first beginning and uprising, even unto our days they never held Parliaments, Elections, Diets, Councils or any other assemblies whatsoever, without much trouble and sedition. He chose the Senate and Judges there in regard especially of their wealth, and in all cities he made that part more mighty unto which it was more expedient and beneficial to have all quiet and in peace. Thus having visited Thessalia, and taken a general review thereof, he came by the way of Epirus to Oretum, from whence he minded to cross the seas. From Oretum all his forces were transported to Brundusium, and so they passed forward throughout Italy to the City of Rome, in manner of triumph, sending before them as great a train of prizes by them taken, as they made themselves in their march. After they were come to Rome, the Senate assembled without the City for Quinctius, where he had audience to declare and discourse of his worthy exploits: and willing they were to grant him triumph, according to his deserts. Three days together he rode in triumph. The first day he made a show of all the armours as well defensive as offensive, also of brazen and marble images, of which he had taken more from King Philip than he found in the fagade of the cities. The second day there was carried in pomp, the gold and silver both unwrought and wrought into plate, vessels, and cut into coin. Of silver unwrought there was 18,000 pound weight: of wrought, 270 pound weight. Many vessels of plate of all sorts, and most engraven, some of curious and exquisit workmanship. Likewise brazen vessels cunningly and artificially made: and besides ten shields of silver, and in coin eighty four thousand Attick pieces of silver, which they call Tetradracmas, weighing almost four Roman deniers apiece: of gold there was three thousand seven hundred and fourteen pound weight, and one shield full and whole of beaten gold: and of Philip golden pieces in coin, fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen. The third day were born in view for a pageant, a hundred and fourteen coronets of gold, which were the presents of Cities given unto him. Moreover there were led that day the beasts for sacrifice: and before his chariot went many noble prisoners and hostages, and among them, Demetrius, King Philip his son, and Arocrates the son of Nabis the tyrant, a Lacedaemonian born. Then rode Quinctius himself in a chariot into the City, and a great number of soldiaries followed after, because that his whole army was retired with him out of his province. To every footman he gave two hundred and fifty Atties, duple as much to a centurion, and triple to an officer. Those who were redeemed out of captivity, followed his chariot with their heads shaved, and much beautified the glory of the triumph.

In the end of this year, Q. Elia Tubero a Tribun of the Commons, presented a request or bill unto the people, and they granted and enabled it, to wit, that two Colonies of Latins should be conducted, one into the Britains country, and the other into the territory of Thurium. For the conduct and planting whereof, there were ordained three Deputies called Triumvirs, whose common commission was in force for three years, namely, Q. Nepius, M. Minutius Rufus, and M. Furius Graffius: for the Britains: and for Thurium, A. M. Milus, P. Eliaus, and L. Apollius. For the chusing of these officers, Cn. Domitius the Pretor in the City, called two several assemblies in the Capitol. In that year were certain Temples dedicated one of Isis Sabina in the herb-market, which had been vowed and set out to building four years before, by C. Cornilius the Consul, during the war with the French, and he in his Centuriae dedicated it. Another Temple of Fortuna: the Edities C. Serhonius and Cn. Domitius, had likewise bargained for the building: thereof two years before, and laid by the money therefore: and this Cn. Domitius being now Pretor of the City dedicated it. Also Q. Minutius Rulla, dedicated a Temple to Fortuna Prima genitus upon the hill Quirinalis, having been created Dumniris himself: for that purpose. Sperpusius Sabinus had vowed the same ten years before, in the time of the Punick war, and agreed for a certain price to have it built, also C. Serhonius the other Dumniris consecrated the Temple of Jupiter within the island. Vowed it was six years before in the Gauls war by L. Furius Purpurio Pretor, and by him afterwards (when he was Consul) order was given for the edifying thereof. And there were the affairs which passed that year.
P. Scipio returned out of his Province and government of Gaul for the election of new Consuls, and to that purpose was the general assembly summoned; wherein were chosen L. Cornelius Merula, and Q. Minucius Thermus. The next morrow after were created Pretors, L. Cornelius Scipio, M. Furius Nobilior, C. Scribonius, M. Valerius Meleagris, L. Porcinius Licinianus, and C. Flaminius, C. Aurinius Serranus, and L. Scribonius Libo. Ediles of the chair, were the first that exhibited the State-plaies called Magnaedia. And the Roman plaies or games represented and set out by theseEdiles, the Senate now hir and never before beheld apart from the rest of the people. And this (as all novelties and new fashions) ministered much talk; whiles some gave their opinion and said, That now at length that was given to this most noble and honorable State, which long ago was due; others again confir'd thus, and gave out, That whatever was added to the Majesty of the Senators and Nobles, was derogatory from the dignity of the people: and that all such kind of distinctions, whereby estates and degrees are severed one from another, are prejudicial as well to common peace as public liberty. For these five hundred and eighty years they, these plaies and games have been beheld and looked upon in common, without any such precise difference. What new accident is indubitably befalln, why the Nobles should not will to let the Commons be intermingled with them in the Theatre? and why a rich man should disdain his poor neighbour to fit by him? This is a new appetite and strange longing of theirs indeed, full of pride and arrogancy, a thing never desired not taken up and practised by the Senat of any nation whatsoever. So as in the end even Africanus behaved himself (men say) and repented thereof, for that he in his Consulship moved and perfwaded the bringing up of this new fashion. So hard a matter it is to alter an old custome, and make a new order to be well liked of. And men are ever more willing to keep them to ancient customes, unless they be such, as practicable and experience do evidently check and condemn.

In the beginning of the year, wherein L. Cornelius and Q. Minucius were Consuls, news came to thick of many earth-quakes, that men were not only weary of the thing it fell, but also of the holy-days and solemnities that were published and proclaimed in that regard. For the Consuls could not intend either to assemble the Senate and sit in Council, or manage the affairs of the Common-weal, for being wholly employed about sacrifying and appeasing the wrath of the gods. In conclusion, the Decemvirs were commanded to peruse the books of Sybiles, and according to their answe and direction, a procession and supplication was for three days solemnized. And before the Altars and thrones of the gods and goddesses, they made their praiers with garlands and corones on their heads; yea, and commandment was given, that every house-hold and family by it self should fall to their praiers and devotions. Alfo the Consuls by order from the Senate made proclamation, That upon what day a fall or solemnity was ordained by occasion of one earthquake, no man the same day should bring news of another. Then the Consuls call'd for the government of their provinces, and after them the Pretors did the like. Unto Cornelius befell Carthage, and to Minucius the Ligurians; C. Sempronius had the charge of the civil jurisdiction, and M. Valerius of the foreign; L. Cornelius governed Sicily, L. Porcinius Sardinia, C. Flaminius high Spain; and L. Furius the lower. The Consuls look'd for no war that year: but even then at that instant were letters brought from M. Cicerus, Lord President of the Palaest, which gave notice, that twenty thousand Ligurians were up in arms, having conspired together in all market Towns and places of refor throughout the whole of the nation, and that they had already laid hold on the territory of Utica, and having invaded and pill'd through the Tifan Land, had over-run also the Sea coasts. Wherefore Minucius the Consul, unto whom the government of Liguria was allotted, by the advice of the LL. of the Senate mov'd up into the pulpit Rhetor, and published an Act: That those two legions of Roman citizen-s, which the former year had been enrolled, should within ten days present themselves at Ariminum, in lieu whereof he would levy two other legions out of the City. Also he commanded the allies and Magistrates of the Latian nation, and their Embassadors, who oved knight-service and were bound to find foulers to come before him into the Capitol. And from among them he enrolled fifteen thousand four and five hundred horse, according to the number of young and vigorous men that were to be found in each State: which done, he commanded them forthw, to go directly from the Capitol to the gate of the City, and presently to take matters that all might be done with greater expedition. Unf Palaest and Flaminium were appointed three thousand Roman footmen and two hundred horsemen in separate, for to supply and strengthen their forces; also five thousand foot to either of them of allies of the Latin nation, with two hundred horse. Moreover the Pretors were charg'd to dismis and call the old foulers, so soon as they were arrived into their provinces. Now, when all the foulers that were enrolled in the City-legions, retired thence into the Tribuns of the Commons, that they should take knowledge of as many of them as were exempted from warlike, for that they either had serv'd out their full time by law appointed or were sickly and disabled: behold the letters of Sempronius dashed all this, and Cee'd every difficulty and scrupulosity: wherein it was written, that fifteen thousand Ligurians were entred the territory of Palaestinum, and had made great wall and liggace therein putting all to fire and sword as they went, even as far as to the very walls of the Colony it fell, and the banks of Pardus. Also that the nation of the Boii made contingency and gave in ipides of rebellion. In which regards being there was a tumultuous and indi- dance toward, the Senat pass'd a decree, wherein they signifi'd that it was not their pleasure that the Tribuns should accept any excuses pretended by the foulers, but that they should all meet
meet and assemble together, according to the Edict. Over and besides they gave order, that the allies of the Latin nation, who had served in the armies of T. Cornelius and T. Sempronius, and were discharged from soldiery by them being Consuls, should now be ready to flew themselves, against that day which L. Cornelius the Consul should appoint, and at what place before of Hirtius he should command by way of proclamation: Also that the said L. Cornelius the Consul in his march and journey toward the Province, might take up, enrol, and arm, what soldiers he thought good, out of all the burthongs and villages in his way, and have them with him whither forever he would, yea, and have commission to dismiss whom of them he thought good; and when forever he listed at his good pleasure.

After that the Consuls had taken matters, and were gone into their Provinces, then T. Quinctius demanded to have a day of audience in the Senate concerning those affairs that he had concluded with the adherence of the ten Delegates above said: and that it would please them to confirm and establish the same by virtue of their affent and authority. Which they might do with more ease, in case they would hear the Embassadors themselves speak, who were come out of all Greece, a great part of Asia, and from the Kings. Thesee embassadors were admitted into the Senate by C. Serbonius the Pretor for the City, and all dispatched with a gracious answer. But because the dispute about Antiochus required long time of debate, therefore it was referred and put over to the ten Delegates, of whom some had been in Asia, or at Lysimachus with the King. And Quintius was commanded, that together with those said Delegates he should hear what the King his Embassadors could lay, and return unto them with an answer, as might hand with the honor and welfare of the people of Rome. The chief of this Embassador from the King were Memnon and Heracleane. Then Memnon began and said, 'That he knew no such perplexed difficulty in their embassies, considering they were come simply to treat for peace, and to contrac a league and adherence. For, faith he, there are three sorts of confederacies and alliances, whereby States and Kingdoms ordinarily conclude league and amity one with another. The first, when they that are vanquished in war, have conditions and articles imposed upon them: for when all is yielded into the hands of him that is the mightier and more putative, then is it in his power and at his discretion and will, to give unto the conquered party what he list, or to take from him as he pleaseth. The second, is when they that are equal in warlike forces give over on even hand, and are content to make peace and amity upon indifferent and equal conditions, one with the other.

In which case, demand and claim is made, restitution and amends performed according to the accord and agreement: and in time of the wars, any have been molested and troubled in their possession, they fail to composition either by the form and tenor of ancient law, or by agreement to the good and profit of both parties. The third is, when they that never were enemies, meet and concur together about concluding some friendship, by way of solemn alliance and society: who neither give nor take any conditions: for that belongeth properly to Conquerors, and those that are conquered. Seeing then that Antiochus is comprised in this last kind, I marvel not, (for he) that the Romans should think or say, It is reasonable to tender articles unto him, or to provoke and let down, what Cities of Asia they would have to be free and exempt, and which would have to be tributary: and into what Cities they would expressly forbid the

King his garrisons, or the King himself to enter and set foot. For in this wise ought they to make peace with Philip, their enemy in times past, and not to draw a contract of amity and alliance with Antiochus, a friend at this present. To this Oration Quintius shewed his answer in this fort, 'Forasmuch as it pleaseth you to make your speech thus distinctly by way of division and severally to rehearse all kinds of confederacies and alliances, I also will set down as methodically in order two conditions without which you may let the King your master to understand, that he must not look to entertain any friendship with the people of Rome. The one is this, that he must not use us to intermeddle with the Cities of Asia: the likewise he himself hath no

ting to do with all Europe. The other, that he cannot contain himself within the compass of Asia; but will needs encroach upon it the Romans likewise may have liberty and power both to maintain their amities which they have already, and also to entertain new with the States of Asia.

Afr. Hereat Heracleane interred and said, 'That this was an indignity intolerable and which he could not abide to hear, namely that Antiochus should be diffizled of those Cities of Thrace and Cimmerus, which Seleucus his great-grand father had conquered with singular honor from King Lysimachus, whom he vanquished in war and flew in field, and let the fame in him as in his right inheritance. As for the same cities possessed by the Thracians, Antiochus himself with as great praise and glory hath partly by force of arms regained out of their hands and partly repeople with the old inhabitants called home again, whereas they lay abandoned and desolate, and namely, Lysimachus it itself as all the world testeth: and more than that, hath re-edified to his exceeding charge and expense, those that lay along in their ruins, and were consumed with fire.

What likens then is there between these two demands: namely that Antiochus should quit the possession of that which either he acquired or recovered in that fort : and that the Romans should obtain and forbear Asia, which never appertained unto them? To conclude, Antiochus (faith he) is deformed of the Roman friendship, but in such terms as may hand with his honor: and not purchase his immi flame and reproach. Then Quintius rejoyned again in this manner: 'Forasmuch as ye, we balance and weigh things according to honesty: as in truth it is bettling the chief and principal rate of the world, and to great and mighty a King to prize that only or at
I be four and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

...
A diquiet and trouble the state of the City. There is a stranger, say they, one Aristotle a Tyrian, hither come with instructions from Antiochus and King Antiochus; certain men there are, that daily have privy conference with him, and devise in secret of that, which anon will break out to the utter ruin and overthrow of all. Whereupon they all cried with one voice to convene Aristotle peculiarly before them, and to examine him about what business he was thither arrived and now he would betray & declare the matter, to lend him with Embassadors of purpose, to Rome: For why? we have (say they) left the heart enough, and paid sufficiently for the silly and rash head of one harebrained man already. Let private persons bear their own load hereafter, and at their own peril commit a trepail: provided always that the Common-wealth be preferred clear not only from all affairs, but also from all appearance and built of any such intent. Aristotle being called before them, found fully upon his integrity and excused himself: and evermore used this for his belt and shield defence. That he had brought no letters at all to any person: howbeit he could not render a ready & found reason of his coming thither: but especially he was thither troubled and put to his wits when they charged him, That he had talk and communication with those only of the Barcian faction. Hereupon rose some debate and altercation in the house: whereof some were of opinion that he should be apprehended for a spy, and clapped up in ward: others again were of mind that there was no cause to make such a stir and tumult for: it was an evil precedent to be given, that strangers coming to their City, should be troubled and hardly intended; and the like measure no doubt would be offer'd to the Carthaginians in Tyre & in other Towns of commerce, whereunto to they were to have resort for exchange and trafficke. So that day the matter was put off. Aristotle framing him self to play the crafty Carthagian among the Carthaginians, wrote a certain bill, and in the hearing of the day, hung it up in the most conspicuous and publick place of all the City, even over the door where the head Magistrate useth daily to sit. And himself about the third watch got to fullboard and escaped. The morrow after, when the Soviets were in their benches to ministe the law, the bill aforesaid was seen, taken down, and read: wherein to this effect was written That Aristotle was not come with a message to any person in particular, but to all the Seniors or Elders in general: for so they call the Senate. After that the thing was by this means made a publick matter, and the whole state of the Senators reputed culpable, they were not to esteem or extend into private persons. Howbeit thought good it was, that Embassadors should be sent to Rome to give information hereunto to the Consuls and the Senate, and withal, to make complaint of certain wrongs done by Massafrica.

D. Massafrica understanding that the Carthaginians were suspected and in some ill name among the Romans, and alio at large and variance within themselves; and namely, that the great and principal men were had in jealousy by the Senate for their conferences with Aristotle; and their Senate likewise suspected by the people, by reason of that writing above-named of the said Aristotle, taking this for a good advantage and opportunity to do them some injury, not only invaded their maritime parts and made spoil, but also forced certain tributary Cities to the Carthaginians for to pay him himself tribute. That quarter of the country they call Emporia. It is the sea coast of the latter Syrie, and the country is exceeding fertile: there is in it one only City named Ephas, which paid to the Carthaginians for tribute, a talent every day. All this region Massafrica then had plighted love, and for one part thereof he made some claim, as being injustices which pertained to his Kingdom or the Seigniory of the Carthaginians; and because he knew for truth, that the Carthaginian Embassadors were about to go to Rome as well to purge themselves of some crimes wherein they were charged, as to complain of him; therefore himself also addressed his Embassadors to Rome, who should lay open more matter against them of deeper suspicion, and debate withal as touching the right of those tributes. The Carthaginians were no sooner heard speak concerning that Tyrian stranger but the LL of the Senate grew into some doubt lest they should wage war with Antiochus and the Carthaginians both together. And this pretension of all the rest made the suspicion most pregnant, because when they had the party among them, and were purposed to send him to Rome, they neither made the man himself intreat nor the bark wherein he arrived. After this, they fell to debate and argue with the Kings Embassadors, about the territory and land in controversy. The Carthaginians pleased for themselves, and flood much upon their bounds and limits, for that the land in suit lay within that precinct by which P. Scipio the Conqueror limited off that territory which pertained to the seigniory of the Carthaginians. Also they alleged the condition of the King himself, who at what time as he purposed Africoth, that fled out of his own realm, and with a company of Numidians ranged abroad about Oryene, made request unto them, to give him leave to pass through this very ground, as if (without all question) it belonged to the Carthaginians. The Numidians answered again to these points & laid plainly to their faces, that they lied in their threats, as touching that supposed limitation and bounding by Scipio; and moreover, if we would go (say they) and search the very original indeed of the law, what land at all ought the Carthaginians have of their own proper inheritance? For being but meet strangers, they had after much praier and entreaty, as much ground allowed them and no more, to build them a City in as they could compass with thongs cut out of one bull hide. And look whatsoever, they had encroached upon without that nett and leash of theirs in Byptus they got and held it by force and violence. And as for the land now in suit, they are not able to prove, that they always held the same in possession, nor that they kept it any long time together. But as occasion and opportunities served of advantage, one while they, and another while the Numidian...
The five and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the city of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florius upon the fifth and thirtieth Book.

Publius Scipio Africanus being sent Embassador unto Antiochus, talked at Ephebus with Annibal (who had sided with Antiochus) to this end, that he might rid him of that fear which he had conceived of the people of Rome, at touching the taking away of his life. Among other matters passed between them, came the command of Annibal, whom he judged also to be the noblest and greatest warrior of that very age, so that it was Alexander King of the Macedonians, for that he had a small power defended as did a defeated and an infinite number of armed, and within, passed through the seas for distant and remote parts of the world unto which a man would not believe: that it were possible for any person to go and see them. Then he asked of him whom he deemed for the second: Who, but Pyrrhus (quoth he) because he taught the manner how to pitch a camp and besides the man had the skill to gain places and hold the forces of any enemy that could set his corps as guard or plant garrisons better than he. And when he proceeded thus to know whom he took to be the third, Annibal named his own good self. At which answer Scipio said laughing: And what would you have said then (quoth he) if your hap had been to have vanquished me? Merry then (quoth he) I would have set my self before Alexander, before Pyrrhus, and before all other. Among other predictions also, whereof there were reported very many, it is said that in the year wherein Caesarius was Consul, once spoke, and said these words: Rome, look to thy self. The Romans prepared war with Antiochus, Nabis the tyrant of the Lydians, provoked by the Aetolians, who solicited both Philip and also Antiochus to wage war against the people of Rome, resolved from the Romans and after he had raised war against Philip, and as the Aetolians was by the river Styx fled. The Aetolians likewise abandoned the friendship of the people of Rome with whom Antiochus King of Syria bivarded: who warred upon Greece, and surprised manyCities and named, Chalcis and Ephesus among the rest. Besides, this book contained the martial affairs in Liguria, and the preparation of Antiochus for the war.

The five and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

In the beginning of that year wherein their affairs thus passed, Sextus, Dictius Pretor in high Spain, fought battles (rather ordinary, and for number many than other wise memorable and worth the speaking) against those States, whereof the departure of Cato a great fort had rebelled. And those battles for the part were so confounded, that hardly he could deliver up to his master the one half of those soldiers which he had received. And doublest all Spain would have taken here again, if the other Pretor P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Cornelius, had not sped better in many of his conflicts beyond Iberus. Upon which account no fewer than fifty good Towns revolted unto him, and these exploits performed Scipio as Pretor, who also in quality of Proconsul, encountered the Lusitans upon the way, as they returned homeward charged with a mighty great booty taken out of the base Spain, which they had utterly pill’d and spoileth: where O. fought from the third hour of the day into the eight, with doubtful evert, for number of soldiers he was inferior to his enemies, but for all things else he had the vantage, and went beyond them. For his battalions were well appointed and close composed of a med men and so he charged upon the enemies marching in a long train, and the same encumbered with a deal of cattle besides his soldiers were fresh in heart, whereas the other were wearied with long travel.

* After Sung.
The fifth and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

Ai vel. For the enemies set forth at the third watch, and besides their night journey, they had marched three hours also of the day, and without any repose or rest at all, they came to a conflict presently upon their travel on the way. And therefore at the beginning of the battle, so long as they were in any heart, and their strength served, they troubled and disordered the Romans with the first charge they gave, but afterwards for a while they came to be equal in fight, In which hazard of donnbrifie the Prepostor vowed to set forth certain solemn games to the honour of Jupiter, in case he might discojnt the enemies, and kill them in chafe. At the length the Romans advanced forward more hotly, and the Ligurians retreated, yes, and anon turned their backs quite. And when as in this train of victory the Romans purifhed them hard in the rout, there were of the enemies slain upon 10,000; 500 and forty taken prisoners, all in manner horsemen; and of military ensigns they carried away one hundred hundred and four. Of the Roman army less envy and three only were left. This battle was fought not far from the City Hip. And thither brought P. Cornuctius his victorious army, enriched with prey and pillage, Which was laid all abroad before the Town, and every man had leave given to challenge and claim his own. All the rest was given to the Treasurier to be sold and the mony raied thereof, was parted among the soldiers.

Now had not C. Flaminius the Pretor as yet taken his leave of Rome, when these things fell out in Spain, and therefore both he and his friends talked and discoursed much upon these occurrences both good and bad; and forasmuch as a great war in his Province was broken out to a light fire, and himself was to receive from Sext. Dizius, but a small remnant of an army, and the same timorous and full of fright as not well recovered of their former flight, he had affixed to bring about, that the Senate would assign unto him one of the City-legions; to the end that when he had joined thereto those foulciders which himself had enrolled according to an order set down by the Senate, he might out of all that number chafe forth six thousand and five hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen. With which legion (for in the army of Sext. Dizius he repose small confidence) he minded to make war. The ancient Senators denied and said, That acts of the Senate were not to be made upon every flying tale and report for abroad and blaming by some particular persons in favor of Magistrates. Neither would they hold any thing for certain, but that which the other Pretors themselves wrote out of the Provinces, or Embassadors sent of purposes related. And if there were any such commotion and trouble in Spain, they were of advice that the Pretor should levy in iay without Italy, such tumultuary foulciders, as in that case were usually taken up.

The intent and mind of the Senate was, that foulciders should in that fort be prefix out in Spain. Valerius Antonius write that C. Flaminius both sailed into Sicily to levy and mutter men, and also as he made sail from Sicily toward Spain, was by wind and temper put with the house or Africa, where he found certain foulciders disperst over the country, remaining of the army of P. Africannus of whom he took a military oath to serve him in his wars: and that to the leaves sailed in two Provinces, he joyed also a third in Spain.

The war of the Ligurians likewise grew as fits: for they had already besieged and invested Pisa with forty thousand men: and thither retired and fledgleyed daily unto them great multitudes as well for hope of pillage as upon the brute and rumor that went of the war. Musonius the Consul came at the day appointed to Aquintum, which was the Readiness where he had commanded all his foulciders to meet him from whence he marched with a thousand. Battailion toward Pisa, and (as it is said) had removed but a small mile from the City on the other side of the River, the Consul entered the Town which no doubt by his coming he preferred. The next day himself also encamped on the other side of the River, almost half a mile from the sea-shore, from which place he made light skirmishes with them and saved the territorty of his army from the excursions and robberies of the enemies. He durst not as yet try a battail in pitched field, as having but raw and new foulciders, and those gathered out of many kinds of men and not to well known among themselves, that one might fiercely trust another. The Ligurians bearing themselves bold of their numbers, not only came forth into the field ready to bid battail, and hazard all upon a throw but having multitudes at commandement and to spare, sent out into all parts sundry Companys to poinp and salie booties as far as to the marches and frontiers of the country. And when they had gathered together much carrai and great store of pillage, they had a strong place of defence ready at hand, well manned and guarded, by means whereof all was conveyed into their burthens and Towns.

Thus while the Ligurian war was settled about Pisa, the other Consul L. Cornicius Merulc entered with his army by the utmost confines of the Ligurians into the territory of the Boians: where the war was managed far otherwise than with the Ligurians. For the Consul entered the field in battail array, but the enemies fell off and would not fight. In so much as the Romans seeing none to come forth and present themselves, ran abroad into all parts to speed their hands with pillage. And the Boians hoic rather to suffer their goods to be ransackd making no resistance.

War to save the fame with the hazard of a battail. The Consul when he had writ his pleasure and confirmed all with fire and sword departed out of the territory of the enemies, and marched toward - Mutala, securely without any regard of hims, as through a receivable country of his friends. The Boii perceiving one that they were gone out of their livings, followed after with great and silent march, seeking some convenient place for to set an ambush. And having in the night passed beyond the Roman camp, they seted themselves of a tree the pasage within a fatheme, through which of necessity the Romans must pass, and there they laid them.
This was not to closely carried; but the Consul had an inking thereof: and therefore whereas his manner was to set out in his march early in the morning, long before day light, now for fear left the darkness of the night should increase the terror of a tumultuous skirmish, he waited for the day. And albeit the sun was up before he removed and left forward, yet he sent out a troop of horsemen to scout and discover the quarters. And after he was advertised by these epilals what number there was of enemies, and in what place they were, he commanded that all the baggege and carriage of the whole army should be bestowed in the mids, and that the Triarii should shake and pale it all about, while he with the rest of his forces marched in order of battail, and approached the enemy. The like also did the French, after they once saw that their ambul and trains were detected, and that they must of necessity fight a let pit hed battail, where down right blows, clean strength, and pure valour, was to carry away the victory. Thus about 1 the second hour of the day they affronted one another. The left wing of the horsemen of the allies and the extraordinaries fought in the vanguard, under the conduct of two Lieutenans that had been Consuls, to wit, M. Marcellus, and T. Sempronius, Consul the year before, the new Consul one while in the front of the battail, another while at the tail to keep in the legions, left for eager desire of fight they should advance forward to the conflict before that the signal was given. As for the men of arms belonging to the legions, he commanded Quintius and P. Minnius, Marhsall or Colonels, to bring them forth, and conduct them without the battail into a large plain, from whence out of the open ground they should on a sudden charge the enemies, when he gave them a signal by found of Trumpet. Thus as he was marshalling and directing his men, there came a messenger from T. Sempronius Longus with a report, that the Iooole Extraordinary K souliards and store were not able to abide the violence of the Gauls; that many of them were slain, and those that remained, partly for want of travail, and partly for leasful cowardice began to quail their heat of fight: and therefore he thought to good, he should send one of the two legions to succour, before they had received further dishonor. Whereupon the second legi on was sent, and the Extraordinary retired themselves out of the battail. Then began the conflict anew, by reason that the souliards came in fresh and in heart, and the legions besides was compleat and fully furnished with all her companies: the left wing of horsemen store was retired out of the battail, and in lieu thereof, the right wing advanced into the fore-front. By this time the sun with extreme scorching heat, rotted and fried the bodies of the Frenchmen, which of all things can least abide heat: howbeit, standing with their ranks thick and close together, one while they L leaned one upon another: other whites they refted and bare themselves upon their targets, and intimated the violence of the Romans. When the Consul perceived, he commanded C. Livius Salinator who had the conduct of the light horse in the wings, to send in the quickest horse in all his company, with his carrier to break their ranks: and gave charge that the legiomy horsem en should abide behind in the rearguard. This tempest and storm of Cavalry firtt shook and put in disorder the battail of the Gauls, and afterwards brake their ranks and files clean, yet not fo, that they turned their backs; for why, their Captains and Leaders would not suffer them, laying about with their truncheons upon the backs of them that fo trembled for fear, and forced them into their ranks: but the light horsemen aforeaid riding among them would not permit them to stand to, and keep their place. The Consul for his part encouraged and exhorted his horsemen to stick to it a while, for the victory was in their hands: and to charge still upon them, so long as they law them disordered and affrighted: for if they suffered their ranks to close again, they should abide another conflict, and the same perhaps doubtful and dangerous. The Ensign-bearers he commanded to advance their banners: and thus at length with putting all their power and good will together, they discomfited the enemy, and put him to flight. After they threwed their backs once and took them to their heels, running away on all sides, then the legionary horsemen were sent out after to follow the chase; fourteen thousand Boians that day were slain, a thousand and nine hundred taken prisoners alive: 221 horsemen, three of their Leaders, and of Ensigns were won 212, and chariots 65. The Romans likewise won not this victory for cooler, but it cost them some blood. For, of their own souliards and allies together, there died above five thousand, N 23 Centurions, besides four Colonels of Allies, and two Marshals of the second legion, to wit, M. Ceminius, and M. Marcellus.

At one and the selfsame time in manner, both the Consuls letters were brought to Rome, Cor nelius his letters touching the battail fought at Mutina with the Boians: but the other of Q. Min nius from Visfe were written to this effect, That whereas by lot it belonged to him to hold the assembly for the election of new Magistrates, yet considering in how doubtful terms of hazard his affairs stood in Liguria that he might not possibly depart from thence without the utter ruin of the allies, and hinderance of the weak publick: therefore if it might seem to good unto the LL of the Senate, he would advise them to lend unto his brother Consul, That he, who had finish'd his war, might return to Rome for to hold the foresaid general assembly for the election: but in case he should think much thereof, because this charge properly appertaineth not to him; he promised them, that himself would do whatsoever the Senate should think good. But he requested them to consider and be well advised, Whether it were not more expedient for the common-weal to proceed rather to an interregno, than that he should leave the Province in that state of jeopardy. The Senat hereupon gave in charge to C. Scribonius to lend two Embassadore both of Senators calling, unto L. Cornelius the Consul, who should carry also with them unto him the
the letters of his colleague written and sent unto the Senat: and withal, to let him understand, that unless he would come himself to Rome for the election of new Magistrates to succeed, the Senat would suffer an irregener rather than call away Q. Metellus from the war unfinished, and wherein he was wholly employed. The Embassadors that were sent, brought word back, That L. Cornelius would repair to Rome himself for the clouting of new Magistrates. As touching the letters of L. Cornelius, wherein he gave them to understand, what happy issue & in case he had in the battle with the Boians: there was some reasoning and debate in the Senat-house: for A. Claudius his Lieutenant had written other letters privately to most of the Senators, to this effect; That they were much behelden and bound to give thanks unto the good fortune of the people of Rome, and the valour of the fouldiers, in that they fped so well as they did: for by means of the Con-ful, not only there were a good number of men loit, but also the army of the enemies was escaped out of their hands, when they had fit opportunity presented unto them of a final defeat and overthrow thereof: and that by this occasion there was a greater number of the fouldiers miscarried; for that they who should have been released and incored thofe that were diblifled, came too late out of the regard; and the reason why the enemies got away and escaped was this, because the legionary horifon men had not the signal soon enough founded unto them, and could not possibly purfue them in the chafe. Therefore as concerning that point, they would not determine any thing rashly and hand over head, but the matter was referred and put over to a more frequent assem-ly of Senators.

A greater object there was to trouble their heads; for the City was much oppreffed with milit-ry: and albeit the avarice and covetousnes of men had been well gagged and bridled by many laws concerning uity, yet was a carefons device and shift found out, to avoid all fataces in that behalf: to wit, that all obligations should pass in the names of aleys, and be fealed unto them, who were not tified and bound to obrieve the laws afoireafied. By which means the creditors en-wrapped their debtors in what bonds they lif, and forced them to pay extream intereft as they would themselves, without fitt. For to fee into this disorder and enormity, and to redrefs the fame, it was thought good and order taken, to let down and limit a certain day, namely, upon which the initteres were left refrained. From which day all those allies should come in and de-clare and profefs, what mony they had put forth upon uity to any citizens of Rome; and that the creditor Shay have right to recover those monies put forth from that time, according to fuch conditions as the debtor would himself. Hereupon, after there were discovered great fums of money and debts contracted by this fraudulent practice, M. Semprenius a Tribun of the Commons, by advice of the Senat propounded a law, and the Commons allowed it. That the fame course of putting our money practiced between citizen and citizen of Rome, shou'd likewise be in force am-ong the allies of the Latin Nation. In this fort went matters in Italy, both within the City of Rome and also in the wars abroad.

In Spain the war was nothing fo much as the brait that ran thereof. C. Flamininus in high Spain, namely in a Town in the Orcans countrey: after which he took, he laid up his fouldiers in their winter harbour. And in that time there paffed certain light skirmifhes (not worth the naming) against the excursions of brigands and thieves, I may rather fay, than enemies: and yet the fortune was variable, and not without fome los of men. As for M. Fulsw the great matters: for he fought in a ranged baffail with banner dilated against the Vacingons, the Vediones, and the Celibrians, before the Town Toletum: where he discofemted and put to flight the army of those nations, and took prisoner alive, their King Helianus. While these things thus paffed in Spain; the day drew neer, of the Solemn election of Magis-trats at Rome: and therefore L. Cornelius the Conful having left M. Claudius Lieutenant in the army, came to Rome: who, after he had disconforted in the Senat-house of his own exploits, and in what eftate the province stood, he complained to the LL. of the Senat, that considering to great a war was brought to an end, by one baffail fo fortunately and happily fought, there was no folemnity to the honour of the Gods, performed in that behalf. Over and beides, he demanded, That if they would decree a procession and triumph withal, But before the Senators; were to deliver their opinions to this demand, Q. Metellus, who had been Conul and Dictator, rofe up, and faid, That there had been letters brought at one and the fame time both from the Conul Cornelin to the Senat, and also from M. Marcellus to a great many of the Senators, and those letters improting conftinctions: whereupon the confultation of that matter had been deferred and put off, to the end that it might be argued and debated in the presence of them both, who wrote the letters: and therefore I ever looked (quoth he) that the Conul (knowing especially that his Lieu-tenant had written and informed somewhat against him) and considering that himself was to re-pair to Rome would have brought him also with him: faying that it had been more meet and befiting him to have delivered the army to T. Semprenius, one that was in the commission and had a command than to a Lieutenant. But it should leem now, that he was left behind far enough off of very purpose, for ftre were he would avow and justify personally his fhand-writing, and charge him face to face: and that if the Conul should make report of any untruth, he might be chal-lenged therefore, and the thing lifted and canvased, until the truth appeared clearly and came to light: and therefore my opinion is (quoth he) that nothing be determined at this prefent, as touching the demands of the Conul. But when as he perifhed not withfanding, and followed the hint still, namely, that they would ordain a Solemn procession, and that himself might enter the
the City, riding in triumph. Then Marcus and C. Titius, both Tribunes of the Commons, protected them that would interpose their negative, and cancel the order of the Senat in that behalf.

The Centurion for that time, were Sex. Albus Petrus and C. Corvusius Cathenius, created the year before. Corvusius took a review of the City and numbered the people; and there were accounted by his survey 14,5704 polls of Citizens. Great floods arose that year, and Tyber overflowed all the flats and plain places of the City: and about the gate Fluminentana certain houses and buildings were overflowed withal, and laid along. The gate Calmontana besides, was stricken with lightning, and the wall about it was likewise blasted from heaven. At Arcia, Loamnus, and in mount Aventin, it rained stones. And reported it was from Cacus, that a great swarm of Wasps came flying into the market place, and fled upon the Temple of Mars; which being with great care taken up and gathered together, were afterwards consumed with fire. In regard of these prodigions tokens, order was given, that the Decemvirs should search and peruse the books of syllables; whereupon a novendial sacrifice (to continue nine days) was appointed, a publick procession solemnized, and the City was cleansed and hallowed. About the same time M. Perius Cato, dedicated the Chappel of Virgin Victorius, near to the Temple of the Goddesses Victorius, two years after that he had vowed it. In that year also the Triumvirs, C. Manlius Vctus, L. Aelius Fallo, and P. Aelius Tiberius, (who had preferred a bill of request about the planting of a Colony) had commission granted, to conduct a Colony of Latins into the country of Thurium: and thither went three thousand footmen and three hundred horsemen: a small number in comparison of the largeness and quantity of the territory. There might well have been set out thirty acres for every footman, and threescore for an horseman: but by the motion and advice of Appius, one K third part of the lands was excepted and reserved, to the end, that afterwards in time, they might enrol new Colonies if it pleased them. And therefore the footmen had twenty acres, and the horsemen forty acres.

Now approached the end of the year, and more ambition there was, and hotter suit for place of dignity in the election of Consuls, than ever had been known any time before. Many mighty men as well of the persons and nobles as the Commoners, stood and laboured hard for the Confulship, to win. C. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Cnemus, who lately was departed out of Spain after he had achieved many worthy deeds, L. Quintius Flaminius who had been Admiral of the navy in Greece, and Cn. Manlius Vctus, all of the Nobility. But of the Commons were Cn. Lulus, Cn. Dominius, Cn. Lucius Salinator, and M. Aelius. But all men eyes were fixed upon Quintius and Cornelius Scipio. For they desired one place, being both of them nobly defended, and their fresh glory for feats of war, recommended both the one and the other. But above all other things, the brethren of these competitors, two most renowned warriors of their time, set the debate on a light fire. The glory of Scipio, as it was the greater of the two, so it was more infancy to envy. The honour of Quintius was more fresh, as who that year had newly triumphed. Over and besides, the one of them had been now almost ten years continually conversant in the eyes of men (a thing that maketh great men not to be highly regarded, by reason that they are grown stale, and the world is full already of them,) also he had been twice Consul, and Conful once he vanquished Annibal. But in Quintius all was fresh, and new, to win the good grace and favor of men. And more than that he neither after his triumph had obtained ought of the people, nor to say a truth, requenced any thing. He alleged, that he made suit for his own natural and whole brother by both sides, and not for a Consul German: in the behalf of a very companion and partner with him in the managing of the war (for as himself served by land, so his brother performed many exploits by sea.) So he obtained, that Quintius should be preferred before his competitor, whom Africanus and his brother [Africanus] brought in and graced, whom the whole race of Cornelius seemed to countenance even then when a Cn. Cornelius, Consul, was president of the election and held the assembly; whom the Senat had given to grave a testimonio, in adjudging him to be the best man simply in all the City, and thought most worthy to receive the goddesses dame Idea coming from Pienus to the City of Rome. Thus were L. Quintius, and Cn. Dominius Africanus created Consuls, in such a sort that Africanus was of no credit, and bare no stroke at all (ye may be sure) in the election of a Consul out of the third estate of Commoners, albeit he employed himself, and did his best for C. Lulus. The next day after were the Pretors elected namely, L. Scribonius Libo, M. Fulvius Centumola, A. Atilius Serranus, M. Fabius Tampilus, L. Fabius Tappus, and Q. Palinius Sarrus. In this year M. Emilius Lepidus and L. Emilius Paulus, the Consuls, bare themselves so in their offices, as if they had made their year to be notable and much spoken of. They condemned and fined many of the City graters or farmers of the common pastures: and of that money which arose of their amercements, were certain gilded shields made, which were set up on the finial or lantern of Jupiter Temple. They made one terrace or gallery without the gate Trigemin, with a marchants Hall orBurse adjoined thereto, near Tyber: and another from the gate Fontinulae they built in length, as far as to the Nai of Mars, leading to Mars field.

For a long time nothing was done in Liguria worth the remembrance. But about the end of the year twice the Romans in great jeopardy: for both the camp of the Consul was assailed and hardly defended and also not long after, as the Roman host marched through a frightful pass, the army of the Ligurians kept the very gullet of the passage, and the Consul seeing he could not make way through, turned his enlings, and began to retire the same way he came: but by that time, some of the enemies had gained also the back part of the pass, insomuch as the lamentable
A lamentable remembrance of the Caudine overthrow, not only presented it to their spirit and mind, but also was in manner an object to their eye. Now had he amongst his auxiliary or aid-forces, to the number almost of eight hundred horse. Whole Captain promised the Conful, that he and his would break through whither way he would, let him only but tell him which of the two quarters were better peopled and inhabited: for the first thing that he did, he would fire their villages and houses to the end, that the fear and fright thereof might force the Ligureans to depart out of the chaise which they held and belte, and run to succour their own neighbours. The Conful commended him highly, and led him with hope of large rewards. Whereupon the Numidians mounted on horseback, and began to ride about the camp; who, indeed, of the enemies, without offering to charge upon any man. At the first, a man that had been there, would have thought nothing more contemptible, being both men and horse, little, spare and gaunt. The horseman unarmed and without a weapon, gave that he carri'd about him some light darts: the horses without bridles and as they ran fluttering out their stiff necks, and bearing their heads forward without any reining at all, made a very ill favoured sight. And the riders, for to make themselves more defied, would on purpose seem to take falls from their horses, and made their enemies good sport. Whereupon they who (of his) at that instant had been affli'd, would have been heedful & ready to have received the charge, now fast fell (many of them unarmed) to behold this pleasant pastime. The Numidians would gallop towards them and presently ride back again; but for as little and little they gained ground, and advanced nearer to the palt, yet making temblance, as if they had no rule of their horses, were carried thither against their wills. At the last they set spurs to their horses indeed, and brake through the midst of the enemies guardando as soon as they had recovered the open ground, they set on fire all the houses near the high way (ide), and so far away they burned the next village they came unto, and delir'd all afore them with fire and sword, Euticus, the man that was delir'd, afterwards the enemy heard of them that were affrighted in the villages and hat of all, the children and old folk that fled to save themselves, made a trouble and hurly-burly in the camp: in such, as much as any man of himself without advice, without warrant or direction, made what halt he could to run and save his own. Thus in the turning of an hand, the camp was abandoned, and the Conful delivered from siege, arrived thither where he intended. But neither Boats nor Spaniards (with whom that year the Romans made war) were to skillfully and maliciously bent against them, as the whole nation of the Eotolians. They at the very first were in very good hope, that presently upon the remove of the forces out of Greece, Antiochus would have entred Greece, and seized upon the vacant possession thereof: and that neither Philip nor Nabis would be in reit, and do nothing. But seeing them not to stir in any place, they thought it high time to make some trouble and confusion themselves, for fear lest by delays and lingering, all their dispositions would turn to nothing: and therefore they published a Diet or Council to be held at Nysaenum. In which assembly Thasus their Preor, after he had made grievous complaints of the wrongs received by the Romans, moving and soliciting the state of Asia (for that they of all other nations and Cities of Greece, were least honoured and let by after that victory, whereas they had been the cause) gave his advice, That there should be Embassadors sent to all the neighbour Kings, not only to find out their minds and affections, but also to incite them to certify of the same. Euticus and preck them every one forward to enter into arms against the Romans. So Democritus was despatch'd to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Dicaearchus the brother of the Preor unto Antiochus. Democritus had in commonhip to dignify unto the tyrant of Macedonia, * That by the loss of his maritime Cities, the very fringes and fineways of his tyranny and Kingdom were cut inunder; * From thence he was hurri'd with foiards, from thence had he his ships and sevitors at sea; * Whereas he now, he might see the Achaman LL, and rulers of Ptolomaeus was himself was * Placed up and enclosed within his walls and never should he have opportunity to recover himself, if he let pass this that prefently was offered unto him. No Roman army was now in Greece: * And never would the Romans think it sufficient cause, to pass over the Seas with their legions.* into Greece, for any occasion of Gythium or other Laconians inhabiting the Sea-coasts. These reasons were laid forth to incite the courage of the tyrant, to the end that when Antiochus was once paffed over into Greece, he being touched in confidence, that he had broken the Roman league by committing outrage upon their allies, might of necessity join and band with Antiochus, * Semblable remonstrances and reasons used Nicander for to provoke and persuade Philip; and much more matter he had to enforce that point, as the King was deposed from much higher degree of elate than the tyrant had been, and also had sustained far greater losses. To this he alleged the ancient name and renown of the KK, of Macedon; and how that nation had over-run the whole word and filled all places with their noble conquests & victories. Moreover he said. That he advised him to take a course, which was safe both to be enterprised, and also easy to be executed. For he gave not Philip counsel to stir, before that Antiochus were paffed over with an army into Greece; and considering that he without the aid of Antiochus had maintained war so long against the Romans and Eotolians, what possible means had the Romans to withstand him allied with Antiochus & the Eotolians his allies, who even then were fiercer enemies than the Romans? Over and besides, he interred this reason also, what a brave and doughty Captain Antimachus was, a man even born to be an enemy to the Romans, and who had lain already more leaders and soldiers of theirs, than were left behind. These were the allegations of Nicander to Philip. As for Dicaearchus, he had other motives to perversive with Antiochus, first, and principally
pally above all others, he affirmed, "That howsoever the prize and booty of Philip fell to the H
Romans, the victory was gained and achieved by the Ætolians, and none but they either
gave the Romans entrance and passage into Greece, or furnished them with forces for the per-
tormance and accomplishment of the victory. Then he flewed and made promise what power
as well of foot as horse they would pretend unto Antiochus toward his wars, what places they
would give him for his land-forces, and what havens and harbours for his strength and army at
Sea. After all this he fluck not (to serve his own turn) for to over-teach and tell a loud lie as
'touching Philip and Nabas, in giving out confidently that they were both of them ready and at
'the point to renew war: and would take the vantage of the very first opportunity and occasion
'that could be prefixed, to recover those things which by war they had lost. Thus the Ætolians
laboured to fet all the world at once upon the top of the Romans. Howbeit, the KK, were either I
not moved at all with their solicitings, or beliefed them more flonely than they looked for. But
as for Nabas, he bent immediately about all the Towns by the Sea side, certain pears of purpose
to few discord and kindle seditions among them: and some of their principal citizens he won by
Gifts and presents to his own purpose and designs: but such as finely continued fast and firm
in alliance with the Romans, thole he made away and murdered. Now had T.
Quintus given in charge and commissio to the Achizans to fort guard all the Laconians that dwelt
upon the Sea-coasts: and therefore presently they both dispatched their Embassadors unto the
Tyrants, to put him in mind of the confederacy and association with the Romans, and to warn
habit about Selga.

At the same time the Romans Embassadors P. Sulpicius and P. Villius, who as we said before I
had been sent unto Antiochus with direction, first to visit X. Eumenes, arrived at "Esopus, and from
thence went up to Pergamus, where Eumenes kept his royal court. Eumenes was defirous in his
heart that Antiochus should be warred upon: supposing verily, that if he were at peace, being a
Prince so much mighty therin himself: he would be but an ill and dangerous neighbour to neer
unto him: but if war were one effect that he would be no more able to be heard and match the Ro-
manes, then Philip had been: and that either he should wholly be overthrown and come to utter
ruin; or if, being vanquished therin he had peace given unto him by the Romans: then, as he left much
thereby and would be weaker to himself should gain by the bargain, and grow mightier, that after
wards he might be able easily of himself to make his part good, and hold his own against him,
without the help and aid of the Romans: or if any misfortune should happen unto him, he were
better by far, to hazard any fortune whatsoever in the Roman society, than either alone to endure
the Lordly dominion of Antiochus and be subject or in refusing to obey, be compelled thereto by
force and arms. For these causes he employed all the credit and authority he had, yeæc addressed
all counsel that he could devise for to prink on and set forward the Romans in this war. Sulpicius
remained behind sick at Pergamus. But Villius persuaded that the King was occupied and busied
in the Pidian war, went to Ephesus: and whereas he abode there some few days, he endeavoured
and made means to have conference oftentimes with Annibal, who haply at that time sojourned
there, both to found his mind if possibly he could, and also to secure him of all fear from the Ro-
mans. In these meetings and communications, no other thing passed nor was done between them,
but see what ensued hereupon of it self, as if it had been a thing wrought and compassed of meet
pollicy. Annibal by this means was less set by and in smaller credit with the King, yeæc in all
matters began to be more and more suspeeted and had in jeoloue, Claudius (the Historian) who
followeth the Greek books of Aulius, writeth that P. Africanius was joyned in that embassage,
and that he talked and devised with Annibal at Ephesus: and namely, maketh report of one con-
ference and speech between them twain: and that is this. Africanus demanded of Annibal, whom
in his judgment, he took to have been the greatestest commander for feats of arms, that ever was:
to which he made answere, that he judged Alexander the King of the Macedonians was simply the
most excellent warrior: in this regard, that he with a small power had delected innumerable ar-
niest and besides had passed as far to the utmost bounds of the whole earth, even to those lands,
that a man would think incredible for any one to reach unto. And when he asked again whom
he deemed worthy to stand in the second place he anwetered, that Pyrrhus was the man: for that
he first taught how to pitch a camp and above all other points of military skill no man knew bet-
ter to choose out commodious ground and places of advantage, or more cunningly to plant and
ellipogarrison: besides, he had such a sleight and dexterity to draw and win men unto him, that
the Italian nations had rather have been subject to him afoie Prince than to live under the peo-
ple of Rome, notwithstanding they had of long time the Seignory and rule of those parts, And
new
when he proceeded still to know whom he reputed for the third, he made no kicking at the matter, but named himself. Whereupon Speio took up a laughter and replied again: What would you say then, if your hap had been to have sabbred me? Mary then, quoth he, I would think I were worthy to be set before Alexander before Pyrrhus and ye and before all other martial men and commanders in the whole world. At this answer, Speio took delight and pleasure to see how futilely and cautiously he had like a cunning Carthaginian, couched his words in a certain kind of flattery, as if he had fore Pituated him from out of the range and rank of all other Captains as being by many degrees incomparable, and far above all others. Then Villius went forward from Ephesus to Asepotes and thither Antiochus also repaired forth to meet him, hearing of the coming of Roman legates. In this communication and conference at Asepotes, the matter was debated much after the fame sort, as it had been at Rome between Quintus and the Kings Embassadors. But the news of Antiochus the King on his death, whom I laid a little before, to have been sent into Syria brake off the peace. Great mourning and sorrow there was in the King's Court, and much was that young Prince mislaid and moaned for, that so good proof he had given of himself, that if he had lived any longer, he would have proved by all likelyhood of his towardness, a great, a mighty, and a righteous King. The deeer and better beloved he was of all men, the more fupiticous was his death: and namely, that his father doubting that he would prefereward and be instanced to succeed him in his aged age, took order by the ministerly of certain Eunuchs or gudened men (persons generally accepted with Kings for such services) to have him poisoned. And they say, that another cause also set him forward to commit this ferre act, because having given the City Lyonsachus to his canon Seleucus, he had no such place to bellow upon Antiochus his son, for to keep his residence in, whereunto he might have removed him farther off from his own person, under colour of doing him honor. Howbeit, great resemblance and there was of much mourning and lamentation all over the court for certain days: in whom the Roman Embassador retired himself to Pergamus, because he was both to converse there uncivilly, at to unfaceable a time. The King returned to Ephesus, and gave over the war that he had entred into, Where the countries being filled by occasion of the mourning time, he devised and continued in great lest ret with one Minisc an inward friend unto him, and whom of all other he beloved best, and trusted most. This Minisc a meer strangeu and altogether ignorant in foreign affairs and forces measuring and esteeming the power and greatness of the King by his exploits done in Syria or in Asia, deemed verily, that Antiochus had not only the better cause, that the Romans demanded unreasonal conditions; but also should have the upper hand in the trial thereof by war. When as now the King returned to have any conference and deliberate with the Embassadors, either for that he knew by good experience that it would be bootless for him to do so, because he was troubled in spirit upon this late and fresh object of grief and sorrow: Minisc undertook the business, and professed that he would speak to the point of the matter and to good purpose: and to perused the King to lend for the Embassadors from Pergamus. By this time Sulpisius was recovered of his sickness, and therefore both of them repaired to Ephesus; where Minisc excused the King, and in his absence they began to treat about their affairs, then Minisc with a premeditated action began in this wise, "Tell well (quod, he) that you Romans pretend unto the world a goodly title of getting free the Cities of Greece, but your deeds are not answerable to your words: and ye have set down unto Antiochus one manner of law to be tied unto and profess your selves another. For how cometh it about that the Smyrneans and Lampacens should be Greeks, more than the Neapolitans, the Rheginians and Tarentins, of whom you expropriate and require ship by vertue of the accord and covenants between you? Why dont ye yearly to Syracuse and other Greek Cities of Sicily, a Pretor in foreign authority, with his rods and axes? Certainly, ye have nothing else to say, but that ye have subdued them in war, and by right of conquest have imposed these conditions upon them, The like, ye and the same name I know ye that Antiochus alleged as concerning Smyrna, Lampacens, and other Cities and states of Asia and E. lis. For having been conquered in war by his ancestors and progenitors, having they been made tributary and liable to impositions, he challenged of them the ancient rights and duties due from them, and to him belonging, And therefore ye shall debate and treat the question according to equity and reason and not rather pick quarrels and seek occasions of war, I would gladly know what ye will answer to him in this point?

To this Sulpisius made answer in this wise. "Antiochus (quod, he) hath done very well and with good regard of modesty in that having no other matters to plead unto for his defence and the maintenance of his cause he hath made choice of any other rather than himself to be the speaker. For what one thing is there alike in those cities which you have named and put in compara- tion? Of the Rheginians, Neapolitans and Tarentins, we demand that which is our due according to the deeds of covenants indented, and hath ever been since time that first they were in subje- ction under us; that they which we have challenged and enjoyed by virtue of one continued course and tenor of right, by us ever praeful without any intermission or interruption. And are you able to avouch, that as those nations neither by themselves nor by any other have altered and changed the accord between us and them to the Cities of Asia, when they once became subject to the ancellor of Antiochus, remained always in the perpetual possession of your Kingdom? And not rather that some of them have been under the obeissance of Phlip and others obedient to Ptolemeus? Yeas and divers of them for many years have been free & used their own liberties without contradiction, and no words or doubts made thereof? For admit this once, that..."
that (because their Cities fortnight were in bondage through the iniquity of those times where- H in they were oppressed) there shall be a right pretended, and the same be effectual to reduce them again after so many ages into servitude? What wanteth it but ye may as well lay, that we have done just nothing, in delivering Greece out of the hands of Philip? and that his successors and polkerty, may claim again and lay title to Corinth, Chalcis, Demetrias, and the whole Thesalian nation? But what mean I to maintain the cause of the Cities of Greece, whom it were more meet and reasonable that both we and the King himself would give audience unto, and let them plead what they can for their own selves? With that he commanded the embassages of the Cities to be called in, which were prepared and instructed aforehand by Emmenius, who made this reckoning, that whatsoever strength went from Antiochus, should accrue and come unto him and his Kingdom. Many were admitted to speak: and whilst every one set forward his own cause, I some by way of complaint, others in manner of demand, each one putting in for himself without regard of right or wrong, so he served his own turn, they fell at length from reasoning to wrangling: in so much, as the Embassadors returned to Rome as uncertain and doubtful in all matters as they were when they came, without releasing or obtaining any one thing at all.

When they were dismissed and gone, the King held a Counsel as touching the Roman War. In which assembly, some delivered their opinion more freely and fluently than others: but generally the more bitter speech that any one uded against the Romans, the greater hope he had to enter in to especial grace and favour with the King. One above the rest, inveighed much and spake against those proud and insolent demands of the Romans, who imposed hard laws and conditions upon Antiochus, the mightiest King of all Asia as if he had been no better than Nabu, whom they had conquered and subdued. And yet (faith he) they lett unto Nabu some feignity and dominion in his own country and City of Lamacedamon: whereas if Lambescum and Smyrns should be at the command of Antiochus, they deemed that an unworthy thing and a very indignity. Others opened and said, that those two Cities were but small causes, and not worth the naming, for so fallacious a Prince to stand upon and to war for. But always (say they) men begin with just and reasonable demands to make an overture and way to compacts and obtain that which is unjust. Unless one would believe, that when the Persians requested of the Laucedemonians, water and earth, they flood in need of a clot & surf of ground, or a draught of water, in like fort for all the world; the Romans do not find and try the King, in their demands, touching these two Cities. For other Cities likewise, so soon as they shall perceive that those two have shaken off the yoke of obedienc, will soon revolt and turn to that people which is their deliverer, and at whole hands they hope for liberty. And say, that freedom were not to them more dear and precious than bondage yet it is the nature of every man to feed and picke himself with a bare hope of a change; and new world much more than with the attainted hold of any present state whatsoever. There was in place at this council, Alexander of Mæna, one who totime had friended Philip but of late days was far from him and followed the court of Antiochus, a more wealthy and magnificent Prince: and being taken for a politician who had a special insight into the state of Greece & was not ignorant of the affairs of Rome, had wound himself into high favour and inward friend ship with the King, that he was taken in to be one of his privy council, and acquainted with all his secrets. This man, as if the question in hand had been not, Whether war should be levied or no; but, Where, and by What means and How it should be managed, spake aloud & said, "That he made full reckoning and account in his very spirit and heart of the victory, in case the King would pass the Seas over into Europe, to plant & settle himself in some part of Greece, and there wage war; for at his very first coming he should see in arms already the Athenians, that inhabit the very heart and centre of Greece, who would be the only Captains and port-ennegins to match it before them, ready to venture and enter upon the most difficult and dangerous enterprises of war. Again, in the two cantons and angles as it were thereof, he should find Nabu of the one side from Peloponnesus, at hand to rise and raise those quarters, with intent to regain the City of the Attiges to win again the maritime Cities, which the Romans have disfrized & dispossessed of, and have minged and shut him within the walls of Lamacedamon. On the other side from Macedonia, Philip would no doubt take arms, so soon as he shall hear the first alarm and found of trumpet, Full well (ed he) know I his courage, and of what spirit and flamack he is might & I wot not that he hath folled in that breath of his a long time, anger and dispute like to those wild savage beasts which either are kept within iron gates or full tayed and bound: and as well I remember, how many a time he was wont (during the wars) to pray heartily to all the Gods, to touch for to give him Antiochus for his helper and assistent; and if now he might enjoy his wish, and have the thing so long desired and prayed for he would without any delay enter into arms and war incomitently. Only (ed Alexander) we must not linger and stay not drive off, for as such is herein conflit the very point of victory, even betimes to seize upon commo dious places of advantage before the enemies be posseled of them. Also with all speed, Ambibal only was not called to this counsel: for by reason of the foresaid conferences with Philip, the King had him in some jealousy, and therefore he was out of favour, and of no credit and account with him. At the first, he put up this dispose and made no words, but afterwards he thought it a better course, both to demand the cause of Antigonus' fratres and alienation of him: and also to take some good time to excite and purge him self, And therefor upon
A father Antiochus, when upon a time he sacrificed unto the God, called me (a very little one) to be brought and presented before the Altar where he forced me to touch the same with my hand, and to take an oath. Never to be friend unto the people of Rome. To accomplish this, and fulfill this oath, I maintained the war for six and thirty years; by virtue of this oath, in time of peace I was driven out of my native country; and being fled from thence, this oath brought me into your courts; and by the guidance and direction of this oath, if you should disappoint me of my hope, yes whatsoever I know there are forces, whereas, I hear there is any skirmishing and railing of arms, I shall seek all the world over, until I find some Roman enemies. And therefore if there be any of your Couriers that have a mind and desire to advance themselves in your good grace, and would grow by carrying tales and accusing me unto you, let them find some other subject and matter to do this by: for I hate the Romans, and am like wise hated of them. That this is truth which I say, my father Antiochus and the God in heaven, can testify. Wherefore, whenever you shall think to make war with the Romans, see you entertain Ambassadors of one of your greatest and most affured friends: but if any occasion shall force you to peace, seek some other counsellor and not me, to confute withal about that point. This speech was ended, that not only is prevailed with the King, but also reconciled Ambassadors unto his grace, and so they departed out of the council with a full resolution to make war.

At Rome it was commonly talked and directed, that Antiochus was an enemy, but no provision and preparation there was for war, but only whetting the edge of their stomacks. For both Conuls had no other Province but Italy aligned unto them to go to war. And they were either to agree between themselves, or else to call those, whether of the trions, should hold the general assembly, and be president of the election for that year. And he whose hap was not to be charged with that business, was to be in readiness to lead forth the legions into any place out of Italy, as need should require. And to this Conul it was permitted to enrol two new legions of citizens, and besides of allies and Latins 20000 foot, and 800 horse. To the other Conul were appointed those two legions, which L. Caecilius the Conul of the former year had under his government; also of allies and Latins 15000 footmen out of the same army and 500 horse. As for Q. Minucius, his commission was continued till for the conduct of that army which he had in Liguria. And for to supply and make up the broken companies, he was allowed to enrol 4000 Roman footmen, and 150 horse, and likewise to levy of the allies 9000 foot, and 350 horse for that service. To Q. Domitius it fell by lot, that he should go with a power out of Italy, whither forever the Senate gave order; and unto Quintus to govern Gaul. Then the Pretors election followed, who likewise call lots for their Provinces. M. Fulvius Centumalus had the civil jurisdiction, and L. Scribonius Lake the foreign. Q. Vadinius Tappus governed Sicily, Q. Solanius Sabes, Sardinia; M. Priscus Tappus high Spain, and A. Attilius Severinus the bale; but those two changed their Provinces, first by an order from the Senate, and afterwards by an act also of the Commons. For to Attilius Macedonius was aligned and the army, and to Babius the country of the Bruttii, Flaminiius and Fulvius continued in the government and command of Spain, and to Babius Tampilus for the rule of the Bruttii were those two legions appointed which the year before lay in the City.

E. With commission to take up and levy of allies fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse to go thither, Attilius Attilus had in charge to call thirty galliaces to be made with five banks of oars on a side, and to take out of the harbors and docks as many old vessels as were fit for service, and to enrol mariners and rowers. The Conuls also were enjoined to deliver unto him two thousand allies of the Latin nation, and a thousand Roman footmen. It was commonly voyed, that these two Pretors with two armies both by Land and at Sea, were prepared against Nobis, who openly now scatled the confederates of the people of Rome. But still the Embassadors were looked for, who had been sent unto King Antiochus, and the Senate commanded the Conul Domitius not to depart from the City before their return. The Pretors, Fulvius and Scribonius, whose charge it was to minister law and execute justice in Rome, had commission to provide a hundred galliaces, besides that fleet which Attilus was to command. But before that either Conuls or Pretors went forth into their Provinces, there was a procussion held, in regard of the prodigies and fearful sights that were reported. For word was brought out of Pieria, that a thbe-goat had yeamed his kids at once, and that it rained earth at Amsteram; and at Formia, that a gate and wall of the City were smitten with lightning; and (that which most of all troubled and frightened the Conul Domitius) that an Ox spake these words, Rome, take heed to thy self. In regard of the other prodigious tokens, there was a supplication held: but as for the Ox, the South-ayers and boweler prices gave commandment, that he should with great care be kept and nourished. The Tiber also with more violence overflowed into the City than in the former year, and overthrew two bridges and many buildings, especially about the gate Flumentum. Moreover, a mighty stone broken out of the Capitol Cliff, fell from thence into the street called Inguriam, either by the force and violence of rain, or some earthquake (which if there were any, was so little, that it could not be perceived) and that stone killed many a man. In the country also, by reason of this deluge, much cattle was carried away with the flood, and many farm houses and granges were born down and laid along.

Before that L. Quintus the Conul was arrived into his Province, Q. Minucius fought a battle with the Ligurians in the territory of Fife, and five nine thousand enemies the rest he did.
comit, put to flight and chased into their camp; which being assailed, was defended manfully with much fighting until dark night; and then the Ligurians fled away in the night season secretly. And by the dawning of the next day the Romans entered and feized thereof when it was empty of the enemies. Lest pillage was there found, for that ever and anon what booties forever they got in the country they sent home to their houses. Minimus not withstanding gave the enemies no repose from that time forward. For being departed out of the territory of Nîge he came into Liguria, where he destroyed their borroughs and Castles, and put all to fire and sword. There the Roman soldiers filled their hands with the Tuscan prizes, lent thither by the forragers and robbers.

Much about this time the Embassadors returned to Rome, from the KK, who brought word and made relation of nothing that was sufficient to enforce them to proceed in any hât to war, but only against the Lacedemonian tyrant, by whom (as the Achaean Embassadors also gave intelligence) the Sea coasts of Lacedaemon and Corinth were wronged and assailed, against the covenants of the league. Whereupon Actius the Pretor was sent with a fleet to defend the associates. And for as much as there was no imminent peril from Aetocbus, it was thought good, that both the Confuls should go into their Provinces. Domitius took his journey, and went the nearest way by Antriminus, and Quintus came into the Boians country by the way of Liguria. And there two Conuls armies in divers quarters, wafted all abroad the enemies country. At the first some few of their Gentlemen and Horfemen, together with their Captains: afterwards all those of Senators calling; and last of all, as many as were of any repute, worth and worthip, to the number of fifteen hundred fled to the Conulf.

Likewise in both Spains that year, the affairs went prosperously: for not only C. Flaminius by force of maneles and engines of batterry the rich and strong Town Litturum, and took priuie alive their Lord Coripilo a noble Prince, but also M. Fulvius the Consul confess feight with two armies of the enemies twice, and put them to the worse; and won by assault two Towns of the Spaniards Veselius and Helle, with many other forteresses: the rest of themselves revolted unto him. After this he made a journey into the Oretian country, & there having gotten two towns, of Toledo and Castile, he set forward and marched to the river Tagus. In that quarter there stood a town of a small City, but strongly seate: whilsts he assaulted it, there came a mighty army of the Veçtions to aid the Toledoans, with whom he fought a set field, and won the day, and having defeated the Veçtions, he forced the Toledoans with engines of batterry, and won the Town.

But all the wars which at that time were in hand, nothing troubled the LL, of the Senate so much as the expectation of the war which Aetocbus had not yet begun and enterpris'd. For although they had ever and anon certain advertisements and intelligences of all things by their Embassadors, yet many flying tales and headlesse bruits there went without any certain Authors, reporting Lies as well as truths. And among the rest there ran a rumor, that Aetocbus soon as he was come into Aetola, would presently put over a fleet into Sicily. Whereupon the Senate, notwithstanding they had sent Actius the Pretor with a fleet into Greece yet forsooth as there was need not of forces only but also of authority to entertain the hearts and affections of their allies, they sent over T. Quintus, Cn. Oflavius, Cn. Servilius, and P. Fulvius, as Embassadors into Greece, and gave order that M. Fulvius should advance his legions out of the country of the Brintians, toward Tarentum and Brundisium, that from thence if need required, he might fall over into Macedonia. Moreover, that M. Fulvius the Pretor should put out a fleet of thirty sail for the defence of the coast of Sicily and that the Admiral thereof should have full commission there to command (now L. Oppius Salinator, who the former year had been one of the Ediles of the Commons, had the command of those ships,) also, that the same Pretor should address his letters unto L. Fulvius his Colleague, and advertised him that it was to be feared, that the armado of King Antiebus would cross over out of Eetol into Sicily; and therefore it was the will and pleasure of the Senate, that he should take up and enrol into that army which he had already, of tumultuary foildiers 12000 horsemen, and 400 horse, by whose means he might defend that coast of the Province which looketh toward Greece. For the levy of thefe forces, the Pretor took matters not only in Sicily, but also in the tiles adjacent and lying therabouts, and fortiied with good garritons all the Towns upon the Sea side which lie toward Greece. Those rumours about there were fed still and maintained by the coming of Actius the brother of Eumenes, who reported that King Antiebus was passed over Hellefpond with an army, and that the Eetolians were in that forwardness, that they would be preft and ready in arms against his arrival. Great thanks were given as well to Eumenes in his absence, as to Actius there present in place. Also order was taken, that he should have a lodging allowed him at his pleasure, and his charges born for his diet and house-keeping. Moreover, there were given him as presents, two great horses of service, two pair of horfemen armors, as much silver plate as amounted to an hundred pound weight: and of gold plate, as much as weighed 20 pound.

And forasmuch as meffengers one after another advertised and gave warning, that war was at hand, it was thought requisite and expedient, that the new Conuls should be cho'd in all convenient speed: whereupon a decree passed from the Senat, that M. Fulvius the Pretor should forthwith dispatch his letters unto the Conulf, to certify him of the Senats pleasure, namely, that he should commit the government of his Province and the army unto his Lieutenants, and return himself unto Rome, and in his way send out his write aforehand for the publishing of an assembly general.
A general for the election of Cnfulus. The Cnfuls obeyed their letters, directed forth his summons in manner aforesaid, and came to Rome. In this year a great ambition there was, and much fuit for the dignity of government. For that three noblemen stood for one place, namely, P. Cornelius Scaurus, the son of Cnbus, who the former year had the repuMe, L. Cornelius Scipio, and Gna. Manlius Vulso. The Cnfulship was conferred upon P. Scaurus, so as it might appear to the whole world, that this honour was deferred only, and not fully denied to a worthy a candidate. His adjutant companion in government was A. Aelius Gallus, a man by calling a commoner. The morrow after were the Pretors chosen, to wit, L. Ennius Paulus, G. Ennius Lepidus, M. Junius Brutus, A. Cornelius Mammalia, C. Livius, and L. Oppius, both summoned Salinator. This Oppius was he that had the conduct into Sicly of a fleet of thirty ships. Mean while that their new Magistrates call lots for the government of their Provinces, M. Ennius was commanded to pass over with all his power from Brundisium into Epirus, and to keep his forces about Apollonia. And M. Fulvius the Pretor of the City had in charge to build fifty new Galleys called Quinqueremes, of five banks of oars on either side. And thus verifying the people of Rome being provided against all enterprizes and attempts of King Antiochus whatsoever.

Neither was Nibur behind in this part in levying war; but assaulted with great force: the Town of Cythera; and of a mischievous and malicious mind against the Achæans, for sending a garrison to aid the besieged Townsmen, he forrode and waited their country. The Achæans durst not go in hand with war, before their Embassadors were returned from Rome, and until they might know the pleasure and will of the Senate; but after the return of those Embassadors, they both published a Diet and general Council at Sicily, and also sent their Embassadors to Quinctius for his advice and counsel. In this Diet, all their opinions inclined and tended to make war out of hand: only the letters of T. Quinctius made some stay of the enterprise, wherein he advised them to expect the Pretor and navy of the Romans, Now when the States there assembled in counsel were distraffed; some perfifing still in their former opinion, and others of mind to take with them the advice of him upon whom they had sent for counsel: the multitude at length looked what Philopomenes would say in that behalf, The Pretor he was for the time, and in those days surpassed all other in wisdom and authority. Therefore rose up and used this preface and said, "That it was a good counsel among the Achæans, and well ordained and provided, that the Pretor himself in all consultations of war should not deliver his own opinion; and therefore willed them of their selves to resolve and determine with all speed possible what they pleased. As for the Pretor, faith he, he will be ready to execute with fidelity and careful diligence their decrees accordingly;" by yea and indero, so far forth as man's policy may reach unto, that they shall not repent of their resolution be it war or peace. This brief speech of his was more forcible and effectual to incite them to take arms, than any persuasive Oration, wherein he openly could have shewed his desire to follow the wars. And therefore with exceeding accord of all in general they agreed upon war. As for the time and means of managing the same, it was wholly referred to the discretion of the Pretor, to use his own liberty and pleasure. Philopomenes, besides that Quinctius advised, was also himself minded to wait for the Roman fleet which on the Sea side might defend Cythere, but fearing again that their present necessity could abide no delays, and left not only Cythera should be lost, but the garrison also miscarried, which was sent to the defence of the war he set out and put to the Sea the Achæans shipping, The Tyrant likewise had rigged and dressed a small fleet to compass any aid and succours that haply might be sent to the besieged by Sea, to wit, three covered ships with hatch and deck, three Brigantins or Pinnaces and as many Gallions. For the old ships were by composition and covenant delivered up to the Romans, And to make proof and trial of their new vessels how wiry and nimble they were and withal to see how all things else were well fitted for a battle, it need was: he made every day certain shews and representations of fight at Sea, and exercised both mariners and soldiers by such kind of false alarms: supposing that herein principally confided the hope of his sieges, in case he could cut off all their aid from the Sea side. Now the Pretor of the Achæans as he was equal to any of the best and most renowned commanders and Captains of that time in Land service, either for experience and prudence, or wit and policy: so at Sea he was but a novice and a learner, as being an Arcadian born, an Inlander far within the land, and ignorant besides of all foreign forces, but that he had born arms and served a little in Contry, where he had the leading there, of some auditory, One old Gally there was a Quadrireme, taken at Sea 80 years before, at what time as the carried Nicol the wife of Craterus from Northam to Corinth, And having heard much talk of this ship (for indeed he had been sometime of great name in the Kings royal fleets) he commanded her, all rotten as she was now, and ready to fall in pieces, to be sent into the Sea from out of the Bay of Argus. This ship as admiral, made way before the rest, wherein T'of Nappa, a Captain General of a fleet was aboard; and encountered the ships of the Laconians, making fall from Grikas. And at the first she changed to Sea, and running against a new strong ship and being old, of her self, leaping and taking water at every gjwt she was rent, splintered and fell apies. All within her were taken prisoners. The rest of the fleet having lost their capstans fled as fast as possibly their oars could make speed and away. Philopomenes himself was in a light boat, frigot or pink, and fled again, and never stayed until he was arrived at Paros. This ship nothing discouraged and abated the heart of this martial warrior, who had run through many and sundry adventures; but contrary wise wrought this effect, that he suffered himself and said, That if he were overtaken and put to the worse in service at Sea, wherein he
The five and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

and he had no skill, he would do much the rather quit himself to upon the land (where he had much experience and was already) as the Tyrant hoped not long joy and make boath of his winnings.

Thus he had put himself up with pride of his fortunate victory, and perfusing himself adately that he had no cause to fear any more danger from the sea, purposed likewise to stop up all the avenues and passages by land; and therefore before all the ways times with strong guards, which he bestowed in convenient places. And retiring with a third part of his forces from the siege of Glykseum, he encamped before Philippi. This is a place that overlooketh and commandeth the territo-
A. Finally, against the morrow, which way were safest to remove the camp? and what form and manner of march were best? In these councils and discourses, he had from his childhood so injured and exercised his spirits, that he was never to be quiet what to do upon any such sudden occasion or accident presented unto him. And now at this present, seeing his enemies to near, first and foremost he made a stand with his vanguard; then he sent out toward the forlorn enigmas, his auxiliary Candians that came to aid him, and those horsemens which they call Tarentin, whose manner is to have with them, two horses apiece, and then commanding his own men of arms to follow, after, he posted himself a rock standing over a brook or running rill, from whence they might water commodo: into that place he gathered together all his bag and baggage; there he bellowed all the pages and horseboys, and followers of the camp, whom he environed also with armed men: and as the nature of the place would give him leave, he fortified his camp. But to pitch pavilions in a craggy, rugged, and uneven ground he found much ado. Now were the enigmas about half a mile off: and at one and the same rivulet they watered both, with the guard of their light armed foaldiers: but before that they could encircle and skirmish together (as commonly they do when the camps stand to near one to another) they might overtook them. It appeared plainly there would be some fighting the next day about the brook for water: and therefore in the night season he bellowed close in a valley, farthest out of sight from the enemies, as many of his targeteers especially the place would contain and hide. When day-light was come, the light armed Candians and those Tarentin horsemen (of both sides) entered into skirmish upon the very banks of the brook. Letemnorust the Candian had the leading order (so far forth as the breadth of the valley would permit) that they might easily receive their fellows as they fled, within the spaces between their ranks and files. Then at once they arose, fresh in heart and ordered in good array, and charged upon the enemies, disordered, disbanded, loose, scattered, weary with travel; and faint of their wounds. Then it was out of double and pant all that adventure where the victory went: for presently the Tyrant foaldiers turned their backs, fled a good deal farther than they made pursuit before, and were beaten into the camp: many were either killed or taken prisoners as they fled; and they had been put in full sight also within the camp, but that Philopomereus commanded to sound the retreat, fearing more the rugged and broken ground, and the disadvantage and difficulties thereof in case he had rashly venedowed forward any further, than he did the enemy. Then he, taking his conjecture by the battle of the E. fight, and gleaning by the nature of Nausthe General, in what test and fight he might best send into him one of his auxiliaries that were strangers, counterfeiting himself to be a reigned revolt, to inform him assuredly, that the Achaens determined the next day to march as far as to the river Euroros, which travelled hard by the walls of Lacedaemon, for to stop the passage, that neither the Tyrant might retire himself into the City when he would, nor any munition or victuals be carried from thence into the camp: moreover, that they would give the attempt, and affay if they could illicite any of the citizens to revolt from the Tyrant. This conjecture carried himself: for in this errand, that the Tyrant believed not so much his words, as took hold thereby of a good pretence and honest occasion for to quit and abandon the camp: and therefore the next morrow, he commanded Pythagoras, with the auxiliary foaldiers and the horsemens, to keep a good guard about the trench and enclofe of the camp: himself in person with the strength of his army, marched as it were to a battle, and commanded to advance forward the enigmas in all haste toward the City.

Philopomeres, perceiving that the army marched to fit through the narrow passage down the hill, put forth his own horsemen and the auxiliary Candians, against the guards of the enigmas that were widen before the camp. They, seeing the enemies to approach and themselves forlorn of their own fellows, at first went about to retire within their hold: but afterwards when they perceived the whole army of the Achaens advancing against them in order of battle, fearing that they and their tents should be at once surprised, made space after their own hose which was gone a good way before. With that, the targeteers of the Achaens assaulted the camp, entered upon it, and ranfack the tents, whiles the rest went forward and purifed the enemies. The way was so rough, as that an army at liberty and free from fear of enemies, might hardly and with much ado rid any ground and march without encumbrance: but in so much as the skirmish began in the tail of the retreating, and the noise and cry of them affrighted behind was heard in the vanguard: every man made frst for one, flung away weapons, and fled into the woods on either side of the way; and ere one could turn about all the wayes were tumbled and choked up with armours and weapons and especially with darts or javelins which lighting the most part with one end full against the enemies, were in stead of a flaked or embalmed palisade to hinder their passage.

Philo
Philopomenes having given commandment to his light armed aid-soldiers to press forward still, and to follow the chase as fast as they could (knowing well that the horsemen would have much ado and trouble in their flight) conducted himself, the main army and heavily charged, by a more open way to the River Eurus: where he encamped himself a little before the going down of the sun, and there he flared for his light appointed soldiers, whom he had left to follow after the enemies. Who being come about the time of the first watch, brought word, that the Tyrant with some few was entered into the city, but the unarmed multitude were dispersed, and wandered all about the forest and the woods. Then he willed them to repose and refresh their bodies: which being done, himself chose out of all the soldiers besides (who because they were come first into the camp, had well heartened themselves with taking their refection and some small sleep) certain, elect and special men, and took them forth immediately with himself, having about them nothing but their swords, and set them in good order to keep two port waies, by which men go to Phare and Earsibenes, where he presumed that the enemies would take their way and retire themselves upon their flight: and nothing was he deceived, for the Lacedemonians, so long as the day light lasted, had withdrawn themselves to the middle of the forest, through by-lanes and blind paths; but when the night was once come, and that they defaied lights within their enemies camp, they kept themselves aloof over-against them within close and secret lanes: and when they were once passed beyond, and thought all to be in safety and security, they came down into the more open high waies, where they were received and caught up by their enemies that forlaid them in ambush: so they were every where by numbers either killed or taken prisoners; insomuch as scarce one fourth part of their whole army escaped, Philopomenes having first up the tyrant close within the City, spent almost thirty days consequently enquiring in waiting and spoiling the territory of the Lacconians: and when he had thus weakened and in manner broken the back of his enemy, he returned home, and the Achæans held him a paragon, and equal to the Roman Generals for glorious deeds of arms, pay in the service of the Lacconian war they preferred him before the other.

During the war between the Achæans and the tyrants, the Roman Embassadors, who carefully and diligently visited the Cities of the Allies, for fear left the Ætolians had alienated any of their affections from them to King Antiochus, travelled but little in going about to the Achæans, whom by reason of the hatred they bare to Nabis, they hoped verily to be fait and faithful enough unto them in all other things. And first they came to Athens, from hence to Choloc, and so into Theßaly: and after they had conferred with the Thessalians in a frequent council of theirs, they turned their way to Demetrias, where there was published a solemn Diet to be holden by the Magnêtes, where they were to frame their speech more curiously than in other places because certain of their great men and Potentates were estranged from the Romans, and altogether made for Antiochus and the Ætolians. The reason was this; because when news came that Philip his son, who was left hostage with the Romans, should be rended again unto him, and likewise the tribut remitted which had been imposed upon him, among other false tales and untruths, it was reported, That the Romans would redeliver Demetrias also unto his hands. And rather than that should come to pass, Eurylochus (a principal and chief man among the Magnêtes) and some others of that faction, defired to have a new world and an alteration, by the coming of the Ætolians and Antiochus, to the Magnêtes, they were to concile and place their words so, in ridging them of that foolish vain fear which they had conceived, that thereby they did not put Philip clean beside his hope, and so give him occasion to be ill affected unto the Romans; considering that he alone was to them of far greater importance in all respects, than were the Magnêtes, put all together. Thus much only they said by way of advertisement. That as all Greece generally was much behelden and bound unto the Romans for the benefit of Liberty, which they by their means enjoyed, so that City and State especially above all others was obliged unto them. For there, not only a garrison of Macedonians had been maintained to keep them in awe, but also the king had built him a royal palace, to rest himself there, to the end, that they might evermore have in their eye, their Lord to command them. But in vain, and to no purpose was all this, in case the Ætolians brought Antiochus in his stead to make his refuge in the holy and palace of Philip, and would needs entertain a new and unknown King in lieu of the old, so long a time and so well known. The sovereign Magistrat of that City, they call Magnetarches; and for that time Eurylochus was the man: who hearing himself big and stout of his high place, said plainly, That he knew no caufe, why either he or the Magnêtes should impute and impute the rumour that ran so fast touching the delivery of Demetrias into Philip his hands. For rather than to suffer that, the Magnêtes were to oppose themselves, yea, to do and dare any action whatsoever. And in the vehement hear of speech he went so far, that inconsiderably he call out one word and said, That Demetrias seemed free in outward show and appearance, but in very truth was at the command and devotion, yea, and at every beck of the Romans. At this speech there arose a dissorant bruit and murmuring of the assembly, which jarred and varied one from another, whilsts some fwooned him up, others were offended, and took it in great delight, that he should presume to utter and speak so much. And Quintius was in such a heat of cholery therewith that stretching forth his hands to Heaven, he called the Gods to witness this ingratitude and dishonesty of the Magnêtes, at whole words they were all greatly terrified. Then Zero one of the chief, a man that at that time of great authority and reputation, as well in regard of the honourable part that he ever caried in the whole course of his life, as also for that he alwayes stood firm and sure
A to the Roman side, befought Quintus and the rest of the Embassadors with tears, Not to impute the folly of one man to the whole City, for every man is to bear his own burden, and as he hath abused, so to drink, and abide the iarm of his own scratching. As for the Magni
dens, they acknowledge to owe unto T. Quintus and the people of Rome, not only their freedom, but all other things else that are most dear and precious unto men, Neither could a man pray or wish, at the hands of the immortal Gods for any thing, which the Magni
dens had not received by their means: and sooner would they like frantic persons pluck the very heart
out of their own bellies, yea, and tear themselves in pieces, before they would violate and break
the amity which they had with the Romans. This speech of his was followed and ended with
the humble prayers of the multitude. Enrylochus departed out of the assembly, and through-by
B waves and blind lanes recovered the gates, and from thence fled straight into Eolus. For now by
this time, and every day more than other, the Eolians discovered and shewed themselves how
they were affected to revolt, And happily at the same time, Thous, a principal personage of that
Nation, whom they had lent as Embassador to King Antiochus, was newly returned, and brought
with him Menippus the Kings Embassador, Who, before he had audience given them in a coun
cell assembled for them, had hild every mans ears and bluffed thorth, what forces were prepared both for Land and Sea, what a mighty power was coming both of foot and horte, how elephants were sent for out of India and above all (wherewith they thought the minds of the people would be most moved) That there was such a mass of gold brought, as would buy all the Romans out and out. It was easy to see what trouble and brolf such language might make in the general diet
and assembly. For the Roman Embassadors had intelligence, both of their coming, and of all
that ever they did. And albeit there was little hope or none at all to do any good, yet Quintus thought it not amiss, that some Embassadors from the allies and associate Cities should be present at that Council, such as might admonish and put the Eolians in mind of the Roman alliance and society, and not flick to speak their minds frankly, yea and thwart the King his Embassador. The Athenians of all other were thought the meetest mentor that purpose, both in regard of the authority and reputation of their City, and also for the ancient league between them and the
Eolians. So Quintus requested them to lend their Embassadors to the Pamelion in Parliament, When the assembly was met, and the Councellet, Thous first declared his embassage; and after him was Menippus called in, who being entered in place, spake in this manner: It had been (qd.
he) the best course for all them that inhabit both Greece and Asia, that Antiochus had inter-
led in these affairs, during the upright fortune and entire state of Philip; then, every man had
enjoyed his own, and all had not been reduced to the appetite and devotion, nor brought under
subjection of the Romans. And even yet (quoth he) in case ye persift still in the same mind, and
purpose refolutely to accomplish and finish these your designs and commenced enterprises, pos-
tible it is by the favor and help of the Gods, and by the means of the Eolian association that
Antiochus may recover the State of Greece, created as it is, and much broken and bring it again to
her first fresh hue, to her lively and lightsome intivre, which consisteth in true liberty, even that
which is able to stand alone and maintain itself, and dependeth not upon the will and pleasure
of others. The Athenians, who first (after the Kings embassage was delivered) had audience given
E them and liberty to speak their mind, without making any mention at all of the King, Advi
ced the Eolians of the Roman society, and put them in mind of the favors and good turns done
by Quintus to Greece in general, advising them to take heed, that without discretion they
overthrew not the welfare thereof, by running rashly and too soon into a new word of strange
courtes and fine devices: for hot, hafty, and heady counsels are at the first flight and entertain-
ment, pleasant and amiable: in the handling and managing, hard and difficult: in the end and
issue, busy and dangerous. Consider how the Roman Embassadors, and namely, Quintus a-
mong them, are not far off: and whilsts things stand in good terms of integrity, it were better to
treat and debate of matters in question and doubt, by words and reasons, than to fall all Asia and
Europe together to take arms and to make lamentable and deadly war one upon another. The
F multitude defirons of a change enclined altogether; and were wholly devote to Antiochus, being
of opinion that the Roman Embassadors were not to be admitted into the Council: but the more
great and ancient persons of the nobility and states-men, obtained thus much by vertue of their
authority, That they should have audience granted unto them, And when the Athenians had
made relation of this decree and conclusion passed, Quintus was of mind to go into Eolus; for this
acquaint he made, either to obtain some what that he came for, or else to have all Gods and
men to bear him witness, that the Romans would enter into the action of war justly, and in man-
ner upon consent and necessity. Thus Quintus being therither come, began at first to discoursbe
fore the whole assembly, as touching the society of the Eolians with the Romans, and how
often they had broken for their parts the faithful accord between them: and when he had fo
G said, he used a brief speech concerning the right of those Cities that were in question, And if they
thought that they had any law and reason of their side, how much better (quoth he) were it to
send Embassadors to Rome either to argue and expostulate the matter with them, or to demand
their advice (whether they would themselves) than to cause the people of Rome to make war
with Antiochus & the Eolians together, not without great trouble of the whole world & cer-
tain ruin of all Greece. For one should feel the smart & calamity of this war sooner than they
that are the very causes thereof & began first, Thus spake the Roman Embassador by way of prophecy,
but in vain and to no effect. After him Thras and the rest of that faction, were heard by the general applause of all: and they effected so much, that without any farther proroguing of the Diet, and referring the matter to another day, yeas, and without staying so long until the Romans were out of the place and abient, they concluded to make a decree, by virtue whereof Antiochus should be sent for to affranchise Greece, and to decide the quarrel between the Romans and the Aetolians. This decree was not so proud and insolent, but Demetrius their Pretor accompanied it with as arrogant and reproachful a trump of his own. For when Quintus required of him to see the said decree, he without any respect of the honorable petionage of the man, made answer, That for the present time he had somewhat else to do of greater importance; but he would give him the decree and an answer withal shortly, and that within Italy, encamped upon the bank of the Tyber. So great a spirit of insolence folly in those days had possessed the nation of the Aetolians, I and their chief Magistrates! Then Quintus and the delegats returned to Cormh.

After the Romans were dismissed, the Aetolians held no more general council of the whole Nation, because they would make semblance and seem to do nothing of themselves as touching the cause and question of Antiochus, but sit still and expect the coming of the King. Mary, they treated and debated the matter by their Apostles (for to they call their special and privy Council which consists of certain elec chosen persons) by what means there might be an alteration and change in the affairs of Greece. This was held of all men for certain, that in every City and State, the chief and the best men generally were for the association of the Romans, and contended themselves with the present condition wherein they stood: but the multitude and those who had not all things to fall out to their own good, were delusios of a change. And one day above the rest, the Aetolians entered into a design and plot, which was not only out of all measure audacious, but also most shameless, namely, to surprize and possess themselves of De- virtius, Choleis and Lacedemon, And to each of these Cities there was sent one of their principal personages, namely, Thras to Cholos, Alexamenos to Lacedemon, and Diocles to Demetorius. This Diocles had the help and affiance of Eurytthus a banished man (of whole flying away, and the occasion thereof we have spoken before) who other wise had no hope at all to return again into his native country. The kinfolk and friends of Eurytthus and the rest of that faction, upon in- structions given them by his letters, willed his wife and children so present themselves in the frequent assembly of the citizens in habit of mourners, in poor array, and vailed after the manner of humble suppliants, there to beleech them all and some, not to suffer him a guiltlesse person, neither convicted nor condemned, to was old and pine away in exile. All that were plain and simple men seemed to be touched with pity and commiseration. The wicked and licentious persons conceived some hope to make a confusion in the state by these Aetolian troubles: in so much as every one was of opinion and gave his voice, that he should be restored and sent for home. This ground being laid and matters thus prepared, Diocles with his horsemens (for then was he the Captain of the Cavalry) took his journey, under a colour and pretence to reduce and bring home this banished person his hoft and good friend; and in one day and night travelled a mighty great journey, and came within six miles of the City. And betimes in the morning by day light, accompanied with three elect troops he marched forward, commanding the rest of the horsemens to fol low after. When he approached the gate, he caused them all to alight on foot and to lead their horses in their hands by the reins of their bridles, and to go without order, resembling travellers and waifaring men, so as they seemed more like to the ordinary train of Captain Diocles, than to the men of arms and warriors under his charge: and leaving one of his troops at the gate, for fear it was the horsemens behind might be flut off, he led Eurytthus by the hand, and brought him through the mids of the City and the market place home to his house: and all the way he was met with many of his followers and friends that welcomed him, and joyed for his return. Anon the whole City was full of horsemens, and all places of opportunity and advantage were feized and possesed by them, Which done, divers were sent to maifrace the chief of the adversary part in their houles. Thus the Aetolians became masters of Demetorius.

As for Lacedemon, they devisd in no hand to force the City, but by some wile to entrap and surprize the tyrant. For seeing the Romans had despoiled him of all his sea coast Towns: and the Achazians driven him within the walls of Lacedemon, there was no doubt, but who so ever could first take his life from him should carry away all the thanks, and curry especial favor with the Lacedemonians. Good occasion and pretence they had to send unto him a power of armed men, for that he had importuned them by his prayers for some aids, considering that by their advice and perswasion he had rebelled. So there were given unto Alexamenos a thousand footmen, and thirty elec horsemens, drawn out all of the flour of the City, Demetorius the Pretor delivered unto them from the privy councel of that nation (of which we have before spoken) "That they should not believe that they were to be employed in war against the Achazians, or in any other service, according as each one might imagine and conceive in his own head: but he charged them to be ready to perform and execute obediently whatsoever should be in determination Alexamenos upon the present occasion should happen to attempt, were it never to be unlooked for, strange, inconsiderate, and audacious: and to rest upon this, That they were sent with him to accom- plish that, and for no other purpose. Thus Alexamenos with the conduct of these men thus prepared to his hand came unto the Tyrant: and no sooner was he arrived, but he possest him presently with a world of hopes giving to understand, "That Antiochus was already passed over into
The five and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

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into Europe: that shortly he would be in Greece, and over-spread all seas and lands with his armies and armadas: that the Romans should full well know and find, that they have not now to deal with such an one as Philip: that the numbers of his foot and horse by land can not be counted, nor his ships at Sea numbered: that the battle of his Elephants at the very fight will decide the matter and finish the war. Moreover, that the Ætolians with all their forces, were ready and pritly to come to Lacedæmon, (as need required) at any time: but indeed, deditious, they were to travel and mutter before the King at his arrival, a goodly number of armed soldiers. N. bis therefore himself should do very well, not to suffer those forces which he had, to decay with long reposo and idleness, but bring them forth and train them abroad, make them to run in their armour thereby both to whet and sharpen their courage, and also to exercise and to improve their bodies: for by use and fötome, the labour will be lighter: and by the courtsey and graciosines of his General, not without delight and pleasure. Hereupon, they began to issue out of the City and oftentimes went into the plain lying by the River Enoeta: They of the tyrant's guard kept commonly in the battail or middle ward: and himself with three horsemen at the utmost (with whom Alexænius for the most part was) used ordinarily to ride before the ensign, taking survey and viewing the utmost points and wings of the army. The Ætolians were placed in the right wing, as well thole that came before to aid the tyrant as thole thousand that were newly arrived with Alexænius. Now had Alexænius taken a cullome one while to toourney as it were amongst the ranks before in the company of the tyrant, and to instruct him in some maters tending to his commodity: otherwhiles, to ride to his own men into the right wing, and soon again to return to the Tyrant, as if he had given them charge of somewhat necessary to be done. But upon that day which was appointed for to do the feat and murder the tyrant, after he had ridden forth with the tyrant to the usual place, and kept him company a while, he took occasion (as his manner was) to make a step aside to his own foildiers; and then he went in hand with those hosemen which were sent with him from out of Ætolia, and said thus unto them: 'Now first, you shall adventure and execute that hastily and without delay which you were comanded to perform by my direction and leading. Be ready with heart and hand, and be not slack and idle to exploit that, which ye shall see me to undertake and enterprise. And look who soever he be that either standeth still, or will seem to argue and interpret his own wit and advice to crose mine; let him make account, he shall never go home again to his own country.' With that he let them all a quaking, for well they remembered what their charge was when they came forth from home. Now was the Tyrant a coming on horseback from the left wing: Then Alexænius commanded his horsemen to touch their lances down, and to have their eye upon him. He also himself to take a good heart unto him, which was not a little daunt on at first with the co-gitation of so great a designment that he had projected. When he was now approached and come near the Tyrant, he ran with full carrier at him, gored his horse, and overthrew himself to the ground. He was not so soon unhorsed and laid along, but the horsemen flagged him with many a thrust: whereof the most part did no harm, considering they were driven against his colttes: but in the end they found where his body was naked and unarmed, so he gave his last gasp before he could be rescued by his guard in the main battail aforesaid. Then Alexænius taking with him E all the Ætolians, made all the hait he could to posses himself of the royal place. The Penitencers and Squires of the body, seeing this murder done before their eyes, were at first mightily affrighted: but afterwards perceiving the army of the Ætolians to go their wayes and depart, they ran to the battlefields carrie left among them, and of men that should have guarded his body and revenged his death: they became a sort of idle gazers and lookers on. And surely there would not a man have once stirred, in case the multitude had immediately been called to an assembly: and if after arms laid down, they had been entertained by him with some Oration or Remonstrances framed according to the time. The Ætolians were kept many together, in arms still, without any outrage or wrong done or offered to any one person, But all things that they did, hastened the speedy triumph and destruccion of those that had committed this fact, as it could not otherwise be in Fyllaction, but they should fo be ferved, who had plaid follow and treacherous a part. The Captain and Ring-leader of all this mischief kept him self close that within the royal palace, spending both night and day in riling and searching the Tyrants coffers and his treasury. And the Ætolians for their part also fell to raking and as they had won that City by assaulted, which they made countenance and semblance to let free. The indignity of thee their pranks, the contempt with in small regard made of them, encouraged and animated the Lacedæmonians to gather together and consult of the matter. Some were of opinion and said, That the Ætolians were to be thrust out by the head and shoulders, and to be sent away with a midstief, and their own liberty to be recovered, which under a colour of being retorted, was intercepted and taken from them; others advised and said, that for fashion at leastwise, some one of royal blood should be set up G for to be the head in this action. Now there was of that race and item one Ætolian a young child, brought up with the children of the late Tyrant: him they mounted upon horseback and then they took arms with all speed, and as many Ætolians as they could light upon, wandering here and there in the streets, they ran upon and beved in pieces. Then they ashuted the palace, where they also murdered Alexænius, albeit some few about him he made resistance and defended himself. The rest of the Ætolians gathered together about Chalicteus (which is a Chappell of Dian made of braies) and there likewise they were massacred. A few of them hang
flung away their weapons and fled some escaped to Tegae, and others to Megalopolis: where being apprehended by the Magistrates, they were sold in port-sale, to them that would offer more. Philopompus hearing of the Tyrants death, went to Lacedaemon, where he found all things out of order and in confusion by reason of war. And having called forth the principal & chief citizens, he used unto them such a speech, as indeed Alexander should have made, and thereby knw the Lacedemonians in league and alliance with the Achæans: which he effected the sooner, because it chance even then, that Atilius was come before. *Gythaum* with four and twenty galleasses of five banks of oars on side.

About the same time, Thoas had not so good speed before Chalcis; by means of Embrymidas, a great and chief man of the City (one, who by the might and stronger hand of those that sided with the Romans, had been expelled the City after the coming of T. Quintus and the Embassadors 10 deligats) and also of Herodatus of Canus, a Merchant and a man that in regard of his wealth and riches bare a greatuide in Chalcis: Thoas, I say, sped not so well by their means, notwithstanding that the supposits and part-takers of Embrymidas were well disposed to the Town: as Enylochus did in the surprizing and feizing of Demetrias. This Embrymidas from Athens (for there he had made choice to dwell) first came to Thebes, and from thence he went forward to Salamine, Herodatus abode at Throniwm, and not far from thence within the gulf of Malea, he had 2000 footmen, and Thoas two hundred horsemen, and about thirty light Caravels. Which Herodatus was commanded to let over into the Island Aetoliana with fix hundred footmen, that from thence, when he perceived once the Land-forces to approach Aleis and Euphris, he might cut over to Chalcis. As for themselves, they conducted the rest of the forces in all thehalt they could, and K most by night journeys marched into Chalcis. Mitto and Xenodochis (who had the managing of the affairs in Chalcis, and might do all in all there, now that Embrymidas was banished) remained in Chalcis, and whether they mitredot somewhatthemselves, or had some inkling and intelligence of the matter, I wot not, but afraid they were at first, and had no other hope at all but by flight to save themselves: howbeit afterwards when their fear was well allayed and fet, seeing evidently, that not only their own country was betrayed, but also the Roman society abando-
ned, they plotted in this wise, and entered into a confine as followeth.

It Fortune at the very same time, that a solemn anniversary sacrifice was celebrated at Eretria to the honor of Dianæ Amorvybis: to which solemnity there resortet not only the inhabitants of those places near at hand but also a number of Cariytins. Thither they lent certain Orators, L to requit and entreat the Etrurians and Cariyfins, both to take some pity of their estate, considering they were born in the same Island, and also to have some regard to the alliance of the Romans and not suffer Chalcis to fall into the hands of the Achæans; who no doubt, if they might got Chalcis, would not be long ere they had Euboea too. Sirly Lords (say they) were the Macedonians, and rigorous, but the Achæans would be much more unemployable. Thefe Cities were principally respective to the Romans, whose virtue and prowess was, in war, their justice and bounty in victory they had lately experience of, and therefore both States armed the flower and manhood of all their youth and sent them. The Townmen of Chalcis having committed the guard of their walk to the, went forth themselves with all their forces passed over Euphris, and encamped near Salamine. From which place they lent first an herald and after him Embassadors to the Achæans, to demand of them. Wherein they had so offended either in word or deed, that their allies and friends should come to molest and affail them thereby of hostility? To whom Thoas the General of the Achæans made this answer, That they were not coming to annoy and trouble, but to deliver and free them from their servitude under the Romans. For bound they were and tied now with a brighter and more glittering chain indeed, but far heavier, than at what time as they had the garrison of the Macedonians within their Citle. The Chalcidian replied again and interred, that they neither were in bondage, nor needed at all the garrison of any. And thus the Embassadors departed from the party, and returned to their own people. Thoas and the Achæans, whole white and whole hope was to come upon them on a sudden, and surprise them at unawares returned home again as they came, being not able to maintain open war, nor to affail a City so well for-
imified both by sea and land, Embrymidas being advertised that his country-men lay in camp at Sal-
minate and that the Achæans were dilated and gone, retired himself also from Thebes to Athens, and Herodatus likewise, after he had wittily and with great longing, expected from *Aetolians* to dain together, to see some signal (but in vain) sent on a pinnae or brigantine, to know what the cause might be of such flight; and understanding that the enterprise was given over by his com-
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* Talsuidi

* Di licide.
the whole multitude flocking unto him. And Villius demanded of them whither they had rather that he came to them as to friends or enemies? Unto whom Ennius the Magnesian, answered, that he was come unto his friends: but he would not, to him, for fear the haven, and suffer the Magnesians to be at peace and liberty, and to beware that under a pretence of parole, he did not solicit and disquiet the multitude. After this there was no farther talk and speech between them but plain debate and altercation whereas Villius the Roman blamed and challenged the Magnesians, as unthankful persons, and fore warned them of the miseries and calamities that hung over their heads: and again the multitude cried out aloud, and acceded as well the Senator as Quintus. Thus Villius without doing any good, returned to Quintius. But Quintius having dispatched a messenger to the Pretor, that he should reduce him his forces, retired himself again by sea to Corinthis.

The affairs of Greece thus interlaced and blended with the Roman, have carried me away as it were out of my life: not for that they were so necessary and important to be written, but only because they were material to the cause of the war against Antiochus. After the Confuls were elected (for they I began my digression), L. Quintius and Cn. Domitius, the Conuls went into three several provinces, Quintus in Liguria, and Domitius against the Boii. As for the Boii, they held themselves quiet, and the whole body of their Senat with their children, their captains also, with their Cavalry, to the number in all of fifteen hundred, yeeded themselves to the Conuls. But the territory of the Liguri was overrun and walked, and some forreis were taken: whereby not only there were prizes got of all sorts, and prisoners taken, but also divers captives, as well citizens as allies were recovered out of the enemies hand. This very year a Colony was planted at Viminacium.

C by an act of Senat and Commons: and there went thither three thousand and seven hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen. The Triumvirs, who had the placing of them, were Q. Caecilius, M. Marius, and C. Flaminius. Every footman was endued with fifteen acres of land, and the horsemen with twice as much. It was a territory held latt in the tenure of the Britans, and they had conquered it first from the Greeks.

About the same time, there hapned at Rome two most searfull accidents; the one of them continued long, but was not altogether so vehement and terrible: for there was an earthquake endued eight and thirty days. All which time, the law freight or vacation from all courts of law and civil causes, continued in great fear and peniveness: in regard whereof, a supplication was holden for three days. As for the other, it was not a vain fear, but a very los, indeed that touched many men: for there began a fire in the best Market, and continued a day and a night, burning many houses standing on the Tiber side; and all the shops and ware-houses, with much inheritance of great price, were consumed. Now was the year well drawing to an end, and daily more and more the bride and greater of the war with Antiochus increased: and likewise the care that the Legions of the Senat had thereof. And therefore they began to treat concerning the Provinces of the Megalitars, to the end, that all of them might be more circumpect and intentive to their charges. So a decree passed that the Conuls should have the governance of Italy, by name, and also to go whithersoever the Senate should please to dispone of them: and all men knew well enough, that the war against Antiochus was upon the point. Also ordained it was, that he whole lot it was to manage that war, should have the conduct of four thousand footmen of Roman Citizens, and three hundred horsemen; besides six thousand allies of the Latine nation, and four hundred horsemen. L. Quintius the Conul was appointed to take muffers for those foundiers, that there should be no flaw, but that the new Conuls might immediately put himself in his journey, to what expedition forever the Senat thought good. Item, it was decreed as concerning the Provinces of the Pretors, in this manner: Namely, that the first lot should affign the double jurisdiction, civil and foreign, as well among Citizens as strangers: the second should concern the Britans: the third, the navy, and the lame to tell whithersoever the Senat would appoint: the fourth the Sicily: the fifth for Sardenia: the first for the nearer Spain. Over and besides L. Quintius the Conul was commanded to enroll two new legions of Roman Citizens, besides twenty thousand foot and eight hundred horsemen of the Latine nation: and this army they set out for the Pretor, who was to govern the Britans. Two chappels that year were dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus: the one of them L. Furius Purpurio vowed in the Gauls war, as Pretor; the other when he was Conuls and Q. Martius Rullus the Daunilivius, dedicated them. This year there passeyed many sharp and grievous sentences and judgements upon oyers: against whom (being privet men) M. Tuccius and P. Justus Brutus the two Adiles of the chair, commenced action. Of that silver wherein they were fined, was made a charriot with four wheels, guided: and set up it was in the Capitol in the cabinet of Jupiter above the top of his throne: likewise twelve bucklers guided. The fame Adiles also, caused the porch or gallery to be made without the gate Tergemium, among the carpenters.

As the Romans were wholly amused upon preparation for this new war, so Antiochus for his part was not still: three Cities there were which kept him back and checked his progreffe, to wit, Smyrna, Alexandria in Treas, and Lampeca; the which they never could do to that by force, by assault, or draw into submition with any condition whatsoever; and to leave them behind in these terms, when the should in proper person passe over into Europe, he was not willing. Somewhat also he was impeached by a consultation as touching Amnial. For as first he was flaid and hindered by occasion of the open ships which he intended to lend with him into Affriss, And afterward buzzed it was into his head by Thoas the Etoian especially, and question moved, whether
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er it was good simply to send him thither at all, or no? This Thous, when Greece was all in an hurry and full of troubles, bare them in hand, that Demetrius would be in their power and at their devotion. And like as with his leaguer touching the King, in multiplying and magnifying his forces, he had brought many of the Greeks into a fools paradise, even so also after the same manner he ceased not to feed the King with lies, and fill him with hopes, making him believe as all men wished for him with all their hearts, and would run by heaps to the seas strand, to meet him to look as they could ken his fleet under sail. This selfsame man was so bold also as to alter the Kings mind as touching Annibal, which seemed before resolved and fetled. For he persuaded him that the Kings navy was not to be dlimembred, and past therefore to be sent away; and if he were to make out any of the ships from the rest, yet Annibal of all other was not to have the conduct thereof, a banished perion and a Carthaginian; who was like enough to be of many minds, & I to change a thousand times in a day, such was his present condition and fortune, & such was his nature and disposition. And as for that glorious name for martiall prowess (which is the came that Annibal is so much let by, and which recommendeth him as a speciaall and singular gift to the world) it is too much, and far unfitting for any one captain under a King: & more meet it were that the King himself should be regarded and feen above all others, that the King, I say and none but the King should be the leader, conductor and commander of all. Again, if Annibal chanced to mistrey with a fleet, or to have his forces defeated, the loss would be accounted no more then if any other meaner captain had done it: but if the affairs should prosper and speed well, Annibal should go away with the honour, and not Antiochus. Moreover, say that fortune were so kind as to give Antiochus the upper hand of the Romans, and the entire victory over K, them for ever, what hope or likelihood is there that Annibal would be content to live under the King and subjett to him alone, who hardly could brook and endure the command and sovereignty of the whole state wherein he was born? He hath not carried himselfio, ever since his first youth, bearing amind to compasse the dominion of the whole world, as that now in his old age he can not abide to have a lord and a superior over him. To conclude, the King (quoth he) hath no such need of Annibal in this war, as to make him a commander, well may he use him for a counceller, and to forth have him in his train and company; for some mean fruit and end of such a nature cannot be cumberfome, hurtfull, and dangerous: but if high and great matters be reachfed at, loon they may bear down and overcharge both the giver, and also the receiver. And no spirits are so ready to envy and malice others, as they whole birth and parentage, whole degree L and estate is not answerable to their baryous minds: and such commonly, as they hate the virtue, so they depriue the good of another, Hereupon our course of sending Annibal into Africa, as was forthwith laid aside and clean cast behind, which was so well devised in the beginning of the war.

Antiochus bearing himself aloft now, principally for that Demetrius was evicted from the Romans unto the Etolians, determined no longer to delay the matter, but presently to take a voyage into Greece. But before that he embarked and took the sea, he went up to Ilissus from the sea-side for to sacrifices to Minerva; and when he was returned to his fleet, he made fail with 30 close covered and hatched ships, and 60 uncovered and undacket, and after those followed 100 vessels of burden, charged and fraught with victuals, munition, and warlike furniture of all forts. And first he fell with the land Imbros: and from thence he cut over to Sepharos, where after he had called his ships which had been fastened one from another in the wide and deep sea, he arrived at Petilum, the first town of the main and continent, Where Eurylochus the Magnetarches, the sovereign of Magnesia and the principal citizens of the State, were come from Demetrius, met him and jouined with him; who rejoicing exceedingly to see so goodly a company of them in his train, the next day put into the haven of the City of Demetrius: and not far from thence landed all his forces, which amounted in the whole to ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six Elephants: a small power (God wot) and insufficient to seize upon Greece, ill naked and alone, far shorter then to bold and maintain war with the Romans. After it was reported that Antiochus was come to Demetrius, the Etolians proclaimed a councell, wherein they made a decree to tend for Antiochus. For now the King knowing that they would passe such a AA, was departed from Demetrius, and had withdrawn himself to Phaleron within the gulf of Madea: And after he had received once the patent of that decree, he went from thence to Lamia, where he was received with exceeding favour of the common people, with clapping of hands, faints, acclamations, and others signs, whereby the multitude used to shew & tell thin their great joy. When they were assembled together and fet in Councell, Phanes the Pretor and other chief citizens brought him solemnly in: where Olymades, thus the King began his speech, first exulting himself, in that he was come with a far smaller power then all men hoped or looked for. And even this (quoth he) may serve in stead of the greatest argument that may be of my exceeding love and affection toward you, in that being unprovided and unarmiied of all things, and at a time to unreasonableness for to fail, as too early to take the sea. I have not thought much but I am willingly come at the call of their Embassadors being thus allurely persuaded, that the Etolians seeing me once, will suppose that in me alone consist all their hope and defense whatever. And yet I would accomplish I assure you, and satisfy to the full even your contentment also, whose expectation for the present may seem to have been disappointed: for soon as the
time of the year will serve, and the spring is once come, that the seas are navigable, I will offer for all Greece with men, horses, and provision; I will take up all the seas coasts with fleets, if I can; for no coasts, no ports, no ports, until I have taken from their necks the heavy yoke of the Roman empire, let Greece free indeed, and the made the Eotians the chief commanders therein. Nay, with mine armies besides I shall come all kinds of provision and furniture out of Asia, but the present (with which) the Eotians must see order, that my people may be served with corn and other victuals at reasonable rates. To this effect when the King had spoken with the great assembly of all men, he departed. After the King's departure, there rose some contention betwixt two great men of the Eotians, to wit, Phanes and Theon. Phanes was of opinion, that it was better policy to make Antiochus for a mediator and reconciler of peace, or to be an umpire or arbitrator to decide the controversies betwixt them & the Romans, rather than to be the General of the war. For his very coming and majesty would be more effectual then all his forces to strike some reverence in the Eotians and cause them to be respectful unto him. For men oftentimes yield and submit many things of themselves willingly to avoid war, which they cannot be forced into by wars and arms. When they are once entered into action. Thbot inferred again and said, that Phanes spoke not this for any desire & love to peace, but his meaning was to scatter and disperse that furniture and preparation of war for this intent: That by this redoubling of the King's courage might abate, and the Romans gain time to make themselves ready. For, that there was no reason possibly to be gotten at the Romans' hand, they had tried sufficiently by good experience, in leading to many embassies to Rome, and in debating the matter to often with Quintus: Neither would they ever have fought against Antiochus and carved his head, if all their hope otherwise had not been cut off and clean failed. And now since his helping hand is pretend ed unto them sooner then all men expected or looked for, they were not now to begin to fear and give over, but rather to request and interest the King, that since he was come himself in person - which was the greatest matter of all - to set free and maintain Greece, he would fend for forces both at sea and land. For the King in arms, might persa urance obtain something: but disarmed if he were, little or no returning would the Romans make of him in the quarrel, and question of the Eotians, nor on his own affairs whenever he should reason and debate thereof. And here went the bare away. They all opened straightways to file the King with the name of Emperor. And they chose thirty of the chief personages to assist him in council for all things required. Thus the Dict was dissolved, and every man slipp'd away and retired to his own City.

The next day the King sat in consultation with their Apolectes, in what place they should begin the war. And it was thought best, first to assail the City of Chaldeis, which lately the Eotians had situate in vain. And for to effect this service, there was more expedition and speed required then any other great forces and preparations. Hereupon the King set forward with 10,000 footed men which followed him from Demetrias, and made by the way of Ptoias: The Captains of the whole of the Eotians, having levied some few companies of their youth took another way, and met with him at Chersones, and followed with ten covered ships. The King encamped near Solybe, and himself in person with the chief of the Eotians crossed the Euripus and when he was landed and not far gone from the haven, the Magistrates and chief men of Chaldeis came forth without their gates, and some few of both sides met together for to parle. The Eotians were content to partake with them, that to war forth as they might without impeaching the Roman amity they would situate the King to be their ally and friend for as much as he was posted into Europe not to make war, but to deliver Greece, and let it free as he did. and not in word only and falle semblance, as the Romans had done. And nothing was there more for the good and benefit of the Cities in Greece, then to entertain in the society and fellowship of them both. For under the defence and safeguard of the one, they might be sure to guard themselves from the violence and outrage of the other. But if they accepted not of the King, they were all to take heed and see what danger they extensively incurred: considering the favours of the Romans, they enjoy peace and liberty already. As for the King, we refuse not his amity, nor yet reject it; because the friendship of the Eotians, and we will take it for a special point of friendship that they shall be still they gentry will depart out of our land and be gone: For, as for us, we are ready to reckon this, not to receive them within our walls, nor, not to contract with them any society, without the advice and consent of the Romans. Whenevert matters were related to the King, which he layd before with the ships, he determined presently to return to Demetrias for that he was not come with such a power as to attempt any thing by force; where, seeing his fleet enterprise came to nothing, he conferred with the Eotians which was to be done next: And concluded it was to found the Attains & Aminander the King of the Armenia. They suppos'd that the nation of the
Beorcius was clean estranged and badly afficted to the Romans ever since the death of Bassilis and those troubles that ensued thereupon. They were persuaded also by Philip (a great potentate, and principal leader of the Achæans, was both malicious and odiouz unto Quintus for emulation and jelouze of honour in the Laconian war, Aminander had expected, and taken to wife Apeam, the daughter of one Alexander, a Megaloplaton, who, vaunting himself to be defended from Alexander the Great, named his two sons Philip and Alexander, and his daughter Apeam; whom being thus advanced by marriage with a King, her elder brother Philip accompanied into Achæania. This Philip a vain-headed young man, the Eotians and Antiocius had induced into a foolish hope (considering that for certain he was of the roayall blood) to obt in the Kingsdom of Macedonia, if haply he could bring about to join Aminander and the Achæanians to Antiocius. And these vain conceits of great healtl brought mightily not with Philip only, but also with Aminander. 

Now in Achæa there was a counsell holden at Egium, and audience given there to the Embassadors of Antiocius and the Eotians, before T. Quintus. Where the King his Embassador spake first, and being, (as all those commonly are, that have intertention and maintenance of Kings,) full of foolish babble, & making tea and land refund again with his vain prating and lown- ly words; yet at an end, and told them, what an infinite number on horsemen were passing over by Hellefion into Europe: whereof some of them were in complete harness, armed at all pieces, whom they call Catsabrates: others were archers, and horse of horseback, against whom there was nothing close, nothing fare enough, who when their backs are turned, and their horses run away, shoot so much the more surely, and even point-plank, and albeit these forces of horse by his report, were sufficient of themselves to defeat all the armies of Europe if they were put togethet, yet be ad ded besides a mighty number, I wot not how many of footmen: and terrified them with a sort of strange nations, that fiercely had been heard of before, to wit, the Dakes, the Medians, the Elymians and Cadusians. But for his forces as it was there was no bays, "barbers, nor havens in all Greece able to receive them. The sydionian and Tyrians (say they) hold the right side, the Aradians, and the Siders out of Pamphylia left the keep: nations for skill and valour at tea incomparable. As for money and other provision and furniture for the wars, it was needesle to discourse of, since they themselves knew well enough, that the realms of all Asia have alwayes flowed with gold, as their proper wealth. So as the Romans now were not to deal with Philip nor with Amnibal, the one a chief person among many of a City; and the other limited within the confines only of the kingdom of Macedonia, but with the great Monarch of all Asia yes, and of some part of Europe. And yet he, as might a potentate as he is (notwithstanding he is come to the utmost coasts and bounds of the Levant seas, to deliver and enfranchise Greece) demandeth nothing of the Achæans prejudicial to their fealty and allegiance to the Romans their frict allies and associats: for he required not them to take arms with him against them, but only not to intermeddle and take part: his seeking is, that as behoveth good friends and mediators between both parties they would all well and peace among them, and not interpoze themselves in a quarrel of war. Archidamus is wife the Embassador for the Eotians, requested in manner the same, that they would hold themselves quiet and in repose a thing most caufy and lasts from them) and being but lookers on the war, wait and attend the issue of others more fortunes, without the hazard of their own; yet he stated not so, but proceeded to M far and overthan himself so much in words, that he brake forth at length in ill language, one while riling against the Romans in general, another while against Quintus in particular; call- ing them ungrateful and unhankful persons, reproaching, upbraiding, and hitting them in their teeth, how not only they bad got the victory of Philip, but also savéd themselves by the virtue and valour of the Eotians: and as for Quintus, he was to thank them and their means, as much as his own life came to & the preservation of his army. For wherin at any time (god he) performed in the duty and devoir of General in the field? Seen him indeed I have in the time of battell and in the camp, take the flight of birds, kill sacrifices, and make vows very devoutly, like some holy parish-priest or divine Prophet, whiles I myself was in his defence to expose and present my body to lances and darts of the enemies. To these challenges Quintus made answer in this wise, saying, that Archidamus had more regard in whole preface the space, to them so he directed all his speeche for the Achæans know very well, that all the value of the Eotians, standeth in bragging words and not in martiall deeds, as men that love to be heard in Diets and assemblies rather then seen in the field and battell; and therefore no marvel if he made so small recking to speak unto the Achæans, considering that he knew, how well acquainted they were with the manners and fashions of the Eotians. But he hath besides vaunted and made great braggs before the King Embassadors, and in their person, before the King himself in absence. And if a man had not known before, what it was, and had to knit and united Antiocius and the Eotians, together, he might perceive it evidently by the speeches of the Embassadors: for by exchanging lies reciprocally, and by bragging of their forces which they have not, they have inflated and puffed up one another with vain hopes, whiles they tell and would make them believable. That Philip by them was vanquished, that the Romans by their valour were protected; and other gay matters, which ere whyle heayd-building castles in the air; to the end, that you & other states and nations would side with them and take their parts: the King again (by his Embassadors) overspreading all with clouds of horsemens and footmen, and covereth whole seas with fleets and
and armidos. Now in faith this is mine hoft of Chaleis up and down, a friendly man I assure you, and a good fellow in his home, and one that knoweth how to entertain his guests and bid them welcome. And verily I can liken this manner of dealing to nothing better then to a fupper of his: We went upon a time to make merry with him, and I remember well it was not midsummer (when the days are longest and the sun at the hottest) where he made us passing good cheer. And as we wondered how at such a season of the year he met with that plenty of venison and such variety withal; the man (nothing so vainglorious as these fellows here) smiled pleasantly upon us and said, we were welcome to a feast of a tame twine and no better: but well fere is good cook my masters (q'd. he) who by his cunning hand, what with teasoning it, and what with ervaing it up with divers sauces, hath made all this fair show of wild fleg, and the fame of sumby forts. This may fully be applied to the King his armies and forces: of which even now to great boaft was made. For these his divers kinds of arms, these many names of nations never heard of before, to wit, the Dakes or Dithians (I wont not what to call them), the Medes, the Cadulians, the Elymenians, they are but Syrians when all is done; who for their base minds by nature, are much better to make a sort of slaves then a company of good lodgers. And would to God (you masters of Achaia) I could represent unto your eyes the port and train of this great King, when he tar from Demetrias, one while to Lamia to the counsellor of the Etoilians, and another while to Chaleis; you should see in the Kings camp hardly two pretty legionets; & tho' but lame ones neither and not well accomplished you should see the King sometime as good as beggaring grain of the Etoilians, to measure out among his hungry lodgers; otherwise making shift to take up monies at interest to make out their pay: now standing at the gates of Chaleis.

And anon shot out from thence and excluded clean: and when he had done nothing else but been Anilis and Euripus, returning fair into Aetia, Antiochus (you see) hath yeelded but small belfe to the Etoilians, and the Etoilians have as little trusted & relied upon the vanity of the King. And therefore the liefe should you be deceived by them, for nothing worse entertain your selves in it; for the fidelity of the Romans so often tried, so often known and approved. For whereas they say It is your best course not to be embarked and intere€tted in this war. I assure you, there is nothing more vain then this, may, nothing so hurtful unto your state. For you shall be a prize and prey to the victor, without thank of either part, without any worth and reputation. Quininius was thought by the Achaiaee to have spoken not im pertinently, but to have answered them both, fully and an easy matter it was to approve his speech unto those, that were well enough enclined to have given him gentle hearing: for that it was no question nor doubt at all, but that every man would judge them to be friends or enemies to the Achaiaean nation, whom the Romans held for theirs: yes, and would conclude in the end of an act, to denounce war both against Antiochus & the Etoilians. Moreover, according as Quininius thought good, they lent presenty an aid of 500 sollidiers to Chaleis, and of as many to Pyramus. For at Achaia there had like to have been a sedition and mutiny, whiles some drew the multitude (which commonly is bought and sold for money) to part with Antiochus upon hope of large rewards and great bounties, until such time as Quininius was sent for by them that took part with the Romans, in so much as Apollodorus (who gave counsell and perused to revolt) was accaled by one Leon, and being condemned, was banished. Thus verify the embassage returned from the Achaiaans to the King with present answer. The Boeotians delivered no certainty: this only was their answer. Thats when Antiochus himselfe was come in Boeotia, then they would consider and consult what they were best to do.

Antiochus was advertised, that both the Achaiaans and King Eumenes also had sent men for the defence of Chaleis, thought good to make half, that his forces might not only prevent them, but also if it were possible receive them and cut them short as they came. And for this intent, he sent Menippus with three thousand sollidiers or thereabout, and Polyxenia with his whole fleet. Himselfe a few days after marched with six thousand of his own sollidiers; and of that levy, which on a sudder might be gathered at Lamia, no great number of Etoilians. Tho' five hundred Achaiaans stole afoot, and the small aid that King Eumenes sent under the conduct of Xenodches the Chalcidian, having lately passed Euripus before that the wates and passages were beate, arrived at Chaleis. The Achaiaans also who were upon five hundred, at what time as Menippus encamped before Salamis, came to Hermonnes, where is the passage out of Boeotia into the island of Euboea. In their company was Miltion sent as Embassador from Chaleis to Quininius, for to crave some succoure: who perceiving that the wates were laid and the strights kept by the enemies, leaving his intended journey by the way of Anis, turned to Delium, minding from thence to cut over into Euboea. This Delium is a temple of Apollo situated upon the sea strand, and five miles distant from Tanagra, from whence there is a short cut (little more than a league) over an arm of the sea unto the next parts of Euboea. In this Temple and sacred grove about it, to religious, so privilaged and secured (as are those franchised houses and sanctuaries which the Greeks call Aytla) and at that time, when neither war was proclaimed, or at least wise so far proceeded, except in the hearing and knowledge of any man there had been sword drawn, or blood shed in any place. In this place, and at this time, I say, whiles the sollidiers wandered at their leisure and pleasure, some gone to see the temple aboveaid and the grove, others walking upon the strand unarmed, and a great fort also of them scattered over the fields (such as were gone for forrage, and fewell all on a sudder Menippus finding them loose and disbanded, charged upon them and flew them, and to the number of fifty he took alive: very few escaped, among whom
The six and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

The six and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the six and thirtieth Book.

Marcus Acilius Glabrio the Consul, with the aid of King Philip, vanquished King Antiochus, and drove him out of Greece. He also subdued the Aitolians. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, the Consul, reputed and judged by the Senate the best man in the City, dedicated the temple of the mother of the gods, whom himself had brought into the Palatium. He also, when he had overthrown the Boians, took them upon surrender to his protection, and triumphed over them. Other and besides, here are set down the prosperous battles fought at sea, against the admirals and captains of King Antiochus.

The six and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

So soon as P. Cornelius Scipio the son of Cneus, and M. Acilius Glabrio, the two Consuls were entred into their magistracy the LL of the Senat enjoyned them (before any speech or question moved as touching the provinces) to sacrifice greater beasts in all those temples, wherein the custom was for the more part of the year to celebrate the solemnity of Lechtemas, and to make their prayers in this manner. That whereas the Senat intended a new war, the gods would vouchsafe to blefe and happily conduct the cause to the good and publick weal of the Senat and people of Rome. All those sacrifices proved good and as they ought to be: the very first beasts that were slain, prognosticated fortunate success; and theewed apparent signs that the gods were pacified and well pleased. And thus the foot soldiers and bowell-priets, out of their learning, answered. It was evident, that by this war the bounds and limits of the Roman empire should be extended, and that both victory and triumph were forsignified. These answers being reported, and men's minds setted, and their conidences revolved of all furies as concerning the gods, then the LL of the Senat granted out an order, that a bill should be preferred solemnly unto the people in this form: Prosit to you, and to your will, that war should be encreas’d against Antiochus, and all that take his part; and if this bill pass and be granted, you are pleas’d, that the Consuls, if they think so good, refer the whole matter unto the Senat to take order for the managing thereof accordingly? P. Cornelius propounded this bill, and the people accepted thereof. Whereupon the Senat let down a decree that the Consuls should cast lots for the government of Italy and Grecia and that he whose lot it was to govern Grecia should (over and above that number of foildiers, which L. Quinctius by authority and commision from the Senat had for that province either enrolled or levied) receive that army also which M. Scaurus the Pretor caused to passe over the year before into Macedon, by virtue of an order from the Senat, in that behalf enacted. And licente he had, if need fo required, to take up and foildiers from among the allies without Italy, so as he exceeded not the number of five thousand. Also agreed it was, that L. Quinctius the Consul of the year before, should be deputed lord General for that war. As for the other Consul, unto whom had been allotted the charge of Italy, he was commanded to levy war against the Boii.
Bohills and to their choice, whether army he had rather have of those two which the former Cnulia conducted: and when he had received one, to send the other to Rome, that those legions or Citizens should be in readiness for to be sent whither it pleased the Senate. This order being taken in the Senate, astonishing the appointment and allignation of those provinces, then it was thought good that the new Consuls shall call lots for their governments. To Aelius befel Greece, and Italy to Cornelius. After this by a special lot there passed an act of the Senate. That whereas the people of Rome had ordained to wage the war at that time with cloth King Antiochus, and those that were under his dominion, the Consuls should cause a procession to be illuminated. All that the Consul M. Aelius should conceive and make a vow to Jupiter, for to celebrate the great Games in his honour, and to bring offerings to every star. This vow was by him pronounced in this form, according as P. Licinius the Arch-Priest endit and prompted unto him, If this war which the people hath determined to be enterprised and made against King Antiochus, shall be performed according to the mind and consentment of the Senate and people of Rome, then shall the people of Rome celebrate unto your honour, O Jupiter, the great Games for the space of ten days together, and oblations shall be brought to every Altar, of that price and amounting to that sum which the Senate shall ordain and set down. And what Magistrates forever shall bestow those Games, or in what places, yes, and at what time forever they shall be represented, the same Games shall be held for good, and reputed as well done, yes, and the offerings accepted as rightly presented. After this, there was published and proclaimed by both Cons. a supplication for the space of 12 days. When the Coin, had call lots for the partition of their governments, the Pretors likewise went presently about the fame for their provinces. To M. Junius Brutus tell both the jurisdictions, as well of the

Citizens as aliens. A. Cornelius Africanus had the charge of the Bruni. M. Eumylus Lepidus of Sicily, and L. Opimus Salvator of Sardinia. C. Libius Salinator was L. Admiral of the navy, and L. Acu-

mills Pius, governor of the nearer Spain. And in this manner following, were the armies and forces distributed and appointed. Unto A. Cornelius were assigned the new soldiers which the former year L. Quintus the Consul, by virtue of an Act of the Senate, had enrolled. And his commission was to defend and keep in order all that tract and coast about Aetium and Brundesium. As for L. Eumylus Pius, who was to take a voyage into the farther Spain, he was allowed (except the army which he was to receive of M. Fulvius the Pro-Pretor) to have the conduct of three thousand new soldiers footmen, and three hundred horse: so that of them, two third parts should consist of allies of the Latin nation, and one third of Roman Citizens. The supply was

sent unto C. Flaminius into the higher Spain, whose commission was renewed for to have the command therewith. M. Eumylus Lepidus had commandment to receive the government of the province, and withall, the conduct of the army, at the hands of L. Valerius, whom he was to succeed: and if he thought it good, to keep with him in the Province L. Valerius, in quality and

place of a Vice-Pretor: and so to divide the province, that the one part should reach from Aetium to Aetium, the other half from Aetium to Thapsus: that L. Valerius should defend the sea-coasts and the river with a fleet of twenty Galleys. The same Pretor aforesaid was to levy and gather a double tenth of corn, and to take order for the convoy thereof to the seas, and to be embarked and transported into Greece. The like commission had L. Opimus, to exact and take another tenth in Sardinia: but that grain was to be brought to Rome, and not to be carried over into Greece. C. Libius the Pretor, and Admiral of the navy, was appointed with 3000 sail ready rigged and armed, to sail into Greece with all speed, and to receive the ships that Aelius had: likewise to repay, rigge and furnish the old vessels that rid in the harbours, or lay stone side up in dock. M. Junius the Pretor his charge was, to levy marriners and rowers from among the libertins, for to serve that Armada. And there were sent Embassadors into Afric, to Carthage, and into Numidia, three into each part, for to seek and purvey corn to be sent into Greece, for which the people of Rome would make present payment. And to wholly employed was the City to prepare and take order for this war, that P. Cornelius the Consul published an Edict, that no Senators, or any that had authority to give their opinion in the Senate, neither any inferior Magis-

trats, should take any journey out of the City, farther than they might have return again the same day: Item, that there should not be five Senators absent at once from Rome. C. Libius the Pretor, whilsts he used all diligence and care to prepare and provide his fleet, was impeached and hindered a time, by occasion of a debate and contention that arose between him and the Coloners of the sea-side. For when they should be gathered and sent to sea, they appealed to the Tribunes of the Com. from whom they were put over and referred to the Senate: and the Senate with one voice and accord pronounced and determined, that these Coloners were not excepted from sea-service. The Colonies that contended with the Pretor about their immunity were these, Hosphina, Perga, Castrum novum, Pyrgi, Antium, Tarracina, Minturnae and Stunea. This done, the Consul Aelius by order from the Senate, consulted with the collodg of the Fel-

ials or Heralds at arms, and demanded their advice, Whether the war should be proclaimed and declare given to Antiochus himself in person; or it were sufficient, to intimist and denote the same to some one of his garrisons? Also whether they would advise to proclaim war against the Aetiolans apart by themselves: or whether it were not more convenient first to disclaim and renounce their societie and friendship, and then to proclaim and denote hostilities? The Felials answered, that heretofore they had determined and elected this point, at what time as their
The opinion was touching Philip, to wit, That it was all one, and made no matter whether the defiance were given him to his face, or only intimated to some garriions of his And as for the Etolians, this was their mind, that they had quit already their amity, and abandoned all society, in that when our Embassadors to oftentimes had demanded amends for wrongs done, they never thought good to make restitution or satisfaction. Moreover, the Etolians had themselves sent defiance first and proclaimed war against the Romans, when as by force they seized Demetrias a City of our allies, and advanced before Chalcis to affail it both by land and sea; and lastly, in that they had solicited King Antiochus and brought him into Europe for to levy war against the Romans. All things now being sufficiently provided, M. Acilius the Conful published an edict and proclaimed, That all those soldiers whom a. Q. Q. Quintinius had enrolled, likewise all those whom he had levied of the allies of the Latine nation, who were to go with him into his province, likewise all the Colonels and Marshals of the second and third legion, should render themselves, and be ready altogether at Brundisium upon the * Ides of May following. Himself upon the * fifth day before the Nones of the same month departed forth of the City clad in his rich coat of arms. And at the same time the Pretors also took their journeys into their several provinces. Much about that time there arrived at Rome Embassadors from two Kings, to wit, Philip of Macedons, and Ptolomey King of Egypt, promising their aid of men, money, and corn for that war. And besides from Ptolomeus there was brought * 1000 pound weight in gold, and the weight of * 2000 pound weight in silver; whereof nothing was received, but much thanks rendred to both the Kings. And whereas both of them offered to come with all their power into Acteia, and to be there in person, Ptolomeus was discharged of that offer of his, but the Embassadors of Philip received this answer, That he should highly please and content the people of Rome, in case he would not fail the Conful M. Acilius. In like manner there came Embassadors from the Carthaginians and Mavafus, The Carthaginians made promise of * 1 thousand and Modii of Wheat, and of barley five hundred thousand for the army, and likewise to bring half so much to Rome; praying the Romans to accept the same at their hands as a free gift and gratuity; adding moreover, that they would man out a fleet at their own charges, and were ready also to make one entire payment of their tribute behind, which they were of duty to pay by sundry terms of many years. The Embassadors of Mavafus, promisedit the behalf of their King, to send five hundred thousand Modii of wheat, * 30000 of barley into Greece to the army, besides 500 men of arms and twenty Elephants, unto M. Acilius the Conul. As touching the corn, this answer was returned to them, that they should accept thereof, so that they would take money therefore to the war. As to the fleet foresaid, which the Carthaginians made offer of, they acquit them clean, save as many ships as they were to find and provide according to the tenor of the accord and composition between them. Left of all, concerning the tribut mony, none would they receive before the day. 

Whilesthe affairs passed thus at Rome, Antiochus being at Chalcis, because he would not sit still and do nothing, all a winter time, partly himself solicited (by sending Embassadors) the minds of the States, and partly also there came unto him Embassadors from thence of their own accord: and namely, among others, the Epirots presented themselves to the common consent of their whole nation, and the Eleusinians came out of Peloponnesus. They of Elis craved aid against the Achæans, who (they verily thought) would take arms against their City, because war was denounced against Antiochus nothing to their will and good liking. Unto them were sent 7000 footmen under the leading of Ephetaes the Cretienian. The Embassage of the Epirots, plied with both hands, meaning to deal roundly and firmly with no side, but to go between the bark and the tree. Gladly they would make court to the King and cury favour with him, but so, as they stood in good terms still with the Romans, whom they were both to offend. For their requent to him was, that he would not draw them without great and important cause into the quarrel, considering that for the defence of all Greece they open and exposed to Italy, and were lure before others to feel the Romans fingers, and receive their first affaile. But in case he were able of himself with his forces by land and sea to defend Epirus, and furnish it with garrisons sufficient, they would with heart and good accept of him and his into their Cities & port-towns: but if he be could not effect that, they befough him not to offer them, naked and unarmed men, to the violence of the Roman wars. Their drift was in that embassage (as it appeared) that if the King and his forces came not into Epirus (as they rather thought may then yea) they might reserve themselves and all they had, safe, entire, and at their own liberty for the Roman armies, and win withall the Kings good grace in that they seemed to make an offer to deceive him: or if any came indeed, yet they might conceive good hope to find favours, and have pardon at the Romans hands, in that they had not expected their succours being so far off but rather yielded to the forces of Antiochus being present there in person. In such fort they carried themselves in their embassage so perplexed and intricate, that the King knew not well how to answer them ready: but said, that he would send his own Embassadors unto them for to talk and treat of all affairs pertaining in common as well to them as to him. Then went he himself to Beatus, which country in colour and thew pretended these causes of anger and spight against the Romans, that before I have mentioned, to wit, the murder of Barcellas, and the armies by Quamvus levied against Coronea, occasioned by a massacre committed upon Roman soldiers; but in very truth this was the reason. The singular discipline and order of that nation in old time, was going downward and endlong many
many years and ages already, and the popular government of many, grown to decay and ruin, which cannot possibly continue long without some change and alteration of State. Well, to The-ber he came, where all the principal and chief States of Britans came flocking from all parts to meet him. Where in the General Diet and Council of that Nation (notwithstanding he had founded the battle, and began the fray already by giving the first blow, in that he had forced the Roman army near Deltius and Chalzeus, which were no small signs nor double full overtures of war, yet he began with the same kind of speech he first used in the parle and conference at Chalzeus, and which his Embassadors had followed in the general assembly of the Achians, namely, demanding that they would enter into amity with him, without professing themselves enemies to the Romans, or pretending hostility against them. But there was no man there but soon found him and law him well enough how well there passed an act and decree in favour of the King against the Romans, under a vain and flight pretext and colourable shew of words. Having gained this nation also, he returned to Chalzeus from thence he sent out his letters before unto the States of the Achian, that they should meet him in Demetrias, where he would confer and consult with them of all their affairs to be managed, and thither he came he by at the day appointed. Aminander also was sent for out of Athamania to this consultation, yes, and Anabialt the Carthaginian (whole counsell was not required along time) was present at this frequent Diet and Assembly. Much parle and great opening there was as touching the nation of the Thessalians; and all there in place were of opinion, that they should be found out how they floods affected: but about the manner and some circumstance thereof, they were of diverse minds, while some advised it to be done and executed out of hand: others thought good to put it off from winter feast (considering now they were in the midst thereof) unto the prime and beginning of spring: others again said, that Embassadors only should be sent: and some hot-spurs there were, that gave counsell to go against them with all their forces, yes, and to fright and terrifie them if they made flight but. Now when all the heat and difficulty of this deliberation confluxeth in one point, Anabialt was requested by name to deliver his mind and speak to the cause in question: who turned the King and all that were present from other wandering cogitations, and induced them to the entire consideration of the total war; and to this effect framed his speech in this wise. If since the time that we passed over into Greece, my head had been to be called to any council, when so some question was touching Enbus, the Achæan, and the Britons, I, had delivered what advice then, which now I purpose to utter this day in the question concerning the Thessalians. Above all things my counsell is, that Philip and the Macedonians may by all means possibly be wrought to this our association.

D in the war. For as touching Enbus, the Achæan, and the Thessalians, who doubteth, but that they (as nations that stand upon their own bottoms and are of no force by themselves) will alwates flatter them that are present in place, and be ready to crave pardon upon the same fear they ever when they are to take counsell and resolute who doubteth (I say) but to soon as they shall see the Roman army in Greece, they will turn to their accustomed obedience, and that it will be imputed to them no fault at all, that when the Romans were far off, they were not willing to try the forces of you a pritifant Prince in person among them) or of your armies? How much rather ought we then, may, how much better and more important would it be, to joynt Philip unto us then thefe? For he once enter into the cause and be seen in action, he cannot possibly last from us nor draw his head out of the collar: and moreover, he brings in that power with him, which is not to be held for a simple adduction & addition to our forces, but such only of it tell without the help of others, was able to make head against the Roman puifiance. Let me have this prince on my side, and be it spoken without offence of any man here) what need I doubt of the sequel & issue? especially when those, by whole means & assistance the Romans prevailed against Philip, I see now ready to enter the field against them? The Euliots (I say) who as all the world knew with quaffed Philip, shall now together with Philip, enter into arms and fight against them. Over and besides, Aminander and the whole nation of the Athenians (whole service in the war, next to the Euliots, flood the Romans in beet (read) shall be on our side, Philip at that time (O King Antonius) jointained the fight and burden of the whole war, when you sat still and stirred not: now both of you together, two molt mighty monarchs, with the puifance of all Asia and Europe, (all wage war against one City and people, which to speak nothing of mine own fortune good or bad) certainly in our fathers days were not able to make their part good with one only King of the Epirots: how hardly ever they will be when they shall be marched with you both together. But what moved me to think yea, and assured me, that Philip may be won unto us in joynt this action? One thing is this, a common good and benefit even the greatest bond that is of society: and yet there is another besides it, namely, an inducement proceeding from you that be here of Euliota: for Thos your Embassador (who is prefent in place) among other matters that he was wont to alledged for to animat & move Aniobitus to come into Greece, evermore allured him of this principally, and vowd that Philip grumbled, bit the lip and freted, that under the colour and shew of peace, there were imposed upon him hard conditions of servitude and slavery. And he verily, I mean those, let out the fell anger of the King, and with all his words compared it to the wood rage of a wild beast bound with chains or being enclosed in some cage, would willingly break the gates and bars thereof. Now, if he be disposed thus, and of that courage, let us burst his bonds asunder, let us (I say) force open his iron cage, that his rage pent up to long may now break out upon the common enemies. And suppose
suppose that our embassage effect nothing at his hands; yet may we provide and take order, that if we cannot work and win him to side with our selves, yet that he shall not combine and band our enemies. Your Ion Selene is now: Lysimachus, who shall not to soon with the forces which he hath about him, begin to invade and wall (by the way of Thrace) the confines of Macedonia, but he shall withdraw and turn Philip clean away (from giving succour to the Romans) to the defence especially of his own. Thus have you heard mine advice as touching Philip: now for the while course and managing of the war, what mine opinion was you have not been ignorant of from the first beginning. If then, I might have had mine own waijs, and my counsell had been taken, the Romans should not have received intelligences of the taking of Chalcis in Euboea, not of the facing and winning of a little pile upon Enris; but they had been heard by this, that all the coast of the Ligurians and of the Citharine was up in arms and on a light fire of war; and (which would have feared and frightened them most) that Amphil was in Italy. And (now things standing as they do) my advice is, that you lend for all your forces both by land and sea. Let your caracks and hulks with victuals and provision follow after your armado & ships of war. For in this place, like as we are too few to perform any martial exploits, so we are too many, considering our small store of victuals. And when you rallied and united all your force together, divide your navy in two parts: the one you shall keep in the rode of Corcyra, to impeach the Romans, that they shall not passe in safety and security, the other you shall cause to fall unto that coast of Italy which looketh toward Sardinia and Africa. Your self in proper person, with all your land army shall march onward into the territory of the Bylliones: thence shall ye have good means for the defence of Greece, as making the Romans believe, that you are upon the point to pass the seas, yea, and being ready indeed to crosse over if need should require. This generally is my counsell mine. I say, who as I will not take upon me a singular skill in all kinds of war, so me thinks I should know how to war with the Romans, as having learned my skill thereby, as well to my selfe as advantage, and as much with my good as harm, & look whatsoever designement I have projected unto you, I promise and protest, that I will be faithfull and forward in the execution thereof: and the gods approve and blest that course, which your self shall think the best. To this effect, in a manner, was the oration of Annibal directed, which all these were in place and heard it, rather praiseth for the present, than put in practice and executed afterwards, for no one thing was done of all that he had said, save only Antiochus lent Polycenus a dour navy and army out of Asia; yes, there were Embassadors also dispatched to the General Diets of the Thessalians. A day was appointed for the Etolians and Amnion to meet the army at Phere, whither King Antiochus came freights after with his power. And whiles he stayed there, expecting Amnion and the Etolians, he sent out one Philip a Megapolitan, with two thousand men to gather out the bones and reliques of the Macedonians about Cyzicus, where the war with Philip was determined, and the quarter decyded by a famous battell: were it that therein he followed his own head and took a concurs, whereby to wind himself into grace and favour with the Macedonian Nation. And seeing the King into obloque and disgrace, because he left his fieldiers unburied; for that, as it is the wont (or vanity rather) engraffed in Kings by kind, he set his mind and bufied his spirits in matters, for appearence gay and goodly, but in effect fond & foolish. There he made a mount (as it were) of a number of bones gathered together in one place, that lay scattered and firedew here and there: a thing no doubt, that the Macedonians conned him no thank for, and which Philip (you may well) took in soul torment and malicious disdain. And therefore Philip, who at that time minded to take counsell of Fortune, and to be directed by her, as she enclosed now, sent to Marcus Babuns the Vice-Prent, and advertised him, how Antiochus invaded Thessaly, and if it pleased him to fit him out of his winter habour, he would meet him, that they might confer both together what were best to be done.

While Antiochus lay now encamped before Phere, where Amnion and the Etolians had rejoined with them, there came Embassadors from Laris, expostulating, Wherein the Thessalians had to offended either by deed or word, that he would molest and trouble them with war? and withall becheching him to retire & withdraw his forces, and debate the matter (if he had ought against them) by his Embassadors. At the same time they sent five hundred men in armes, well appointed, under the government of Hippolochus, to lie there in garrison, who because they could not pash either, by reason that all the avarenes were feizid and kept by the Kings forces, returned to Scoas. As for the Embassadors of the Larisians, the King made them a gracious answer, and said, that he was entered into Thessaly, not by way of hostility to divertise them, but in friendly manner to maintain and establishe the free dome of the Thessalians. Likewise he sent an Embassador to Phere, to signifie so much to them and in the same terms. But the Phereans giving him no answer again, dispatched unto the King an Embassador of their own, one Panetios, a principal man of their City. Who after he had pleaded the semblable remonstrances to thowe, that had been in the like case alleged and laid forth in the behalf and name of the Chaldeians, in that Counsell holiden near the worshipt of Enris, and besides, uttered something else with more boldness and courage; the King dismissioned him, after he had willed them to consider more of the matter, and be well advised, that they took not that counsel which soon they would repent, whiles they sought to be too wary, provident, and forsetting the future time. When this embassage was relaxed at Phere, the Citizens took no long time to deliberate, but soon resolved in the maintenance of their faith and loyalty to the Romans for to undergo whatsoever hazard the
the fortune of war should present unto them. Whereupon both they addressed themselves to defend the City with all their might, and also the King began to assault and batter the walls on all parts at once. And knowing well enough (as in truth there was no doubt) that in the line of the siege of that City which he first enterprised, lay the whole importance and consequence of all, either to make him defirous ever after, or feared and dreaded of the Thessalians, therefore he terrified the besieged inhabitants, on every side, and by all means possible that he could devise. The first assault they sustained stoutly and manfully; but afterwards seeing many of the defenders were either overthrown and slain, or grievously hurt and wounded, their hearts began to quail; yet restrained by the rebukes and chastisements of their captains and leaders, and animated by their earnest exhortations, to persist still in their purpose and resolution. They quit the utmost compass of their wall (seeing what default they were for want of men) and retired themselves more inward into the City, into one part thereof, which was strongly fortified with a mere and least circuit and compass than the other. At the length, overcame with travail and calamities, and fearing that if they were forced and taken by assault, they should find no mercy nor pardon with the conqueror, they yielded themselves. The King following the train of victory, delayed no time, but whiles the night was fresh, sent four thousand armed men presently to Scarpia, where the towns-men made no stay, butrendred the town and themselves incontinent, having before their cries the fiercest bleeding example of the Pelasgians, who named by force and woful miseries, were compelled to do that which they obstinately refus'd at the first. Together with the City it was surrendered into Hippolochus and the Larissæan garrison under his hand. All of them the King sent away without any hurt or violence offered unto their persons: for he thought thereby to win the hearts and love of the Larissæans. Having accomplished these exploits within ten days after his first coming into Phœna, he marched towards Creusa with all his army, and at his first coming won it. Then he reign'd and seiz'd Cyprea and Metropolis, and the boroughts & forts about them: so now all those quarters were subdued and put under his subjection, except Aetia and Greece. Then he determined to affaile Larissa, supposing, that upon the fearful terror of other Cities forced, or in regard of his desirous in dismiffing the garrisons too, and by the present example of so many Cities yielded unto him, they would not long persist in their obstinacy. And for to terrifie them the more, he commanded the elephants to march in the forefront of the vanguard, and approached himself in square battell, with four sides, in such fort as the hearts of many of the Phœnaeans wag'd in doubtfull suspense, between forced fear of present enemies, and kind regard of absent friends.

In this time Aemilius, with the whole youth and manhood of the Athamans, became master of Pelinoeum, Menippus also with three thousand Eolian footmen and two hundred horse went to Pericném, won Meline and Cyzicus by assault, and wafled the territory of Tripolis. Having performed these exploits, and made war and to the King, and arrived even then when the expedition was in conclusion what to do with Larissa: for the council was divided into diverse opinions. Some thought it good to proceed forcibly, and not to defer and assaile the Cities wals with fabrics and engines of batterie on all sides at once, alleging that the town being fixtuated in a plain towards the champain field side, might be approached unto with ease and invad'd every way. Others again infected one white that there was no comparison between the strength of this City and of Phœna: other while that it was now winter time, and a feacon of the year far unfit for warlike executions, and most of all other for the siege and assault of Cities. As the King thus hung in the equal balleance of hope and despair, the Embassadors of Phœnaeans arrived, who, as good hap was, being come to surrender up their town, revived his spirits and mightily comforted his heart.

M. Babius in this mean while having parlied and conferred with Philip in the Dafarétians country, went Appius Claudius by the common advice of them both to the succour and defence of Larissa; who passed through Macedon, and by long journeys came to the top of those hills that command Creusa. Now this Creusa is a towne twenty miles distant from Larissa, lest the hill in the very high bights of that forsall and paffe called Tempe, who having taken up a larger circuit of ground to encamp in, was then proportionable to his number, and made more fires in thev then needed was for that company, gave semblance unto the enemy (which was the thing he aimed at,) that all the Roman forces were there, together with King Philip. King Antiochus therefore preeting unto his army, that the unseasonable winter that approached, after he had layed one only day before Larissa, dislodged, and thence departed, and to returned to Demetrius. The Eolians likewise and Athamanans repaired to their own countries.

Appius and Philip, though the siege was levied (which was the only caufe of his coming) yet down and a two-fold joy was there, both because the enemies were gone and bad quitt their country, and also for that they saw the Roman garrison within their walls. King Antiochus departed from Demetrius to Chalced, where he fell in love and love with a dam'cell of that City, daughter of Cleopatra a Chalcidian. Now after he had made means to the maidens father hirft by intercession of messengers and mediators, and after by importuning him in his own person with earnest requests by word of mouth (who was very loth and unwilling to entangle & tie himself in marching her high above his own calling) at length to overcome the man, that he obtained his desire: and as if it had been a time of settled and confirmed peace, he proceeded to confinamate and celeb
brat the marriage. And forgetting clean, how at one time he had undertaken the charge of two
affairs so important, to wit, the war with the Romans, and the deliverance of Greece, he passed
away the rest of the winter in feasts and banquets, and in those delights and pleasures, which
ordinarily (you not well) follow upon the liberal drinking of wine; yes, and when he had ther-
by rather wearied his body then inflamed his appetite, he gave him to leep without compeffe.
The like riot and loose life took hold of the rest of the Kings captains, by example in all places, but in
Boetia especially, such as commanded the garrisons. Nay, the very foildiers were let loose and
given over to take voluptuous ways, and not one of them would put on armor, keep the watch,
tend the guard, or do any thing pertaining to the duty and charge of a foildier. And therefore at
the beginning of the spring, when he was come by Phocis and Chersones to the Rendez-vous, where
he had appointed from all parts his forces to meet, he soon perceived that the foildiers had spent
the winter as licentiously as their leaders, and kept no better order and obfcrvcr discipline.
Then he commanded Alexander the Acarnanian, and Menippus the Macedonian, to lead the
army to Stratuia, a town in Acroos. Himself having done sacrifice at Delphi to the honour of Apollo,
he went forward to Naupactum. And after the Diet held of all the States of Etolia, in the way
which leadeth to Stratuia, along by Chaeris and Lyjumbas, he encountered his own forces afores
caid, that came by the gulf of Malia. Where Muefobochus, a Principal Acarnanian, but wroght
and bought with many gifts and presents, not only himself won that nation to take part, & to side
with the King, but also had drawn to his own mind and affection Clitus their Preror, who at that
time had the sovereign rule there, and might do all in all. He feeling that the Leucadians (who
are the chief of all the Acarmians) could not be easily induced nor brought to releivi, for the
awe wherein they flood of the Roman fleet, which either was with Attius, or about Cephale
nia, went cunningly to work with them. For having delivered his opinion in their generall
Council, that the inland parts of Acarnania were to be well guarded and defended; and that as
many as were able to bear arms should go forth to Medio and Tyrrephon, for fear those places
should be feized by Antrocochus and the Etolians: there were again fome who made answer and
faw, how there was no fuch need that all Should be raised and leived to tumultuously in faft; for
a garrifon of five hundred men was fufficient. And when he had obferved that number of young &
able men, he placed three hundred of them in garrifon at Medio, and two hundred at Tyrrephon:
his reach and drift was to have them put into the Kings hands, for hostages. And even at that
time arrived the Kings Embaffadors at Medio, whole embaffage being heard, they laid their heads
altogether and confused in the publick assembly what answer to return unto the King. Some were
of opinion to continue still in the Roman fociety: others were of advice again, that the Kings
offer of amity was not to be refenct. The counell of Clyma was mean and indifferent between
both, and therefore accepted, to wit, that they should adrefs the Embaffadors to the King, to in
treat him that he would permit them to take a day of deliberation upon a matter of fuch confec
quence in a full Diet of the Acarmians. In this Embaffage Mufelochus, and those of his faction
were employed of fet purpose: who having dispatched meffengers covertly to King, to ad
ter him to approach the town with his forces, filled out the time themselves, and made no
haft to fet forward in their embaffade, Whereupon thes Embaffadors were fearely gone forth of
the City, when Antrochoth was entered the borders, and soon shewed himself hard at the gates.
And whereas they that with nothing of this treafon were affifted, and in great trouble and tur
moil, called the youth hastily to arm, he was by Clymas and Muefobochus let into the City. Some
willingly of themelves came running about the King: thofo alfo that were of the adverfe part,
for very feer joined with him, Whom he feeing to be afraid and terrified, he entertained with
gracious words, and by gently handled them, that in hope of his clemency to much divulged
and spoken of abroad, certain States of Acarnania revolted and turned unto him. Then from Me
dio he went to Tyrrephon, unto which place he had lent Muefobochus and his Embaffadors afore
hand, But the treachery and deciet at Medio being discoured, made the Tyrrephoners more wary and
careful generals to shut their gates, and dipofed armed men upon their wafts. Nowit fell out very fully and happily for confirming and encouraging the hearts of the Acarmians, that Ca
Odorbus sent by Quintus, having receiv'd a garrifon and some few fhips of A. Pafhebunus, who
by Attius the Lenucian had been appointed Governour of Cephaleinia, was come to Leucus, and
and much comforted the Allies, and put them in good hope, who also gave them to understand,
that M. Accius the Confal had already paffed the fefs with his legions, and the Romans were
encamped in Thesfaly. And for as much as this bruit carried a great likelihood of truth, by reafon
that the refion of the yeafl served now for navigation, the King after he had planted a garrifon at
Medio and in other towns of Acarnania, departed from Tyrrephon, and paffing through the Cities
of Etolia and Phocis, returned to Choletis.

Much about the time M. Barcinus and King Philip, who had communed and devi'ded toge
ther before (during the winter) in the Dafcarctians country, having lent Appius Claudius into
Thesfaly, for corralize the fife before Laraffa: and because the feon then was unmeet and too
soon for execution of any exprefs, were retir'd to their winter harbours, now in the begin
ning of the Spring joyned all their forces together and came down into Thesfaly. (Now at that
time was Amieobus in Acarnania.) And at their first coming, Philip began to lay fife unto
Malia.
A. Malles and Babius to Phocion: which when he had forced in manner at the first assault, he won Phocion also with like expedition. From whence having retired himself to Arras, he took Chrysias, and so consequentially surpris'd Evritium; and after he had placed garrisons in those towns that he had thus recovered, he joyned with Philip again lying in siege before Malles. Upon the very coming of the Roman army, when the townsmen had yielded themselves either for fear of forces, or for hope of pardon, they marched joyfully together with one army to recover those towns whereof the Athenians were seiz'd: to wit, Evritium, Evritium, Gomphi, Skala, Troia, Melibe, and Potosia. After this they invected Pelleneum, where Philip the Megapolitan lay in garrison with five hundred foot, and forty horse: but before they gave the assault, they sent a trumpet to Philip to give him warning, that he should not adventure to try the utmost hazard. But he returned this answer again right stoutly unto them, that he would be content to commit himself to the Romans or the Thebians; he passed not whether, but put his life and estate into the hands of King Philip he never would. Now when it appeared that they were to proceed by force, and for that it seemed that Malles also at the same time might be assaulted, it was thought expedient that the King should go to Limnae, and Babius hard till to batter and fort: the town of Pelleneum.

It fortuned at the same time that M. Acilius the Consul, having passed the seas with a power of 10,000 foot, and 2,000 horse and fifteen Elephants, commanded certain chosen Colonels of footmen to conduct all the Infantry to Larissa, whiles himself with the Cavalry came to King Philip before Limnae. At the coming of the Consul the town was yielded ineffectually: the Kings garrisons were delivered, and the Athenians withal. Then the Consul went from Limnae to Pelleneum, where the Athenians yielded first; and afterwards Philip also the Megapolitan rendered himself. And as he came down from the fort, Philip the King chanced to meet with him: and in Korn and derision commanded his men to salute him with the title of King, and himself also by way of mockery came close unto him, and greeting him by the name of brother Philip, scoffing and jeering in broad terms, for unuttering. I wot, his royal Majesty. Then was he brought before the Consul, and put in ward, and not long after sent bound to Rome. All the multitude besides of the Athenians, as also of King Antiochus his father, which were within the garrisons of those towns that were surrendered about that time were delivered unto Philip, who amounted to the number of 3,000. The Consul departed to Larissa to consult and take advice for the general course of the whole war. And in his way there met him Embassadors from Persia and Macedon, for to render their cities Philip having courteously and lovingly intreated above all other the prisoners of the Athenians, that by their means he might win the grace and favour of that nation, and conceived some hope to conquer Athens. That they led his army thither, and sent his captives aforesaid into their several cities. Now they were of great account and reputation among their co-intimers, and withall made report of the King's clemency toward them, and how liberally and bountifully besides he aided them: And Aminander verily, whose presence and majesty had kept some of them in allegiance, tearing left he should be delivered into the hands of Philip (who long time had been his mortal enemy) and unto the Romans, whom he knew to have just cause at that time to be offended with him for his revolt, departed out of his own Realm with his wife and children, and retired himself to Ambraeia. Thus all Athens became subject to King Philip, and at his pleasure.

The Consul sojourned certain daies at Larissa, especially for to refresh his beasts, which first had been fatick, and afterwards were tired with long travel; and thus when he had renewed, as it were, and repaired his army with a little rest and repose, he marched to Crete. At his coming thither, those towns, to wit, Phoebus, Scarpas, and Phere, together with King Antiochus his garrisons that lay there, were yielded up unto him. And having put unto their choice, either to be gone or carry still with him: as many of them as he law willing (and those were about a thousand) he delivered up to King Philip; the rest he sent back disarmed to Demetrias. Then he regained Crete and the fortresses and places about it. Then began he to conduct forward his army toward the gulph of Malles, and when he saw the fruits of the siege upon which the town Thamas was situated, all the flower of the youth in their armour quit the City, and put themselves in ambush about the woods and passages; and from the higher ground charged upon the Romans in their march. The Consul at the first lent certain unto them, to parley at hand with them, and to see if they could scare them from such desperate outrage: but perceiving that they persisted still as they began, he commanded a Colonel with two ensigns of footmen to fetch a compas about; in such sort, that he got between these armed men and the town, and kept them from entrance; whereby he put fled himself of the City, being void of defendants. They that lay in the forest in ambush, hearing an outcry behind their backs of the town taken, fled backward out of all parts of the wood, and fell upon the sword. The Consul then departed from Thamas, and the second day came as far as the river Sporimbus, and so forward unto the territory of the Hyphasis, which he spoiled.

During the time of these occurrences, Antiochus lay at Chalced, who by this time seeing that he had gotten in Greece, but the pleasure of one winning, spent to deliciously in Chalced, and a dishonourable marriage: began to blame the Etrurians for their vain promises, and especially Tharist; but Annibal had in great admiration, respecting him not only for a sage and prudent man, but also for a true Prophet, who foretold him of all things that then were come to pass: howbeit for
fear that his cold flackness might not overthrow that quiet, which his rash folly had begun and he undertook; he sent out his couriers into the country, to give them warning to levy all their youth and assemble them together; and himself for his own part had brought thither almost 10,000 footmen, who were made up full and furnished by them that after came out of Asia, and 500 horsemen besides. To this place perceiving that there repaired smaller numbers by many degrees than ever at any time before, and that they were but the Nobles only and some few of their vassals, who professed, that they had done their endeavor to levy out of their Cities as many as possibly they could: but neither by authority, nor for love and favour, nor yet with absolute command, were they able to prevail or do any good with them that refused warfare; and seeing himself thus forsaken on all sides, as well of his own subjects who dragged behind in Asia, as of his allies who performed not those matters, in the hope whereof they had called him to assist them, he withdrew himself within the strictness of Thermopyla.

This mountain divides Greece in the very middle, like as Italy is parted in twain by the ridge of the Appennines. On the fore-part of this straight and forest and of Thermopyla toward the North lyeth Epirus and Perraebus, Magnesia and Thessaly, also the Phthiot of Aches, and the gulf of Melos; but more southward is discovered the greatest part of Eotolia and Acaarnia, Phociæ, Locriæ, and Boeotia, together with the Illiad and the Pont and the Wetter of Greece, reacheth through Eotolia to the Lacedemonians, and is full of rocks and rough crags between, that no whole armies, nor so much as single travellers lightly appointed, can find so hard to find the paths and ways to pass with, the untold hundreds and the hills of this mountain bending toward the west, they call Orestes and the highest pitch and knop thereof, is called Callidromos; at the foot whereof lyeth the valley leading toward the gulf of Melos, wherein the plain is not above three-score paces broad. And this is the only high and port-way by which an army may march, if it be not otherwise empeached; and heretofore it is, that the passage is called "Pylos: and of some because there are found therein certain natural hot waters or baths." Thermopylae: even that very place which is so famous and renowned for the memorable death of the Lacedemonians, more than for any worthy battall against the Persians. Here lay encamped Antiochus at this present, carrying nothing that mind nor resolution as those Lacedemonians did within the gates as it were of the straits, where he could and stopped the passage besides, with strong defences; and when he had cast a double rampire and trench, yea, and raised a mure and wall where need was (which to do the place afforded him great plenty of stone lying every where) and had made all sure; presuming confidently that the Roman army would never venture nor be able to break through those barricades that way: he sent of those 4000 Eotolians (for so many were met together) home to keep a garrison in Heraclea, situate even before the very guller and straight; and others to Hiipus: for that he made no doubt but the Conful would assall Heraclea, and many posts brought word that all about Hipses was already wafted.

Now the Conful having spoiled the territory of Hiipus first, and then of Heraclea, (where the Eotolians aids did no good and served to no purpose in the one place or the other) pitched his camp over against the king, even in the very mouth of the gullet, near the foot of the hot waters aforesaid: both those regiments above-named of the Eotolians were got within the town Heraclea, and there kept them there fore, Antiochus, who before he saw his enemies, thought all was done enough and sufficiently fenced, began then to fear lest the Roman soldiers would find out some privy paths and ways, whereby they might pass and get over those high hills that commanded the pass for a romout ran, that the Lacedemonians in times past were so enclosed by the Persians, and of late days also King Philip was likewise compassed and environed by these very same Romans. Whereupon he dispatched a messenger to the Eotolians in Heraclea, willing them to do him thus much service yet in thee his wars, as to seize the tops of those hills and to keep them that the Romans might have no passage that way. Upon this message received, there arose some difference among the Eotolians. Some were of mind to obey the king his will and commandment, and so to go accordingly; but others thought better to carry full fast at Heraclea, to attend upon fortune and see what would happen: to the end, that if the king should chance to be vanquished by the Conful, they might have in readiness their forces fresh and in hearts, to succour and aid their own Cities near at hand; or if his luck were to defeat the Conful, then might they follow the Romans in their chase, when they were disbanded and scattered and dissipate. Both parts, thus divided as they were, not only persisted still in their severall enufugions, but also put the fame in execution by themselves. For two thousand of them remained at Heraclea; the other two thousand parted themselves three ways, namely, to Callidromos, to Rhodanias, and Tichinaus (there are the names of three principal high hills) and each company took and held one. The Conful when he saw that the Eotolians were resolved of these higher places, sent M. Porcius Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus, two of his Lieutenants (who both had been Conuls) with two thousand chosen men against these holds of the Eotolians, to wit, Flaccus against Rhodanias and Tichinaus, and Cato against Callidromos; himself before that he advanced his battell against his enemies, made a brief speeche unto his fooldiers in this manner: "My fooldiers, I fee that the most part of you even of every quality and degree, are they that in this very Province sometime served under the conduct, charge, and government of T. Quintinius the Macedonian war. The straits
a of that passage thence, near the river Axios, were far more difficult to gain and get over than this
is; for here are very great seas, and one natural way (as it were) to pass through, as if all else
were flopped up between two seas. There were more stronger defences and sconces against them
at that time, and those placed in places more convenient and commodious. The army of the en-
emies then, was both for number greater & for men & forces much better: for therein were
the Macedonians, the Thracians, and the Illyrians: all most fierce and warlike nations: in this are
Syrians and Attic Greeks, or haif Alains, the venient kind of people of all others, and born to
serve. The King there, namely Philip, a most noble warrior exercised and instructed ever since his
youth in the neighbouring wars of the Thracians and Illyrians. & all the nations bordering upon
him: but this Antiochus (to say nothing of all his life besides) is he, who being come out of Asia
into Europe, for to make war upon the people of Rome, hath done all the long winter time noth-
thing more memorable than this. That for to please his wanton heart, he had taken to wife the
daughter of a privy person, a man (I say) of low degree and base quality among other Citizens:
& this new married man. filled fat and franked as (I may say) with divint hugely & delicate bride-
bankets. He was so forth to fight a battle. His whole strength and all his hope hath been in
the Etolians; a people of all others most vain, unconstant, and unthankful, as ye have tried
hereof afore, and Antiochus findeth true at this present. For neither assembled they in great num-
ber nor possible was it to keep them together in the camp: nay, which more is, they mutine an-
among themselves, and having demanded and required the guard of Hyrcania and Heraclea, they
have denied neither the one nor the other. Some of them are fled to the tops of the moun-
tains; others that have themselves within Heraclea. The King himself hath conciled plainly,
that he was never so hardy as to meet in plain field and afront the enemy, no, nor (much as to
pitch his camp in open ground; in that abandoning all that country before him which he vaunted
and bragged that he had taken from us and Philip, he hath hidden himself among the rocks.
He hath not encamped before the entrance of the gullet and straits (as the fame goeth of the
Lacedemonians in times past) but pitched his tents far within. And to bewray his cowardly
feat. What difference is there between fo doing, and having himself within the walls of some
City for to be besieged? But neither shall those narrow straits fave him no more than those
sleep hills defend the Etolians, which they have seized. This one thing hath been forecast and
provided for on all sides, that ye shall have nothing to make head against, but your enemies,
now mult ye resolve upon this point. That ye fight not only for the liberty of Greece (and
yet even this also were a brave and honourable title, to be said fo to deliver the fame now out
of the hands of Antiochus and the Etolians, which before you freed from King Philip) nor
that ye shall have no other reward and recompence for your pains, but that which we shall find
now in the King's camp, but also that the great provision and furniture which daily is expected
from Ephesus shall be your prize and booty, and that ye shall hereafter make a way for the Ro-
man Empire into Asia, and all those most wealthy and rich Realms, even as far as to the
Levantian. And what shall us then, but that from Gods to the red sea we bound and limit
our State and Dominion, even with the very Ocean that environeth and compasseth the round
globe of the earth? What shall hinder us, I say, but that all the nations of the world shall ho-
nour and worship the Roman name next unto the immortal gods? Prepare your hearts there-
fore and courage, answerable to so high rewards, that with the leave and help of the gods we
may to morrow fight a field. After this speech the assembly brake up, and the soldiers being dismiffed, made ready their armor and weapons, before they took repast or repose. And in the
morning, by dawning of the day, the Consul put out the signall of battle, and set his army in array,
with a narrow and pointed front, according to the nature and lengthfulness of the place. The King
seeing the enigns of his enemies, led forth his forces like wise. Part of his light armes, he planted
before the rampier and trench in the forefront, then he placed the flower and strength of the
Macedonians, whom they call Sarissphoni, i.e. Pikemen, for the fery and safeguard of his defen-
ses and fortifications. And to flank these on the left side, he put the archers, the flingers of darts,
and slingers of stones, hard upon the foot of the hill, that from the higher ground they might
affail and pelt the naked sides of the enemies. On the right flank of these Macedonians at the very
eedge and point of the mures and defences, which as they were enclosed and mounded with those
places which reach to the sea, and are impassable by reason of the bogs, muddy marshes,
quagmires, and quickfands, he set the Elephants with their ordinary and usual guard. After them he
hath ordered and men of arms. Then leaving an indifferent space between, he ranged the rest of his
forces in the second ward or middie battallion. The Macedonians who were beforeworn before the camp and the trench at the first sustained the Romans easily enough (who allied on every side to
make an entry) for much help they had of them, who from the upper ground weighed bullets out
of their flings, as thick as an hail storm, who lashed darts also, and shot arrows besides. But
when as afterwards greater numbers of enemies pressed upon them, and charged them with such
violence as possibly might not be endured, they gave ground, and retired within their fortificati-
ons, keeping yet their array and their ranks whole. And then from the rampier they made (as it
were) another Pallado with their long pikes that they held out afore them. Now the height of
their camp-mure was so reasonneable, that as it afforded some rife and vantage ground for their
own men to fight upon, so by reason of the length of their spears, they might reach the enemy
under them. Illomuch as many of the Romans approaching rashly, and venturing to clamber up,
were run clean through: and either they had given over and done nothing, or else more of them had died for it, but that M. Percius Cato having beaten from the top of Callidromus the Attolians, and slain a great part of them (for he surprised them suddenly unawares, and most of them fast asleep) appeared upon the hill that commanded the camp, Flaccus sped not to well at Trichius and Romianus, who shou'der to get up those cliffs and holds, but to no purpose. The Macedonians and the rest that were in the Kings host and camp, at first, when they descried afar off nothing but a multitude and number marching, imagined verily, that they were the Attolians, who having discovered the battell and fight a good way off were coming to aid them, but so soon as they beheld and discerned near at hand the enignes and armour of the Romans, they took themselves in their own errour, and were upon a sudden strucken with such fear, that they all flung their weapons away and fled. But both their fortifications and defences in the way, & also the narrowness of the vale through which they were to be pursu'd, hindered the Romans in following the chaise. And the Elephants above all which were in the rearward took up the ground fo, as that the footmen could hardly pass by them, and the horsemen by no means possible; so affrighted were the horses, and caused more trouble and disorder among themselves, than they did during the battell. Besides the Romans slid sometime behind, whiles they rified and ranfacked the camp. Howbeit, they had the enemy in chase that day as far as Lyons, killing and taking in the very way, not only many horses and men, but also slaying the Elephants which they could not take alive; which done they returned to their own camp, which that day had been affailed by the Attolians, who were of the garrison of Hercules: but that enterprize, as being exceeeding bold and audacious, so it took no effect at all. The Conful having at the reliefs of the third watch the night ensuing, sent before his Cavality to pursue the enemy, advanced likewise the enignes of his legions forward by break of day. The King by this time had won some ground, and got a good way before; for he never gave over gallopping with bridle in horse neck, until he had recovered Elata. Where first he gathered together the broken ends of his army thus dispersed in flight, and so having collected a small and poor troop of foUdiers, and the same armed by the galls, he retired to Cholcus. The Roman Cavality was not able to overtake the King himseU at Elata, but overthrew and cut off a great part of his army, which either for weauness refted themselves drooping behind or else were scattered one from the other, as missing their way in those unknown quarters, going as they did without their guides: and letting aside five hundred which kept about the King, there was not one that escaped of the whole army, which was but a small number in proportion of 10000. (if they were no more) for so many (according to Polybius) we have written that the King conducted over with him for his part into Greece, what were they then to that great power, which (if we believe Valerius Antias) came with the King for he writeth that he had in his host three thousand, but that forty thousand were slaves of them, and above five thousand taken prisoners, with the loss of military enignes two hundred and thirty. Of Romans there died in all a hundred and fifty.

As the Conful Marched with his army through Phocis and Beotia, the States and Cities which were privy to the revolt and partly culpable,stood without their gates with their infules and veils in token of peace: and craved mercy, fearing they should have been pill'd and ranfacked as enemys. But his host journeyed every day as in a peaceable and friend-country, doing no hurt of M wrong to any earthly creature, until they were come into the territory of Corinth: where the Statue of the Image of Antiochus erected in the Temple of Minerva Itonis kindled their choler. And the fouldiers were permitted to spoil the country lying about that Temple. But bethinking themselves that (considering the said Statue was set up with the publick content of all Beotia) it was an indignity to deal so hardly with that territory only of Corinth, the fouldiers were immediately called in and acclaimed, and so ceased the waffling and spoiling thereof. The Beotians only had a check and rebuke by words, for carrying fo unthankfull hearts to the Romans, of whom they had so lately received such high favours and benefits.

At the very time of the batrell aforefaid, there rode at an host ten ships of the Kings, in the gulph of Malos near to Thronion under the charge and conduct of Isidorus. To which place Alex and the Acramian, being fled from the conflict, fledly bleeding and full of grievous wounds, brought news of the unfortunat fight. Whereupon the ships in great fear for this late terror, made haste and away to Corinum in Euboea, where Alexander died, and was interred. But three other ships which were come from Asia, and lay in the same rode, upon the news of the defeat of the army returned to Ephesus. And Isidorus crossed the seas from Corinum to Demetrias. If peradventure the King were fled thither. About that very time, A. Artihus the Admiral of the Roman navy intercepted and surprized great force of the Kings provisions, which had passed already the straits near the Island Andros. Some ships he sunk, others he boaded and took: as for those that came hindmoff in the rearward, they turned full and shaped their course into Asia, Artihus being returned to Pyreum (from whence he came) with a fleet of ships taken from the enemies, divided great flore of corn both among the Athenians, and other allies also of that country. 

Antiochus somewhat before the Conful his coming, loo'd from Cholcus, and first fell with the Island Temes, and afterwards failed to Ephesus. Against the Conful his arrivall at Cholcus the gates were set open for him, and Artihus the Captain there for the King, quit the place upon the approachement of the Conful. In like manner other Cities in Euboea yielded without refistence. And so within few daies (when all troubles were appeased and set in quiet order without the hurt and damage
A damage of any one City, the army was brought back to Thermopylae, and was much more honour and commendation for the modelly used after victory, than for the victory itself.

From thence the Consul dispatched M. Cato to Rome by whose certain and true relation, the Senate and people might have full knowledge of all the affairs that had passed. Who, taking tea at Crete, (a port town of Merchants) standing within the innmost gulf of Creusa, arrived at Putea, a City in Achaea. From Putea, he coasted along the rivers of Aetolia and Acarnania, as far as Coropus, and thence over to Hydra; from whence he travelled by land, and in exceeding great haste within five days came to Rome. Early in the morning before day light he entered the City, and from the gate rode directly to M. Junius the Praetor, who attended the Senate in the beginning of the day, but yeas, by a certain messenger from Thermopylae to the Atholians at Heraclea, to advertise them that before he came they would now at last be wiser and be themselves (after such experience of the King's vanity and insufficiency) to deliver up Heraclea, and crave pardon of the Senate, either for their wilful folly, or for their blind error. Who used them in such motives and inducements unto them, namely, That other Cities likewise of Greece (during this war) abandoned the Romans and revolted from them, at whose hands they had received so many benefits: yet because that after the King was fled (upon whole alacrity they had disloyally broken their allegiance) they stood not out still, nor permitted obstinately in their fault and folly, were received to mercy and protection. The Atholians likewise, either they followed not the King, but lent for him, and were rather conductors and leaders, than companions and associats in this war, yet if they could take up in time and repent, they might be pardoned and saved. But no answyer returned them tending to peace; nay, it appeared that the matter would come to a trial by arms, and for all the King was vanquished, yet the Atholian war was behind as wholly and entire as before time. Whereupon the Consul didlodge from Thermopylae, and marched directly against Heraclea; yea, and the very same day he rode on horseback all about the walls to view the situation of the City. This Heraclea is placed at the foot of the mountain Oeta: & thence the town is itself standeth in a plain, yet a fortresit hath built upon an high ground, which, as it overlooketh the City, so it is to steep on every side, that it is altogether inaccessible. After he had diligently beheld all things that were to be marked and known, he determined to assault the town in four places at once. Unto L. Fulvius he gave in charge to plant his platforms and to batter that side where the river Aplius ran through, and where the public place of exercit hold. B. Sempronius Longus had commission to affall the Castle, without the walls indeed, but yet better inhabited and more peopled (as a man would sty) then the town itself. On that side which standeth toward the gulf of Melas, which part yielded the hardest ac-

cells, he appointed M. Babius. And from another pretty river which they call Medes, he set Appius Claudius opposite against the Temple of Dana. Through the great industry and earnest labour of these four gallants, striving who could perform the best service, the work went so well forward, that within few days the frames and platforms, the Rams and all other engines of battery meet for the assault of Cities were finished. For besides that the territory about Heraclea, being a mooxy ground and full of tall trees, afforded them plenty enough of timber to frame and perform all sorts of labours: the houses also in the entry of the City without in the Suburbs stand
ing void: by reason of which the Atholians had put themselves within the walls, yielded unto them not only polls, beams, joyts, planks, and boards, but brick, and tile, paper, mortar, and stone of all fizes for divers and sundry uses. So, the Romans assaulted the town rather with labours, ordnance, and artillery, than by force of arms: but the Atholians contrariwise defended themselves by main strength and their weapons. For when as the walls should be shaken with the Rams they cast not hold of them as the manner is with cords, and by plucking them aside, avoided their force; but armed in great number, they carried fire with them to fling upon the terraces and the labours, they had besides divers vaults and arches in the walls at which they could readily and safely stand: and ever as themselves closed up the breaches of their walls, or made new for the mortar, they would remember to make more of these vaults full, that in many places at once they might break forth upon their enemies. Thus for the fifl days, whilst they were fresh in heart, they siffed forth oftentimes and many together, and quit themselves right fully: but afterwards in fewer numbers, and more slackly every day than other. For being evermore employed about many things at once, nothing so much tired and wearied them, as watching. For whereas the Romans had a great number of candidiers and one guarded after another incessively by them the Atholians so few, were contrainted without any change to continue in unce
The six and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

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The next labour night and day. Thus for the space of twenty four days they had no rest nor repit, but day and night was all one unto them, maintaining fight still, and labouring without intermission against the enemies that assailed the City in all four quarters at once. When the Coniol having once that the Ætolians were wearied and overtoiled (partly by counting the time, and partly by the which he had learned of certain ingitives) he used this policy and stratagem. About midnight he founded the retreat, and having drawn all his soldiers at once from the assailant, held them quiet in the camp until the third hour of the day. After that he began to give a fresh charge, and continued it unto midnight following, and gave over again until the same hour before noon. The Ætolians supposing verily that the cause why they so terrified the assailant, was for very weariness, (like as themselves were tired out) so soon as the Romans had the retreat founded into them, departed every man from his ward and quarter, as if they also by the same signal were called away; I and I dined not themselves in armor upon the walls before the third hour of the day next. The Coniol having at one time given over the batterie to stand, began at the fourth watch a fresh assailant again with all forcible means in three parts: and at one tide, he gave commandment to T. Sempronius to keep his men together and intently to observe and wait for the signal affurint himself that in the alarm by night, the enemies would run to those places from whence they heard the noile. The Ætolians, many of them being found asleep; had much to do to rouse themselves, and were lost to rise up from their sweet sleep, their bodies being so weary with tolling and moiling, and watching before; Some of them who were yet awaked ran in the dark to the place where the assailants made a noise. Their enemies laboured to get into the town the same night, by mounting over the ruins and breaches of the broken walls, others by scaling and climbing with ladders. And against them the Ætolians ran from all parts ready to succour and help. One quarter, whereas there stood houses without the City, was neither defended nor assailed: but as there were some ready and waited for the signal to give the assailant, so there was not one of the other part for to resist and defend. Now began the day to peep, when as the Coniol put forth the signal, and the soldiers began to mount over into the City, and found none to withstand them; some entred at the walls half broken down others scaled them with ladders where they found whole and sound. And the cry was not so soon heard that the City was taken, but the Ætolians left their guards on all sides, and fled into the Castle. The soldiers that had won the town were permitted by the Coniol, to rifle and ranfack it; which was not done so much upon eager and deplite, as in this regard, that the soldiers who had been kept short & fighting thus long (notwithstanding so many towns recovered out of the enemies hands) might once at length in some one place take the fruition of victory. The Coniol, having called from thence about noon, the soldiers unto him, divided them into two parts, whereof he commanded the one to cast about the foot of the hill up to a rock or cliff, which being in height equal to the Castle foreclosed, was not withstanding divided from it by a valley between them, seeming as it had been sometime a part thereof and cut from it. Now these two points of the hill stood up so near together in the head that from the top of the one a man might slant a dart into the Castle of fortificis. The Coniol, with the other half of the soldiers laid beneath, expecting a sign and token from them that were to get up the cliff behind, ready therupon to mount up from the town fide to the fort. The Ætolians that were within the Castle could neither abate in the first the flame of noile that had seizd the cliff, nor afterwards the assault of the Romans from the City; both for that their hearts failed them and were daintied already, and also because they were unprovided of all necessarys for to endure any long siege and assault; considering that women and children and all the other important multitude inconst to bear arms, were at thither in so great numbers that the place was hardly able to receive and contain much less to keep and maintain them; and therefore at the first assault they cast down their weapons and yielded. Among other prudential perfonages of the Ætolians, Domericius an. was delivered; he, who in the beginning of the war when Q. Quinctius desired to see a copy of the Decree of the Ætolians for the tendering for Antiochus answered, That he would shew it in Italy, when the Ætolians lay there. Amongst the proud speech of his the Romans no conquerors were the gladder that they had set him into their hands.

During the time that the Romans assailed Heraclea, Philip also besieged and battered Laminia, according as it was before agreed between them for near unto Thermopyla, at that time as the Coniol returned out of Beotia, met with him of purpose to signify his joy in the behalfe of him and the people of Rome, for their achieved victory; and also to excite himself by occasion of sickenes that he was not present with him in person in the managing of the wars. From thence they parted sundrie, and took divers waies, for to assault these two Cities (as I said) both at once; and distant they were one from the other nearer seven miles. And furthwith as Laminia was taken upon an hill therefore the town discovered and overlooked all the country about, but especially on that side toward Heracles, where, by reason that it arched a less compass it presented a full prospect to the eye. When as the Romans and Macedonians labouring and striving who could do better, were day and night employed either about their fabrics and pioners work, or else in skirmish and sight; the Macedonians found more difficulty than they. In this respect, that the Romans were busied in platformes, manlets, and works all above ground but the Macedonians were put to undermine: and oftentimes (as it fell out in such lively and craggy ground) they met with hard flints and raggs not mailable, and such as no iron or steel could be touched with and pierce. The King seeing little good done by this means, and his enterprise going but slowly forward,
A ward began to sound the townmen, and to tempt them to render the City, using the mediation therein of their chief Citizens whom he had put to him rather than the Sevou; and the Consul should win all the thanks to himself for levying the siege. And nothing was left of his count for immediately upon the winning of Hercules a messenger came unto him from the Consul, willing him to eschew the affright and the siege; alleging, it was more reason, that the Romans should have the reward and remembrance of the victory. By this means Lannus was abandoned, and by the ruin of Hercules, his neighbour City aided and escaped the like calamity of her own.

Some few days before that Hercules was won, the Aetolians having assembled a Diet at Ipsa, to address Embassadors unto Antichus and Juba; among the rest, a man who at the time had been sent unto him, his commotion and charge was this, that he should keep the King that once again he would rally his forces and be as well as he, and in person pass over into Crete secondly. If any other important affairs hindered him, yet that he would lend them both men and money. For as it touched his Highness in honour, reputation, and credit, not to see his allies abandoned; so it made for the safeguard and security of his own Realm and royal city, not to suffer the Romans (after they had once defeated the Aetolians) to fall over into Africa at their ease and pleasure, with all their forces. There were no trained devils, but true remittances indeed; and therefore prevailed the more with the King. Whereupon he delivered money presently to the Embassadors, suffice to defray the charges of the war, and promised certainly to lend men to serve both by land and sea. Then done, all the Embassadors he kept with him, who was not himself unwilling to stay behind, because he might be expected at hand to call upon the King for to perform his word and believe. But the winning of Hercules killed the hearts of the Aetolians in the end: and within few days after that they had discharged their Embassadors into Africa, about the renewing of the war and lending for the King, they laid apart all delinquents of army, and addressed their Orators unto the Romans to cease peace. Who, as they began to make some speech, the Consil cut them short, and said, he had other matters of greater importance to think upon and to dispatch; and commanded them to content themselves with a true, and to return to Ipsa, and with them he sent Lusius and Flaccus, unto whom they should declare those things, that they were about to deliver unto him, and what else they had to say. When they were arrived at Ipsa, the chief and prin in all Aetolians assembled themselves in the lodging of Flaccus, confiding with him what course they were to take in their treaty with the Consil. And when they went in hand to allledge the ancient rights of the legates, and lay abroad their good demerits, and what they had done for the Romans: * Flaccus bid them lay a draw there, and speak no more of the privilege of those corenians and accord: which they themselves had broken; and in giving unto them, that they should speed better and gain more by a simple confession of their transgressions, and as an excuse to prayer and humble supplication: forasmuch as all the hope they might have of safety, relied not in their own desert and goodness of their cause, but in the meek clemency and mercy of the people of Rome; promising for his part to afford them and second their petitions as well to the Consil as to the Senate of Rome. For that thither also they must of necessity send an Embassador, this was seemed to them all, the bell simply for their safety, namely, to put themselves to the disposition and determination of the Romans: for they supposed this means to drive the Romans for very shame to have regard of them & not to offer hurt or violent outrage to them, coming to the habit of poor suppliants: and yet without any opportunity of better fortune should in the mean time & other fell upon them, to be their own Masters; never the less, and at their choice. When they were come before the Consil, Phanes the chief of that embassy, made a long Oration, couching and framing his words sundry ways with sile artificiously, to mitigate and assuage the wrath of the conquerors, which he knitt up and concluded with this speech, saying, That the Aetolians committed themselves and all that they had to the mercy and protection of the people of Rome. When the Consil heard those words: 

See you do so then indeed (sd. he) O ye Aetolians; and take heed I advise you that you deal herein bonest. Then Phanes brought forth and shewed a fair instrument of a Decree wherein the State was engrossed in plain terms, since that (sd. he again) you mean good earnest, and are at our disposition, I demand that ye deliver unto me out of hand Decrees of a foreigner, and of the Senate of Rome; (who being entred into Naples with a garrison, had compelled the City to revolt) also Annul-ed all the Nobles of the Athenians, by whose counsel and suggestions we fled from us and rebelled, Phanes interrupted the Consil before he had well made an end of his speech. We yield not our selves (sd. he) to be your villains and slaves, but as slaves to be protected by you, and I am verily persuaded you know not what you do, to impose those things upon us against all the manner and custom of the Greeks. The Consil replied again: In good faith, I pass not (sd. he) greatly what the Aetolians deem well or ill done according to the fashion of the Greeks: all the whiles that I, after the custom of the Romans, have that power and command over them, whoever by virtue of their own degree ye yield unto us. And herefore by force of our arms have been vanquished and subdued by us. And therefore, uncle's thar be executed which I command, ye and with speed my will is, that presently here you be bound hand and foot: and with that you commanded chains and given to be brought forth, and the Lictors to come about them to lay hold upon them. Then the stout courage both of...
Pharsalia and the rest of the Ætolians, was well cooled & abated and so at length they saw in what poor plight they were. And Pharsalia made answer, That both himself and the Ætolians there present in place, knew well, that those things were to be performed which were imposed upon them, but (quoth he) there needs a Council of the Ætolians for to enact a decree thereof; and therefore he requested the Consul to allow a farscale of arms only for ten days. Then Flaminio began to speak for the Ætolians, and at his request the said abstinence was granted, and so they returned to Hypona. When Pharsalus had related in the privy Council of those elec. peers of that nation called Apeleius, as well the demands that were commanded, as what had like to have fall upon them else in person, the peers sighed deeply and groaned again, to see their miserable condition; howbeit they were all of opinion, that the victor must of necessity be obeyed - and a general Parliament assembled of the Ætolian Burghers out of all their towns and Cities. When I had in all that multitude was gathered together, and heard the fame related again, their hearts to fret within them at the cruelty and indignity of those Lordsy commands, that if they had been well felt in peace, yet such a fit of anger had been enough to have put them into arms. And to stir the fame and choler the more, the difficulty of effecting the things demanded, helped well: for how possibly could they compell to deliver Ammonius, being as he was an absolute King? But even then there was presented unto them by chance a new hope. For Nicander at that very time, coming from King Antiochus, filled the peoples heads with this vain expectation, namely, that the King made wondrous provision for war, as well by sea as land. This Nicander having accomplished his Embassage, and made return again into Ætolia, within the compass of twelve days, after he was embarked, arrived at Phœnisa in the gulf of Morea: from whence K having brought the monies which he had, down to Lamia, whites himself with certain nimble men and light appointed, travelled toward Hypona in the evening, between the Roman and Ætolian camp, through that path which he well knew: he chained to stumble, ere he was aware, upon the Ætolian guard of the Macedonians, and was brought to the King before supper was done, the table taken up, and the King then. When Philip was advertised thereof, he flew no other countenance, than if a friend or guest, and not an enemy was come; he had him down at the board, and eat his meat. Afterwards he kept him there with him till in the room, and voided all the rest, willing him in no case to be afraid. "He blamed greatly the bad courtesies and designations of the Ætolians (which evermore lighted upon their own pates) who first had brought the Romans and then Antiochus into Greece. But for my part (quoth he) such things done and left, may sooner be blamed than amended. I am content to forget and put all under my foot, and will never be the man that will seem to inflect over them in their difficulties and adversity. And so he should the Ætolians likewise take up in time, and lay aside all their rancor and malice to me: and Nicander especially ought to remember this day, on which by me his life was preserved. With that he sent him away with a good convoy, until he was past all danger: and this Nicander, as is before said, came to Hypona, even as the Ætolians were in deep confusion about peace with the Romans.

M. Aëtius having either fold outright, or given away to the soldiers the booty of the country about Hercules, and hearing that the Council at Hypona nothing tended to peace, and that the Ætolians were run together to Nauplium, for to abide in that place the whole violence of the war; went Ap. Clud and there with 4000 soldiers to feare the tops of the mountains, where as the parliages were difficult and himself ascended up to the hill Odae, and sacrificed to Hercules in that very place where they call Pyra, by occasion that the most part body of that god was there consumed with fire: from whence he departed with his whole army & performed the rest of his journey well and marched with care. Being come to Coras (an exceeding high mountain between Calipolis and Nauplium) he left there many of his labouring beasts and lampetary horses, which together with their loads and lardels, as they were tumbled down headlong from the mountain, and his men also were much troubled and encumbered. Whereby it was soon seen, with how lazy and idle an enemy he had to deal, who had not better and kept with a guard that difficult parliage, to encompass and shut up the thorow-fate from the enemies. Howebeit as much roiled and troubled as his army was, he defended to Nauplium. And having erected one Fort against the Castle, he invested all the other parts of the City, and divided his forces according to the faction of the walls. This move he found as toilome and painful, as that at Hercules.

At the same time began the Achaeans to lay siege to Myssale also in Peloponnesus, for that it refused to be of their Council and assistance: For these two Cities, Messene and Elis, were exempt from the Achaean Diet and accorded with the Ætolians. Howebeit, the Eleans, after that Antiochus was chased out of Greece, gave the Embassadors of Achaea a more mild answer, to wit, That when they had discharged and lent away the Kingsgarrison, they would consider of the matter what to do. But the Messenians having without any answer at all, sent the Embassadors away, had levied war and fearing much their own estate, seeing their territory overspread with an army, and everywhere burned, yea and their enemies encamped near unto their City, addresseed unto Chalici their embassadors to T. Quintus (the very man who before hadlet them at liberty) to signify into them. That the Messenians were ready both to open their gates & to surrender their City unto the Romans: & not to the Achaeans Quintus to soone as he had heard their embassage, sent a messenger incontinently to Megalopolis, unto Diophanes the Praetor there of the Achaeans, to command him presently to retire his holt from Messene, and to repair unto him. Diophanes obeyed
A

obeyed his commandment, and having raised his siege, marched himself lightly appointed for speed before the ret of his army, and about Anmara, a small town between Megalopolis and Megaze, encountered Quinctus. Unto whom after he had shewed the causes of the siege, he received at his hands a gentle rebuke only, for that he had enterprised a matter of so great consequence without his authority; with an express commandment also to call and discharge his army, and not to disturb and trouble the peace, made for the good and benefit of all. The Meffenienses likewise he charged to keep home their banished persons into their City, and to join with the Achazians in their general Diet and Affemcry. And if they either had any matters to refine, or would willingly provide for themselves against the future time, he willed them to make their repair unto him at Corinthus, and enjoyed Diophanes immediately to summon the Diet of the Achazians for him, where

B

personally himself would be. Where, after he had complained as touching the Island Zacynthii, that by fraud and treachery they had come by and kept, he required that it should be referred to the Romans. Now this isle had sometime appertained to Philip the King of the Macedonians, and he gave it unto Aemander, in consideration, that he might conduct his army into the higher parts of Euboea, through Attamania: in which expeditions and exploits of his, the Achazians hearts were so staked and quailed, that they were constrained to seek peace. Aemander made first Philip the Megapolitan governor of this Island: but afterwards, in time of that war wherein he banded with Antiochus against the Romans, he called him away from thence to employ him in matrinal affairs, and sent Hierocles the Agrigentin to succeed him in his place. This Hierocles, after the defeat and flight of Antiochus from Thermopyle, and the expulsion of Aemander out of

C

Attamania by King Philip dispatched of his own motion certain messengers unto Diophanes the Praetor of the Achazians, and for a sum of money agreed upon between them, betrayed the Island to the Achazians. The Romans thought in great reason, that this Island should be theirs, in accompaniment for the wars which they had maintained; for as much as M. Aemander the Consul, and the Roman legions fought not at Thermopyle for Diophanes nor yet for the Achazians, Diophanes to these challenges and demands sometime excused himself and the whole nation, otherwise fled to it, and avowed the action, and maintained the cause by a plea of right. Some there were of the Achazians there, that both professed, how from the beginning they utterly mistilled the cause, and also at this present much blamed the Praetor for his wilful oblivion. And by their advice and authority an act was set down, that the whole matters should be referred and put to Quinctus, to

determine what he pleased. Now had Quinctus this nature, if a man crostled and thwarted him, he was fierce and fell; if one yielded and gave place he was gentle again and pliable. And therefore, without vowing any sign of debate, either in language or countenance, thus he spake, "If I thought (quod hic) and were pitiwed in my heart, that it were good and commodious for the Achazians to hold and posse this Island in question. I would advise the Senate & people of Rome to let you enjoy it. But like as a Tortoise, so long as the keepeth her selfe cloe within her shell (I. (see) is sure and safe enough, against all blows and offence whatsoever; but when the once put thent forth any parts, look whatsoever is discovered and naked the same is weak and subjected to injury; even to you Achazians being enclosed round about with the seas, are able easily to adjoy unto your selves whatsoever lyeth within the prætext of Peloopenass, and to keep the same also when you have laid it to you: but so soon as for a greedy desire of having more and encroaching further, you go beyond those bounds, you lie open without, and are exposed to all hurt and damage. Thus Zacothenus was delivered to the Romans with the silent of all the Counciull there assembled, and Diophanes durst not say a word more to the contrary. At the same time King Philip asked the Consul as he marched to Naphatham. Whether it was his pleasure, that he in the mean while should recover and regain those Cities which were revoked from the association of the Romans? And having a grant and warrant from him, he led his forces against Demetraus, knowing well enough in what terms of troublest that City then flood. For being forlorn and in utter despair, seeing Antiochus had foraken them and no hope at all remaining in the Achazians: they looked everyday and might either for the coming of Philip their

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heavy friend; or else even the Romans themselves a worse enemy, like as they had a more just cause of anger and indignation against them. A confuted and disordered fort there were of King Antiochus his foiards, who being but a few at first left there to lie in garrison, grew after to be more and more of them unarmed; such as after the field was lost at Thermopyle (dies necessitatis) thither chance to fly, and neither had strength nor heart enough to abide a siege. And therefore when Philip sent certain messengers before unto them, to signify, that there was some hope that they might be pardoned: they made them this answer, That the gates were open for the King, and that he might enter at his pleasure. At his first entrance, certain chief men of mark quit the City and departed, and Eutelchus killed himself. The garrison foiards of Antiochus (for so they had capitulated) were conducted to Lycaonia through Macedon and Thrace, accompanied with a convoy of Macedonians, for fear that any man should do them harm. There were some few ships also in the trade of Demetraus, under the command of Thiboros, which together with their leader and Captain were dismissed. After this, he regained Dolopia, Aperanthus, and certain Cities of

Pergabia.

During the time that Philip was employed in these affairs, T. Quinctius having recovered the Island Zacynthius, departed from the Diet of the Achazians, and rosted the less to Naphatham, which had been beleaguered already two months, & was at the point to be forced and lost: which
if it might have been won by assault, it was thought that the whole nation and name of the Eto-
lians there would have perished for ever. And albeit he had good cause to be highly offended and
dispaced with the Etoilians, in remembrance that they only checked and impeached his glory,
at what time as he set Greece free: and that they were nothing stirred and moved with his au-
thority, when he (forewarning them that those things would happen which afterwards fell out just so indeed) would have disconcerted and scared them from foolish and furious designs: yet,
tipping that it was a special part of his charge and work, that no nation of Greece (now freed
by him) should utterly be subdued and destroyed, he began to walk up and down along under
the walls, to the end that he might be seen and known of the Etoilians, and soon the very
form of guards took notice of him, and noticed it was presently throughout all the ranks and
companies that Quintus was there. And thereupon ran from all parts up to the walls, every
man stretched forth his hands, and with one accord and copious voice called by name unto
Quintus, beseeching him to help and save them. And albeit he was moved at thes their pitious
cries with commiseration, yet for that time he signified by the turning away of his head, that he
refused and denied them asking withall, What lay in him to do them any good? But afterwards,
being come unto the Consul, “Know you not (quoth he) O M. Acilius, whereabout we are, and
what we have in hand? or if you be a man provident enough esteem you not that it mainly con-
terneth the common-weal? He let the Consul by these words a long, and caused him to give
more attentive ear what he would say and withall, Why do you not speak forth (quoth the Con-
sul) and utter your mind what the matter is? Then quoth Quintus: “See you not that after you
have vanquished Antiochus, you spend and lose much time here in the siege and slaughter of two
Cities when as now the year of your government is wellnigh come about? And Philip in the
mean time without seeing a barstall or the eneigns of his enemies displeased, hath gained and joy-
ned to himself not Cities only, but to many nations already, Achæania, Paphlagonia, A-
perga, and Delphi. But it is not so good and expedient for us, nor standeth itus so much
upon, to take down the Etoilians and purue their nails, as to look unto Philip that he was not
too great: and (seeing you and your soldiers have not yet two Cities in reward and re-
compence of victory) not to suffer him to go clear away with so many nations of Greece.
The Consul answered henceunto: but he thought it a shame and dishonour for him to give the
fire to the Etoilians and effect nothing: but afterwards, all the matter was put unto the disposition of Quin-
tius. Who went again to that side of the wall, whereas a little before the Etoilians called and L
cried aloud unto him. And when as they intreated him more earnestly and with greater affecti-
on to take away the Etoians people, he willed some of them to come forth unto him. And im-
mediately, Phœnas himself with other principal persons of the Etoilians, went out unto him:
to whom lying prostrate and groveling at his feet: “Your present fortune (quoth he) and hard
effate wherein you are, caude me both to temper my choler and also to lay my tongue. Tho
you now see me full of wrath, which I foretold would come to pass. And not so much as this
is left unto you. That the calamities fall upon your heads can be truly laid to have light upon
them that have not deserved as much. Howbeit, since it hath been allotted unto me as it were
by destiny to be a foster-father (as I may so say), to nurse up Greece, I will not cease even to
give you good, as thankless and ungrateful persons as you are. Send your Orators to the Consul
M to intreat him to grant you a truce for so long, until you may addresse your Embassadors to
have, by whom you shall wholly refer and submit your selves to the Senate: and I will not fail
to be an intercessor and advocate to the Consul for you and likewise unto the Senate. And, as
Quintus counselled them, so did they. Neither rejected the Consul their Embassadors, but granted
them abstinence of war for such a term as within which they might have an answer of their Em-
baslave to Rome: so he dislodged, the siege was raised, and the army went into Phœnica. The Con-
sul together with Quintus passed over the sea to Ætica, unto the general Councill of Achae.
There was much treaty and parly about the Elean, and the restoring of the Lacedæmonians ex-
iles: but nothing was effected in the one or the other. As for the Lacedæmonians, the Achæans
were desirous to requite that for themselves, and to win thereby a thank, as proceeding from
their special grace. And the Eleans, chose rather to come and be united to the Achæan Parlia-
mment of themselves, than by the mediation of the Romans. The Embassadors of the Epiroths
came unto the Consul, who (it was well known) carried not themselves proud and upright in the
entertaining of the Roman amity: howbeit, they had not levied a soldiers for Antiochus. Charged
they were to have relieved him with money: and deny themselves they could not but they
had lent their Embassadors unto the King, And when they put up a petition, that they might
be accepted again into the ancient band of amity: this answer the Consul returned unto them,
That he knew not yet whether to range them in the number of enemies, or peaceable friends,
and thereof the Senate should be judge; and therefore he referred their whole entire cause to
Rome. And to that purpose a truce he granted them of fourscore and ten daies. The Epiroths thus
sent to Rome, presented themselves before the Senate, and when they food rather upon these
terms in recounting those things wherein they had not shewed any open hostility, than in clea-
ting themselves of those matters that were laid against them: they received such an answer, as
whereby they might be thought rather to have obtained pardon, than to have made good and ju-
stified their cause. The Embassadors also of King Philip about that time had audience given them
in the Senate, who came to congratulate with the Romans, testifying their own joy, and withing

Theirs for their victory: and upon their request, that they might sacrifice in the Capitol, and offer an oblation and present of gold in the Temple of Jupiter, Max., the Senate gave the good leave. So they presented and offered a crown of gold weighing one hundred pound. They Embassadors had not only a friendly answer and gracious dispatch: but also Demetrius the son of King Philip, who had lien as an hostage at Rome, was delivered unto them, for to bring home again unto his father. Thus was the war achieved and brought to an end, which M. Aemilius the Conful waged against King Antiochus in Greece.

The other Conful P. Cornelius Scipio, who was to govern the Province of Gaul, before he set his journey to that war in which he was to make against the Boians, demanded of the Senate, that money should be assigned unto him for to perform those plays and games which he had promised by vow, as Vice-Foratorius in Spain, when he was driven to a great extremity in a battle. This seemed to be a strange and unreasonable demand. Whereupon the L. of the Senate ordained, that what plays the Conful had vowed on his own head without asking the advice and counsell of the Senate, the same he should exhibit and set forth either with the issue of the spoils got from the enemies, (lithaply he had reserved any money called thereunto to that purpose) or else defray the charges out of his own purse. Those plays and games P. Cornelius represented for the space of ten days. And near about the same time, the Temple of the great goddesses Cybele (or Idas) was dedicated. This goddes was brought out of Asia, in the time that P. Cornelius Scipio (furnamed afterwards Africamus) and P. Licinius were Conuls, was conveyed from the sea-side into the mount Palantine. The Temple was set out to be built at a price (according to Canace of the Senate) by M. Livius and C. Claudius the Centors, when M. Cornelius and T. Sempronius were Conuls. Thirteen years after the bargain was made for the edifying thereof, M. Julia Buessa dedicated it: and for the honour of this dedication were the first stage-plays exhibited, (as Valerius Antias mine author faith) called thereupon Megiselia. In like manner C. Licinius Lutullus (one of the two Duumvirs) dedicated the Temple of the goddesses Junias in the great Race called Circus Maximus. The same had M. Livius the Conful vowed fifteen years before, even that very day in which he defeated Africamus and his army. The same Livius in his Centorship went through and bargained for the building thereof, while M. Cornelius and T. Sempronius were Conuls. And in the honour of dedicating this Temple, the plays were set forth; and all was done with more devotion, because there was a new war intended against King Antiochus.

Thus, in the beginning of this year in which these things palled, whiles P. Cornelius the Conful flaid still behind at Rome, (for M. Aemilius was gone forth already to war:) it is found in records, that there a tree oxen climbed up a ladder in the street Corioli, to the tile-roof of a certain house there. And the foot-hayers gave express order that they should be burnt quick, and the ashes to be thrown into Tybre. Also it was reported, that at Tarusina and Amsternum, it rained fishes sundry times, Item, That in Mithrnns the Temple of Jupiter and the shops about the marketplace were blest and mittem with lightning; and in the very mouth of the river Vulturnus, two ships caught fire from heaven, and were consumed. In regard of these fearfull prodigies the December by order of the Senat went to the books of Sibylla and perused them; and out of their learning pronounced, that a foemen fault should be now instituted in the honour of Ceres, and the same to be observed and helden every fist year: also that a novendial sacrifice for nine daies together could continue: and a supplication for one day: and that they who went in this procession and supplication, should wear garlands and wreathes of flowers upon their heads: Lastly, That the Conful P. Cornelius should sacrifice to what gods, and with what beattles, the December would appoint and pronounce. When the gods were pacified, as well by the accomplish of the vowes accordingly, as by taking order for the expiation of those wondrous signes the Conful took his journey into his province: from whence he commanded Cnnti Dominii the Pro-Forator (after he had called his army) to depart to Rome; and himselfe entred with his legions into the territory of the Boians.

Within of that time the Ligurians (by vertue of a sacred law that they had) levied and assembled an army, and by night assailed the Camp near to Quintus Mamilius the Pro-Conful. Minucius kept his foeldiers in order of battell untill day within his hold, having an eye and circumspect regard, that the enemy should not mount over the trench and defences in any place. And at the day-break he fell again at two gates a once: neither were the Ligurians repulsed (as he hoped they should) at the first charge; for they fatallied and held out the skirmish above two hours, with doubtfull event on both sides. At last, when band after band illued out, and still fresh foeldiers succended in the room of the wearied, for to maintain fight, the Ligurians in the end (besides other diffilities, lost for want of fleap also) turned their backs. Of the enemies were slain above four thousand;of Romans and allies under three hundred. Two months after of somewhat lefts, P. Cornelius the Conful gave battell to the Boians and won the day; slew 5000 enemies. (as Valerius Antias writeth) took 3400 prisoners, gained 124 military enligens, 1320 horses, chariots 247: and of the winners (as he faith) there died not above 1483. Where (by the way) how little credit forever (as touching the number) we give unto this Writter. (for in that point there is none over-reacheth more than he) yet apparent it is, that a right great victory it was; both for that the camp was won, and the Boians after that battell presently yielded themselves; as for that in regard of this victory a joyful procession was by order from the Senat holde, and greater beattles slained for sacrifice.
Not much under or over this present time, M. Fulvius Nobilior returned out of the farther province of Spain in pomp of an Ovation, and carried in four thousand pound of silver in bullion; of Bigates in silver coin 130,000, and in gold 126 li., weight. P. Cornelius the Consul, having first taken hostages of the Boian nation, and disseized them of the one half of their country, to the inhabiting whereof the people of Rome might if they would send their Colonies; at his departure from hence toward Rome to an undisputed and assured triumph, licensed his army, with commandment to meet him there and give their attendance upon his triumph-day. The morrow after that he came, the Senate had immolations to assemble in the Temple of Bellona; where after he had discharged of his acts and deeds achieved, he required that he might be permitted to enter the City riding in triumph, P. Sempronius Blefas a Tribune of the Commons for the time being, stepped forth and said: That his advice was that Scipio should not flatly be denied the honour of a triumph but to put it off to a farther day. And why? The wars (quod he) of the Ligurians have always been joyed and linked with those of Gaul, which nations being so near together, use ever mutually one to succour another. If P. Scipio (after the Boians defeated in battle) had followed the train of victory, and either himself in proper person with his brave conquering army panted into the territory of the Ligurians, or but sent part of his forces to Q. Minucius, who now for three years (as far as) both been detained within those quarters in a war of doubtful issue; we might have seen an end ere this of the Ligurian war also. But now (forsooth) his soldiers are dismissed, and brought home to accompany him & to solemnize his triumph who might well have been employed still and done good service to the Common-wealth: yet, & may do yet (if the Senate be so dispos'd) by deferring the time of triumph, for to make amends and regain that, which by over-haste of triumph hath been over-flipped. And therefore, in my opinion (quod he) they should do well to command the Consul to go his waiés back again, and take his army with him into his Province, & to do his best and utmost endeavour to subdue the Ligurians also. For unless they be brought under and made subject unto the people of Rome, the Boians be ye sure will not long be quiet: either we must have peace or war at once in both places.

And so P. Cornelius in quality of Pro-Consul (as many others before him, who in their full Majesties triumphed not) may after some few months have his triumph, To this the Cof. answered again and said, That neither the Province of the Ligurians was any part of his charge by lot, neither warred he at all with the Ligurians, nor yet demanded to triumph over them. As for Q. Minucius (quod he) I hope that shortly after he hath subdued them, he both will require his due triumph and shall likewise obtain the same, for mine own part, I seek no more but to triumph over the Boians in Gaul, whom I have vanquished in plain battell, beaten out of the field and camp; whose whole nation within two daies after the fight and their general discoumfort, yielded and rendered themselves into my hands: and from whom I have carried away hostages for assured pledge of future peace; nay, that which is much more than all this, I have had the killing of so many Gauls in open battell and fought with so many thousands of Boians as no General either did before me: the better half of 50,000 men are slain upon the edge of the sword, and many a thousand taken prisoners: so as the Boians have none left but old folk and young children.

Can any man make a wonder then, why a victorious army, leaving no enemy behind in the Province, is come to Rome to honour the triumph of their Consul? Whole employment, if the Senate be disposed to use in any other service or Province. Whether of these two waies think they, will make them more willing and ready to put themselves into new dangers, and enter into other fresh labour and travell; either to pay them without delay & content them with the due & deferred hire of their former peril and pain, or to send them away with bare hope only instead of the substance, for to expect still without effect: since they have been once already put by and disappointed of their first hope and expectation? Now for mine own part, I obtained honour enough that day on which the Senate sent me (deemed & declared the best man in all the City) to receive that great goddess & dame of Ida. This title alone, without any other addition of triumph, shall be sufficient to recommend to all posterity for honesty & honour both, the image of P. Scipio Naevis, This said, not only the whole Senate themselves condefcended generally to grant him triumph, but also with their countenance & authority compelled the Tribunes of the Commons to give over their hold, and intercede their interception of a negative voice, So P. Cornelius the Consul, triumphed over the Boians, In which triumph he contented to be carried for shew in French chariots, armor, ensigns, and spoils of all forts: also French vessels of brays and copper. He commanded likewise to be led in pomp a number of horses taken, together with Nobleman and Gentlemen captives. Of chains of gold he made a shew of 1470. Besides, there was born in pomp, of gold 245 pound weight, of silver unwrought and wrought into plate, not unworkmanly after their manner (and namely in sundry French vessels) 2340 pound weight: lawly, of bigats in coin 224. To his foiards that followed his triumphant chariot he gave 225 Alls apiece, double as much to a Centurion, and twenty to a horseman. The next day after he called the people to a general assemblé, whereafter he had discharged again of his exploits, and complained of the wrongs that the Tribune had offended in him that he would have tied him to the war of another, with intent to defraud himself of the fruit of his own victory, he called his foiards and discharged them quite.

While these affairs thus went in Italy, Atilius remaining at Ephesus, rested very secure and careless of the Roman war, as if the Romans had no purpose nor intention to pass over into Asia. This security of his was occasioned by many of his friends, who partly upon ignorance, and
A. The hearing and whereas and and After GTbeKing war,piked to were "The Romans were a\n ready rigged and unhulled, failed to Eberchelseus, with intent to strengthen those places with good garrisons if happy the Romans should come by Land. The rest of the navy he commanded Polyxenidas to prepare and put to Sea, And all about the Iland he lent about his pinnaes and bri\ngantins as eipats to discover the coasts, C. Livius the Admiral of the Roman navy was arrive\n at Naples from Rome with fifty covered ships. At which place he gave commandment. That the open\n vessels, which by covenant were due to be lent from the allies of all that treat should meet, From\n whence he sailed to Sicily, and palled the brights by Mevans. And when he had received fix\n Carthaginian ships lent to aid him, and called upon the Rhegins and Locrians, and other a\n otics comprised in the same league and holding by the same tenure, for that shipping which of duty\n they were to find when he had also taken a survey of all his armado at Livius, he weighed anchor,\n and put to the main Sea. Being arrived at Cerys, which was the first City of all Greece, that he\n came unto, he enquired in what terms the war-affairs stood? (for as yet all was not thoroughly\n quiet in Greece) and where the Roman fleet was? After he heard that the Roman Consul and King Philip,\n were about the parts of Thermopylae, and there lay in guard; that the fleet rid at anchor in the port and harbor of Pyra\nuus; he thought it good to use expedition, and to make speed for all occasions whatsoever, and incontinent determined to sail forward to Peloponnesus. And having\n at one instant waited Sannet and Aegyptus as he went,because they chose rather to band with the\n Etolians, he fell for Malthea, and having a good wind, within few days he arrived at Pyra\nuus,\n where the elder heir anchored. At Scytherus King Eumenes met him with three ships: who had\n been a long time at Aetius, unrelaxed in himself, whether he should return to defend his own Island\n (for he heard that Aetius made preparation at Ephesus for war, as well by Sea as Land) or not to depart afoot from the Romans, upon whole fortune depended his whole flate, Aet\n us Aetius, for soon as he had delivered to his succesor five and twenty close ships of war,\n loosed from Pyramus and came to Rome. So Livius with a fleet of eighty one ships armed at their\n backheads with brazen pikes, besides many other smaller vellets (which open as they were, had bra\n zen heads, as is aforesaid; or if they were without fish pikes, served for eipats) failed to Delos.\n Much about that time the Conful Aetius affailed nonpautiam. At Delos, Livius for certain dayes\n was flained by contrary wind: (for that quarter among the Cyclices is exceeding windy, by rea\n son that these Islands are divided ainner, some with broader gulfs, some with narrower.) Polyxen\n idas being certified by the post-ships (set in divers places to discover) that the Roman armado\n rid at anchor near Delos dispatched meffengers to the King, who leaving all matters which he exer\n tripered in Hellipontus, returned to Ephesus as fast as ever he could make falf with his ships of\n war piked at the head: and presentely called a counsell, where it was debated, whether he were bef\n to hazard a barret at Sea or not? Polyxenidas was of opinion, that he should not lack the time,\n but in any wife give barret and trie a fight, before that the fleet of Eumenes and the Rhodian\n ships were joined with the Romans: for so in number they should not be much overmatched,\n and for all other things have the better, as well for nimblenes and agility of ships,as for variety\n of old-soldiers. For the Roman ships, as being unworckmanly built, they are heavy of fleerage\n and unweldy, loaden they are and fraught besides with provision of victuals, as they are com\n monly that come into the enemies courtry. But as for your ships (seeing they leave all about\n them peaceable and quiet) they shall be charged with nothing but with men and munition. Be\n side the skill of these fea and lands and of the winds in these quarters, will be a great help un\n to you: whereas the enemies must needs be much troubled, for want of knowledge in them all.\n The deviser of this counsell had credit given unto him on all partes and the rather, for that he was the\n man himselfe to put in execution the same counsell. Two daies they made falf to set all things in order and readiness, the third day they set forward with a fleet of a hundred fale, whereof 70 were covered the reft open, and all of the imaller making and for Phoca theys flaped their course,\n G. The King hearing that the Roman Armdo approched, departed from thence (for that he was not\n to be prestart in person at the conflict upon the seas) and went to Magnes neer Sipylus for to\n levy land-forces. But his navy made falt to Cyfamus, a port of the Erythreans, to attend the coming of the enemy there, as in a place more commodious. The Romans, when the Northern winds were once laid (for they were aloft for certain daies, and locked them in) failed from Delos to Pla\n nea, a haven Towne of the Chians, bearing toward the Egean sea. From thence they set about with\n their ships to the City, and there had victualled themselves, they crosted over to Phoca. Eum\n enes:
menes who went on Elae toward his fleet, within few days after, with four and twenty covered ships, and more uncovered, returned to the Romans: whom he found preparing and marshalling themselves (a little short of Phoces) for a battle at sea. Then let they all forward with a hundred and fifty clove covered ships, and more open and without hatches; and being with side Northern winds, at the first driven to the sea shore, they were forced to fall in line in rank one after another. But afterward, as the violence of the wind began to be abated, they affisted to cross over to the haven Cercus, which is above Cyprus,Polyxenidas, as soon as he heard that the enemies were at hand, rejoiced that he had occasion presented unto him of a naval battle: and himself stretched forth the left point of his fleet embattelled far into the sea, willing the Captains of the ships to display the right wing broad, toward the land; and to with an even front, he advanced forward to the fight. Which the Roman Admiral seeing, struck sail, took down the masts, and laying together at the tackling of the ships in one place, attended their coming that followed after. By which time there were thirty in a rank afront, with which because he would make them equal to the left wing of the enemy, he let up the trinkets or small falls, meaning to make way into the deep, commanding them that followed full, to make head, and direct their prow against the right wing near the land. Eumenes was the rear Admiral, and kept the rearward clove together: but so soon as they began to be troubled with taking down their tackling, he set forward with all speed and hail that he could make: and by this time were they in view one of the other. Two Carthaginian ships led before the Roman navy, which were encountered with three of the Kings ships. And considering the odds of the number, two of the Kings came about one. And first they wiped away the oars on both sides, then they threw themselves aloft with their weapons, and hoarded their, and after they had either overthrown or killed the dependants, they were matters of that ship. The other that was in single fight, and assailed but by one, seeing the other ship taken by the enemies, fled back into the main fleet, before she was environed by the three enemies, Livius chasing hereat, and angry at the heart, advanced forward with the Admiral ship afront the enemy against her, the other two which had enclosed the Carthaginian ship storeward, hoping to do the like by this came onward: which Livius perceiving, commanded the rowers to let their oars hang in the water on both sides, for the more stay and steadiness of the ship, and likewise to cast their iron hooks fashioned like hands, for to grapple the enemies ships, as they approached and came near unto them; and when they were come to close fight in manner of land-service, then to remember the valour of the Romans, and not to hold the Kings slaves for men of any worth. And with much more facility and ease, than the two ships before conquered one, this one for that gained two. By this time the main fleet on both sides encountered on all sides, and fought pell-mell. Eumenes who being in the rearward, came last in place, after the conflict was begun, perceiving that Livius had disordered the left wing of the enemies, made head against the right, where he saw them fighting on even hand, not long after the left wing began to flee. For Polyxenidas, so soon as he saw himself without all question overmatched in value of the adversaries, caused the trinkets and all the cloth he had to be let up, and purposed to flee again, Thoë likewise that were toward the land, and fought with Eumenes, within a while did no less. The Romans and Eumenes, so long as the mariners were able to plie their oars, and so long as they were in hope to annoy the tail of the enemies, followed the chase lustily enough: but after that they perceived their own ships (charged and heavily loaden with vizuals) follow after to no purpose, and to lag behind: not like to overtake them which were the swifter, because they were the lighter; sailed at length their pursuit, after they had taken 13 ships both with their sailors and mariners, and think ten. Of the Roman Armado there perished but one Carthaginian, which at the first encounter was befit with two ships. Polyxenidas never gave over flight, but made way still forward until he had recovered the haven of Ephesus. The Romans abode that day in the place from whence the Kings Armado came, purposing on the morrow to make fresh fall after the enemy. And in the mids of their course they met with those 35 Rhodian ships covered, conducted by Phiniras their Admiral: and taking those also with them, they followed the enemy even as far as Ephesus, where in the mouth of the haven, they rid in order of battle: by which bravado, having wrung as it were from the enemies a plain confession that they were vanquished, the Rhodians and Eumenes were sent home. The Romans letting their course for Chius first failled by Phancius, an haven Town of Egypt, and having cast anchor that night, the next day they weighed, and arrived within the Island, close to the City it fell, where having joined some few days, especially to refresh their rowers, they passed forward to Phoces. Where leaving four quinquereme Galeaeks, the fleet arrived at Cane, and because the Winter approached, the ships were laid up in their docks on dry land, and for their safety were trenched and palmed about. In the years and the General assembly for decision of Magnifcras was holden at Rome, wherein were created Consuls; L.Cornelius Scipio; and C.Lelius. For now all men had an eye to the finishing of the war against Antiochus. The next morrow were the Pretors also chosen, namely, M.Ticceius, L.Arunaculcns, Gnaeus Enulpus, L.Emylius, P. Jucundus, and C. Atinus Labeo.
The seven and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the sevenand thirtieth Book.

Lucius Cornelius Scipio the Consul, having for his Lieutenant P. Scipio Africanus (according as he had promised that he would be Lieutenant to his brothers of Greece and Asia were ordained to be his Province whereas it was thought that C. Labilius for the great credit that he was in with the Senate, should have had that Province given him) took his voyage for to war against Antiochus, and was the first Roman that ever sailed over into Asia, as Captain and Commander of an army. Eumylus Regillus fought gloriously with the aid of the Rhodians before Myonnesus, against the royal navy of Antiochus. The son of Africanus taken prisoner by Antiochus, was sent home to his father, M. Acilius Glabrio triumphed over Antiochus, whom he had driven out of Greece, as also over the Rhodians. Afterwards, when Antiochus was vanquished by L. Cornelius Scipio (with the assistance of King Eumenes, the son of Attalus King of Pergamus) he had peace granted unto him, upon condition, that he should quit and forgo all the Provinces on this side the mount Taurus. And Eumenes, by whose help Antiochus was overcome, had his Kingdom enlarged. To the Rhodians also, for their helping hand certain Cities were given and granted. One Colony was planted, called Bononia. Eumylus Regillus, who vanquished the Captains of Antiochus in a naval battle, obtained also a naval triumph. L. Cornelius Scipio, who finished the war with Antiochus, had the like surname given him as his brother, and was called after Atilianus.

The seven and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

When L. Cornelius Scipio, and C. Labilius were Consuls, after order taken for the service of the Gods, there was no matter treated of in the Senate, before the suit of the Aetolians. And as their Embassadors were impatient and earnest, because the term of their truce was but short, to T. Quintius, who then was returned out of Greece to Rome, seconded them. The Aetolians, relying more upon the mercy of the Senate, than the justice of their own cause, and balancing their old good turns done to the Romans, to the late harms and trepails committed, used humble supplication. But so long as they were in presence before the Senators, they were wearied with their interrogatories of all hands, who fought rather to letch and wring from them confession of a fault, then any other answer; and when they were hidden to void of the Senate-house, they caused much debate within. For in the handling of their matter it was seen that anger bire more way than pity, because they were not so much offended with them for being enemies, as they blamed them for an untruly, untamed, and unorderly nation. And after much hard hold for certain duties together, they relived at length, neither to grant nor deny them peace. Two conditions were tendered and presented unto them, either to relieve themselves wholly to the pleasure and disposition of the Senate, or else to deliver a 1000 talents: and withal to hold those or friends or foes, whomsoever the Romans reputed theirs. And when they were devisous to draw from the Senators thus much, as to know in what points, and how far forth, they should submit themselves to the discretion of the Senate; they could have no certain answer to build upon. And thus without any peace obtained, they were dismissed, with express commandment to void the City that very day, and to be gone out of Italy within 15 days following. Then they fell to consultation in the Senate about the government of the Consular provinces. Both Consuls desired to have the change of Greece. And Labilius was a great man with the Senate. Now when the house was minded that the Consuls should either call lots or agree between themselves for their Provinces, he rose up and said, That it was more decent and befitting to put the matter to the judgment of that honorable court, than to the blind hazard of lots. To this Scipio for the present made answer, that he would consider better of it: and after he had conferred secretly with his brother Spartæus (who advised him to be bold and put it to the Senate) he gave Labilius to understand, that he was content to do as he would have him. When this strange course and manner of proceeding (either new and unheard of before, or else after so long dis ease of the practice thereof, forgotten and taken up again) caused the Senate to arm themselves against a great strife and contention, then P. Scipio Africanus said, That if they would ordain his brother L. Scipio to have the Province of Greece he would accompany him in that voyage, in quality of his Lieutenant. This one word of his (accepted of them all with a general content) raised all debate: for a great mind they had to make a trial, whether Ambusc being vanquished could aid King Antiochus more than Africa, the Conqueror allsh the Consul and the Roman legions. And all in a manner aligned Greece to Scipio, and Italy to Labilius. But the Pretors had their Provinces, set out to them by lots: L. Aurunculius obtained the civil jurisdiction of citizens, and L. Fulvius of forainers: L. Eumylus Regillus was L. Admiral of the armado, P. Iunius governed Tuscanay, M. Tuccius Apulia and the

Brutii.
Brutus, and L. Atinius Sicily, Moreover that Conful, who was to be employed in Greece, had a commission granted, besides that army which he should receive of M. Aelius (and those were two legions) to furnish himself with a supply of 3000 footmen, and 100 horsemen of Roman citizens; also of 5000 foot, and 500 horse of allies that were Latin: and besides, granted it was in the same commission, that when he was arrived into his Province, he should pass over with his army into Asia, if he thought it expedient for the Common-weal.

Unto the other Conful was allowed an entire whole army of new footlers, consisting of two Roman legions, and fifteen thousand foot and fix hundred horse of the Latin allies. Q. Minucius had direction (by reason that he wrote how he had performed in his Province all that there was to be done, and ther the whole Nation of the Ligurians had yielded subjection) to translate his forces out of Liguria into the Boians country, and to deliver the same to P. Cornelius the Pro-

Out of that territory which he had taken away from them after they were vanquished, those City legions were withdrawn, which had been levied and enrolled the year before; and committed they were to the charge of M. Lucius the Pretor, besides 15000 foot, and 6000 horse of Latine allies: and all these forces were to be employed for so defend and keep in obedience, Apulia and the Britians country, as for A. Cornelius the Pretor of the former year, (who with an army had the government of the Brutii) he was commanded to deliver unto M. Aelius (if the Conful thought it good) the legions transported over into Eceia, if he would remain there still: but if Aelius would rather return to Rome, then A. Cornelius with that army, was to remain in Eceia. Thought it good, that C. Atinius Laboe should receive of M. Aemilius, the government of Sicily and his army: and if he pleased him, to take up and enrol out of that very Province 2000 foot and 100 horse, to supply and fulfill the broken companies. P. Junius Brutus had commandment to levy a new army for the government of Tusculum, and 15000 foot of Latine allies, and 400 horse. Alto L. Aemilius the Admiral, was to receive of M. Lucius the Pretor of the former year, twenty Gallies, and the mariners and oars thereto belonging: and besides, to levy himself 1000 mariners more, and 2000 footmen: and with those ships and footmen to fall into Asia, and to receive the fleet of C. Licinius. As for them that were already in the government of both the Provinces of Spain and of Sardinia, they were to continue there still for one year longer, and to have the same armies at command. This year were two tenths of corn levied of Sicily and Sardinia: and order was given for all the Sicilian corn to be sent into Eceia to the army: but out of Sardinia, that one part should be brought to Rome, and the other transported over into Eceia, even to the same place that the other of Sicily afore-said.

Before the Confuls went forward into their Provinces, it was thought meet, that the Pontifices should give order for the expiation of certain prodiages: for at Rome the Temple of Inna Lucina was smitten with lightning; so as both the lantern, yea, and the leaved dores thereof, were foully disfigured. Likewise at Futeoli, the Town walls in many places, and one gate, was blasted with lightning, and two men besides were drunken dead therewith. *At Norcia it was for certain known that the day being fair and clear, there arose a stormy tempest, wherein also two free men lost their lives. The Tuckulans reported, that with them it rained earth. And the men of Rome brought word, that within their territory a female mole celled Thete. These prodiages (I say) were expiated: and the Latine festival holy-dates were celebrated anew, for that the sole of flesh was not given unto the Laurens, which of duty should have been delivered. Moreover, a solemn supplication was ordained, in regard of all errors and faults escaped in divine service and Religious observances. Alto out of the books of Sibylla, the Decemvirs declared and shewed, to what Gods sacrifice should be made: and ten young springals free born, and ten Virgins likewise, who on their part, and Mothers yet living, were employed about the ministrity of those sacrifices. The Decemvirs also by night sacrificed younguckles, and P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, before he took his journey, erected an arch in the Capitol (over against the high street that leadeth thither) with 7 gilded statues and 2 horses: and before that arch, he set up two cestrons or layers of marble. About this time, 43 principal persons of Eceia, (among whom were Democritus and his brother) were conveyed to Rome, by two Squadrions or cohorts sent of purpose from M. Aelius: and there were laid in a prison called "The Stone quarries": which done, the cohorts afore said were commanded by L. Cornelius the Conful, to make return to the army. From Ptolemaion and Cleopatra (King and Queen of Egypt) there came Embassadors, testifying their joy which they conceived in the behalf of the Romans, in these terms, That M. Aelius the Conful had chas.

K. Antichus out of Greece exorthing also the Romans to transport an army into Asia for more of that not in Asia only, but likewise in Syria, all men were smitten with fear and amazement. As for the KK. of Egypt, they were ready to do for their parts, whatever the Senate should let down. Thanks were returned to the K. and Q. afore-said, and order was taken, that to the Embassadors for a reward should be given 4000 brazen Asses apiece.

L. Cornelius the Conful, having accomplished all things to be done at Rome, published an Edict in a general assembly, That all those footlers whom himself had enrolled for supply, as they who were with A. Cornelius in the Brutians country, should all meet at Brundisium upon the Ides of Q. Quintilius, Moreover he nominated three Lieutenants, Sex. Digeius, L. Appius, and C. Fabricius Luscinus, to gather ships together out of all the Sea-coasts into Brundisium. And when he had prepared and let all things in good order, he departed from the City, clad in his rich
A rich coat of arms, There presented unto the Conful as he went north, to the number of 5000 vop
lunabilities. Romans and allies together, who had sever'd their civil years in the war, under the con-
duct of P. Africam, and now were exempt from fouldiers, who all offered to go with him and to be
enrolled as preti fouldiers. Much at the time that the Conful took his journey (during the festi-
val Appollinarine games in the honour of Apollo, upon the first day before the Ides of July) it chan-
ned, that in the day time, when the air was clear and fair, there rose a sudden darkness during
the Eclipse of the sun, by reason that the body of the moon was directly under the Circle and
rundle of the sun. L. Emilius Rhambus also Admiral of the war, at the same time went to Sea, L.
Aemilius was charged by order from the Senat, to build 50 Galleys with five banks of oars, and
30 Gallies with three banks, because a brisk was blown and hazzed abroad, that Amarnus
upon the late battaile at sea, was about to prepare a much greater armado.

The Tholans, after their Embassadors were returned from Rome and had made relation, that
there was no hope of peace, albeit all their Sea-coasts (especially toward Peloponnesus) were spoilt
and wasted by the Athenians, yet minding more their profit like to come than remembering their
loves received, seized the montan octa. intending to impeach and stop the passage of the Ro-
mans. For they made no question not doub't, but that the next spring, they would return to be-
fiage and affniss Naupactum, Aetolus, who with what they expected, thought it better to go
in hand with an enterprise unlook'd for, and namely, to affal Lamos for thus he thought, That
feeling they had been already brought to a great fright and extremity by King Philip; now they
might be taken sufficiently and impris'd at unawares, because they stood in fear of nothing less.

Whereupon, removing from Elatus, he encamped first in the country of his enemies neer to the
River Sperchius from whence by night he dislodged, and advanced forth with his ensigns, and by
the day break had invest'd their walls round about. Great fear and hurry there was, as in an acci-
dent unlook'd for: yet all that day they defended the City more resolutely, than a man would have
believed and thought they could have done in so fudden a danger: whiles men robbed at defence
upon the walls. Women set up ladders in many places, and brought the men weapons and darts
of all sorts, yea, and stones up to the walls unto them. Aetolus, after he had disposed the retreat,
brung back his men into the camp about moon; and after they had there refreshed their bodies
with meat and rest, he gave them warning (before he dismissed the forces in the) that ere night
the next morning they should be ready in arms: for that he would not come back again with
them into the camp, before they were masters of the Town. At the same time as the day before,
he gave assail in many places: and as much as the Townsmen strength decay'd, their darts
and weapons failed, and above all, their hearts were, within few hours he was in the City. After
he had made a riddance of the pillage, sold some part, and given away the rest, he fell to take
count what to do afterwards. There was not one man of opinion to go against Naupactum con-
sidering that the Tholans held and kept the pal of octa. Howbeit Aetolus, to the end that he
would not keep the field in summer without doing some exploit and that the Tholans might
not enjoy that peace by the slacknes of the Roman fouldiers, which obtain they could not at the
Senats hand, he purpoused to besiege Amphipolis: and so the army was conduc'd thither from He-
raclea, by the mountain octa. When he had encamp'd himself under the Town walls, he began
too inuess it round with men as he did Lamos, but with ordnance and engines to batter it. In
every places at once he ran with the ram against the walls: and albeit they were shaken, the
Townsmen went not about either to make ready, or to devise and invent any means of defence
against that instrument or engin. All their hope was in truth amill and hardly valour. And do
often they fell'd to'th, that they disordered and troubled not only the guards of the enemies, but
also thioe that attended about the fabricks and artillery. Howbeit, in many places the wall was
basted and breaches made: and even at that very instant news came unto him, that his succesor
had landed his army at Apolloclis, and was coming by the way of Ephruss and Thessaly. Now came
the Conful with a power of 3000 foot, and five hundred horie. And by this time was he pa-
f'd as far as to the vale and level of Miles: and having sent certain afores to summon the City Hy-
pnta, and received answer again, that they would do nothing but by a publick decree of the
Tholans: because the siege of Hippo should not stay him, and Amphipolis not yet won, he led his
forces against it, and sent his brother Africam before. Ere they came, the Oppidans had quit
the Town, for by this time the wall in many places lay open and naked, and were all fled armed
and unarmed into a Castle which they had, impregnable. The Conful pitched his tents six miles
from the Town.

Thither arrived the Athenian Embassadors, and first they repaired to P. Scipio, who, as we have
said, was gone before the main army, and afterwards to the Conful, intreating for the Tholans.
Of the twain they received a gentler answer at the hands of Africam, who seeking some honest
occasion to leave the Tholans war, set his heart and eye wholly upon Aeta and King Antiocbus:
and to this purpose he willed the Athenians to perivade not only with the Romans but also with
the Tholans, to prefer peace before war. And speedily, through the motion and petition of the
Athenians there was a solemn embassage of the Tholans dispatch'd from Hippia. Indeed
they were the rather to hope for peace by the speech of Africam (for to him they came first)
who discourse'd unto them, how that many Nations and Cities in Spain first, afterwards in
Africk, had put themselves under his protection, and in them all he had left greater refinements
of his clemency and bounty, than of his warlike valour and martial prowess. Thus they had

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brought the matter (as they thought) to a good issue, and made it sure: but when they came before the Council, they had the fame answer of him, with which they were sent away from the Senate, and commanded to avoid. The Athenians wounded therewith anew, seeing they could win nothing neither by the mediation of the Athenian embassage, nor the gracious answer of Africanus, said, they would make report thereof unto their States and country-men. So, they returned from thence to Hispanta, where they were to seek what to do, and could not resolve: for neither had they whereof to raise a thousand talents: and again, if they should absolutely put themselves into their hands, they feared to learn the utmost thereof in their bodies. Therefore they commanded the same Embassadors to go again to the Council and to Africanus, and to exhibit a petition, that if they were minded indeed and verity to grant them peace, and not by vain threats and semblance only to frustrate and delude the hope of poor suppliants, they would either rebate them a quantity of that grand sum of money, or else accept of their abstinence, that no free citizen might be touched thereby in his person. But nothing could be gotten at the Council hands, for to alter or relent any jot: thus was this embassage altogether cast away as it came, and nothing done. The Athenians came after them in place, the principal man of whole embassage, Eche- demus, seeing the Athenians wearied with so many repulses, and lamentably to no purpose bewailing the melancholy estate of their country, put them full in some new hope, and gave them counsel to crave truce for six months, that they might address their Embassadors to Rome and receive an answer from thence: doing unto them, that this delay could not augment their present calamity, which could not worse be; but contrary-wise, time and space coming between might afford them many accidents whereby their present miseries might be mitigated and allayed. So by the advice of Echecdemus, the same men were sent once again who had commended before with P. Scipio and by his means obtained of the Council a truce for that term; which was the thing they craved. The fleet being raised before Amphiors, M. Aemilius, after he had delivered up his army into the hands of the Council, resigned his government, and departed out of the Province: and the Con- ful likewise from Amphiors returned into Thessaly, intending through Macedonia and Thrace to conduct his army into Asia.

Then Africanus entered into speech with his brother, and said: "The journey which you en- terprised L. Scipio, for my part approve and think well of; but all refresh in the will and pleas- ure of Philip: who if he be faith and faithful to the state and Empire of Rome, he will grant us a passage, he will afford us victuals, he will furnish us with all things, which in so long a voyage are necessary to the help and maintenance of our army: but if he fail and forsake you, you must make account of no safety and security throughout all Thrace: therefore I am of advice that the Kings' affection be not bound, and that will be done if the messenger who shall be dispatched unto him, may come upon him a sudden, and take him unprovided and ha- ving no time to put any premented plot in practice, T. Sempronius Gracchus, a most nimble and active young Gentleman, was at that time chosen for the intell percorn to perform this action: who taking forth four Horses all the way as he rode, with incredible speed made it, in speed, that from Amphiors (for thence he had his dispatch) in three days space, he arrived at Pella. The King was at a feast or banquet when he came, and wine he had taken full liberally. And finding him thus disposed to solace and recreating his spirits, he had no reason to suspect that he was misplaced and inclined to any change or alteration: and so for that time this guest was hidden wel- come, and had good cheer made him. The morrow after, he saw the provision of victuals in great store ready for his armies, he beheld the Bridges made over the Rivers, and the high ways mended and prepared; where passage was difficult. With these intelligences he returned to the Council, with as great speed as he went and met him at Thessalia. From whence, the army in much joy, and with greater and more allured hope, entered into Macedonia; where all was provided to their hands. The King at their coming received them right stately, and at their departure conducted them on the way as royally. Very willing, ready and courteous he shewed himself; which Africanus much liked and highly commended, being a man, as in all other things singular, so in allowing of elegance and humanity, if it were without superfluity and excess, nothing neat and upright-squared. Thus they held on their journey unto Hellas, passing through Macedo- nia and Thrace, and Philip still accompanied them, and provided all things for their life abroad.

After the battle fought at Sea near Cosœmum, Antiochus having had all the winter time free without any empeachment to furnish himself with forces both for Land and Sea, above all things studied and devised how to repair his fleet, for fear he should be quite disfigured and disposed of the Sea. And even more this ran in his mind, that he had an overthrow, and yet the Rhodian fleet was away. For thus he cast with himself; that if they also should be present at the next con- flict (and surely the Rhodians, thought he, will not for any thing be behind again) he then should have need of a mighty number of ships to match the enemies Armada as well in greatness as good- nes. And therefore he had both sent Annibal into Syria to take up the ships of the Phri- cians, and also commended Polycrates to repair those vessels which he had already and to make and rig others; with so much more diligence as his flight fore was less fortunate. Himself passed the winter in Phrygia and seeking for aid out of all places, he went out as far as into Galatia and Thrace. The people there at that time were great warriors; keeping still the courtesies of Greeks, for that the race of that nation was not yet extinct and worn out. His son Seleucus he had left in Libya with
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an army to keep the maritime Cities in obedience, which \(\text{Eumenis} \) from \(\text{Pergamum} \) on one side, and the Romans from \(\text{Phocaea} \) and \(\text{Erythrae} \) on the other side, solicited to rebellion. The Roman fleet, as I said before, wintered at \(\text{Cana} \). Thither in the midst almost of winter came \(\text{Eumenis} \) with two thousand foot, and a hundred horse. Who having given out unto \(\text{Livius} \), that great prizes might be raised out of the enemies territory about \(\text{Tipasa} \), had so persuaded and wrought with him, that he sent with him five thousand f cudgellers: who being first to this rode and expedition, in few days drove away a mighty booty. Amid these matters, there hapned a mutiny in \(\text{Phocaea} \), by occasion of some that would have withdrew and turned away the hearts of the multitude unto King \(\text{Antiochus} \). The winning of the fleet was chargeable to that City. The imposition of a tribute was heavy, in regard that they were put to the finding of five hundred side caskets, and as many coats for liveries: the fear of corn also was grievous unto them; for which default the ships and the Roman garrison abandoned the place and departed: whereupon on that faction which in all their speeches and assembles drew the common people to side with \(\text{Antiochus} \), was rid of all fear. The Senat and the principal citizens of \(\text{Phocaea} \) were of opinion to continue to the last, in the association of the Romans: but the periwaders and cowillers of a revolt were of more credit with the multitude.

The Rhodians were not so flow the summer fall, but they were as forward now in the spring: for before mid-March, they sent out the same \(\text{Pausilipæus} \) Admiral of a fleet of six and thirty sail, And by this time \(\text{Livius} \) proceeded from \(\text{Cana} \), and sailed toward \(\text{Hellæontus} \), with thirty ships, and seven Galles of four banks of oars, which King \(\text{Eumenis} \) had brought with him, to the end that he might prepare things necessary for the passage of the army, which he supposed would come by \(\text{Land} \). And first he fell with the bay or port which they call, The rode of the \(\text{Achæans} \), from whence he went unto \(\text{Ilissos} \), where, after he had sacrificed to \(\text{Minerva} \), he gave gracious audience to the envoys of the neighbors bordering, which came from \(\text{Eleusis} \), \(\text{Dardæon} \), and \(\text{Rhæmus} \), who committed their Cities and unto his protection. From thence he directed his course to the eight W. of \(\text{Hellæontus} \) and leaving ten ships in the rode over against \(\text{Abydos} \), with the rest of the fleet he passed over into \(\text{Europe} \), to assault \(\text{Séfeas} \). As the armed cudgellers approached their walls, the famel Priests of \(\gamma \text{Cybél} \) called \(\gamma \text{Gallo} \), bereft of their wits presented themselves first unto them before their gates, in their solemn habit and veiments, saying, That they being the envoys and ministers of \(\gamma \text{Cybél} \) the mother of the Gods, were come by the intimation and commandment of that goddess to beleech the Roman General to spare the walls and the City. And not one of them had any harm done unto them, Anon, the whole body of the Senat with the Magistrates came forth to yield the Town. From thence they crossed over to \(\text{Abydos} \), where (after many particulars, in which they had founded their minds: and could have no answer tending to peace) they addressed themselves to lay siege to the City: and to assault it.

While these thinges lay about \(\text{Hellæontus} \), \(\text{Polyxenidas} \) a Rhodian born, but banished his country, and a Captain or King \(\text{Antiochus} \), hearing that a Rhodian fleet was gone to \(\text{Sea} \), and that \(\text{Pausilipæus} \) their Admiral had in open audience given out certain proud and disdainful speeches against him, entred into a privat quarrel with him, and provoking in his mind night and day nothing else, but how he might by some effectual and worthy deeds, check and confute thole brave and glorious words of his. He dispatched therefore unto him as a messenger, a man well known unto him, with credence and inducements: to give him to understand, that himself would (if he might) hand both \(\text{Pausilipæus} \) and his country in good seal: and that \(\text{Pausilipæus} \) (if it pleased him) had means to restore him again into his native country. When \(\text{Pausilipæus} \) marvelled hereat, and was very inquisitive to know how this might be effected: and gave him his faithful promise (as I say) either to join with him in the action, or else to conceal all and keep counsel: then the messenger declared, that \(\text{Polyxenidas} \) would make over unto him the Kings navy either entire, or the greater part thereof: and in consideration and recom pense of this so great demerit, he desired no more but that he might return into his country. The importance of this matter was so great, that he neither believed his words, nor yet negleected and disdained the same. So he went to \(\text{Pamminus} \), a place in the Land of \(\text{Samos} \), and there he abode to view and see the thing that was offered unto him. Courriers there ran between, and never would \(\text{Pausilipæus} \) give credit to the party, until \(\text{Polyxenidas} \) wrote a letter with his own hand in the presence of his said messenger, that he would perform whatsoever he had promised, yea, and sent the same letters sealed with his own sign Manual. By this sure pledge or write, \(\text{Pausilipæus} \) made full account that he had the traitor surely bound and obliged unto him. For thus he thought, that \(\text{Polyxenidas} \) living as a subject under the King, would never hazard the danger of such pregnant matter to appear against himself, testified under his own hand-writing: so from that time forward the means of this pretended and counterfeit treason was devized and agreed upon, \(\text{Polyxenidas} \) gave him to understand, that he would of purpose lay aside and neglect of preparation of all furniture, that he would neither have rowers nor other mariners in any number about his fleet: moreover, under a colour of calling and caltrefting he would lay up some ships on dry Land: others he would send away into the havens near at hand, and keep some few riding at anchor before \(\text{Ephesus} \) in the haven, and those (if he were forced to bartall) he would let out to fight. The same negligence that \(\text{Pausilipæus} \) heard say \(\text{Polyxenidas} \) would use in his fleet, the same himself presently shewed in his own. For some of his ships he sent to \(\text{Halicarnassius} \) for victuals, and other to \(\text{Samos} \) the City, to the end that he might be in readiness when the traitor gave the signal of assault,
Polyxenidus still by tale semblance encroached the errors and vain imaginations of Polyxenidus: for he some ships indeed he drew aland and laid up day: and as if he meant to hale up more, he repaired and amended the docks. Oremen and mariners he sent not forth out of their winter harbors to go to Ephesus, but secretly assembled them to Magnesia. Now it followed that a certain soilder serving under King Antiochus, who was come to Samos about some private affairs of his own, was apprehended there for a spy, and brought to Panormus before the Admiral Polyxenidus. Who believing demanded what they did at Ephesus? I know not whether for fear, or upon small loyalty that he bare to his Prince and country, discovered all: namely, that the fleet rid in the haven rigged, decked andtrimmed in readiness: items, that all the rowers and mariners were sent to Siphnus in Magnesia: items, that some veles, and those very few, were drawn up to land, and the docks and harbors were shut up close: and lastly, that never at any time before, the navy was so carefully looked into, nor Sea-affairs so well managed. But the mind of Polyxenidus was to proceed before, with foolish conceits and vain hopes; that he would not believe these informations and intelligences for true. Polyxenidus having let all things forward and in good readiness, by might sent for the rowers and mariners from Magnesia: and having in great hait shot to sea, and set aloft those veles which lay at one side upon the land, after he had spent the whole day, not so much in making provision, as tailing out the time on the purpose, because he would not have the fleet to be taken when it set forth, weighed anchor and closed after the sun was down: and with 70 fail of covered ships, because he had a contrary wind, entered the Bay of Pygale before day, where retting all the live-long day for the same purpose as before, the next night he failed to the nearest coasts of Samos. From whence he gave commandment to one Nicander an Archipiret, to sett for Peloponnes, with five close covered ships, there to land: and from thence to march with his armed soildiers over the fields the nearest way to Panormus, and to come upon the back of the enemies: himself in the mean while divided his fleet into two parts, and made way to Panormus, there to keep the entry and mouth of the haven on both sides. Polyxenidus at first was troubled for a while at this unexpected occurrent: but afterwards, as one that was an old beaten soilder, he quickly took heart again, and calling his wits together, supposied that he might more easily repel the enemies by Land than by Sea: and led his soildiers in two Squadrums unto the promontories which bear out into the Sea like two horns, to force the haven: from which two capes or heads he supposied that he might easily set back and put by the enemies with shooting darts from both sides. But Nicander who was sent by Land, impecied this design of his, so that he was forced suddenly to change his mind and alter the course, and therefore commanded all his men to go a shipboard and away: Hereupon exceeding fear there was both among the soildiers and also the mariners, as if they were to take their flight by Sea and not to fight, seeing themselves in- vironed at once both by Land and Sea. Polyxenidus supposing the only way to escape and save themselves, was to make way through the mouth of the haven, and so to recover sea-room: after he had taken all his men embarked, commanded the reft to follow, and himself first plying and la- bouring hard with oars, fennaded amain with his ship to the entrance of the haven. Now when the was once past the freight and come into the open Sea, Polyxenidus was there to welcome him with three Galeases of five banks of oars and to beate him. The poor ship was wounded with the iron pikes bearing out in the beam heads of the Galeases, and so buoyed and sunk withall. The defendants upon the hatches were overwhelmed with shot of darts, and among the reft, Poly xenidus himfelf manfully fighting left his life. The reft of the ships were boorded and taken, some before the haven, others within: and some there were that by Nicander were feldaz as they laboured to loose from the land, and to lanch forth. Five ships only of Rhodes, and two of Cnos escaped clear and fled, which made themselves way even among the thickest of their enemies: by the means of a fearful burning flame of fire that they had with them. For they set me two long perches or poles bearing forward at the prow, like two sirit-fails, in very ship, carrying iron pons and pans afore them full of light fire, The Gallies of Ephesius, meeting the Rhodian ships not far from Samos as they fled, the which were coming to help them, turned their course backward into Hellaspuntus, unto the Romans. About the same time Seleucus gained the City of Phocas by treachen, entring in at a gate which the warders let open of purpose for him, and for fear, Cyrus and other Towns of that coaft revoled unto him.

Whilesthe things thus paffed in Ephesus, and that Abydos had endured the siege for certain days by the defence of the Kings garrison that manned the walls: now that all were ovetossed and wearyied, the Magistrates of the City (by the permiffion of Philoras Captain of the garrison) articled with Livius upon conditions to render the Town. The only point whereupon they ftood, and which played the conclusion, was this, for that they could not agree whether the Kings soildiers should be taken away armed or difarmed. And whiles they debated hereabout, news came of the Rhodians defeat and in the opportunity of gaining the Town flipt out of their hands. For Livius fearing, left Polyxenidus paffed up with the succeds of fo great an exploit, would purrize the fleet that rid at Cane, leaving presently the fiege before Abydos, and the garding of Hellasport, put to Sea after those ships that lay day at Cane. And Eumenes came to Eles: But Livius went to Phocas with all his fleet, to which he had adjoyved two trireme gallies of Mytilene. But when he heard it was kept with a strong garrison of the Kings, & that Seleucus was encamped not far off, after he had pilled the flat-coat, and charged hardly his ships with a good booty, & those were prizes of men especially, he stayed no longer there than till Eumenes might overtake him with his fleet, but.
but directed his course straight to Samos. The Rhodians upon the first news of this their overthrow, feared much, and withal mightily sorrowed: for besides the loss of their Sea-foudiers and ships, they lost also the very flour and strength of their youth: for inasmuch as many young Gentlemen of their nobility, accompanied Pausilipus, among other motives, in regard of his authority, which was right great and for good defers among his country-men. But afterwords considering how treatably they were over-wrought, and namely, by one of their own citizens, born among them, their melancholy turned into choler, and their sorrow into anger. Whereupon they sent forth ten ships immediately, and few days after other ten, under the conduct of Endymius the Admiral over them all; who albeit he were not for other feats of arms and martial skill equal to Pausilipus, yet they supposed verily he would be a leader to much the more wary and circumstanced, as he was the leisibard and courageous. The Romans and King Eumenes first fell with the Island Erythrae, where they stayed one night, and the morrow after gained the point of Cospus, a promontory of the Ticians. From whence when they purposed to cross over to the nearest parts of Samos, not waiting for the fun-rising, by which the Pilots might observe the disposition of the weather, they hoisted up sails against a very doubtful and dangerous tempest: for the wind turned from North-east to full North, as they were in the midst of their course, whereby they began to be mightily tossed among the lurching billows of the rough and angry Sea. Polyxenidas supposing that the enemies would take their course directly to Samos, there to join with the Rhodian fleet, departed from Ephesus, and first anchored at Myconius: from hence he failed to an island called Macris, to the end that as the enemies fleet failed by him he might take advantage to set upon either some ships singled and sever from the body of the fleet or play upon the sail and rearguard thereof. After that he perceived the whole fleet to be dispersed by force of the tempest, he thought fit to take that occasion to fall upon them: but the wind rising still more and more, and raising greater waves, because he saw he could not possibly come near to hoosti them: he cut over to the Island Ethalia, minding the next day to catch the ships in the main Sea as they passed to Samos. Some small number of the Roman ships in the beginning of the night put into the haven of Samos, which they might with ease pass and empey: the rest of the fleet after they had been tossed and tormented all the night long in the deep, a length light upon the same harbor. Where being advinrented by the peacans of the country, that the enemies ships lay in the road of Ethalia, they fell to consult, whether presently to bid battle and put it to the hazard, or expect the arrival of the Rhodian fleet. Deferring therefore that enterprise (for so upon advertisement they were agreed) they traveled to Cospus, from whence they came. Polyxenidas likewise, having faild at anchor in vain returned to Ephesus: and then the Roman ships, while the Seas were thus clear of enemies, faild over to Samos, Thither also arrived the Rhodian fleet few days after: and that it might appear how long looked for it was, they all presently let fall for Ephesus, with purpose either to try an issue by a battle at Sea, or else if the enemy refused the trial, to express and wroung from him a plain confesion of cowardice: which was a material point and of great importance to move the minds of the other neighbour-cities. Being arrived to the very haven mouth, they embattled their ships and stood directly affront oppoed unto it. And when they law none make tail nor set out against them, the one part thereof rode alioe at anchor still in the very haven mouth: the other discharge the foudiers and set them a land. Upon whom (as they were driving a mighty boat which they had raised by foraging all the country over) andronicus a Macedonian, who lay in garrison at Ephesus, failld forth, even as they approached the walls of the City: and having ealdeed them of a great part of their prey aforesaid, he chased them to the Sea unto their ships. The morrow after, the Romans having bestowed an ambus about the mid-way between, marched in order of battle against the City, to see if peradventure they could train forth the Macedonian again without the walls: but perceiving that no man durst come abroad for frepition and fear of an awhit they returned to their ships again; and when they law their enemies would not abide them neither at Sea nor on Land, in the end the fleet faild again to Samos from whence it came. Therein the Praetor made out two Gallies of Italian confederates, and as many Rhodians under the conduct of Epirastes the Rhodian Admiral, to defend and keep the strong-huts of Cephalenis, which Hibisbus, the Macedonian together with the youth of the Cephalenis, infelcted with his roving and robbing in so much as there could no ships pass by Sea to and fro with victuals between Italy and that coast. At Pyrrhus Epirastes met L. Aemilius Regillus coming in succed the Admiralty: who hearing of the deat of the Rhodians, and having himself but two Quinqueremes Alieaces, brought Epirastes back with him into Asia with four ships. There accompanied them also the open ships of the Athenians, And he passd over by the Sea * Aegaeus, Thither also arrived Transiles: the Rhodian in the head of the night with two Quadrireme galiies from Samos, who being brought unto Aemilus, declared how he was sent to quiet and defend that Sea-coast, which the Kings roving ships and men of war by their often extusions from Hellas points and Asia did made too hot for the Hulks and other ships of burden which used to pass that way. As Aemilus faild from Chios to Samos, two Rhodian Quadrireme Galilees were sent by Levis to meet him: and King Eumenes also with two Quinqueremes alsoe presented himself into him. Being all arrived at Samos, Aemilus after he had received the navy of Levis, and sacrificed order as the manner was, called a council, at which C. Levis (for his opinion was asked first) spake and said,* That nothing giveth more end and faithful counsel then he who perwadeth another man to that which himself would do in the same case. As for me, my intent and purpose was to
go against Ephesus with the whole armado, and thither to bring with me the vessel of burden if charged with heavy ballast of gravel and sand, and to sink them in the very haven mouth or to chock it up. And to make this bar against the haven, it was a matter (said he) of great difficulty, for that the mouth and gulley of the haven was in manner of a river, long, narrow, and full of shells and shallows. By which means I should have cut off the benefit of the Sea from the enemy, and make him lose the life altogether of his navy. But no man there besides himself thought well of this device. King Eumenes demanded, what they would do then after this chocking up and stoppage of the haven passage, by sinking the ships? whether they would depart from thence with their own navy at liberty, to help their allies and terrify and estrange their enemies; or never the less still, keep the haven (as it were) in siege with the whole fleet? For if they departed, who could make doubt but that the enemy would pluck up those dams and bars that there lay I drowned; yea, and with less ado and trouble, open the haven again, than it was stopped? and if they meant to tarry there nevertheless, to what purpose was the whole haven shut up? But contrary-wise, they within Ephesus (quoth he) being in security for any danger from their haven and having a most rich and wealthy City of their own, furnished with all things of use, would pass the summer season in rest and repose; whereas the Romans, flitting in the open wide sea, exposed to the violence of waves and lying at the mercy of tempests, should be driven to keep a continual guard, disturbed with very thing, and rather tied up and debarr'd themselves, for being able to effect those things that were needful to be done, than in case to embarke and shunt up their enemies. Then Eudamus, the Admiral of the Rhodian fleet, opined for his part, and spake to the question saying, That he rather disliked of that course, than knew himself a better or could advise what was to be done. Epebrotes the Rhodian was of mind, to leave Ephesus for the present, and to send part of his ships into Lyca, to join or to associate unto them Patara, the capital City of that nation; showing two things of great consequence, that hereby would ensue. For both the Rhodians allured of peace, and secured from all associates of those quarters that lie about their Island, might thereby attend wholly, and employ all their forces upon the regard of this only war against Antiochus, and also the Armada which was prepared in Lyca might be hopp'd and embassaged for ever, joyning with Seleneus. This opinion importuned and prevailed most. Howbeit, being good it was and agreed upon, that Rhodos should present himself before Ephesus, with the whole fleet, to strike terror into the enemies. And C. Livius was sent with four Rhodian quadrireme Galleys, and two Smyrnaen open ships into Lyca, with direction to take Rhodes in the way, and let with them there to communicate with all his complices. The Cities which he pass'd by, namely, Adana, Myndus, Halicarnassus, Citidos and Cesus, performed willingly what ever was enjoined and imposed upon them. Being arrived at Rhodes, he declared unto the Rhodians the effect of his commission, and withal required their advice. They all approved the design and when he had taken of them the fleet that he had of his own, three quadrireme galleys more, he failed to-ever for ever joining with Seleneus. This opinion importuned and prevailed most. Howbeit, being good it was and agreed upon, that Rhodos should present himself before Ephesus, with the whole fleet, to strike terror into the enemies. And C. Livius was sent with four Rhodian quadrireme Galleys, and two Smyrnaen open ships into Lyca, with direction to take Rhodes in the way, and
A proper person to make a voyage thither with his whole fleet, and to assault the City with all the force he could possibly, and having fallen along _Miletus_, and all that coast of the ancients, they disembarked from the gulf or creek of _Bargentia_, and came a land near _Iasius_. The City was held by a garrison of the Kings: and the Romans waited by way of hostility, the territory about it. Then _Emilius_ sent certain to parle with the chief citizens and the Magistrates, to find them how they were disposed, and also to solicit them to revolt: but being answered again that it lay not in their own power to do as they would, he marched forward to give an assault to the City. Now there were certain Sallians, banished persons, in company with the Romans, who in great number befought and importuned the Rhodians, not to suffer a City, to near a neighbour and linked in blood, to come, for perih and come to ruin, especially having no way offended; alleging

B that the only cause of their banishment was their loyalty unto the Romans; and by the fame violence of the Kings garrison foundiers, were they also held in awe who remained in the City, by which themselves had been expelled. For all the Sallians in general were of one mind, most willing and desirous to avoid and hide off the servitude under the King. The Rhodians were moved in comparision with their prayers, and joining unto them _Emilius_ also, partly by showing the contangunity and kindred between them, and partly by pitying and lamenting the disquieted state of the City (befeged as it were, already by the kings garrison) they prevailed so much that they forbare to assay it. So they departed from them, and because all other parts were peaceable, they sailed along the coast of _Afia_, until they arrived at _Lyamines_, a port of haven town even a

against _Rhodes_. There in the _Principis_ began first a secret whispering among the Colonels (which afterwards came to the ears of _Emilius_ himself), namely, That the navy was led away far enough off from _Ephesus_, where by right and of duty he was to war; to the end, that the enemy being left at liberty behind their backs, might begin to do what he list without controulment, against so many Cities and States of the Roman allies nearer unto him. _Emilius_ was moved herewith, and calling unto him the Rhodians, demanded of them, Whether the whole armido might reside contently within the haven of _Patara_? And when they answered No, he took that occasion to pass no further, but to give over the voyage, and to bring back his ships to _Samor_.

In this same time _Seleucus_, the son of _Antiochus_, after he had kept his army all winter-time in _Eolis_, employing it partly in succouring his _Seleucus_, and partly in laking and pillage them who he could not draw into association, intended to invade the coines of King _Eumeneus_ his Realm, whiles he (together with the Romans) was busied far from home, in assailing the maritime parts of _Lycaea_. And first he approached _Elea_ in counuence of an enemy, with banner dispiated: but afterwards, leaving to besiege the City, after spoil made in hostile manner of the territory, he marched forward to besiege and assault the head City and capital strength of all his Kingdom _Pergamum_. _Attalos_ at the beginning seemed rather to brave and provoke him unto fight with his strong guards that he had placed without the City, and executions with his horsemen and light armours, than to stand upon his guard and defence, and to receive the forces of his enemy; but at length, seeing by these light skirmishes that he was in no respect able to match _Seleucus_, he retired himself within his walls, and to the City began to be besieged. And much about the same time, _Antiochus_ also being near _Apamea_, first lay embacped at _Sardis_, and afterwards, not far from the camp of _Seleucus_, near to the head of the souther of the river _Cestrus_, with a mighty army composed of divers and many kinds nations. The greatest fiew of terror in this army was a redoubled Regiment of _Gauls_, to the number of four thousand, hired for wages, whom with some few other among them, he sent out to wait and destroy all parts of the territory about _Pergamum_.

When news hereof came to _Samos_, _Eumeneus_ at the first, being called away by this war, (begun at home, even at his very dores) made haste with his fleet to _Elea_; where finding in readiness certain horsemen and footmen both lightly appointed, by their sure convoy and safe conduct, he came to _Pergamum_ before the enemies had knowledge thereof. or enterprised anything. Where once again they began to make light skirmishes by way of executions, for truth _Eumeneus_ lay off, and was not willing to hazard the main chance upon a throw. Few dayes after, both the Roman and Rhodian fleet came from _Samos_ and were arrived at _Elea_ to sue the King _Eumeneus_. When _Antiochus_ was advertised that they had landed their forces at _Elea_, and that so many armadoes were met together in that one haven, and hearing within about the same times, that the Conful was already with a power in _Macedony_ making reparition of all things for his passage over _Hellespont_; he imposted now it was high time (before that he were profled at once both by _Land_ and _Sea_ to treat for peace, and therefore he seized a certain hill over against _Elea_, to fortify and encamp in. Where, leaving his whole power of infantry, he defended into the plain, under the very walls of _Elea_, with all his Cavalry, to the number of his thousand Horse. And sending an herald to _Emilius_, he gave him to understand, that he was defious to have a treaty of peace, _Emilius_ sent for _Eumeneus_ from _Pergamum_, and they both, together with the Rhodians, debated in council what to do. The Rhodians refused not the offer. But _Eumeneus_ laid it was neither honourable to parle of peace at that time, nor yet possible to conclude thereof, if they went about it. - For being as we are (quoth he) pinned up within our walls and besieged, how can we receive from another, conditions of peace, saving our credit and honour? and who will hold that for a firm and assured peace, which we shall contract without the presence of the Conful, without the authority of the Senate, and without the grant of the people of _Rome_? For I demand of you, when ye have made a peace, whether you will return presently into _Italy_ or no? whether you will withdraw.
withdraw your fleet and army? or rather wait and expect to know the Consul his mind and advise, the Senators' pleasure and ordinance, and the general consent of the people in that behalf? It remaineth then after that is done, that you stay till in Antioch, and that your forces being brought back again into their wintering harbors, (after they have done with warlike) fall to consume and eat out our allies by charging them with provision of victuals: and afterwards, if it shall so please the higher powers, and those that are in authority (to ordain, we must begin that war anew, which now we are able: if we flack not the time nor stop the forward course wherein we are) before winter come, with the favor and power of the Gods: to finish and bring to a final end. This advice took place; and answer was returned unto Antiochus, that there could be no treaty of peace before the Consul his coming. Antiochus having thus in vain sought for peace, when he had first foraged and watched the territory of Elaea, and afterwards of Pergamus, left his son Seleucus there, and went himself in person to Adranostium, pillaging and spoiling all the way as he journeyed, in all kind of holiness. Now this territory is a rich country, called, The camp plain of Thebe: much renowned by the Poet Homer in his poem: and in no one place besides of all Agea got the Kings soldiers greater booty and more pillage. Thither arrived also to Adrianostium both Amyclus and Eumenes (having set a compulsion by sea) for the defence of the said City. During this time, they sent for a thousand horse, and a hundred horse out of Achaea to come unto Elaea: all which forces were commanded by Captain Diophanes. So soon as they were disembarked and landed, there were ready to receive them certain men sent from Attalus of purpose to meet them, who by night conducted them to Pergamus. They were all old soldiers: and well experienced in feats of war: and their leader Diophanes had been brought up and trained under Philip, the greatest soldier in those days of all the Greeks, who took but two days for to reit his horse and men, and to take view of the enemies guards, namely, in what places and at what time they used customably either to come forward, or to retire. The Kings soldiers were approached almost to the very foot of the hill, where the City is sittuate. By means whereof at that time they were not to be made unerringly to know, whether they were to go forth and make their encampment under covert shade, or to proceed forth into the City to make a most valiant and direct assault against the corps de guard of the enemies. After they were once to see that no enemy was near, that they were fain to keep themselves close within the walls, the Kings soldiers without began first to contemn, and afterwards to neglect them. Many of them had not their horses so much as faded and bridled, and some few were left in arms and in ordinance of battle: the rest were gone aside and sped over all parts of the champain: some went to play and took themselves to youthful sports and wanton fior: others fell to feeding pampering their bellies, and making good cheer under covert shade: and many were laid along asleep. Diophanes beheld all the manner of such a thing from a high turret of the City Pergamus, and presently gave commandment to his soldiers to take arms and be ready at the gate. Himself went to Attalus, and told him, that he purposed to assail the enemies corps de garde. Attalus (although he were very loth) gave him leave: for he saw well, that he was to fight with one hundred horse against three hundred: and one thousand foot against four thousand. Being out of the gate, he set him down not far from the enemies corps de garde, waiting when some good opportunity and occasion would offer it him. Both they within Pergamus of one side, deemed this to be folly rather than hardiness: and also the enemies on the other side making towards them for a while, and perceiving them not to stir, altered nothing of their usual negligence, and that which more was, made a mockery and scorn of their small number. Diophanes kept his men still a good time, as if he had brought them forth only for a show, to see and be seen: but after he perceived once the enemies to be disband out of their ranks and ranges, he commanded the footmen to make all the haft they could after, whiles himself leading the way first among his horsemen, ran with his whole troop upon the spur as hard as ever he could, and setting up a shout and cry aloud on all hands, as well with foot as horse, charged suddenly upon the enemies guards, ere they were aware of them. Man and horse both were greatly feared: and the horses especially having broken their collars and halters wherewith they flood tied made foul work and much trouble among their own party. Some few of the horse kept their findings still unfrighted, and even those they had much ado to faddle, to bridle, and to mount upon; with great terror came the Achaeans, and with much more than small number could be thought to make. And as for the footmen in order arranged and well provided they fell upon those that were negligently dispersed abroad ere they looked for them, and in manner half asleep. Great execution and but small harm was committed upon them all the fields over, and they fled amain. Diophanes having followed the chase as they ran away in scattering wise, so far as he might well with safety of himself, returned to the guard and defence of the City, having great honor to the nation of the Achaeans by this exploit: for not only the men, but women also beheld this service, and looked on him from the walls of Pergamus. The next day after, the Kings corps de garde were better ordered and kept closer together, yea, and tired half a mile farther from the City, where they encamped themselves. The Achaeans likewise much about the same time advanced to the very same place. Many hours together they looked one upon another who would begin first, expecting every minute when the charge should be given, but after the sun was near going down, and that it was time to return into the camp, they of the Kings part began to ruffle their ensigns and guidon together, and set forward with their hands, ordered in manner of a match for the way, more like than marstilled for to fight a battail, Diophanes sat still so long as they were within sight: but then he charged upon their recondi-
A ward, with as great violence and fury, as the day before, and put them again into so great affright and trouble, that they gave them leave to wound them on their backs, and not one would stay to make head and resist, but trembling for fear, and hardly keeping the order of a march, they were beaten into their camp. This boldness of the Achæans forced Seleucus to dislodge and remove out of the territory of Pergamus.

Antiochus after he heard say that the Romans and Eumenes were come to the defence of Adæmytum, medled no more with the town it self, but after he had laid the fields waste, departed from thence, and forced Peræa, a Colony of the Mitylenæans. As for Cato and Cynæus, Aphrodias and Pryneus, they were at the first affait, and to he returned to Sardes by that Syriarch, Seleucus remaining still upon the sea-coasts, as he afofcribed them. So he defended others. The Ro-

B man fleet together with Eumenes and the Rhodians failed first to Mitylæan, and back again from thence, returned to Eles from whence the came. So they held on their course to Phœoes, and fell with an Island called Bœakbin, futur above the City of the Phœceans: and after they had pill’d and rifed by way of hotlisty the Temples, which heretofore they had forbear’d, and taken away the Images (for the Island was magnificently adorn’d and beautified them with) they crof sed over to the City it self, which they had in divers quarters, according as they had divided their forces into three parts; but feeing that it might not be won with bareScaling and strength of arms, without planting engines of battery and other fabrics; and besides, three thousand ar-

C med men fent from Antiochus for defence, were entered into the City; pretendely they gave over the siege, and the fleet retir’d to the Islands, having done no other exploit, but only pill’d the terri-

D city about the City. This done, it was thought good that Eumenes should have licence to depart into his own kingdom, that he might provide for the Conful and the army, all necessaries toward the passage over Hellepontus: also that the Roman and Rhodian fleets should return to Samos, and there remain guard, and have an eye unto Paphiæan, left he removed from Ephesus and made some attempt that way. So the King returned to Eles, the Romans and Rhodians to Samos, where M. Eumelius the Prætor his brother departed this life. The Rhodians, after his funeral obsequies, performed, failed to Rhodes with thirteen ships of their own, one quinquerem galæae of Couts, and the other of Giritus, there to lie in rode, ready to make head against the fleets, which as the brute braced, was aloft and coming out of Syria. Two days before that Eumenes loofed from

E Samos with the Armado, thirteen ships fent from Rhodes under the conduct of Admiral Pamphilus to encounter the fald Syriack fleet, taking with them four other ships, which were for the guard of Caria; delivered from siege Dedalia, and other petty forts which the Kings fouldiers af-failed. Then it was advised that Eumenes should incontinent set forward on his voyage. And to that fle fo, which he had under his charge, he adjoyneyed all four open ships. Being departed, he made fail in all haste that he po{iblycould, and arrived at the port called Mogila; where he or-

F vertook thofe that were gone before: from whence they came in one band and train joyntly to-gether unto Phæfis, and then they judg’d it the best way, in that place to attend the coming of the enemy. This Phæfis standeth upon the confines between Lydia and Paphysia. It lieth far from the sea & is the fift land that fewitheth it, to them that fide from Ciliciæ to Rhodes. Eumenes with an armado of three ships went from Eles, to attend the coming of the enemy, and to prepare against them. This Phæfis standeth upon the confines between Lydia and Paphysia, and being arrived in the river Erymæon, they received an advertisement from the Aphabetians, that the enemies were already before Sidæ. Those of the Kings fide had failed but slowly in regard of the adverfer than of the winds named Etesia, which kept their fift and certain time, like as those do which they call Favonius. Now of the Rhod-

G ians there were 32 quadrireme Gallies, and 4 other triremes besides, The Kings fleet confifted of 50, and thofe of greater burden and bulke among which were three mighty Galæaces of 9 banks of oars on a fide, and four of 6 besides 10 ordinary trireme gailies. There were others also that knew by a fentinel or watch-tower standing on a certain high place, how the enemies were at hand. The next morning by break of day both these fleets fet forth of the haven, as if they would have lodought that very day. And after that Eumenes had pafte the Cape, which from Sido hangeth over into the sea, then prettily were they discovered of the enemies, and the enemies likewise defiryed by them. The left wing of the Kings fleet, flank’d with the main fift, was commanded by Arnauld; and Apollonius one of his gallants and couriers led the right: so as now they had ran their fhips broad in a front rank. The Rhodians advanced forward ordered in length and calling their batells into files. In the vanguard the Admiral fhip of Eumenes was form’d; Caraciltus governed the rear-guard; and Pamphilus had the conduct of the middle way, Eumenes f czy-

H ing the enemies batells arranged and ready for conflict, put forth into the open sea, commanding thofe that followed after in order to keep their array, and so directly to affront the enemy; which at the first caused some trouble, for he was not so far advanced into the deep, that all the ships could be fet in array along the land fide: and besides, himself making too much haste, with five ships only encouneter’d Arnauld, for the reft followed not after him, because they were hidden

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to range afloat. Now the reeward had no room left them toward the land: and thus whiles they hastily were jumbled together, the fight by that time was begun in the right wing against *Annibal*. But at one instant the Rhodians call off all fear, as well in regard of the goodliness of their ships, as of their own experience and skill practice in service at sea. For their ships with great quickness and agility making fall into the main sea, made room for every one that came after along the land side: and within an hour happened to run upon a ship of the enemies with her piked beakhead, either first the prow, or wiped away the oars, or putting clear through, between the ranks and files turned again and charged upon the poop. But the thing which terrifie the enemy most was this. That a great gallease of the Kings which had seen banks of oars on a side, was bogued and took a leak with one only knock, that it received by a Rhodian ship far leis: whereupon the right wing of the enemy doublets esclined to fly away. But *Annibal* I pressed *Endomn* very much in the open fiesmoll with all multitude of ships: for otherwise in all respects *Endomn* had the odds and better hand of him by far: and certainly he had compassed and enclosed *Endomn* round, but that a flag was put out of the Admiral. (by which I gann the dipered ships were wont to rally themselves together:) whereupon all those that had got the better of the enemy in the right wing, made hale to joy in one for to incite our fellows. Then *Annibal* also and the ships about him, took their flight: but the Rhodians were not able to make way after them and to maintain the chase, by reason that the towers many of them were stuck, and therefore the sooner hurry. Whereupon they call anchor in the main sea, and laid to eat and take some refection for to strengthen their bodies. And in this while *Endomn* stumped and beheld the enemies how they halted and towed by ropes at the tail of the open ships (that went only with oars) certain other which were show manned fore brinded and craked: and might see 20 or others not much fonder than they, to leave the rest and depart: whereupon casting an *Opes* and silence to be made from a high tower in the fore-caste of the Admiral, Ask me thy heart (saith he) and see a pleasant sight yonder and a goodly spectacle. So they all arose at once and beheld how the enemies were afraid and what poor shift they made in hale to fly, and with one voice they all in a manner cried out to follow after and pursue them. Now *Endomn* his own ship was shaken in many places and fore brinded; whereupon he commanded *Panphilus* and *Chelrabius* to make way after them, so far forth as they thought they might without danger. And in a good time they held them in chase: but seeing *Annibal* approaching near the shore and fearing left the wind would lock them within the enemies coast, they returned toward *Endomn* and drew along with them the great gallease which they took, and which at the first encounter was pierced, and with much ado trained it to *Patar*. From thence they retired themselves to Rhodos, not to joy out of this victory, blaming another that they had not either sunk or taken the whole fleet of the enemies, having so good means as they had to do it. *Annibal* darts at with the same insatiate and must be batted, that not even then pals along the river of *Lysia*, but stayed to make him to the old fleet of the kings so soon as possibly he could. To impeach him for effecting that the Rhodians set out *Chelrabius* and twenty war ships with piked oars, toward *Patar* and the Port of *Magis*; and commanded *Endomn* to return unto the Romans to *Somer* with seven of the twelve ships in all the fleet whereof he had the command: to the end, that he might induce the Romans with his counsell and advice, and with all the countenance and authority that he had forced to lay siege unto *Patar* and to attack it. The Romans took great joy and contentment, first at the news and report of this victory, and afterwards at the return of the Rhodians. And it seemed if that one City stood not in their way to lay them, and that on whose side rid of that care, they would without any let and employment make all the seas distressure for any danger and danger from those quarters. But because *Anastochus* was departed from *Sardis*, the Romans held them back, and would not suffer them to abandon the guard and defence of *Aeolis* and *Ionia*, for fear left the Cities upon the sea-side might be surpris'd. And so they sent *Pentaphilus* with four covered ships to the fleet that lay about *Patar*. *Anastochus* gathered together not only the garrisons and aids of all the Cities that were about him, but also addressed his Embassadors with letters to *Penthia* the King of *Bithynia*, wherein he gave out hard words of the Romans for their passage into *Asia*; namely, *That their coming only was for this to demolish put down, and overthrow all kingdoms: and to let up the only Roman Empire that none else might stand in the whole world.* *Philippus* and *Mebon* already were subdu'd and deposed and now himself was to make a third against whom they were come. Nei ther would they make an end there but go on still, like a continual fire that burneth forward, and take all afore them and ever as they vanquished one, proceed to another that is next. And he tells them, that they would make a bridge of them to pass over unto *Bithynia*, now that *Eumenes* hath gently taken upon his neck the yoke of a servile subjection. *Penthia* was somewhat touched with these letters, but when there came others written from *Seipis* the Consul, and his brother *Africanus* specially he was wholly averted from entertaining any such suspicion. *For Africanius* besides the contumblulculcnone that the people of *Rome* had, to advance and amplify the Majesty of *KK*, their allies and confederates with all kind of honours, soledgeled for his part, the domestic examples of their own house and family: {include} *Penthia* thereby to enter into a desire to win his love and friendship. For he discharged & laid, *That those Princes and petty *KK* in *Spain*, whom he had receiv'd into his protection, he left behind him when he went away mighty monarchial, that he not only had plac'd & establisht *Marsafin* in his fathers realm & throne, but
A but let the him in the kingdom alfo of Syphax, who before had chafed & expelled him: fo as now he was not only the chief poftmortate and moft wealthy K. of all Africa, but also formality & punitive forces a paragon equal to any other K. in the whole world, As for Philip and Nicias, the enimies they were and vanquifhed by T. Quinctius, howbeit they remained KK. afterwards within their own Realms. And Philip verily the year that he had his tribute forgiven him and his fon an holage delivered unto him: yea, and some Cities without the dominion of Macedon, have received them as their K., and the Roman Generals have winked thereat and been contented. And farely Nicias had been likewise grace and honoured, but for his own peevish folly first, & the treacherous falfhood afterwards of the Erolians, which was his utter undoing and overthrow, but the chief thing of all that most confirmed the mind of K. Prusias, was the coming of Livius unto him in embalage from Rome, he who sotetime in quality of Prætor, had been Admiral of the navy. Who fhewed and declared unto him, how the hope of victory was much more allur'd to the Romans than to K. Antiochus: and withall how the Romans would be the father and furer friend of the twin yea, and make more confidence of keeping amity.

Antiochus being put besides all hope of the association with Prusias, departed to Ephesus from Samos, to visit and see the fleet, which for certain months had been rigg'd and in readiness: and this he did the rather, because he knew that he could not hold out with the Roman army and the two Seipotes the commanders thereof, than for that his art-service in itself at any time before iped well, or could afflige how of great and certain success. Yet some little dram he had of good hope for the present in that his intelligence was, that a great part of the Rhodian fleet was about to remove their fleet from Samos to fupport that affociate City of theirs: and to Polyxenides might thereby take his time and good opportunity to execute some notable exploit. Whereupon he went in hand to plant fabrics against Colophon, and having raised his rampiers, and cast trenches on both fides alike, even to the very sea, he approached with manflets and terraces, as well the one part as the other, into the waters, and under the roof-works, laid upon them with the path & force of the ram. The Colophoniens much troubled and affrighted with these dangers and diftraffes, sent their Orators to Samos unto L. Aemilius, to crave in humble manner the aid and fupport of the Prætor and people of Rome. Aemilius was much confounded and offended in his heart, that he had made to long abode at Samos and performed no service. Nothing less thought he than that Polyxenides, whom twice already in vain he had challenged and hindered battle, would now offer

E to fight. He reputed it also for a di grace and famefull indignity unto him, that Aemilius his fleet affilied the Conil to wait over the legions into Asia, and himfelf was alligned and enjoyed to fupport and aid the City of Colophon befieged, the ifle whereof would be to doubly and uncertain. Uncertainty the Rhodian, who was the man that had daireted and kept him till at Samos, when he was diuerous to pass over into Hellas: yet all the rell were intent with him fhewing and declaring how much better it was, either to deliver his fhips from fledge, or to defteaf the fhips again, which had been once vanquifhed, and fo to put the enemy quiet besides the poffeffion of the ifle; than with the abandoning of his confederates, and betraying Asia both land and fhip into the hands of Antiochus, to depart into Hellas (where Aemilius with his fhips was fufficient to hold him play and to quit that part of the war which was committed to his charge. Welf they looked from Samos to provide widhawks for that all their own provision was spent, felfshaped themselves to cross over unto Chios. That was the garner and flourhouse of the Romans, and the very place unto which all the fhips of burden, and the bulks fent out of Italy, used to fee and direct their course. So they fet a comple of about, toward the coaft of the Ifland that lay fartheft off from the City, opposite to the Northeast, in regard of Chios and Ephraim. And as they were about to pass over therewith the Prætor was certified by letters, that great flore of corn was come out of Italy to Chios; that the fhips which were charged with wine, were kept back by contrary and crofs winds. Likewise, reported was, that the Tyrians had furnifhed King Antiochus his fhips with viufts plentifully and liberally, and had promifed alfo unto him five thoufand vellums of wine. Whereupon he fliffed all suddenly in the midst of his direft course, and made head for Teos, intending either with their good wills to ferve himfelf of the provision prepared for the enemy, or else to hold them for no better than enemies. Having directed the prows of their fhips toward the land, they might defcry, as it were, fifteen fhips near unto Myrounis. Which the Prætor, appounding at the first tofe of the King's fhips, resolved to make way after them: but afterwards it appeared, they were brigantines or pinarnes, and certain small farks of rovers and men of war. These rovers having harried and spoiled all the maritime coasts of the Chians, were upon their return with great flore of prizes and pillage; but when they discovered alveet
in the deep sea afar off, they made all the sail they could, and fled. Yare of fleerage they were and well good ordial, by reason that their vessels were more light, and made of purpose to ride ways and besides nearer they were to land. And therefore they had recovered Myonetus, before the fleet could come any thing near unto them. The Prætor thinking verily to force them out of the haven made after without direction of a skillful pilot, and knowledge of the place. Now this Myonetus is a promontory or cape between Teiss and Sumera, a very mountain made in fashion of a steep broad enough at the foot, but rising narrower still, and meanest up to the top sharply pointed. On the main or land side it hath one passage by a straight and narrow path, from the sea it is founded up on rocks highest, and eaten with the continual lusing waves of the sea, in some such as in some places the cliffs that hang over, bear more into the sea than the vessels that lie under the harbor, take up of the sea. The Prætor with his ships durst not approach near unto those large stages of fear of being within the shot of the pirates, who were perched upon the top of those steep rocks, and so they spent that day and lay off. At the last a little before night they gave over that vain enterprise without effect, and the morrow after arrived at Teiss; and having lodged their ships within the harbor which themselves call Geranus, (and it lieth out at the back side of the City) the Prætor there set out his field officers to labour the territory about the City. The Teians seeing their lands spoiled even under their very eyes, addressed certain Orators to the Roman Admiral, arraigned all in white, after the manner of humble suppliants. And as they would have seemed to excuse their City for having done or said any thing against the Romans, the enemies to country; he both charged them directly that they had relieved the vessels of the Prætor with victual and all so told them what quantity of wine moreover they had permitted to POLYXENIDAS, But if they should be content to do the like by the Roman fleet, he would recall his field officers from pillage, otherwise he would reproach them for their enemies. The Embassadors before made relation of this heavy answer. Whereupon the Magistrates of the City assembled the people together, to confess and conclude about this matter what they were bent to do. Thither as it happened, was POLYXENIDAS, arrived with the king's Armado; who having looked from Celephas, when he heard that the Romans were departed from Sumera, that they had chased the Prata as far as Myonetus, and were now waiting and harrying the lands of the Teians, also that their shipsanchored in the promontory Geranus, himself also called an her or argosin of Myonetus, hard by an island which the sailors and mariners called Macera, in secret bay hard by, excuting and clipping from this near harbor, what the enemies did and intended. And in the first good hope he was to distract and L occult the Roman fleet, as he had beforetime the Roman Armado near unto Sumera, by opposing the mouth of the haven, and embattling their sullen forth. For this day was in all respects like unto the other lying just between two steps, which meared near and in manner en the mouth thereof, that hardly two ships at once could go for together. And to this purpose POLYXENIDÆS intended in the night season to take possession, and mark himself sure of the said strait, there to place ten galleys under each Cape which banding there at a vantage they should from both points flark the broad sides of his enemies' ships in their going forth; and withall out of other vessels to disturb land armed field officers, like as he had done at Pandarins, and to out to still them both by sea and land, and make an end of them for all. Which being brought of his no doubt had taken effect, but that the Romans, after that the Teians had promised them to do whatsoever they should command, thought it more commodious for the receiving of their provision of victuals, to pass with their ships unto the other harbor which was before the City, to the open sea. Some say that ENDYMUS the Rhodian, moved the inconvenience and commodity of the other harbor, of occasion that two galleys, routed in that strait to be so intangled, that they brake one another's ears with juggling together. And among other motives the Prætor was induced to change the harbor, because from the land side there he should lie within danger, considering that Ammonius himself was encamped not far off. Thus the fleet being brought about close to the City side the field officers and mariners (without the knowledge of any commanders) were disbarred fur to divert & open the victuals and wine especially to every ship. But about noon a certain priest of the country chanced to be brought before the Prætor, who gave intelligence, that there was a fleet of ships which two days already rode at anchor under the island Macera; and that but a while ago certain vessel of them were seen to seize anchor as if they would hoist up sail and be gone. The Prætor moved at this sudden occasion, commanded the trumpets to sound the alarm, and to give knowledge and warning, that in case any were flagging abroad in the fields they should retire. The Colonels being sent into the City to gather the field officers, and the mariners, that they might repair to ship-board. This alarm caused a great trouble and confusion, as usually is seen in a sudden carefire, or when a City is surprised by the enemies. Here was flocking into the City to recall their fellows, and was running out of the City to recover their ships; not knowing who commanded, by reason of the dissonant noise of men and found of trumpets howlere, as ship was, at length they ran all toward the ships, but in such a hurry-hurly and disorder that they scarcely knew their own vessel nor if they did they could hardly for the crowd and press get thither and embark themselves. Neither had this affright passed clear without danger both by sea and land, but that ENDYMUS gave direction to every one what to do, and put out of the haven first himself with the Admiral ship into the open sea, & there received every vessel as they followed one another in their order, & ranged them all about and set ENDYMUS also with the Rhodian fleet had not faild at the shore to see good order, that the field officers...
A soldiers might be set aboard without burying in tears full haste, and every ship go forth as it was fitted and made ready. By this means both the foremost of the vanguard were arranged in the right of the Praetor, and the Rhodians also kept their order in the rear guard, as such as they put themselves into the open sea in as good array, as if they had seen the Kings fleet under full. But they were between the two promontories, Agyèus and Cyprus, before they despaired the enemy. The Kings Armado came forward in long files, two and two in a rank, who displaced and spread themselves also affront towards the wing in such wise that they might be able to compass and enclose the right wing of the enemy. Which Eutæmus the same admiral perceiving, and seeing with all that the Romans could not possibly make head alike and extend themselves as broad as the enemy, and were at the point already at the right wing to be environed, made haste with his own B vessels (for the Rhodian banks were of all other in the whole fleet (as well by far) and after he had fronted equally and ready for wing for wing, he made head with his own ship against the very admiral of the enemies, wherein Polyxenides himself was aboard. By this time the battell began between both the main fleets, all at once from every part. Of the Romans side there fought four in all, whereof two and twenty were Rhodians. The enemies armado confuted of four score and nine, all ships of great bulk and making, and had among them three galleons of six banks of oars on a side, and two eftren. For goodnes and strength of ships as also for valour of soldiers, the Romans far surpris'd the Rhodians. But for agility and nimbleness of their vessels, for skilfull knowledge of Pilots, and expert cunning and readiness of mariners, the Rhodians were as much beyond them. And these above all the rest that carried fire before them in their noxes C troubled and feared the enemies most; and that stratagem and device which had been their only help and means of safety, when they were surpriz'd and beate at Patroonys, was now the thing that load them in both head to win the victory. For the Kings ships leaving the fire that threatened their very faces, turned aside, because they would not run about with their prow's so as they neither could them selfes miscite and hurt the enemies with their brach pikes in the back head, nor yet avoid them, but expose their own broad sides open to receive all pithes and violence from them. If any one fortunat to encounter and run upon them fire was sus to be paid and sped with fire that was flung and cast into her: and more running there was to quench the same, than other wife to fight. Howbeit, the resolute valour of the Roman soldiers (which ever in war prevented most) was it that did the deed. For after the Romans by mere force had broken and cloven the main battallion of the enemy in the very midl, they turned about again and presented themselves behind, and plaid upon the backs of the Kings ships whilst they fought affine and made head against the Rhodians: and thus at one instant the battallion in the midl, and the ships in the left wing that served King Antiochus were beft round about, and link to the bottom of the sea. The right wing as yet entire and found, was more terrified at the los and overthrow of their fellows than for any proper danger of their own. Howbeit, after they saw the other inveted, and the Admiral full with Polyxenides in her, to abandon her companions and to hoise up falls, they likewise in haste set up all their cloth and small trienquet falls (for a good forewind they had for Ephesus) and fled as fast away as they could. Two and forty ships they left in this fight: of which thirteen were boorded and taken for the use of the Romans, the rest were either E consumed with fire, or devoured of the sea. Two Roman ships were shattered and broken in pieces, and some other hurt, bruised and cracked. One Rhodian chanted to be taken by a notable and memorable adventure. For having with her piked back head thrice a Sidonian ship, with the violence of the blow the shoke out her own anchor, which by one of the flocks took hold as if it had been a grappling hook by the prow of the other ship. The Rhodians much troubled hereafter, gave over rowing, first, as willing and devisor to be loole and parted from the enemy: and whilsts they were busie thereabout, the cable which the anchor drew with it caught among the oars of her own ship, and swept them clean away, and so left one side of it naked, where the ship being much weaken'd and encealed, was taken by the other that was sitten to, and tied fast unto her. Much after this manner was the battell fought at sea near Agyæus, Whereupon Antiochus was sore affrighted: for being thus dispoofled of the sea, he disfrusted himself that he should not be able to hold and defend the places farther off: and therefore commanded the garrision to retire from Lyfamachia, for fear it should be surpriz'd there by the Romans. But this was but a bad piece of counsell as the lequel and idle proved afterwards. For it had been an eafe matter not only to defend Lyfamachia against the first assault of the Romans, but also to hold out the siege all winter: yea, and by drawing out the time on length, to bring the very affailants themselves lying in leguer, to extream necessity and want of all things during which space they might have some occasion and opportunity, to find a mean and make way for peace. Neither did he only quit Lyfamachia and leave it for the enemies after this unfortunat battell, but also raised his siege before Colophon and dislodged ye, and retired himself to Samos, from whence he sent into Cappadocia: to despatch for aid, and to all other places where he could, to gather more forces: and now was he upon no deign of his, but to give battell, and to hazard all upon the fortune of the field.

After this Navall victory, Regillus Amylius failed directly to Ephesus, where he embattel'd his ships in array even before the haven, and when by this bravado he had as well wrung again from the enemies a plain and evident confession that they had abandoned the sea unto him, he left for Chios, unto which he had intended to shape his course from Samos before the
late battle upon the sea. There he repaired and called his ships which were broken and crack'd in the foretop fight, which done he sent L. Aemilius Scipio with thirty sail toward Hellas, to transport the army. And when he had rewarded the Rhodian ships with part of the pillage, and honoured them with the naval spoils, he gave them the revery, and sent them home. But the Rhodians, in full of the Scipio, and prevented his ships to let over the forces of the Con
def, and after they had performed that service also, they returned to Rhodes.

The Roman Armada failed from Chio to Phoca, this city is fested far within the gulf of the sea, bound to it, as it lieth out in length. The wall contineth in compass the space of two miles and a half: and from both sides it groweth narrow still, and meeteth in the middle, resembling the form of a wedge or coin, which the inhabitants themselves call Lampert, in which place the city is a mile broad and a quarter with the vantage. From which canton or corner there is a bank of land and running a mile on end into the sea like a tongue, which divideth the haven just in the middle, marked out (as it were) by a certain line. Where it joyneth to the narrow straits is both two most sure harbors of both sides, and those two contrary ways. That which looketh toward the south, is called according as it is indeed, Nus fretor (namely, a Ship-rode, or harbor,) for it is able to receive a great number of ships: the other harbor is near unto the very Lampert aforesaid. When the Roman fleet was once possest of both these most sure and fast harbours the Praetor thought good before he set in hand either to raise the walls or to raise any fabrics and plant engines against the City, to send certain of purpose to found the minds and affections of the principal Citizens and the Magistrates within, but after he perceived they were obstinately bent, and would not come on, he began to lay battery against it in two several quarters. The one part was not much people, and had but few dwelling houses in it; and the Temples of their gods took a good place there; and these began to fight to approach with the ram and therewith to batter the walls, and make the turrets: and by that time that the multitude ran thicker in great numbers, and presented themselves ready to defend, the ram was pulling alive at the other part: So now the walls were laid along in both places: and upon the fall thereof whilst some of the Roman soldiers presently gave the alant in at the very breach, mounting and marching upon the ruins of the houses that were slain: others also did assay to gain the top of the upright walls with scaling ladders. But the towns men withfood to them, to fliify, and with such resolution, that it was well seen they repose more hope of defence in arms and valour, than in the strength of their walls. Whereupon the Praetor seeing in what danger his soldiers L indian and fearing to expose and disfigure them ere they were aware to the fury of these people to charge like desperate and mad persons, commanded toound the retreat. And notwithstanding the alant ceased and was given overtaken at first not the townsmen themselves to rest and repose, but ran from all parts every one, to raise countermarches, fill up the breaches, and repair the ruins of the wall were done. As they were wholly employed about this business, Q. Annius sent from the Praetor came toward them: who, after he had reproved and rebuked their wild obstinacy, and made remonstrance unto them, that the Romans had more care and regard than they themselves of the City that by continual assaults and batteries it should not utterly be destroyed: and how if they would be reconciled and forgo their outrageous folly, he would make them this offer: That they should yield under the same conditions and in those very terms, as aforesaid. They told the Praetor, when they came under his protection: At the hearing of that, they demanded and had five days space to consider of the matter; during which time they made means to receive some aid from Antiochus: but after their Embassadors whom they dispatched to the King had made relations, that there was no presents to be expected from him: then they set open their gates, having artillery and capitated be horned, that no outrage by way of hostility should be exercised and committed upon them, as the Romans entered into the city with banners displayed, the Praetor declared with a loud voice, That his will and pleasure was they should be spared, so much as they had yielded. Whereas the soldiers on all hands set up a great cry That it was an intolerable shame that the Romans, (who were never true and loyal confederates, but always dogged and malicious enemies) should go away to free and not fetch their own law At which word (as the Praetor had given them a signal of ram mack) they ran into all parts of the city to rifle and spoil. Confort at first laid them what he could, and rekindled them again saying: That it was not the manner of such cities rendered by composition but such as were forced and won by assault, and even those also were at the disposition of the General and not of the soldiers. But seeing that they, in their arrogant mood of revenge and covetous desire of goods, were of more power than the respective reverence of his person, his quality and commandment: he sent out belettes and trumpeters throughout the city, charging all persons of free condition whatsoever, to repair before him into the market place, to the end, that no villany and outrage might be done upon their bodies, and to the Praetor did he best to perform his word and promise in whatsoever lay in his power: for he refused unto them their city, and their own laws. And for that the winter approach, he made choice of the two harbours of Phoca to befowl his ships there for the winter time.

Near about that time the Consul having passed beyond the borders of the Adriatics and Maronit received news, that the Kings navy was defeated at Myonius: and Dyrrachia was discomfited of the garrison: and this latter ridding was more acceptable and pleasing unto him than the other of the naval victory; and especially, when they came thither where in very truth the City
A (plentiously stored with all sorts of viuitals, as if they had been provided of purpose against the coming of the army) received them unerringly; whereas they made no other account, but to endure extremity of want and painful travail in beholding thereat. Their men were few in number as it were in camp, until such time as their carriages and bulky portions of their train might reach unto them; such as they had left behind in all the forts and castles of Thrace, wasted with long journey and enfeebled with divers infirmities. When all were come and well refreshed and recovered, they put themselves again in their journey, and marching through Chersonesus, they came to Helespont, where finding all things in readiness for their transporting, (such was the indolent care and diligence of King Eumenes,) they passed over with little trouble and molestation into the practicable ways of their allies and friends, without any empeachment or any resource, notwithstanding some ships arrived in one place, and some in another. And this was the thing that much contented the Romans, and mightily encouraged them to see they had no need to pass into Asia, which they made full reckoning would have been a matter of great difficulty and trouble. At this they encouraged and made their abode a certain time near Hellespont, by a certain of those days which happened then to be wherein the Sabines danced with their dances called Asculapii, during which time they made triple of consecration to take any journey [until their vessels were re-arranged again in the temple of Mars.] By reason of which errors, by Segesta, withdrew himself apart in the army upon more (thick regard of consecration & religion) which troubled him nearer than other, because he was himself one of the Salii, and was the cause that the army (lay behind) and came not forward to overtake the camp.

C. And then there happept to come into camp from Astabry, one Herodes, a Byronian, the king in charge to treat as touching a peace: and good hope he conceived to obtain the same where he, resolution of the long abode and stay of the Romans in that one place: of whom he had looked for no other, but that as soon as they had set foot in Asia, they would have marched space (straightways) against the Kings camp, Howbeit this course he took, not to go directly unto the council before he had spoken and conferred with Segesta, (and indeed such direction and charge he had from the King himself,) in whom he had repose his greatest hope: for besides his magnanimity and noble courage, as also the tattiness of glory and honour, whereof already he had his full (great inducments unto the king that he would be easily wrought and made mall pliable to hearken after peace,) all the world knew well how lofty he had carried himself in his victories in Sparta, and afterwards in Affricke: and more than this, a son of his was captive in the laid Kings hands. But where, when, and by what chance he was taken prisoner, writers agree not no more than in many things else. Some say, that in the beginning of the war he was better and more rated round within the Kings ships, at what time as he failed from Chilone to the Ocean. Others write, that after the Roman army was passed over into Asia, he was sent out in epigall with a troop of Frigian horsemen to view and differ over the Kings camp: and when the Kings cavalry made out to charge upon them, he made haste to retire, and in that hurry his horse fell with him and [he and two other men of arms with him, was surprised taken and brought to the King. This other thing is for certain known, that it there had been sure and firm peace between the King and the Romans, nay, if it there had been familiar acquaintance and hospitality between him and the Segesta, this young Gentleman could not possibly have had more friendly entertainment, nor been more kindly interested, liberally used, and honorably regarded than he was, for those causes the Embassador attends the coming of Segesta: and to soon as he was arrived, presented himself unto the Council, requesting that he might deliver his message and be heard. Whereupon in a frequent assembly he had audience given him, and thus he spake: "Whereas (quoth he) there have been divers and sundry embassages parted to and fro as touching peace, and no good as yet done: I lay this for a ground and allure my self now to speed, because the former embassadors hitherto have effectually and obtained nothing: for in all these treaties and agreements the question was about Sicyonia, Lampsacus, Alexandria in Troas, and Lysimachia, which is in Europe. Of which Cities the King my Master hath already quit Lysimachia, to the end you should not fly that he hath any one City at all within Europe, and as for those other in Asia he is ready to attend them altogether: all the rest whatever, the Romans would recover out of the Kings hands and dominions in regard they had sometime tided & taken part with him. And for the charges which the Romans have debated about this war, the King will be willing to dispute and make good the one moiety unto them again: And thus much I spake concerning the articles and conditions of the peace. The rest of his speech behind, was followed in a gravizing and putting them in mind of the extensive revolution of this world and the affairs thereof: that as they should use their own good fortune and prosperity with measure and moderation, to they ought not to press down others in their adversity; but hold themselves contented within the bounds and limits of Europe, and that was a dominion sufficient in a man world think) and exceeding great: considering this, that it is an easier matter to win one thing after another by way of conquest, than to hold and keep them all together when they are won To consider, if the Romans were minded to dismember any part from Asia, so they would make an end on it, and limit out the same within certain preciapses without any further doubt and difference, the King for the love of peace and concord, would suffer the Romans in their immeasurable desire and appetite, to immount and outgo his temperance and moderation, but those matters which the Embassador supposed were of great importance and effectual to obtain
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obtain peace, the Romans made a pith at it, and lightly regarded: for they judged it but meet and H reason, that the King should discharge all the expences they had been at in this war, considering through his default it first arose: also that he ought to withdraw his garrisons not only out of 

Antiochus were disfizifed of the possession of all Asia on this side the mountain Taurus. The Em-

bassador perceiving well, that there was no reason to be had in the assembly, aitied privately to 

found and to win the heart and good will of Scipio, according as he had in charge from the King, 

And first this way he went to work and said, That the King was minded to send him his son again 

freely without ransom: then (ignorant as he was both of Scipio his nature and the manner of 

Romans) he promised him a mighty mafs of gold, yes, and to be made equal companion in the 

government of the whole kingdom (the Kings name and royall style only reserved) in case he 

would be an instrument and means to effectuate peace. To these motives and offers Scipio returned 

this answer, ‘That neither you know the Romans all in general, nor my self in particular un- 

\[ ... \]

The Conhil having given order for the execution of all his plots and designs, dilferod from 

thence, and marched first to Dardanus, and after to Rhoeum: the inhabitants of both which Ci- 

ties came forth to meet him upon the way in great multitudes. From thence he went forward to 

Hymn, and encamp'd in a plain under the very walls: then he entered into the town, and ascended 

up into the Caile, where he offered sacrifice unto Minerva, the patroness of that City. The Ilions 

entertained them with all fiew of honour, as well in deed as in word, acknowledging that the Ro-

mans were defended from them, and the Romans again were as joyous and glad to see the place 

of their first original and beginning. From thence they removed, and the six day after arrived at 

the head or spring of the river Caicus, Thither also Emumus the King (who at first affaid to bring 

his fleet back from Hellespontus, to winter before Ele- and afterwards, when he could not for cer- 

tain dais double the point of Lles, by reason of the contrary winds, went a land) because he 

would not fail but be present at the beginning of these great affairs, made haste the next way with 

a small power to the camp of the Romans. From the camp he was sent back to Pegarnas, to give 

order for purveyance and provision of vioals, and after he had delivered out corn to those whom 

the Conhil had appointed to receive it, he returned again to the same leaguer, The Conhil his pur-

pole and intent was to be provided aforehand of vioals sufficient for many dais, and together in 

one train to go against the enemy, before the winter surprized them.

Now the Kings camp lay about Thypad, where Antiochus hearing that P. Scipio was carried 

sick to Eleas, sent certain Embassadors of purpose to present and deliver his fon again unto him. At 

which present of his, he took not only great contentment in his spirit, as a father might do for re-

ceiving his dear son, but much easement also and comfort to his sick body. After he had satisfi-

ed himself at length with much embracing of his fon, ‘Ye shall (faith he) recommend me unto the 

King your Master, and tell him from me that I love him most heartily, and that I have no good 

thing at this time to send to him again but only this, That I advise him to make haste that he en-

ter not into the field to give battle, before he hath heard for certain, that I my self am returned 

to the leaguer. Upon relation hereof, Antiochus albeit he was in camp seventy thousand foot, 

and twelve thousand horse and above (which puiffant power otherwise animadverted, and 

fed him with the hope of good issue of battle) yet moved with the authority of so great a perfo-

nage as Scipio was in whom he reprost his whole reign against all doubtfull events of the fortune 

in war, he retired back, and passed over the river Eryphius, and pitched his camp about Manner 

fla near unto Syphilum. And fearing left (if he should be minded to make long stay and abide 

there)
A there the Romans would assay to force his defences, he call a trench, fix cubits in depth, and twelve in in breadth; and this trench he environed with a double bank and course of strong stakes and pales, and upon the inward circuit and enclosure he apposed a mane with main stakes, for the more ease emplacement of the enemy, when they should pass over the trench. The Conul apposing the King to be about Thyataira, marched continually, and upon the fifth day came down into the plains of Hircuma. And when he understood that the Romans were dislodged and departed hence, he followed him by the tracks, and on this side the river Planger, sent four times from the enemy, where about a thousand horsemen flewed themselves (for the most part) Galatians, some Dacians, with certain archers on horseback other nations intermingled among them who in great haste having passed over the river, charged upon the camp and guard of the called Galata.

B Romans. At the first they put the Roman to some trouble, finding them out of order and astir, but as the skirmish grew hotter and continued longer, and the number of the Romans soon increased, (by reason their camp was so near to yield them for courses) they of the Kings side being wearied and not able to make their part good against so many of them, began to retire; and certain of them before they could take the river, were overtaken by those that followed west the chaise, and killed outright. For two days after they fired but no hand, for neither the one nor the other went over the river. The third day after the Romans all at once passed over, and encamped about a mile from the enemies, but as they were pitching their tents, and busied about fortifications and enceases, three thousand chosen horsemen and foot together from the Kings Camp came upon them with a great trouble and affray. The number of them that were inguarded was a good deal; howbeit, of themselves alone, without calling to help and aid the fouldiers from their work about the fortification and defence of the camp, they not only yet at first received the charge with equal labour, but also after wards, as the fight entailed, put the enemies to flight, when they had killed some hundred of them, and taken prisoners almost as many. For the space of four days next ensuing, both armies stood embattled on either side before their Camp. And upon the fifth day the Romans advanced both into the middle of the plain. Atrochus came not forward with his enemies, inso much, as the hindmost were not an hundred foot off from the trench. The Conul receiving that he fell off and would no battle, called a council the next day, to be advised and resolved what he should do, in case Atrochus would not be fought withall. For considering that the winter approached the fouldiers were either to lie in the field under their tents, or else it they minded for the winter season to retire unto their garrison towns the war must be put off until the next summer. Now the Romans never made so small reckoning of any enemy as of him. Whereupon, throughout the whole assembly they called upon the Conul with one voice to lead forth to battle out of hand, and take the fouldiers whilst they were in this heart ready. If the enemies would not come out into the field, to pass over ditch and rampier, and break into the camp amongst them; making account, that they were not to fight with so many thousands of enemies, but rather to make a slaughter and butchery of so many beasts, Whereupon Con.Dionisius was sent to discover the way, and to view the place where was best entering upon the trench and rampier of the enemies. After he had brought certain relation of all things, it was thought good the next morrow to approach near unto their camp; and on the third day the enemies were dispersed forth into the midst of the plain and they began to range the army in battalarray. Atrochus likewise hoppeth it was not expedient to lie off and stay any longer, for fear left in refusing still to fight, he should either abate the courage of his own men, or in the least the hope of his enemies, and therefore came abroad with all his forces and advanced to force forward from his camp that it appeared well he meant to fight. The Roman army stood embattled in order of manner as well for men, as munition and armor; for of Romans there were two legions, and of Lateines allooSists as many, and every legion consisted of five thousand four hundred, The Romans put themselves in the main battall, and the Latines kept both the points. The Haftati were placed with their enemies for moli in the vanguard, Atthem the Pernipercip in the middle and the Trivies in the rearguard, Without this compass battall thus marshalled, the Conul let to the right point the auxiliary fouldiers or Eumeives, mingled together with the targetteers of the Achasian the number almost of three thouland, whom he rang out equally afront, and beyond them more outward he opposed about three thousand men of arms; whereof eight hundred were sent from Eumeves, the rest were the Cavailry of the Romans. Without all these in the outmoist place, he put the Trallians and Canditars, who in all made up the number of five hundred. As for the left wing, it seemed to need no such succours, by reason it was flanked with the river and high steep banks, howbeit in that side there were planted four troops of horsemen. Thus you see all the forces that the Romans had besides two thouland Thracians and Macedonians mingled and blended together, who followed as volunteers, and were left for the guard of the Camp and sixteenElephants, which they betwixt in the rearguard for the defence of the Trivies. For, over and besides that they were not like to hold out against the Kings Elephants, which were in number fifty and four, you must consider that those of Alfrieb, are not able to match them of Inda, say they were in number equall: either because in bigness the Indians exceed the other (as in tenth they are much greater by odds) or surpass them in courage and stomack. But the Kings army was composed of divers nations, different as well in arms as in fouldiers. He had of Macedonians fifteen thouland footmen, heavily armed after their manner, called Phalanx: these made the main battall, and in the front foot divided in ten squadrons,
squadrons, parted and fevered one from the other by two Elephants placed between. More inward behind the forefront, the battall was dispalied in two and thirty ranks of footsoldiers. This was the strength of the Kings army, and as in other respects, so especially in regard of the Elephants furmounting aloft over the souldiers, represented to the eye a fearful and terrible sight. For besides that they were high and lofty of themselves, their crested headstalls, with plumes upon them, their turrets upon their backs, and in every turret four men standing in glittering armour besides the Maiter and governour himself, made the appearance and their force greater. On the right wing, he placed close unto the Phalangites, a thousand and five hundred horsemens of the Gallegrooe: unto whom he adjoynd three thousand lances in compleat armour, mounted upon bard horses; and those men of arms they themselves called Caraph rats. To these were added another wing of a thousand horsemens, which they named Agenas. Medes they were, elect and chosen men, together with more horsemens of the same region, mingled of many nations one with another. Close unto them in the rearguard was set a troop of sixteen Elephants. On which side also in a wing somewhat further drawn out stood the king his own cohort, bearing the name of Argyrapides, by occasion of the siluered shields which they bare. After them followed 1500 Da-

ians, archers on horseback. Then, three thousand footmen lightly armed and composed partly of Cadians and partly of Trelëans, in number almost equal, and 2500 Mylianis attened upon the archers. And the utmost side and tail of that wing was guarded with four thousand Cyreni.

*Like to Car-

bons.

The seven and thirtieth Book of T.Livius.
A with the strange and uncouth noise which they made, that suddenly as if they had been unbridled and without their gaits, they flung out every way, and ran at random; which violence of theirs the light armed fouldiers, the nimbleflingers, and swift running Candiots avoided easily with a trice. And the horfemen withall following the chafe, redoubled the fright and hurry amongst the horfes, yes, and the dromedary camels too; which likewise were unruly and let a maddening: and this hurriedly, the manifold cries from the multitude all about, helped well forward. Thus were the chariots chained in the middle of the plain between both armies: and when these vain bags were once rid out of the way, then the alarm and signa was given on both parts, and they charged one another in battell-wise. But as foolish an occurrence as that was, it called anon a discomfiture and overthrow indeed. For the auxiliaries and aids behind which were

B placed next unto them, terrified with the fear and affliction of the chariots, fled, and left all naked and dismiffed even to the hard horfes, in which sort that the rearward was in disarray, The Roman Cavalry entered upon the foal laden horfes, and charged them to holpily, that part of them was not able to endure the frift shock and encounter: some were put to flight, others were born down with the noise and weight of their harness and weapons. And presently thereupon the whole left wing of the battell began to retreat. And after that those losses were disbanded and in disarray which were between the Cavalry and the heavy armed men called Phalanx, the disorder and fear went on; as also to the midst of the main battell: wherefoon as the ranks and files were broken and shuffled together, by reason of the entrance of their own fellows among them, they had none at all of their long pikes, which the Macedonians call Sarisses. Then the Roman legions advanced their engines, and lanced their darts against those disordered ranks shuffled together. The very Elephants that were placed betwixt, nothing troubled and affrighted the Roman fouldiers, as who had been used in the African war, both to avoid the fudden rage of those beasts, and also either with their javelins to flank and hurt them overthrow, or else if they could come near unto them, to hew them and cut their hamstrings with their swords. By this time now was the front of the main battell detacted and beaten down: and the rearguard behind environed and cut in pieces: whereas the Romans withall, might perceive their own fellows flying from the other part, and hear the cry of those that were affrighted, even asmult as far as to their camp. For Antiochus keeping the right wing, seeing in the left point of the Romans no other defence (by reason that they troubled upon the river) but only four troops of horfemen, and those also by drawing themselves close to their fellows, to leave the bank-side void and naked, charged that point with his Auxiliaries and lances upon hard horfes, and not only made head and pressed them afore, but from the river also let a compas and enclosed them; and flanked that wing so long, until the horfemen were first discomfited, and then the footmen next unto them were put to flight, so as they ran amain toward their camp. M. Emilius a Colonell, and sonco M. Licinius, who a few years after was created the High-Priest, had the charge of the camp: he with his whole guard came forth, and where as he saw them flee, there he opposed himself, and first commanded them to stand, and afterwards to return to battell, checking and rebuilding them for their bashfully fear, and shambling running away. Moreover, he proceeded to mimatory words, saying, That in case they would not be ruled by his direction, they should run ahead like blind beetles upon their own mutchies: and in the end, he gave a sign to his own company, for to lay upon the forrord of them that thus fled, and caused the multitude that followed, with dint of sword and drawing blood of them, to turn their face again upon the enemies. Thus the greater fear overcame the less: for seeing danger before and behind, first they laid their flight, and afterwards returned to the battell. Emilius also with his own regiment (which for the guard of the camp had 5000 tall and valiant men in it) withflood the King right stoutly as he followed hot in chase upon those that fled. Moreover, Artabas (brother of King Eumenes) in the right point of the battell, who at the first charge had discomfited the left wing of the enemies, perceiving that his fellows fled in their left point, and hearing a great fear about the camp, came to the rescue in good time with 300 horsemen, Antiochus, when he saw them turn head again whose backs were toward him, and began to fight aileft, and perceived withall a number coming against him, both on the camp and also from the battell, turned his horf head and took himself to flight. By this means the Romans obtained the victory of both the wings, and pressed directly to the rifling of the camp over the dead bodies, which in the main battell most of all were massacred and lay by heaps: where the strength and flower of the hardiest men ranged close together and the weight besides of their heavy armor would not give them leisure to fly away. The horse men of Eumenes were the first of all the others that putd the enemies: after them, the reit of the Cavalry followed the chafe all over the fields: and even as they overtook any of the hindmost, killed them outright. But that

G which troubled and plagued them in their flight more than all besides, was their chariots, elephants and camels, intermingled among them as they fled; forasmuch as being once disband ed and put out of their ranks, they tumbled one upon another like blind men, and were bruised and crushed under the beasts feet which came running upon them. Great execution also there was committed in the camp, yes, and more in manner than had been in the battell; for the first that fled, and those that fought in the vanguard, took in way most of them to the camp, and upon aput confedence of this multitude, the garrison within fought more vaiently, and held
out longer in the defence of the hold. The Romans being thus laden in the gates and kept out of the rampart which they thought verily to have forced and won at their first assault, when they were once at length broken through and got in, made the more bloody slaughter amongst them, for very anger and delight that they had kept them forth so long. It is said, that there were slain that day about fifty thousand footmen and 4000 horsemen, 1400 taken prisoners, together with fifteen Elephants with their governors. A number of the Romans were hurt and wounded, but there died not in the field above 3000 footmen, and 24 horsemen: and of the regiment of King Enemenos not paid five and twenty. And for that day verily, the conquerors after they had ransacked only the tents and pavilions of their enemies, returned to their own camp with great plenty of pillage: but the next morrow they fell to looting the bodies of the dead and gathered their prisoners together. And upon this victory, there came Embassadors from Thynastrae and Magnesia unto Syilus, for to surrender and deliver up their cities.

Antiochus, who fled accompanied with some few, having gathered unto him many more in the way, who rallied themselves unto him, arrived at Sardis about midnight with a small power of armed men; and hearing that his son Seleucus and some other of his friends were gone before to Apanaca, himself also at the fourth watch departed thence with his wife and daughter toward Apanaca; after he had committed the charge of guarding the City Sardis unto Zeux, and appointed Timon governour of Lydia. But the inhabitants of the said City and the garison fowlers within the castle, deipted their governours, and by general consent addressed Embassadors unto the Conuli.

Much about the same time also, there arrived Embassadors from Toul's, and Magnesia (which K flannedeth upon the river Meander) and likewise from Ephesus to yield up their Cities. For Polycemis (advised of the issue of this battle) had abandoned Ephesus and having failed with the fleet as far as Patara in Lydia, for fear of the Rhodian ships which rid in guard within the harbour of Magnesia disembarked and put himself a shore, and with a small company marched by land into Syria. The Cities of Asia were surrendered into the hands and protection of the Conuli, and submitted to the people of Rome. By this time now was the Conuli possessed of Sardis, and thither repaired unto him Scipio from Elasjo soon as ever he could endure the travail of journey.

At the same time there came an herald from Antiochus unto the Conuli, who by the mediation of Scipio, made request and obtained thus much, That the King might send his Orators and Embassadors unto him. And after few daies Zenois (who had been governour of Lydia) together L with Antipater (Antiochus his nephew, or brothers son) arrived. Who first dealt with King Enemenes and communed with him, whom (by reason of old jars and quarrels) they supposed verily to be the greatest enemy unto peace, and that he would never abide to hear thereof: but him they found more reasonable and inclining to peaceable terms, than either the King their Masters or themselves hoped and looked for. So by the means of Scipio and him together, they had access unto the Conuli; who at their earnest petition granted them a day of audience in a frequent assembly, there to declare their Composition and what they had in charge, "Then (quoth Zenis) we are not so much to speak and deliver outhe of our owne selves, as to ask and be advised of you (Romans) what courie to take, and by what means of satisfaction we might expiate and lattisfe the trepals of the King our Master, and withall obtain grace and pardon at your hands who are M the victors? Your manner alwayes hath been of a magnanimous and haughty spirit to forgive Kings and nations by you vanquished: How much more then is it decent and becomming you to do the like: yea, and with a greater mind and more generous and bountifull heart, in this victory and conquest, which hath made you LL of the whole world? For now it behoveth you to lay down all debate and quarrel with mortal men here upon earth, and rather like the immortal gods in heaven, to provide for the good and safety of mankind, and them to pardon and forgive. Now was it agreed upon before the coming of the Embassadors, what answer to make unto them; and likewise thought good it was that Africenus should deliver the fame, who spake by report in this wise: We Romans, of all those things which are in the power of the immortal gods, have that measure which they vouchsafed to give us: as for heart and courage which de- N pendeth upon our own will and mind, we have born (and ever will) the same without change and alteration in all fortunes: neither hath prosperity raised and lift it up aloft, nor adversity debarred and put it down. For proof whereof, I might produce your friend Ambelus witness, to testify nothing of others, but that I can report to you my own selves. For after we had passed over Hellespont, even before we law the Kings camp and army, when the hazard of war was in- O fered on even hand, and whiles we were equal one unto the other, and good upon terms of e- vantage the fame and no other we present unto you at this time, now that we are conquerors, forbear to meddle within Europe, depart wholly out of Asia, more as is on this side Tauris. Moreover, in regard of the expences defraided in this war, ye shall pay fifteen thousand Ta- N lents of silver according to the computation of Ephesos five hundred in hand, two thousand and five hundred at the assurance and making of the peace, by the Senate and people of Rome and a thousand talents yearly for twelve years next ensuing. Also ye shall make payment unto Enemenes of four hundred talents, and the remnant behind of the corn and grain which was due unto his father. And when we have contracted and concluded these covenants, to the end that we may rest satisfied that ye will perform the same, we demand for a gage and sufficient pawn at
A "at ye deliver into our hands twenty hostages, such as we shall like well of and chuse. And for as much as we can never be persuaded that the people of Rome shall enjoy long peace there, where Amilus is, we demand above all things to have him in our custody. Also you shall deliver into our hands Tiber the Aetolian, the principal author and firebrand of that war with the Etruscan, who ruled you to take arms against us, upon promise that he gave you of your old and likewise armed them upon the truth they had in you. Item, together with him you shall deliver Maenius the Aetolian, the servant, together with Philo and Enobarbus the Chalcidians. The King shall now contract peace in worse estate than he was, by reason he makes it later then he might have done. But in case he hold still and delay, know he well thus much, that the royal majesty and part of Kings is with more difficulty stated & taken down from the high pitch and degree until the midst; then from that mean estate, walk down headlong to the lowest. Now these Embassadors were sent from the King with this charge, to accept of any articles of peace whatsoever. And therefore it was decreed that Embassadors should be directly sent to Rome. The Confal divided his army into garrisons for to winter, some in Magnesia upon the river Meander others in Travissis and Ephesus. After few daies the hollage above said, were brought to Ephesus from the King, and Embassadors also came who were to go to Rome. Ennomus like wise went to Rome at the same time that the Kings Embassadors: and there followed embassies moreover of all the States of Asia.

While's the sith of Asia pasled thus in these terms, there were two pro-consuls returned out of their severall provinces, both in manner at once, upon hope to obtain triumph, to wit, Q. Menenius out of Lycia and M. Aquillus out of Asia. When the exploits were heard, as well of the one as the other Minucius was flatly denied triumph, but Aquillus had it granted with great content of all men: who rode into the City triumphant over K. Amintus and the Etruscan. In which triumph there were carried before him 230 enlagns, 3000 pound weight of mallei silver in bullion; of coin in Attick Tetradrachms 113000 in Attick Drachms 24000. In place any vessels engraven and chaised, of great weight. He carried also in pomp the implements of the King, horse all of silver, with rich and sumptuous apppellare. All crowns of gold 45 presented unto him by Cities subiect & besides all sorts of rich spoil, and moreover he led divers noblemen prisoners, and left of all 36 captains, as well Etruscan as those that served under the King. As for Demetrius, a great commander of the Etruscans, who some few daies before had broken prison and escaped by night, he was by his keepers that made fresh fire after him, overtaken upon the bank of Tigris that before he could be attached by them, he fell upon his own sword, and ran himself through. Only there warned them that should have fed after his chariot; other wise the triumph and been magnificant and flatly, both for the pompous shew and also of the honor and renown of exploits achieved. But the joy of this triumph was blemished with heavy tidings out of Spain, of a lease and overthrow and the re-occupation of the Portugals in the country of Valcetanis, near the town Lycus, and the conduct of L. Aemilius: where 6100 of the Roman army were lost dead in the place, and the rest discomfited and beaten back into the camp; which they had much ado to defend and hold, and were forced to retire in manner of flight, and by long journeys recovered the peaceable quarters of their friends. And this was the news out of Spain.

From out of France the Embassadors of the Placentins and Cremonians, were brought by the Pretor L. Aemilius into the Senate: where they made much meat and complaint for default and want of inhabitants, whereas some were devourd by the edge of the tward in wars, others consumed by in lady and sickness, yes, and certain of them departed out of their colonies and wandered in the Gauls their near neighbours. Whereupon the Senate ordained C. Latius the Consul to enroll the thought to good, 600000 families, for to be distributed among these Colonies aforesaid. L. Aemilius the Pretor to create three Commissions called Triumvirs, for the conducing of the Colonies and inhabitants aforesaid. And created there were M. Acilius Severus, L. Valerius Flaccon the son of Publius, and L. Valerius Toppus the son of Caius.

Not long after, against the time of the Consuls election which approached near, C. Leitus the Consul returned out of France to Rome, and he not only by virtue of the act of the Senate made his absence, enrolled certain Colonies to supply the want in Placentins and Cremonians, but also proposed a bill, and according to it the L. of the Senate ordained, that two new Colonies should be conducted into the lands appertaining to the Boians. And the very same time were letters brought from L. Aemilius the Pretor, as touching the battell at sea fought near to Minucus: which letters also gave intelligence, that C. Scipio the Consul had transported his army into Asia. For the joy of the safe naval victory, there was ordained a solemn procession for one day, and in regard that the Roman army was then foot on foot in Africa, the said procession continued another day with supplication to the gods, that this voyage might turn to the prosperity and joy of the Commonwealth. And the Consul was enjoyned at such procession and supplication, to offer twice twenty head of greater beasts. After this ended the solemn assembly for the churing of Consuls, which was holden with great fire and devotion. For M. Aemilius Lepidus had to be Consul, as he was grown into an ill name, and hardly spoken of among the people, in that he had left his government and charge in Sicily for this occasion and business only, without making fault into the Senate and craving leave to do. Together with him were competitors in election, M. Fulvius Nobilior, Cn. Memmius Volfus, and M. Valerius Messala. But Fulvius was chosen alone, because he had left not sufficient voices of the Centuries, and he the morrow after nominated Cn.
Manlius for his colleague, and gave the repulse unto Lepidus; for M. Scaurus kept silence and held his tongue. Which done, the Prior were elected, namely, the two Quinti Fabii, the one named Laber, the other Pistor (who had been consecrated that year for the Flamin Quirinalis). M. Sempronius Sabinus, Sp. Pojliamius Albinus, Lucius Planinus Hypsaeus, and L. Babinius Divus.

During the time that M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Volo were Consuls, Valerius Antonius wrote that there was a idle rumour raised at Rome, and held for certain, that L. Scipio the Consul, together with P. Aemilius, were called forth to a parley with King Antiochus, as touching the enlargement and delivery of young Scipio the son of Africanus, and by that means were both of them arraigned and taken prisoners: also that when their chief commandes were under arrest, the Kings army incessantly advanced against the Roman camp, the same was surprised and forced and the whole power of the Romans utterly defeated. By occasion whereof, it went I currant also, that the Etoilians began to look sly, refused to obey, and shook off their allegiance, also that their Princes and chief States were gone into Macedonia, Dardania, and Thrace, to levy and wage auxiliary forces: moreover, that A. Terentius Varro, and Marcus Claudius Lepidus were sent unto out of Eolos, from A. Cornelius the Proprietor, for to report these news at Rome. Last of all, to make up the tale, he addeth and saith that the Etoilians Embassadors among other things being examined in the Senat about this matter, and demanded of whom they heard and understood that the Roman Generals were taken prisoners in Asia by King Antiochus, and the whole army overthrown Fins answered directly, that they had advertisement thereof by their own Embassadors, who had been with the Consul. But because I find no other author besides him that makes mention of this rumor, I dare not for any thing that I can say of my self, report it for a certain truth, nor yet omit it as a meerable or loud lie.

The Etoilians Embassadors were permitted to come into the Senate house; and being induced in regard of their own cause and present condition, to confess a truth, and as humble fapplicants to crave pardon and forgiveness either for their fault, or misprision and error, began with a bedroll of their favours and good turnes done unto the peoples of Rome, yea and in manner to upbraid the Romans with the valour which they shewed in the war against Philip. But with their arrogance and in olent language they offended the ears of the Senators: and by ripping up old matters done and past (time out of mind and utterly forgotten) they piled their own cause to, and brought it to this pass, that the LL. of the Senat began to call to mind much more harm and mischief contrived and practised by that nation, then kindnesses and civilities received at their hands: insomuch as the Etoilians having need of their mercy, incurred their heavy displeasure, and provoked them to anger and hatred. Being asked this question by one of the Senators whether they would rather and submit themselves to the censure and judgment of the people of Rome? and likewise of another, If they could be content to hold them for their friends or enemies whom the Romans do accounted; they answered not a word: and thereupon immediately were commanded out of the Court and presently all the Senat began to cry out with one voice, that the Etoilians were all still for Kings Antiochus, depending wholly only upon that hope, and therefore they ought to war against them as undoubted enemies, and to take down and tame the proud and feironious hearts of their own. Over and besides all this, another thing there was that incited and kindled the flames of the LL. against them, because at the very same instant when they seemed to require peace at the Romans hands, they warred against Dolopia and Athamania. So there passed a decree of the Senat, (and the same was moved by M. Aelius, who had varisched and induced Antiochus and the Etoilians) that they shall void that very day out of the City of Rome; and within fifteen days next ensuing out of all Italy. As Terentius Varro was sent to enforce them on the way: and this warning they took with them, that if ever after there came any Embassadors from the Etoilians, with the warrant, licence, and permission of the chief Generals who governed the province or not accompany with a Roman Legate, they should be repelled all of them for no better than enemies. In this matter were the Etoilians disinclined & sent away.

After this the Consuls proceeded unto the Senate, as touching the government of the provinces. And thought good it was that they themselves should cast lots to be Etoilians & Sp. Eton. Uno him whole it should be to govern Asia, was appointed that army which L. Scipio bad. And for to furnish it fully up and make up the drosed bands, he was allowed to have four thousand foot men of Romans who were six hundred and two hundred of others that were Latinis, eight thousand foot and four thousand men of armes, and with these forces he was to make war against Antiochus. The other Consul had assigned unto him the army which was Etoilia: and liberty he had for supply of that broken army to levy the same number of Citizens and allies that his command in government had enclosed. To the same Consul was granted a commission likewise to set in order, furnish, and take with him those ships which the former year were prepared and rigged, and not only to make war with the Etoilians, but also to sail over into the Ille Cephalonia. And withal, the said Consul had been in charge to return home to Rome for the election of Magistrates, if he might so do conveniently with the good of the Common-wealth. For besides the small Magistrates (who were to be chosen one under another) it was agreed upon, that Censors also should be created. But in case his affairs detained him, that he might not return in person, then he was to give advertisement, and signify so much to the Senat, that he could not possibly be present at the time of the aforesaid election. So Etoilia fell by lot to M. Fulvius and Aetius Cn. Manlius. Then the Prior took their provinces. Sp. Postumius Albinius had the jurisdiction over Citizens.
The seven and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

A citizens and foreigners both: M. Sempronius Tudscanus governed Sicily: and Q. Fabius Pictor the Quirinal Plamin, Sardinia: Q. Fabius Leo was admiral of the navy at sea: and L. Plautius Hypsias was allotted to the rule of high Spain, and L. Babinius Drusus of the lower. For Sicily one legion was appointed, together with that fleet which was already in that province. Allo there was order that the new Pretors should impose two tenths of corn upon the Sicilians, and send the one into Italy, and the other into Eolia. The like imposition was laid and exacted upon the Sardines; and the laid corn to be conveyed into the same armies that the Sicilian corn was. A supply was granted unto L. Fabius for Spain of a thousand Roman footmen and fifty horse besides besides six thousand Latin foot, and two hundred horsemen. Unio Plautius Hypsias for the higher Spain were allowed a thousand Roman footmen: with two thousand Latin allies, and two hundred horse. Besides these supplements, both the provinces of Spain were allowed each of them one Pretor. The Magistrates and governors of the former year continued full in place of command for one other year, to wit, C. Lutius with his army, and P. L. Lutius also the Propretor in Etruria with those forces which were in the province M. Thecorici wife in the Brittan country and Apulia.

But before the Pretors went into their provinces, there happened a variance between P. Licinius, the Arch-Pontifex, or chief Preist, and Q. Fabius Pictor the Quirinal Plamin, like unto that which sometime fell out between L. Metellus and Posidimus Albinus. For at what time as Ptolemy the Conful was upon his departure and journey to his fleet in Sicily, together with C. Licinius his colleague, Metellus the Archbishop for the time being, kept him back upon occasion of certain sacrifices to be celebrated: tembly, when as Fabius the Pretor would have gone into Sardina, P. Licinius the high Priest detained him. Much little and hard hold there was hereabout, as well in the Senate house, as before the people. Inhibitions palled to and fro. Cautions and pledges were disdained: since they imposed one upon another head; the Tribunes were called unto on both sides for to interpole their authority, and they appealed both unto the people. In fine, religion, and the regard of holy rites took place, and caried it clear: and the Plamin was enjoined to obey the chief priest; and by order and expexte commandment from the people, all fines were taken off and forgiven. And when the Pretor for very anger and spire that he was debarred from his province, would have surrendered and resigned up his government, the LL. of the Senate impeached and terriffied him by their absolute authority, and ordered that he shoul minister justice, and exercise civil jurisdiction between aliens. After that the mutters were ended within few days (for many lounders were not to be levied and enrolled) both Confuls and Pretors took their journey into the provinces. After this, there arose a bruit concerning the occurrants and affairs in Africa, blown and spread abroad I wot not how, nor from what author it proceedeth: but after few days there came certain messengers with letters from the Generals of the Roman army, bent of purpose to the City, which caufed not to great joy presenti enuating upon the enic lexis aforelaid (for why, they were no more afraid of Africa by them already conquered) as daigned quite the same and opinion that went on Antonius, whom in the beginning of this war they appoposed would have been a dangerus enemy unto them, as well in regard of his own excellency, as for that he had the direction and conduct of Ambient in the war: bothe, they thought good to alter nothing, either as touching the tending of the Conful into Africa, or diminishing his forces, for fear they should have war with the French.

Not long after M. Aurelius Corvinus, a lieutenant of Scipio, came to Rome with the Embassadors of King Antiochus, and likewise King Ennemos and the Rhadians. Corvin reported and declared first in the Senate, and afterwards in a full assembly of the people (by order and commandment from the LL. of the Council) what affairs had palled in Spain. Whereupon ordained it was, that there should be holden a solemn procession for 3 days together: and order was given, that a head of greater cattle should be killed for sacrifice. This done, the Senat assembled for to give audience to King Ennemos; first above all other matters: who briefly in few words having rendred thanks to the LL. of the Senat, for that they had delivered him and his brother from fiege, and protected his realm against the wrongs and outrages offered by Antiochus: also having testified his joy by way of gratulation for their prosperous and fortunate affairs achieved both by land and sea: namely, in that they had disemboced and put to flight K. Antiochus, & driven him out of his camp, that he could not keep the field; and withal deferred and dispasnded him sight of Europe and afterwards of all that part of Africa which lieth on this side the mountain Taurus: he concluded and knit up with this, That as touching his own demerits and employments about their affairs, he had rather they took knowledge by their own generals, captains and lieutenants, than from his mouth. They all approved well of this speech of his, and willed him to speak boldly without bafhe modelly in that case. What he thought in equity and reason the Senat and people of Rome was to yeeld unto him by way of justly remonstrate: alluring him that the Senat would do it more willingly and liberally (if possibly they could) according to the worth of his deserts, of the Roman Senat (to he might have the means and liberty to ask their advice) to this end that he would not be thought, either to exceed measure in covetous desire, or pasce the bounds of modelly in craving a remonstrate. But now considering they are themselves to give that reward, much more reason it is that their magnificence and bounty to him & his brethren should be re.
The seven and thirtyeth Book of T. Livius.


The Oration of King Eumenes, put in the Senate of Rome.

"S"tired to their own arbitrement and discretion, The J.L. of the Senate were nothing moved at this language of his, but urged him still to speak himself in his own cause. And after a certain time that they had tried a -vie, the J.L. in courteis and kindness, the King in modesty and thesamefilings, yielding one unto the other reciprocally, in such amiable and mutual manner as hardly can be expressed, Eumenes, departed out of the temple. The Senate perished nevertheless in their resolution saying, it was very abrid and undecert that the King should be ignorant upon what hopes he was come, and what he purposed to make suit and petition for: and himself mult needs of all others know best what was meetest and most expedient for his own Kingdom: yes, and was far better acquainted with the citate and affairs of Asia then the Senate was. And therefore no remedy, but he must be call'd again, and compelled to declare and deliver what his will, desire and mind was to have. Hereupon the King was brought back into the temple by the Preators, and urged to speak. I

Then at last, my L.L. (q.d.be) I would have perished still in silence, but that I knew that anony ye or will call the embassage of the Rhodians in place, and that after audience given unto them, I must not either will nor choose but make some speech of necessity & verily with so much more difficulty shall I speak, because their demands will be such, as if they would seem not only to require nothing prejudicial and hurtful unto me, but all (which more is matters little or nothing pertinent to themselves. For plead they will and maintain the cause of the Cities in Greece, saying, they ought be free and at liberty: which being once obtained, who can make doubt but rather they will withdraw from our obedience, not only the Cities which shall be freed, but also those which have been homsgers and tributaries unto us of old time? yes, and will keep them as subjects in very deed and wholly at their devotion, whom being thus bond and obliged K to them by to great a benefit, they call by the name of Allies, and would make the whole world be heave they repuse them for no other: Yet forsooth (I wrought well): in affecting and sparing to this to great power & puissance, they will carry it to cleanly & make semblant, as though this in no wise touched and concerned them: but it is befitting you alone, corresponding & answerable to other former deputies of yours. But he ye well advised, and let not their gloating words deceive you: ye take heed, I say that ye go not with an uneven hand nor hear your felves equally, while you depresse and abate too much some of your allies, in promoting and advancing others beyond all measures; and above all beware that they who have lift up their spears and born wars against you, be not more kindly intreated & in better condition, than your loving friends and faithful confederats. For mine own part, in all other things I would gladly be thought of every man, rather to keep within my compasse; yes, and yeild somewhat of my right whatsoever it is, then to strive too much in the maintenance and holding thereof: but in the question of your friendship, my affection towards you, and to the honour which shall come from you. I cannot endure with patience that any one should out-go and tum-turn my left. This I account the greatest inheritance left unto me by my father the Trit, (of all those that inhabit in Greece and Asia) who was entertained in your amity and continued in the same always most felt, most constant and faire ever to his dying day: who only theewed bound affection and loyal heart unto you, but also was in person employed in all your wars which ye made against me, as well as land as sea: affilict ed and aided you with all kind of provisions, in such sort, as none of all your allies besides was any where comparable or came near to him. And finally, as he earnestly exhorted the Romans to accept of your society, he sunk down, swooned in the very assembly & not long after yielded up his spirit and dyed. His footsteps have I trod, and followed his good example. For affection verily and fludious desire to honour you, I could not have more then he had (for I suppose it was impossible to uperlap him therein:) but in kind pleasures, effectual services, offices, courtesies, and favours, to firmament and go beyond him; the goodness of fortune, the occasion of times, King Antiochus and the war of Asia, have minified ample and sufficient matter unto me, Antiochus King of Asia and part of Europe gave me his daughter in marriage, and with her endowed me with the repoffition of those Cities which had revoked from us. He fed me moreover with great hopes of encreasimg my dominion in time to come, if I would have sided with him against you. I will glory and vaunt of this, that I have done nothing to offend and displeace you: I will rather redace those pleasures and services which are becomming the ancient amity and friendship between our house and you. In forces as well for land as sea, I have friended and helped your Generals in such wise, as I forbid all your allies besides to do the like: ex跟我 them I have with victus on the land, with provisions at sea. In all the battels and conflicts by ships (which were many and in landy places) I was present in person. I undertook all travels, I ad ventured all perils, and no where favoured my self and thought much of my pains: nay, that which is the greatest calamity and misery that followeth wars, I was besiegued, and endured it: enclosed I was and shut up within Pergamus, to the utter hazard of my life and of my realm and royal dignity. And after I was delivered from that danger and the siege raised, albeit Antiochus on one side and Seleucus on another, lay encamped about the principal forreile of my Kingdom, I quit mine own affairs and laid all aside to come with my whole fleet into Hellespont, & there to meet with L. Scipio your Conial, and to aid him in transporting and waiting his army into Asia. And when your forces were passed over, I never afterwards departed from him: there was not a Roman soldier more reliant ordinarily in your camp then my self and my brethren.No expeditions no rode, no exploit of horie service was there without me. In battle have I stood on foot & guarded that quarter which the Cofabath appointed me to keep. I will not lay my L.L. what
A
one persuasion there is that hath done so good service for you in the last war as I myself, and who
is in any way comparable unto me: nay, I dare make comparison with all Emperors and Princes what-
ever, whom ye esteem and honour to highly? Maleantes before he was your friend, was
your professed enemy: he came not to you with his aids in the time of his unprofitable fortune, and
whiles his Kingdom flourished in good estate; but when he was banished, driven out of his
Kingdom, and turned out of all, be fled into your camp, accompanied only with a small troop
and court of boromencs: Yet nevertheless, because he stood tall to you and bare himself in all
loyalty, and shewed his prowess in your behalf against Philip, and the Carthaginians in Africa,
you not only restored him to his fathers Kingdom, and placed him again in the royal throne,
but you laid unto his dominion the richest part of the realm of Syria, made him the most pow-
tful
B
worthy to have at your hands, we (say) who never were enemies, but ever friends? My la-
ter, my left, my brethren, have borne arms in your quarters by land, by sea, not only in Asia but
far from your own home and native soil in Peloponnesus in Asia in Asia during the war with
Philip, with Antiochus, with the Erohians. What recompense dem'd your betrayer? may some
man say. Forasmuch as (my LL.) you will have it so, and it is your pleasure that I should speak
my mind, go before it is, that I have this small hand for all ye have depotestelled Antiochus
all on this side Antiochus with this intent, to hold these lands; our own selves done better then
you, and whom I would rather wish to be my neighbours and to confine upon me (neither c n
believe me, of any mens in the world any important to the safety and strength of my King-
doing. But if, in case your purpose be to depart and retire your forces from thence, I dare be bold
tell ye, that of your allies, (and put them all together) there is not one more worthy then my self
to have and hold that which you have won by conquest. But an honourable deed it is and magni-
ficent, to let free and deliver Cities out of this prince and servitude. True and I say last of
the same opinion, provided always, that they had attempted nought by way of hostility against
you. But in case they had taken part and sided with Antiochus, ho he love so much to endeth it with
wisdom, say, with equal and reason, to be restored of your allies who have so well defered
on your hands, then to regard your enemies. This Oration of the King much pleased the LL of
the Senate, and loom it was seen by their countenance that they would deal bounteous and liber-
ally with him, yea, and gratifie him in what they might. Then audience was given to a brief
embassay of the Smyrnes, by whose reason that forms of the Rhodians were absent, came be-
tween and delivered their meadage: Highly were they Smyrnes commended, in that they chose
rather to ensure all extremities then to yield themselves unto King Antiochus. Then the Rhodians
entered in place, and the chief men of their embassay, after he had declared the first occasion and
beginning of the anger which they had with the people of Rome, and declared with all the good
delights and assurances which the Rhodians had performed in the war against Philip and then a-
gainst Antiochus, went on and passe with followeth. Right honourable, there is nothing more
difficult and troublesome unto us but the business that we have in hand, then this one thing,
that there is some variance and matter divided between us and Emmeret, the only K. of all
others, with whom especially every one of us in privy, and that which toucheth us more, an
City in publick, doth enthrall the bond of friendship and mutual hospitality. Howbeit no re-
proach, nor any that so farre as their affections (say LL.) but even the course of this world and nature it fitted the
mightiest thing of all) which didst us, and caught us of all: this may we (being men once
born) to defend and maintain the freedom of all of others: this is it, that moveth K. K. to be
defireous to all have in liberty and subjection under them and at their command. But howver
it is, our modelly and the reverent regard we have of the King performeth us more, then
either the debate of our cause with him is otherwise difficult unto us, or the deciding thereof
like to be intricate and troublesome unto us. For in case it were so, the LL could not honour
and reward a King, your allie and friend for his good service done in this war (for recompence
whereof you have in consideration) by no other means, unlese you deliver free Cities into his
hands, to serve in bondage; then were it hard for you to resolve; for fear lest either ye should
send away a prince (your friend and confederat) without guerdon and honour; or seem to change
that laudable enterprise of yourselves which you have begun, to flain and blench your glory now
(which you have acquired by the war against Philip) with reducing to many Cities and states
into servitude. But your happy fortune saeth you right well of this difficulty and necessity,
that you need not fear either to empower your credit and favour with your friends, or to endanger
your reputation and honour among men. For (the gods be thanked therefore) you have achie-
v'd a victory, no lesser then glorious, and sufficient (If I may so say) to discharge all your
debs, and let you clear with all the world. For Lycania, Phrygia both the great and the lefe, the
whole Pisidia, Ciliceto, and in brief all the confines of Europe are under your dominion. Of
all which provinces, if you lay one by another (which you will ye selves) for K. Emmenes, you find
mightily enlarge and amplitie his Kingdom: but, give him Ill, you will make him equal to the
most powerful princes and monarchs that are. You see then by this, that you may recompense and en-
rish your allies out of the conquest gotten by war, and nevertheless hold out your good example
that you have begun, remembering always what title you pretended first in your war with Philip,
and now lately with Antiochus; disordering withal, what you did then. After Philip was vanquished, &
what is required and expected at your hands now: not so much because you have used it already.
The seven and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

...and thus it may be that many causes have led to this event, such as the sudden change in the political situation, the rise of new powers, and the general desire for peace and stability. The Senate was then called in consultation to decide on the best course of action.

After long debates and consultations, the Senate decided to accept the peace terms offered by Antiochus. The peace was signed on the thirtieth day of the previous month, and the terms were as follows:

1. The Romans recognized Antiochus as king of Asia and Syria.
2. The Romans acknowledged the independence of the Greeks.
3. The Romans paid a large indemnity to Antiochus.
4. The Romans agreed to the restoration of the temples of Athens and Alexandria.
5. The Romans agreed to the repatriation of Greek slaves.

Antiochus was pleased with the terms and agreed to sign the peace treaty. The treaty was ratified by both parties, and the peace was declared to be for all time.

The Senate then announced the news of the peace to the people, who were overjoyed at the news. The peace treaty was seen as a victory for the Romans, and the Senate was hailed as the victor.

In conclusion, the peace treaty with Antiochus was a significant event in Roman history, as it marked the end of a long and costly war. The treaty was seen as a major victory for Rome, and it set the stage for future Roman expansion and influence in the region. The Senate was praised for its wisdom and foresight in accepting the treaty terms.
A client cutum of their ancestors, to hear, decide, and compose all their affairs of Asia. But the final conclusion of all should be this, That whatsoever pertained to the dominion of Antiocbus on this side the mountain Tauros, should be assigned to King Eumenes, excepting the countries of Lydia and Caria, so far as the river Maeander, all which must lie to the signory of the Rhodians. As to the other Cities of Asia, which had been tributaries to Attalus, those also were to pay tribute to Eumenes: but such as were sometimes homagers to Antiocbus, those should be unencumbered and remain free. The ten commissioners whom they appointed were those, to wit, Q. Minucius Rufus, L. Furia Purpureo, Q. Minucius Thermus, App. Claudius Nero, Cn. Cornelius Merulla, M. Iunius Brutus, L. Antistius Balbus, L. Aemilius Paullus, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, and P. Aelius Tubero. These men had plenary power and full commission to take order and determine as they thought good, in all the occurrences that were presented in their haunts. But they had direction from the Senate as to the principal points: 

**Imprimis.** That all Arabia and Phrygia, both the more and the less, that Myrina, with the Kings' chains and forests, that the Cities of Lydia and Ionia, except those that were free at the day of the battle fought with Antiocbus, and expressly by Magnesia near Sipylos, together with Caria, which is called Hydrela, and all the territory of Hydrela lying toward Phrygia, moreover Telmessus and the forts of the Tellmessians, receiving only that territory which belonged to Ptolemaeus the Tellmessian, that all these countries, I say, and Cities above written, should be given and granted to King Eumenes. 

**Items.** That the Rhodian should be enfeoffed in Lydia, without the foresaid Telmessus the forts and territory, appertaining sometime to Ptolemaeus Telmessus: which parcels, I say, were reserved as well from Eumenes, as the Rhodians. 

**Item.** To the Rhodians was granted that part of Caria, which lieth beyond the river Maeander, near to the isle Rhodes, together with the towns, villages, fortes, and lands bounding upon Phrygia: except those towns which were free the day before the battle with King Antiocbus in Asia. The Rhodians, when they had given thanks to the Senate for their graces, were in hand with them for the City Soli in Cilicia: they alleged, that they like wise as themselves, were descended from Pegas: by occasion of which confederation and near alliance, they loved together as brethren by nature: in regard whereof, they made petition that over and besides other donations, they would do them this extraordinary favour, to except that City also from the servitude and subjection of Antiocbus. 

Then were the Embassadors of King Antiocbus called for, and treated with all about this matter, but to no effect. 

For Antipater, being violently upon this point, pleased hard, that the accord was past already, and might not be revoked or altered: and that against the tenour of the articles and covenants therein comprised, it was not the City Soli, but Cilicia that the Rhodians demanded; and never would they rest till they were gotten over the mountain Taurus. Then were the Rhodians called back again into the Senate, unto whom the L. of the Senate, after they had made resolution how earnest the Kings Embassador was with them upon the point, added thus much moreover and laid, That if the Rhodians deemed in very deed that the matter concerned the honour of their City and State, the Senate would work all possible means to exalt the Kings Embassadors to reseat, how high and obtinate forever they stood. For this courteous, the Rhodians thanked them much more heartily than for all the rest before, and said withal, that they would yield and give place to the arrogant spirit of Antiocbus; rather then seem to give any cause or occasion of troubling the peace. And so, by astonishing the City Soli, there was no alteration made.

White these matters were thus debated and passed, the Embassadors of the Mæsullians brought intelligence, that L. Babelius the Pretor, being in his journey towards his province of Spain, was seized and enclosed by the Ligurians, and many of his men killed outright in the place, that himself mortally wounded fled without his hastors and serjeants into Mæsulia, and within three days left this life. The Senate upon the advertisement ordained P. Iunius Brutus the Pro-pretor in Hetruria to go in person into the farther Spain, and govern the same as his own province: but first to leave Hetruria and the army there to one of the Lieutenants whom he pleased to make chief of this. This decease of the Senate, together with letters from Spanis Phorminius the Pretor of the City was sent into Hetruria: and fo P. Iunius departed as Pro-pretor into Spain. In which province L. Iunius Paulus (who afterwards won a right glorious victory of King Perseus) having the former year fought unfortunately, now a little before the arrival of his succour, gave battle to the Lucullians with an army rallied and assembled in half in which the enemies were put to the work and driven to fly. One thousand eight hundred of them well armed were left dead in the field, 3300 taken prisoners, and their camp forced and ransacked. The fruits that went of this victory let all matters in Spain in greater quietness.

The same year upon the third day before the Calends of January, L. Valerius Flaccus, M. Aemilius Servianus, and L. Valerius Tappe, the three Triumvirs, by order from the Senate, planted a Latin Colony at Boldea: and three thousand people were thither sent to dwell. Every gentleman by calling that served on horseback had 70 acres of ground let out to him, and the rest of the colonists fifty. The land divided thus among them had been conquered from the Boiotians in Gaul: and those Gauls first had dispossessed the Thracians of the same.

This year there were many men of mark and name that were to be Centors: and this composition as it had not been of sufficient importance it fell to move matter of debate, was the occasion of a contention and variance much greater. The competitors were these, T. Quinctius Flamininus, P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Cneus; L. Valerius Flaccus, M. Porcius Cato, M. Claudius Marcellus.
The seven and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

Maccelles, and M. Atilius Glabrio, even he who had vanquished Antiochus and the Ετολιανος at Θερμοπύλη. To this man last referred the peoples favour and affection most enclined, by reason of many congiaries and largesses which he had given amongst them in publick, by means whereof many a man was obliged and bound unto him. The rest, being so many and nobly descended with all, took it to the heart, and could not endure that such a person as he newly risen and come up, and a gentleman of the first head, should be preferred before them; whereupon P. Sempronius Gracchus, and C. Sempronius Euchi us, two Tribunes of the commonalty, conndered against him at once, lying to his charge that there remaineth a surplusage of the Kings money and other largesses gotten in the camp of Antiochus, over and above all that he either carried and showed in triumph, or brought in accompny to the City chamber. Many, and sudden depo- sitions there were to prove this inditement, as well of lieutenants as of colonnels. But, M. Cato above all other witnesses was most noted: whose great authority acquired in the whole course of his life (which he had passed hitherto in all upright conversation and constant gravity,) was much emparied and discredited now, with his white robbethat bare on his back. He being produced as a witness, deposeth and gave evidence, that he had been certain plate as well gold as silver, among the rest of the largesses found in the Kings camp, which he never could let eye on in all the triumph above said. In the end, Glabrio because he would bring some displeasure particularly, and most of all upon Cato, said, he would give over his suit for the Censorship, since that there was another competitor as newly come up as himself, (whereat the Nobles indeed took indignation inwardly, although they said against him, even with incredible and ineffable perjury. Well, a fine was let upon his head of a thousand sicles. And twelve K was the matter traversed, whether the multip should be taken off or paid. But when the third day was come, and the party in trouble (Atilius) had quite interceded to sue for the dignity, the people would not give their voices as touching the payment of the fine aforesaid, and the Tribunes also themselves let fall their action. So T. Quintins Flaminius, and T. Claudius Maccellus were created Censors.

About the same time the Senate sent within the City in the temple of Apollo, in regard of L. Escamius Regillus, who had vanquished the Admiral of King Antiochus in batell at (as) where he had audience, and when he had declared what exploits he had done, namely, against how puissant Aranados of the enemies he had fought, and how many ships of theirs he had either sunk or taken; the L. of the Councell withone generall consent and accord, granted unto him a navall triumph. And he triumphed upon the Calends of February. In which triumph there were born in shew fifty crownes sive one, of beaten gold; but nothing that flower of coin as such a royall triumph required only there were carried in pomp 33700 Attick tetradrachms, 33250 cortphors. After this (by decree of the Senate) there were proceedions celebrated in consideration that L. Escamius Paulus had brought his affairs in Spain to an happy issue.

Not long after L. Scipio came also into the City, who because he would not be inferior to his brother in the honourable addition of his name, called himself to be innamed Africani. He discoursed before the Senate, and in the publick audience of the people, as touching his worthy acts. Divers there were who confirmed the thing thus and said, That the war was greater in name then difficult unto him in the managing: for with fighting one only memorable batell the matter was achieved and ended, but the glory indeed of that victory was begun unto him and prepared for his hand at Thermopylae. But, if a man should judg hereof, wise, and according to truth, the batell of Thermopylae may rather be accounted an exploit against the Ετολιανος then King Antiochus. For what great forces I pray you had Antiochus there in the field of his own? But in the last batell litten in Asia, the whole power and puissance that he had in all Asia, could not be conceived, and all the sids and factours which he could levy out of the nations as was to the utmost parts of the Efp. Great cause therefore they had both to render much praise and thanksgiving to the immortal gods, in as ample manner as possibly they could devise (for vouchsafing unto them to brake a victory as it was, and the fame with such eale and expedition) and also to grant a triumph to the General. He triumphed upon the last of February, even in the very day that made the leap year. This triumph of his was much greater then that other other of his brothers in regard of the magnificent pomp and shew represented to the eye: but if one call to mind the subsance of the things themselves, and compare the dangers, the conflicts and difficulties of the one war with the other; there is no more equality between them, then if a man should in comparision of captain with captain, set Antiochus to match with Amibal. He shewed in triumph two hundred thirty four field ensigns and standards: he carried before him the portraits of two hundred thirty four towns and Cities: a hundred thirty four teeth of ivory: two hundred thirty four crowns of gold: 337200 pounds weight of silver: 334000 Attick tetradrachms: 33100 cortphors: 33000 Philip-preces of gold: of silver plate, and that was all graven and chased: a thousand four hundred twenty four pound weight: of golden plate as much as weighed 1204 pound. Moreover there were led before his chariot 32 great commanders; either governors of provinces under the King, or attendant in his court. Every foilder serving on foot, had given unto him 25 deniers every centurion had double to much, and the gentlemen or knights triple. After the triumph done, the fouldiers had their pay double in monye, yea, and the portion of corn like wise was doubled. He had moreover given them already a double proportion in Asia, preferably upon the end of the battell. A year it was almost after his Consulship expired ere he triumphed, And
And much about one and the same time, both Q. Marius and the Consul entered into Asia and Q. Fabius Labeo the Pretor repaired to the fleet. Moreover the Consul had worked enough; and wanted not matter of war within France. The seas were quiet after that Antiochus was defeated and subdued: Fabius therefore studied which way to take, and how to employ himself and his forces at sea, because he would not be thought and reputed idle in his province: so he resolved at length to put over with his fleet into Crete. Now they of Cydon were roused at that time against the Cretans and the Cnossians: and the voice went that there was a great number of Romans and Italians, captives, living in slavery and bandage in every quarter of that land. He looked therefore from Ephesus and set sail for Candia; and so soon as he was arrived and set anchor, he sent his messengers about to the Cities, willing them to abandon their armor and retire from war, and to search and seek throughout all the Cities and territories those captives and prisoners at sea, to bring them to him: and moreover, to send their Embassadors or agents, with whom he would treat concerning the affairs that in common touched as well the Cretians as the Romans. The Cretians made small regard of these messengers; and unless it were the Cretians, there was not one that delivered the captives. Valerius Antias, that recorded, That out of the whole land there were rendered to the number of four thousand; because the inhabitants were frightened with threats of war. And that this was the cause why Fabius, although he performed no other exploits, obtained of the Senate a naval triumph. From Crete, Fabius returned to Ephesus; from whence he sent forth three ships to the coast of Thrace, and commanded that the garrisons of Antiochus should quit Armis and Marona, to the end, that those Citieslikewise might be set free and enriched.

The eight and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the eight and thirtieth Book.

Marcus Fulvius the Consul besieged the Ambracians in Epirus, and received them upon composition to mercy. He subdued Cephallenia, vanquished & brought under his subjection the Aitolians and made peace with them. The Consul Cn. Manlius his colleague, overcame the Gallo-Celtic, the Thracians, the Thessalians, and the Trocmians, who were passed over into Asia under the conduct of Demeus: the only people that within the mountain Taurus yields not obedience to the Romans. The first beginning and rising is set down: also the time when at their seiz'd first of those places which they hold. Here is recounted also the example of the rare valour and chastity of a woman, who being the wife of a certain King of the Gallo-Celtic, chose to be taken prisoner: and when a Consul was forced and abus'd her body, she kill'd herself with her own hand. The Cenfors held a session of the City: in which by computation were numbered 25,838 souls of Roman citizens.

Amis was contrived with Ariarathes King of Cappadocia. Cn. Manlius triumphed over the Gallo-Celtic, notwithstanding the contradiction of these ten Commissioners, by whose advice and assistance he had assisted and engross'd the accord of alliances with Antiochus, and pleaded his own cause himself in the Senate against them. Scipio Africanus was invested at some city, by Quintus Petilius Ataecus, a Tribune of the Commons: at others, by Naevius, for that he had defended the City Chamber of some part of the Village which he got from Antiochus. When the day was come that he should make his answer, he was called up to the public pulpit and place of audience, and with a loud voice paid unto the people: My masters you that are Citizens of Rome, this very day have I won Carthage: and with that he ascended up into the Capitol, and the people accompanied him thereto: and from thence because he would avoid these hard and innumerable coast of the Tribunes, and be no more tormenting them, he retired himself to Liternum, as it were into voluntary exile: and whether he ended his days there, or at Rome, it is not well known: for his tomb and monument was to be seen in both places. L. Scipio Africanus (the brother of Africanus) was accused of the same crime of embezzling the public treasure and robbing the common-wealth, and thereof condemned: but as he was led to prison, he had been laid up in bonds and iron, Titus Sempronius Gracchus Tribune of the Commons, who before-time had been an adversary and enemy unto the Scipios, interposed himself and saved him: and for that pleasure done, he took to wife the daughter of Africanus. When the Pretor sent the treasurers of the City, so far off, they were from finding any remnant or token of the King riches and money, that they could not meet with as much as would satisfy the fire wherein he was condemned. And when his kinfolk and friends had contributed and raised an infinite mass of money for him, he would not receive the same: and as much only was redeemed and bought again, as might serve for his necessities to find and maintain him.

During
During the time of the wars in Asia, the affairs also in Aetolia were in small rest and quietness; which troubles arose first from the Athenians, who, after that Aminander was dispossessed of his kingdom, were held in obedience by garrisons under the captains of King Philip, and they bare themselves to proud, insolent, and outrageous in their government, that the Athenians found a great mischief of Aminander, and were desirous of him again. Now remained he at that time as a banished person in Aetolia; and upon letters received from his own nation (conceiving the late wherein Aetolians then stood) he conceived some hope to recover his crown again, whereupon he sent the messengers back to Argos (the chief City of Aetolia) unto the principal men of the country, with this credence, That if he might be assured of the affection and love of the people, he would procure the aid of the Aetolians and come into Aetolia, accompanied with the elect personages (and those are the council of that nation) and Nicander the Pretor, When he understood and perceived that they were prel and ready to do him all service, he advertised them oftentimes upon what day he would enter with his army into Aetolia. At the first there were but four personages that espoused against the Macedonian garrison and these took every one of them more unto them for to be assiduous in the execution of their complot. But afterwards troubling but little in this small number of their adversaries and complices (who indeed were fitter to keep counsel and conceal a matter secretly, then to perform any action valiantly) they adjourned unto them the like number unto the other: so as now they were two and fifty in all, and they divided them elves into four companies. One crew of them went to Hercules, another to Terephylis, where the Kings treasure was usually kept, a third took their way to Thesprotia, and the fourth to Argos. But they all agreed upon this course, to hold themselves quiet and peaceable at their first coming, and to converse in the market place of those Cities, as if they were come about some particular negociation of their own: and upon a certain day appointed to let to it at once, and to raise the whole multitude for to expel the Macedonian garrisons out of their fortresses. Now when the day was come, and Aminander ready upon the frontiers with his forces of a thousand Aetolians, the garrisons of the Macedonians were at one instant chased out of those same Cities aforesaid, like as it was completed before hand; and letters were dispatched from all parts into other Cities, advising them to deliver and free themselves from the tyranny of Philip, and restore Aminander into his lawfull kingdom and throne of his father. That the Macedonians were expelled in every quarter; only the town Thessim made resistance and held out some few days against the siege, by occasion that Zeno (captain of the garrison there) had intercepted the letters, and that they fled with Philip were put to flight of the castle. But in the end they rendered it was likewise unto Aminander, and all Aetolia reduced unto his obedience excepting only the fort of Kastrus, which Philip upon the marches of Macedonia. Philip advertised of the revolt of Aetolians, accompanied with a power of six thousand fighting men, put himself in his journey, and with exceeding expedition, marched as far as Gomphi, where he left the greater part of his forces, (for they had not been able to endure to long a journey) and with two thousand came to Aetolians, the only place held by his garrison to his use. And from thence, after he had founded the next neighbours, and soon found that there was nothing but hostility among them, he retired to Gomphi, and joined with all his forces together returned into Aetolians. Then he sent Zeno before with a thousand footmen, and gave him in charge to seize upon Ethiopia, a place that directly for his purpose commanded Argos, and seeing that his men were put in possession thereof, himself set him down, and pitched his tents about a certain temple dedicated to the name of Jupiter. There he was forced by reason of the foul and stormy weather to stay one whole day, and the morrow after he went forward with his army to Argos. As they marched, behold they discovered the Athenians, running from divers parts to the hill tops, which foid over the way along. They had no sooner espied them, but the foremost ensigns made stay, and all that regiment of the vanguard was surprised with fear and fright. Every man began for his part to cast many doubts, and think with himself what should become of them, in case their companies were entred once into the valley, so checked by those rocks above-said. This tumult and trouble caused the King perforce to call back those in the vanguard, and to retire the same way that he came, notwithstanding he was very desirous (if they would have continued him) to have made quick speed, and gotten through those frights. The Athenians at first followed after them shoot quietly enough: but when they had once joined with the Aetolians, leaving them behind to come upon the tail of the enemy, they spread themselves all about and flanked them on the sides: some of them also got store of their head by the next waies which they were acquainted with, and beset the passageways innumerable, as the Macedonians were to greatly troubled, that forced they were (more like men that fled in distress, than marched in good order) to leave much of their armor, and many of their men behind, to pass over the river; and there the chase ended. From thence the Macedonians returned hastily to Gomphi, and to forth into Macedonia.

The Athenians and the Aetolians assembled from all parts to Ethiopia for to surprize and defeat Zeno and that regiment of a thousand Macedonians which was with him. But the Macedonians reposing no great trust in that place, retired from Ethiopia, to an hill much higher and steeper.
the eight and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

A steaper on all sides, and therefore lesse acceptable. The Athenians having found out diverse palisages unto it, enforced them to forgo that boldall. And when they were dispers'd among the blind rocks, and unto them unknown, and could not readily find the way out, some of them were taken prisoners & other slain. Many for fear tum'd down headlong from the pitch of the cliffs, and brake their necks, and very few escaped with Zeno to the King. The next day after they obtained truce, until they had committed their dead to earth.

Aminoder having thus repoll'd his renial, sent Embassadors to Rome unto the Senate: likewise unto the Seipges in Asia (who after the great battell with Antiochus, tojourneied to Ephebos.) He craves peace and pardon, he excuses himself in that he had recover'd his fathers Kingdome by the means and help of the Atheniots, and withall laid great fault and blame upon King Philip.

B As for the Eoliots, they departed out of Athamania, and made an expedition against the Ambochians, and by content of the greater part (reduced the whole nation under their purulence and subjection. Having thus regained Ambochles (or in times past it appointed to their regnoiny) upon the same they pass'd over in Aperanassa which yealded also for a great part thereof, and came under their obedience. As for the Dolopians, they never belonged to the Eoliots, but unto Philip. And at the first they assembled together in arms, but understanding once that the Ambochians took part with the Atheniots, that Philip was fled out of Athamania, and that his garrison was put to the sword, they revolted likewise from Philip, and turned to the Atheniots. Who months now full account that they were fare enough on all sides from the Macedonians, by reason of the many nations which environed them about, they took knowledge (by the common broit) of the death of Antiochus by the Romans in Asia, and not long after their own Embassadors returned to Rome without hope of peace relating withall that Ennius did the Conful had pass'd the seas already with army. Upon these nears, they were much troubled and afraid: and in this perplexity, they proceeded and occasion'd the Rhodian and then the Atheniots Embassadors, to the end that by the credit and command of these two States, their prefiers lastly rejected, might have more ease access to the Senate: and with them they went to Rome once again the principal personages of their nation, to try their last hope of obtaining peace; and never forcast to prevent war, before the enemy was come wellether within their sight. Now had M. Ennius transported his forces to Aetolia, and deviled with the princes and states of the Epirots, where to begin war.

The Epirots advis'd him to sall Ambracia, which as then was united to the Atheniots. And

Why if either the Eoliots should come to the defence of the place, they 'had a goodly large and open plain all at once to bid them battalion; or if they related the field, and would not fight, they should find no great difficulty to attack and force the town. For not only there was a had five more of timber and other matter to raise mounts, mantelets, and other fabricks, but Arbracia a river navigable, very commodious to transport all necessaries unto them, runneth under the walls of the City; and besides, the summer was a fit season for war-service. With these reasons he persuad'd the Conful to conduct his army through Epirot. But when the Conful was come before Ambracia, he found it was no easy piece of work to beleaguer and assault the town. This Ambracia is shut under the lofty and craggie hill, which the inhabitants call Periboea. The City it selfeth looketh outon the Welt whatsoever way as the wall reacheth toward the fields and river. The fort and castle thereof stand upon the hill, and regardeth the Epirots. The river Arbracia running out of Acrarama, dischargeth itself into an arm of the sea, which beareth the name of the City near adjoining, and is called Ambracia. This town, besides that it is well guarded with the river of one side, and defended with walls on the other, is fortified also with a strong wall, in circuit from what more than three miles about. Ennius encamp'd strongly on the fields side, in two hiles of a good distance stand'st, and raised one fencce upon an high ground, opposed against the farts of the town. At all these places he determined to enclose within the compass of a trench and rampier, to the end that they were shut up within the town, might have no egress, and that from without there should be no ingress, for any kind and measure whatsoever the Eoliots were assembled already at Sestos by aid of a Strengthen from the Pictors Nisardors. On the occasion of the Conful marching between our army and the Epirots, he had his fleet of ships far toward the city, in order to convey their march to intercept them that they might not retire again into Italy.

The siege of Ambracia, intending fully at first to march from thence withall their forces. But afterwards, when they perceived that a greater part of the City was irregularly beleaguered already, and blocked with trench and rampier, and would not the Epirots were encamp'd on a plain on the other side of the river, they were of advice to divide their forces in two parts. Empolomus with a regiment of a thousand men highly appointed, pass'd through the fortifications of the enemies, before they were joined and united together, and entered Ambracia. Nisardors was the rest of the forces pursu'd at the first by night to afflail the camp of the Epirots, considering that the Romans could not easily treat them, by reason of the river running between both. But afterwords, upon better advice, to wait怎样 to be a dangerous enterprise (for fear lest the Romans should discover their march and intercept them that they might not retire again into Italy)
battlements of the walls. The oppidans at the first were afraid to keep their strange engines, and the watch to hear to terrible noise of their walls battered: but, however, seeing that the walls stood upright beyond their expectation, they packed up their hearts again, and with twipes weighted either great counterpoises and weights of lead, or huge stones, there with a strong that let them fall ag in upon the hands of the enemies, or else tumbled mighty big legs of timber, and to either break them spieces, or bare them down. And as for their books, store of them, they caught hold of them with iron hooks like anchors, and so drew them under the walls to the other side with a winches and brake both them & their poles. Moreover, they talked out in the night upon the watch that attended their engines, like forth of themselves in the day time, as to the corps de guard, and put them great fear. As things stood in these terms before Ambroacia, the Etolians by this time were returned to Stratus from their roads which they made into Arcadia. And then Nicodemus the Prætor conceiving some hope to levy the siege by some audacious and hardy adventure devised that one Nicodemus should put himself within the town of Ambroacia with five hundred Etolians; and appointed one certain night, and an hour also of the same night, when both they from out of the town should assail the barricades and engines of the enemy planted against Pyrrhaun, and also himself charge upon the camp of the Romans at the same time, and put them in flight: supposing by this two-fold attack (especially in one night which was to every thing more terribil) there might be some notable act and memorable exploit done. And Nicodemus verily for his part in the dead time of the night, having passed unseen and not detected by some of the entellis, and by relous force broken through the tell of the watches, passed over an arm of the river and recovered the City, and in some measure by this means hearted the besieged inhabitants to a sudden K anything, and put them in better hope to accomplish their end. When the night appointed was come, all on a sudden bet upon the engines, as it was before accorded between them. The adventure of this enterprise was much more then the efficis, because there were no forces without to join with him: were it that the Prætor of the Etolians was afraid to be to bold on that he thought it was a better piece of service to aid the Ambriacians now recovered, whom Periplus King Philip his son, sent from his father to reconquer Dolopia and Amphiochea, afflicted with great force and violence. The Romans had planted their guard and artillery, as is above said in the places against Pyrrhaun, which the Etolians charged all at one time, but now with like preparation of means, not with the same violence. For some came with burning and flaming firebrands, they carried tow and harts with pitch, and ladders of dry licks, and other like matter to be to kindle, in such fort as all their companies shone again with a light fire. Many of the warders that killed at the first onset, but when the air and tumult was heard within the camp, and the signal given by the Coniu, they took arms, and ran space out of all the gates for to relieve and defend them. In one quarter the Etolians did their deed, and fought with fire and sword; but in the other two places after they had given the attempt, rather that began any shirmish, they retired and went their ways. The heat of the fight inclined wholly to one quarter, where the two captains Eupiandr and Nicodemus encouraged their men as they fought from two divers parts, and entertained them with an allure hope, this Nicodemus according to agreement would be there and charge upon the back of the enemies. This for a good while maintained the courages of the soldiers; but perceiving there was no sign appeared of their countrymen, and that they kept not touch with them, and seeing what was the number of the enemies encircled, and themselves disappoined and defilure, they flaked their fight, and were not to offer upon the enemy, and in the end gave over and being much ado to retire in safety, were called into the City, after they had burnt some of the Roman engines, and flamed a few more of their enemies then there died of them. And purely if the service had been followed in execution according as it was complitated and agreed, those devloed engines no doubt might have been destroyed, if not wholly, yet in one part at least, and that with great murder and slaughter of the enemies. The Ambriacians, together with those Etolians which were within the City, not only gave over that nights enterprise, but ever after Hewed more coldness to and with them themselves again, as if they had been betrayed by their own fellows. Not a man would fall forth upon the ward and watch of the enemies, but they all from their walls and turrets went upon their guard only, and with the vantage of the place defended themselves in safety.

For the first advertised that the Etolians approached Amphiochea, quit the siege of the City which he was about to assault: and after he had only harried and wasted the territory about, retired from the quarters and returned into Macedony. The Etolians likewise were enforced to depart from thence, by reason that their sea-coasts were spoiled and overran: for Plenius the King of the Illyrians, was entered into this river of Corinth with a fleet of 80 ships, and with the fleet of the Etrurians that lay in the red of Parus it ravelled the maritime tract of Eetilia, against whom were left a thousand Etolians, who waited upon the fleet at every turn as they doubled any reaches, and with the vantage of the short waits and next pales by the land, were ready to welcome them on the banks and make head against them.

The Romans lying still in siege before Ambroacia, by beating and shaking the walls in many places, had dismantled a great part of the City, and laid it open: however, they could not enter within. For at every breach where the wall was broken down, they were ready to make a new countermove, and the soldiers standing upon the very ruins, livered in head of a bulwark. The Cordialleaving he could not prevail by open force, determined to undermine and make a secret way
way in the ground into the City; but first he covered the place where they wrought with mantlets. For a good while the pious were not perceived by the enemies, notwithstanding they wrought both night and day, not only digging under the earth, but also calling up the mould as they went. But an huge heap of earth being up aloft from the rest, was discovered, and gave them within the town to understand, what the enemies were about: and fearing lest they had wrought so far already as under their walls, and that they were at the point to make a way into the town, they within began likewise to strike another trench just against the place covered with mantlets aforesaid: and when they had digged to that depth as the bottom might be of the enemies mine, they made no words within, but in great silence laid their ear too in divers places close to the earth, harkening thereto, they might hear any noise of the pious: and when they once had got

B an ear within, they countermined directly against them, and long they were not about it: for anon they came as far as to the void hollow ground, whereas the foundation of the wall stood upon stumps and props, which the enemies had set to hold up it. Now when their works were met together, and that there was a continued passage out of this trench into the Mine, the pious sent for to and fro, with their spades, shovels, and mattocks, and other tools that they had laboured to work with: but soon after, armed with self same swords and pikes, and clothed within the walls, and closely skirmished under ground. But within a while that manner of dealing grew more cold and slack by reason that they stepped upon the Mine between when they lift, one while with facks and haircloath, other whiles with doors and such trash as they could come by in haste and good next hand: One new invention above the rest was devised to dispose within the Mine, and the same but a flight manner, and made without any great trouble, and this it was, The townspeople took a great tun or dryfist with a hole bored in the bottom, of that capacity, as might receive a pretty punch like a fascis within it; and withall they made a pipe indeed of iron to fit it, and an iron lid likewise to cover the other end or mouth thereof: but the same had many holes in divers places thereof. Now this vessel they filled in of sand and salt water, and then let it with the head forward against the very Mine. From the lid or cover aforesaid there flood ranging out long sharp pikes, which the Macedonians call Saris for to keep off the enemies. Within the fountainers they put a cole or spark of fire, and then with a pair of mittens, that they blew the cole and let it on a smothering fire within the fountainers. By which means there were not only a mighty deal of smoke, but also it carried with it a flaming fire by the reason of the fakers burning within; and so filled all the Mine underneath, that fierce death any man abide within for fear of being choked.

During these affairs about Ambracia, Pharnaces and Demetras, two Embassadors sent from the Aetolians by a general decree of the whole nation, came with a full and plenary commission unto the Conul. For their Prator (seeing of the one side Ambracia besieged, and on the other side the sea coast endamed with the enemies ships, and in a third quarter the Amphiliacans and all Delphes) piteously waited by the Macedonians; and that the Aetolians were not able to oppose themselves, and make head at once against three wars in divers places, had assembled a general Diicr to communicate with the chief of the Aetolians what was to be done in this case. All their opinions jumped in this one point, To see for peace (if it were possible,) under equal and indifferent conditions: if not, yet in as tolerable terms as they might. In confidence and assurance (say they,) of Aetolians, the war begins: and now that Aetolians is vanquished both by land and sea, yet, and hunted as it were out of the compass of the world into an angle beyond Tartar: what hope remaineth to maintain and wage the war any longer? and therefore Pharnaces and Demetras were to deal as in such a case and time, as they thought best according to their wild and fickle, and the common good of the Aetolians for what other counsel remaineth, what course can they take, or that course beside hath fortune left them? With this so large an and free commission Ilay were these Embassadors sent: who besought the Conul to spare their City, to have mercy and pity of their nation some time linked in misery unto them, and forced through very calamity and misery (for loath they were to speak of any injuries and wrongs offered) to fall into such follies, either have the Aetolians in this late war of Antiochus deferred to suffer more in a manner than they were worthy to receive good for their service in the former war against Philip: and when they were not largely rewarded and compensated then, to they ought not to be punished and chastised extremely now. The Conul made answer again, That the Aetolians had made a thing for peace many a time, but loathly and truly at no time: and since they had followed and drawn Antiochus to war let them hardly follow his example in craving peace. Like as he therefore hath not quit and rendred some few Cities which were in question about their liberty and freedom but parted with a rich and wealthy kingdom, even all Asia, between this and the mountain Tartar to whilst the Aetolians will simply lay all arms aside and come to treat for peace unarmed he would never give them audience. And to be short, if they will peace have, they must deliver up their armour and all their horses first, yea, and make payment of a hundred talents of silver, and the one moiety thereof to pay down right upon the nail before hand. Over besides this branch, I will annex unto the accord and covenant, That they shall hold for their friends and enemies those whom the people of Rome reputed to be their & none other. To this answer the Embassadors laid never a word; both for that they were very hard and grievous impositions, and also because they knew the natures and minds of their countrymen and neighbours at home, how untractable they were and not to be removed, if once took a pitch: 
whereupon they returned unto them, without doing anything at all to know the advice once a H

gain of the Prae; and the principal States, what to rely upon in every respect, while all stood whole and upright. But they were welcomed with ourcries, and well thent for their labour, in that they had not dispaited and made an end, and so were sent away, and commanded to bring back with them one peace or other. As they went again toward Ambracia, they were forelayed and surprized in an ambush laid for them near the high way side by the Acmatian, (with whom at that time they varred) and were had to Tyrreum and there imprisoned. And by this occasion the peace was delayed.

While the Embassadors of Athens and Rhodes, who were come already to interest for them, remained with the Consul, Ammianus also (the King of the Athamans) presented himself under safe conduct in the Roman camp, and took more care for the City of Ambracia (where he had sojourned the greater part of his exile) than in the behalf of the Etoilians. By them, the Consul, was certified of the hard hap of the Etoian Embassadors; and then he gave commandment that they should be brought from Tyrreum. When they were come, they began to treat of peace, Ammianus in the mean while laboured what he could in that enterprise which he especially had undertaken, namely, to induce the Ambracians to submit unto the Romans; but when he saw he did but small good, for all his parting with the principal persons of the City from their walls at length by the Consul, his permission, he entered into the town, where, partly by good counsel, and partly by prayer and entreaty, he persuaded them in the end, to put themselves into the Romans hands. Now as touching the Etoilians, they found much favour by the means of C. Valerius the son of that Levius, who first contracted amity with that nation; and was besides half brother unto the Consul, by the same mother. And the Ambracians after capitulation made, that the Etoilians who came to aid them might go forth without harm, set open their gates. Then att it was with the Etoilians: Insomnis. To pay 500 Euboic talents of silver: two hundred presently, and the other 500 to be paid in the same manner yearly by even portions. Item, To send all Roman captives and fugitives to Athens and runagatesthat they had, into the hands of the Romans. Item, To challenge juridiction over no City, which since the time that T. Quintus passed over into Greece, was either forced by the Romans or entered voluntarily into amity and society with them: provided always, that the Isle Cephalenia be not comprised within this capitulation. These articles, albeit they were somewhat easier than they looked for, yet the Etoilians requested, that they might acquire their Council withall; and permitted they were so to do. Some small variance and debate distracted and held them while astonishing those Cities, which having been in times past within their seignior and jurisdiction, they hardly could abide to be dismembered (as it were) from their body. But in the end there was not one but agreed to accept of the peace. The Ambracians gave unto the Consul a present of a crown of beaten gold, weighing 150 pound. Their statues of brass and marble their painted tables (wherewith Ambracia was better gloried and adorned, than all the other Cities of that region, because it was the royal seat of King Pyrrhus, where he kept his court and residence) were all taken down and carried away: nought else was touched nor any hurt done besides.

The Consul dislodged then, and removed from Ambracia into the higher and more inland parts of Aetolia, and encamped before the City called Aroan Amphicothum. Two and twenty miles distant from Ambracia; and thither at length repaired the Etoian Embassadors unto him, who marvelled much at them why they said so long. When he understood by them that the general council of the Etoians had approved of peace, he willed them to go directly to Rome unto the Senators; and permitted also the Athenians and Rhodians (their mediators and advocates) to go with them and as orators to speak in their behalf; and moreover he granted that his half brother C. Valerius should accompany them; which order when he had taken, himself crossed over the water to Cephallenia.

When they were arrived at Rome, they found both the ears and hearts of the chief Senators wholly possessed beforehand with many complaints and imputations that Philip had entombed against them: for he by means of his Embassadors and letters (complaining that the Etoians had unjustly taken from him the Dolopians, the Amphicothians, and Aetolians: and that his garrisons, yea, and half of all his ion Perus, were driven out of Amphicothum) had wholly avowed the Senators from giving any ear at all to their requests and prayershowing the Rhodians and Athenians had audience given them with patience and silence. "The Athenian Embassador Leo (by report) moved and persuaded the Senators with his eloquent tongue: and by a familiar parable and similitude, he compared the people of Aetol to the nature of the seas: For like as it is, being of itself calm and troubled and made rough by the winds: even so (faith he) the people of that nation, all the while they entertained friendship with the Romans, and performed their faithfull promise unto them, so long were in their right kind, and continued peaceable and quiet: but after that those and Dicaeocamus began to blow from out of Aegaeas after this Montafia and Democritus as multitudinous and piercing from the parts of Europe, then arose a storm and tempest, so that the gulls whereof they were to Antiochus and call (as a man would say) upon to. Well the Etoians after they had been much toiled a long time from post to pillar, in fine effectcd that the articles of peace remaining were freely agreed upon. Insomnis. The nation of Etoa shall maintain faithfully and truly the Empire and Seigniory of the people of Rome. Item. They shall suffer to pass through their country and confines no army that shall be conducted against their allies and friend: nor affit them with any aid or maintenance whatsoever. Item. They shall repulse the ene-
A mies of the Romans for their enemies, and wage war against them. Item, They shall deliver unto the Romans and their confederates, all runagates, all fugitives, and prisoners that are among them, excepting such as have been once taken and returned home, chanced to be caught again the second time: or those, who being Roman enemies, were taken prisoners by them, at what time as the Etrusci served in garrison under the Romans. As for the rest, as many as are forth-coming and may be found, shall be delivered (without fraud or iown) within two days next ensuing, to the Magistrates of Cosa. * But those that appear nor within that time, shall be likewise renderd whenever their fortune is to be merited. Item, They shall yield forty hostages, such as the Roman Confill in his discretion will approve and like well of: provided, that none of these pledges be under twelve years of age, nor above forty. Neither shall these be taken for hostages any Preator or Captain over them, nor publike Notary or Secretary to the State, nor yet any one that hath lain in hostages before time. Provided also, that Capitulations shall be exempt from the articles of this accord. * Item. As touching the sum of money which they are to pay, and the manner and terms of the payment, there shall be nothing changed of that which hath been concluded with the Confill: yet, if they had rather pay the same sum in gold and silver, they may do so; provided only, that they keep the rate and proportion of one golden piece to wit, that one golden piece of coin go for ten times as much in weight of silver, and no more. Item, What Cities what lands and territories, what persons forever which having at any time heretofore held tenor of the Etrusci, were by the Confills * Quintinius and Ca. Dominicius, or any time since their Confillship, either furnished and conquered by force of arms, or otherwise the possession came under the obedience of the people of Rome, the Etrusci shall make no claim nor challenge unto them. Finally, the Enemies with their City and territory, shall appertain to the Romans. Not only in the same manner, but also much about those very places wherein these affairs were managed by M. Fulvius in Etruria. Con. Mentius the other Confill maintained war * Gallicanica. Whereat I am present I will begin to write. This Confill in the beginning of the spring came to Ephesus; whereafter he had received the army of L. Sestius and taken a review and having thereof, he made an Oration to his soldierys: wherein, first they praiued their valour and virtue in that with one battell they had finished the war against Antiochus: then he exhorted them to enter this new war with the Gauls who had murdered King Antiochus with affid: and were beside of nature for woe, that unless their pacification was abated and their courage taken down, to little or no purpose it was that Antiochus was removed beyond the mountain of Tauris. Last of all, for the same purpose he made of his own person, which was nothing prolix and long, implying neither false distrusts nor excessive report. The soldierys gave audience to the Confill with great joy and pleasant applause, making this answer, that since King Antiochus was vanquished, the Gauls whole (who were one part of his forces) would be no pacification to withstand them. But the Confill replied that it was much out of his way, that Eumenes should be absent (for then he was at Pergamus) who knew the countries, was acquainted with the nature of the people, and whom it impressed and confirmed very much, that the power of the Gauls should be eneeled and abated. And thereore be sent for Attalus his brother, from Pergamus, and exhorted him to enter into anecon with him and take arms. And when Attalus had made promise to aid him both in his person and with all the power that he could make the sent him into his country to levy soldierys. After some few days, when the Confill was departed from Ephesus, Attalus (accompanied with a regiment of a thousand foot and two hundred horse) met them in Magnesia; and had given order to his brother Attalus, to follow after, with the rest of the forces: having committed the guard and government of Pergamus and the kingdom to those, whom he knew to be fait and faithfull to his brother and himself. The Confill, after he had praised and commended the young gentleman marched forward with his whole power as far as * Messana, and there encaumped, because it was not possible to pass the river at any forord, and therefore boats and barges were to be got together for to ferry and transport the army. When they were set over the river, they went to Hiera Colos, where there was a magnificent and Rarely Temple of Apollo, and an Oracle in it. And by report the Priests and Prophets there delivered the responses and answers of the Oracle in verses and table not riedy composed without skimm and meter. From hence they removed and in two days arrived at the river Harpfls. But they were embarded by some from the Albardians, requiring the Con, either by virtue of his authority or by force of arms to compel one of their refrefers who lately had revolted from them and rebelled, to return again to their former obedience. And his brother Attalus also, brother to Eumenes and Attalus, was come together with Lucius the Conditor, and Carus the Maccus, bringing with them 1,000 foot and 300 horse, of divers nations mingled together. The Confill sent one of his martial Tribunes or Colonels with a mean company to summon the Cale of the forces also; clad and after it was formed and recovered, he delivered it into the hands of the Albardians, himself kept on his direct way, and turned no side until he came unto Antiochus upon the river Messana where he encamped. This river Messana is divided from Cela * where the first head and source thereof is to be seen. Now this Cela has been in times past the capital city of all Phrygia. But in process of time this old Cela was abandoned by the Inhabitants, and not far from it they built a new City called Apamea, bearing the name of Apamea the father of Seleucus. The river Messana being no more from
the forefadd sources of Maeder, dischargeth it self therein. And as the common fame goeth at H this place it was, where Marsh, as the Munician gave descent to Apollo, and challenged him to play upon the flute. This Maeder abovesaid, illing one of an high hill at Calvi, runneth through the midit of the City and first keeping his course along the country of the Catians, and afterwards of the Ionians, jalleth at the last into an arm of the sea between Irenae and Meliteus.

While the CoF lay encamped about Antiochus Seleucus the son of Antiochus prevented himself unto him with corns to his army, according to the covenant contracted with Scopra, some small variance and difference there was about the aid d manned of Antiochus Seleucus pleaded that Antiochus had capitulated only to find corn for the Roman lieudors. But this debate was soon at an end by reason of the stiff resolution of the CoF. who sent a Colonel to warn and charge the lieudors to accept no corn before the aid-llieudors of Antiochus were received. From I then he marched to Garden-echoes a City he called &c. to ward the third day to Ta, This City is seated upon the frontiers of the Phoenicians, n that coast which boundeth upon the Pamphylia. This quarter was able to yield little men for war when it had not been any way ensembled, but remained entire and whole. For proof whereof then also there slued out of the City a conc it of horsemen, who charged upon the Romans as they marched, and at the first onet troubled them not a little. But afterwa. seeking themselves neither for number, nor yet for proofs compurgable upon them, they were driven back into the town & saved pardon for their treipais, ready to surrender their City into the CoF, his hands. The CoF, imposed upon them a payment of 25 talents of silver, and 1000 medimns of wheat, and upon that, compurgation their remainder was accepted. Three days after the Romans came to Chon the river & from thence to the City Erize, which at the first assault they won. After this the army of the City, as far as to a City named Thasus standing over the river Indus, to called of a certain Indian, whom an Elephant threw and cast into it. Now they were not far from Cyrra, yet no embassy appeared from the tyrant of that country and State. Messengers a dillayal and treacherous man in all his dealings: besides ex-00 hard and unreasonable, Whereupon the CoF, sent out before C. H. 4o month, with 4000 foot and 50 horse, to find his disposition and mind. As these companies entred into his frontiers there encountered them his embassadors, gifting them to understand that the tyrant their Master was ready to do whatsoever they would command: only his request was unto H. L. 50 to pass peaceably through his country, and to refrain his lieudors from warring & spoiling the territories & 25 talents they brought with them to make a war on of gold. Helopius promised to give his lands for being polis and waited but he willied the embassadors to go to the CoF. Now when they had related the same unto him he made them answer in these terms: We cannot gather by any sign (qd he) that the tyrant beareth good will and affection to Romans: & again if he be in an one as the world taketh him for, we are to think rather of his humiliation than of admitting him into our amity. The embassadors took trouble at this word requested him for that prevent no more, but to take the town of gold, and to permit that the tyrant himself might have access into his presence to par. with him and his amity. The morrow after, by permission of the CoF, came the tyrant into the camp bearing no port or a Prince. For a prince put he and main man of small wealth would have gone in better apparel and carried a greater train about him than he neither went he to meanly but ipakes lowly, ha king and kewng his words, as if he had not been able to speak them out. He complained of his own bances and want & likewise of the poverty of the cities under his feigning; for besides Cyrra he held in possession Syllium & that which is called Almyr; Yet he promised to see what he could do if he by undoing himself & spoiling his subjects might make up fifteen and twenty talents. Many he mistreated greatly that he should never effect much. Are you therefrom? (qd the CoF,) Now verily I can no longer endure this mockery. Was it not enough that in your absents you bathed not to delude and disappoint us by your Embassadors but you must perfet fill in the same impudence now that you be here yourself in person? And would you make us believe indeed that the discharging of 25 talents will beggar you and your whole kingdom? Come on it thyly: Bring me with thee within these three days, and lay me down in ready money 300 talents, or look for no other favour, but your territory to be walled, and your City beleaguer. Greatly affrighted was he at these minatory words, howbeit he continued still obstinately, counterfeiting & pretending his necessities and poverty, and after much base huckling and rigging by little and little, one while hating and wrangling another while praying and entreaty, (and that with whining and putting finger in the eye,) he was fetched over at length, and came off to pay 100 talents of silver and to deliver 1000 medimns of corn besides, and all this was exacted of him to be performed in six days. From therewith the CoF, conducted the army through the country of the Sinodians, and after he had passed over the river Colchis, he there pitched down his tents. The morrow after they marched by the lake or meer Carusiana, and let them down and rested upon the river Maa dw; As they advanced from thence toward Lagon the next city the inhabitants fled for fear; when upon the town void of people with abundance of all things was ravaged and rifled. This done, they arrived at the head or spring of the river Lysim and the next day made toward the river Coliswm. The Termilians at the same time having forced and won the City of the Lyrians were now upon the point to assault the Castle. They who were within beleaguer, seeing no other hope of issue sent their Embassadors to the CoF: beseeching his help and making pitiful mean, how they with their wives and children were shut up within the fortresses and looked every hour for death, either by famine or the sword.
A sword, this fell out as the Col. wished; namely, to have so good an occasion presented unto him, of turning his way into Pamphylia. At his first coming he delivered the Lyrians from the siege. To Termeius he granted peace, upon composition that he should receive first 30 talents, in like fort he dealt by the Apendians and other States of Pamphylia. In his return from thence, the first day he encamped first by a river called Taurus, and the next day following, near a town which they call Xylus. From thence on his march, and held on his journey continually, until he came to the City Cornelio. The next City unto it was Daf., where he found abandoned by the Inhabitants its fear, howbeit full of all kind of goods. As he marched still along the marshes there met him Embassadors from Lyfian, who came to render their City into his hands. After this he entered into the territory of Sag. /rufa, a fertile and plenteous quarter, for all sorts of corn & fruits. The Phidians inhabit those parts who are the belt warriors in all that country. In regard whereof, as also for that their territory is fruitful and well peopled, and their City strongly situat (as few like unto it) they were grown to be hardy and courageous. The Col. seeing no embassage presented unto him in the entance of the frontiers, sent outBorders to fetch in booty. When they perceived once their good-armed and carried away before their faces, their tumults came down, and then they sent their embassadors and upon composition to pay 50 talents, 10000 medins of wheat, and as many of oil, they obtained peace. From then he passed to the fountains of Ormos, until he came to a village which they name Aperdo-Come, and there he encamped. Thither repaired the next day Seleucus from Apamea. And the same day, after he had sent away unto Apamea his thick folk and other baggage, and paid them that he had good for nothing, he took guides of Selciiments for the way and entered into the plains of Metropolis, and the next morn marched as far as Dimia in Phrygia. After this, he entered into Smydia, where he found all the towns about abandoned for fear, and left defert. With the booty and pillage whereof his army was so heavily charged, that hardly he could march five miles a day: and so he came at length to Bendoz, named, The old, From there he passed to Amburada, and the next day to the fence of Anido, and the third day pitched down his tents near Ab. /fum. There he lay encamped many days together, because he was now arrived into the country of the Toliirobogians.

The Gauls in times past being a mighty people in number were induced to take a voyage, either for want of land to inhabit, or for hope of booty and prizes: and supposing withall, they could not pass through any nation whatsoever, comparable to themselves in ears of arms entrèt under the conduct of Brennus into the country of the Dardanians. Where, they began to mutine among themselves: by occasion whereof it hapned, that to the number of twenty thousand of them, following two of their Princes Lomnorius and Lutarius, departed from Brequus, and took their way into Thrace, where partly by warring with them that made refiistance, and partly by impoling tribute upon them that craved peace, they came at length as far as to Bresiatun: and after they had held tributary a good time the coast of Propontis, they possessed themselves also of the good towns and Cities of that quarter. After this, they had a mind and desire to invade Asia; for they heard of being so near, how fertile and plenteous the soil of that country was. And after they had surprized and won Lyconobitis by a wife, and by force of arms conquered all Cherbonnes, they descended to Hellepont, Where seeing how they were divided from Asia but only by the Estraights, and that it was but a small cut thinner, their desire was much more inflamed to pass over.

And for this purpose they dispatched certain couriers to Antipater the governor of that coast, to demand passage. But by reason that they effect not this to toomas they hoped there arose another new sedition between the Princes themselves, Whereupon Lomnorius accompanied with the greater part retired to Bresiatun from whence he came. But Lutarius took from the Macedonians who under colour of an embassage were sent from Antipater in ciphers two covered ships, and three brigandines. By means of these vessels within few days he had sent over all his army, transporting them one after another day and night continually. Not long after Lomnorius also passed over into Asia from Bresiatun, by the aid of Nicomedes Kings of Bithynia. After this, the Gauls joyned again together in one, and succoured Nicomedes in his war against Zikyes, who held a part of Bithynia, and by their help and assistance especially, Zikyes was vanquished, and all Bithynia became subject to Nicomedes. Then they departed out of Bithynia into Asia. Now of twenty thousand there were not above ten thousand armed, Yet so great a cetrox they struck into all nations on this side the mountain Taurus, that both they to whom they approached not near, and also they whom they came unto, as well the farther as the nearest, submitted themselves and ranged under their obedience. In the end, being three nations of them to wit, the Toliirobogians the Trocmians, and the Tecloges, they divided Asia like wise into three parts and parted them so equitably among themselves, that each nation of them possessed a several tract which pleased them. The coast of Hellas was given to the Trocmians, the Toliirobogians had for their fruit Asia and Ioma, and into the Tecloges were allotted the inland parts of the main continent of Asia. And in one word they demanded tribute of all Asia on this side Taurus. But they planted and seated themselves about the river Hyus. The brute of their name was so fearfull and terrible, and especially after their issue was multiplied and increased in great number, that the King Allo of Syria in the end refused not to bow their homages and give them tribute. The first of all the inhabitants in Asia that denied them homage, was King Artakes the father of Eumenes; and for the exceeding expectation of all men, favoured his hardy and courages enentreprise; for he vanquished them in battle, Howbeit, he daint not their hearts so much, but still they upheld.
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and maintained their sovereign dignity, in such fort, as their puissance continued until the war between Antiochus and the Romans. Yet, and after that Antiochus was vanquished and chased out of part of his realm, they conceived great hope to hold their own till by reason they were so remote from the sea, and therefore thought that the Roman army would never pierce so far as to them. The Cominius, for as much as he was to war with this nation, to bring to all their neighbours in those quarters, assembled his soldiers to a public audience, and in this manner made speech unto them.

"I am not ignorant, my soldiers, that all the people which inhabit Asia, the Gauls are most renowned for valiance in war. And why is this fierce and cruel nation having run over the world in a manner and warred with all countries, chose them a place of abode, and settle themselves in the midst of a generation, of all other most mild and tractable, Big and tall they are of stature, and person; their hair they wear long in golden circled and shining locks; they carry bucklers of huge bigness, and handle swords of exceeding length. Besides, when they enter into battels, they use longing to hop and dance, and with clattering their targets and weapons together, after the grace of their country they make an horrible noise, and all this is done of purpose by them to terrify their enemies. But such devices as these be, let the Greeks the Phrygians, and Carians be afraid of, who are not used and accustomed to hear and see such things: as for the Romans, acquainted with the Gauls sudden and tumultuous wars, they can skill well enough of these their toyes and vanities also. Once indeed, and but once, at the Ellen comet, they discomfited the Romans at the river Alba: but since that time our Ancitomers for the space of two hundred years have made havoc of them, killed, put to flight, and driven them like sheep before them: and often, I dare well say, they have triumphed of the Gauls, than of all the world besides. Thus much we know of them by experience, that if a man be able to stand on their thrusts and shock and violence, (which upon a furious heat of their own by nature and in blind, hasty, and anger they spend all at once), all the parts of their body run to sweat, and become faint: their weapons are ready to fall out of their hands; their bodies are to tender, their courage to feebles, (after their cholerick anger:) once allied and packed, that the very heat of the sun dries the dust and the drought is able without drawing sword, to overthrow them and lay them along. Proof and trial we have had of them not only legion to legion, but man to man. T. Manilius and M. Valerius have marched plainly how far Roman virtue and power is surpasseth the furious rage of Gauls, why even Marcus Manlius, one man alone, repelled and beat down the Gauls as they climbed up by numbers to the Capitoll II. And those ancestors of ours beforenamed, had then to deal with natural Gauls indeed, born and bred in their own country; whereas these, here, by this time now are a bastard sort of them: and, clean degenerate, mingled they are with others and in truth as they be called, so are they Gallo greeks, and in fact with them as with plants, fruits, and living beasts in which we see that the seed is not of that vertue, and to effectual to keep and retain in the same kind and nature, as the property of the soil and the air where they are nourished, is to change the same. Thus the Macedonians who inhabit Alexandria in Egypt, who dwell in Seleucia and Babylon, and other Colonies dispersed over the earth, are grown out of their own kind and in manners become Sytians, Parthians, and Egyptians. Meleasa, among the Gauls, hath drawn somewhat of the nature of the nations adjoyning and bordering upon them. And what have the Tarcentins left them of that severe, rough, and hard discipline of the Spartans? For whatsoever is ingendered and bred in the own proper place, is evermore kindly, and retaineth its own nature better; but look what is transplanted into another soil, doth soon degenerate, and grow into a bastard kind: for nature transformeth her self, and changeth into that where with is nourished. Be sure therefore, that like as you have defeated these Pyrgians, (for no better they be,) overcharged and leaden with French arms in the battell against Antiochus, even so being now conquerours, ye shall subdue and hew them in pieces once already vanquished. And I fear me more that ye shall win so small glory of them, then I doubt by fighting to little with them that ye shall have their hands too full of war against them. Why even King Antiochus many a time and often hath discomfited and put them to flight. Neither would I have you to think, that savage beasts only newly taken, and keeping at the first their wild nature, after a time that they have been fed by hands, grown to be tame and gentle; but that the fiercenes and cruelty of man is like unto the same nature to be dulced and made tractable. Are ye persuaded that these Gauls resemble their fathers and grandfathers in conditions? Their forefathers long since left their native country for want of ground and land to possess; and being driven to pass through the most rough and difficult country of Thessaly, first came into Epirus: after wards travelled all over Thracia, fighting ever as they went with most fierce and cruel nations, until at length they cisedd upon these parts and settled there. After (I say) they had been hatch'd and made more fell by many travels and dangerous adventures, they were received in the end within such a land, as is the abundance of all good things might feed and frant them up. All that the fierceness and savage nature of theirs which they had when they came first thither, is (no doubt) mollified by the goodness of the moist fertile soil, by the pleasantness and pleasure of a moist temper at air, and last of all by the gentle and debonair nature of the inhabitants their neighbors. And even you then (in good faith) are to look unto it (martial men though you be) and the very off-spring of M. himself) ye say? To take heed and beware of the delights of Asia, and betimes to get you forth from them. So
forceable are those foreign pleasures and delicat enticements to quench and corrupt the rigor of your parts: to power all is the common end and covering with strangers: so potent is the con-
tactious of them, as were of their manners and dis spise of neighbour inhabitants. Yet this one good
and things the commer, cill if you have not that courage which in times past they had;
and among the Greeks here, they are of as great name as ever they were in ancient time. So that
among you all you shall win as great before by your victory as if you should have conquered
the Gauls when they were at the height of their valour and private doubts. After the almighty dis-
melled and Embassadors went to Epagogeus (the only Prince in those parts that persisted in amity
with caravan) and had refused to do _Annales_ against the Romans the Col. marched forw.
ward. The first day, he came to the river _Mulder_ and the morrow to a certain village which they

**Woodhe!**

**c**

By **Tysert, Thither repaired up to the Embassadors of the Oradians craving to be accepted
as friends, but they were enjoyed to py two hundred talents: and when they required leave
to make relation and report of some, they were permitted. From them the Col. led his
army to Plandown and after that he embarked at _Aidintis_. Thither returned, they who had been
sent to Epagogeus together with the Embassadors of Prince _on__tus_, requesting the Romans
not to war upon the Teicboges for that both himself and Epagogeus also, would give perdon
to them and persuaded the nation to do whatsoever they should be commanded, the Prince obt.
ained his request: and so from there the army began to march through the land which they
call _Annales_ and well it might be so called, for it hath no wood at all in it, nor hearth so much
as thensay any thing else to burn and maintain fire: cow-dung is all their burning; for want of
other fowall. While the Romans lay in camp before _Caumlaus_ (a fortress of _Galgare__a_ they
discovered the cause of the enemies coming toward them with a great lesser and tumult:
that they charged to terly and suddenly upon the _corps au guerd_ of the Romans, that they not
only troubled but disordered them. The alarm being given within the camp, the Roman horsemen at once issued forth of all the gates, discomfited the Gauls, and
found certain of them in the chase, the Conspirators now that he was come to his enemies
country, went not from them, nor forth without sending out his epistles before and kept his army
togather in battal array with great heed and care. So this held on his journey continually
until he came to the river _Sangara_, where he purposed to make a bridge, because there was
no passagage over at any pond. This _Sangara_ is a rivulet out of the mountain _Alives_, and running
through _Pringen_joyned with the river _Thembre_ near unto _Bibyania_, and so growing bigger
by receiving a double current kept up his course through _Bithynia_ and dilated himself into
_Sangara_. Itis not famous and noble for the greatness thereof, as because it is the fifth
abundant to all the nation, bordering and dwelling thereupon. When the bridge was finished and
the army palled over, as they mar.ched along the bank, the Col. or _Priests of _Cyce _the
great mother of the gods_ were come from _Pfius_. and with dreamers inifices and other orna-
ments wove them: and in their _tall verse_ (as men diracted of their wits) seemed to pro-
phesy and foretell, that the goddesse vomisfing the Romans a fair way to war and victory, yes,
and the conquest and legimacy of that country. Hence the Conspi said that he accepted
their words for a pledge of good fortune, and thereof in that very place he pitched his Tents.

The next day he went as far as _Cardumini_ a town verify it is none of the greatest, but more sequested
and retired unto for tropique and mer handie, then finally in dry towns are that are far
and within the land. They are there in triangle wise of equal distance all from it. On the north
ward _simpri_ it hath _Holiford and the shores of the other tracts, whereas the _Gallians inhabite
by the sea-side. Moreover, it is bordered upon the confines of many great nations, who for their
mutual need and commodity, have commerce of negotiation, and meet together in that one
place. This town at that time they found stronger dipeople, by reason that the inhabitants
were fled for fear; but well toored, and mail of wares and goods of all sorts. While the Romans lay
there encompassed, there came Embassadors from _Epagogeus_, reportting unto them, that he had
made a journey to the Princes of the Gauls, but could obtain no relation at their hands: also,
that they were dislodged out of the champain country had quit their villages and lands in great
numbers, and together with their wives and children drove before them and carried with them
wherever they would, and were retured to the mount _Oursen_, from whence they purposed to
defend them selves by force of arms and the strong situation of the place. The Embassadors
likewise of the Oradians, gave more certain intelligence. to wit. That the whole people in
generall of the _Toligboioges_ had seizd the hill _Glympse_ that the Teicboges severally by
then selves when they taken another mountain calleld _Magana_; that the _Toligboioges_ had committed
their wives and children to the guard of the Teicboges cunning with a main army to aid the
_Toligboioges_. Now at that time the Princes of those three States were _Origa__Combdomani,
and _Gedote_. And the prin ipall reason and means that these had to entreat the war,
was this. That being possed of the highest hills of that country and having brought in
their provision of all things to serve them for a long space, they supposd to wear, and west
out their enemies in profic of time. For this account they made, that they would not ven
true to march against them, through so hard and distant aesse places, and if they assoled to do it,
they would be emached, repelled back and beatcdown with a small company; again, if they would fit full in length at the foot of those stoned mountains and do no-
thine, they were never able to endure the cold and the scarcity which they should find there.

And
And notwithstanding the very altitude and height of the places defended them, yet over and besides they call a tremen., and made other defences round about the tops of the mountains which they held. Also for provision of darts and other shot, it was the least of all their care, supposing that the rough places would furnish them with sufficient store of stones to sling. The Consul forecasting in his mind that he should not deal with their enemies close at hand-fight, but afar off when he was to affall their holds, had made provision aforehand of great store of darts light velutine javelins, arrows, bullets of lead, and small stones that might be leveled and sent out of flings. Thus being well appointed and furnished with inmult of shot, he led his army toward the mountain Olympyward about five miles off he encamped. The next day he together with Attinis advanced forward with five hundred of arms to view the nature and standing of the mountain, together with the situation of the Gauls camp. But the enemies horsemen being double in number to them, illused out of their camp, and put them to flight, slew a few of them in the rout, and hurt many. The third day he set forward with all his forces to discover the places, and by reason that there came not one of them out of their defences and fortifications, he rode round about the mountain in acuity at his pleasure, and perceived that on the South-side, there were certain little hills, all of a clean earth without stones, and the same thing up with an ease silent to a certain place; but to the North were high rocks and the same in manner steep upright, and whereas as the hill were inaccessible three on y ways and advenues he found, the one directly toward the midit of the mountain (where thelelel little mounts of earth) the other two were difficult the one lying South-east, and the other North-west. After he had considered and viewed these places that day he pitched his camp at the very root and foot of the hill. The morrow after he refreshed and finding by the first beats which he killed that the gods were pacified and favourably into him, he divided his army into three battalions, and so advanced against the enemy, and himself in person with the greatest part of his forces, mounted up the hill, whereas as it yielded the easiest ascent, he commanded his brother L. Marcius, from the South-west to get up the hill, as the place would permit with easiest, giving him in charge that he met with any dangerous places steep and hard of ascent, that he should not wrestle with the difficulties of the ground, nor fight against those things which to force and overcome were impossible; but rather to trave the ground, and retire toward him and into join his battalion. As for C. Helv. he willed him with a third part of the forces to wheel about by little and little, and fetch a compas at the hill foot and then from the North-west to mount up, Likewise the sides of Attinis he divided into three equal parts, L and took order that the young Prince himself in person should keep with him. The Cavalry and the Elephants he left in the next downs beneath the hills, and charged the Captains thereof to have a careful eye and good regard to mark what was done in every place, yes, and to make haste to recno and instruct, wherefore need should be, The Gauls making hill, on knowing that on two sides were fire enough, and the place that way to be inaccessible because they would stop the other advenue by force of arms on the South side, sent forth about four thousand armed men to seize upon a certain hill within a mile of their camp, which hill commanded the way, supposing they as from a corn and fortresses to debar them of passage. Which when the Romans perceived they put themselves into action to fight. A pretty space before the enming, marked the skirmishers, together with the Condor archers and flyers from Attinis likewise the Triballians of Tharsis. The enlings of the toomen followed loitly after (as well as they might) against the hill, beating their targets before them so as they seemed to cover themselves only to avoid the shot, and meant not to enter into any fight hand to hand. The fight at first was equally performed with shot and a good distance off; for as the Gauls got the advantage of the ground, so the Romans had the odds for valour and store of darts. But as the skirmish continued and encreased, there was no more equality seen. For the shields of the Gauls being made long, and narrowly enough for their bodies, and with them flat and plain without hardly covered and defended them, and by this time all their shot was spent, and weapon had they none but their very swords, whereof there was no use at all considering the enemy came not to close fight. The only help they had was with stones, and the too too big for their handling and not easy to wield, by reason they were not provided beforehand, but such as in that haste came next to their hand without any choice. Moreover, being not used and exercised to flinging they had neither the artificiall flight, nor yet sufficient strength to help themselves withal: but conversely, from all parts were pelted with bullets of lead and galled with arrows and darts unawares, which they could neither ward nor avoid and for that with as gracious as gentle and tender together their wives and understandings were blinded, they will not do to deceive themselves impressed and overtaken in a kind of fight whereunto they were leaf of all fitted. For as in close conflict hand to hand, where blows are dealt, whereas are forgivern and taken enterchangeably, choicer kindleth courage even so when men are wounded aloof with light darts, and from whence they know not or they not wot upon whom to run &at whom to make in that blind fit of theirs but they turn upon their own fellow, without all reason at a venture like wild beasts galled with arrows and arrows in their sides. Now, they receive nor a wound but it is seen by reason that they fight naked, and the bodies entire with the skin, and white, as being never bare but in battle by which means greater force of blood gush out of the wounds in their leathy bodies, the gases appease greater, and their white skin much more stained with black blood. But they pal not so much for broad & wide flashes for other whiles when the skin is cut away, and the wound rather broad than deep they take more pride therein, & think they fight with greater honor. How it happen
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A happen at any time, that an arrow head or a bullet sticking within the flesh all hidden, put them to pain and torment, notwithstanding the hurt be small in appearance, yet when they seek to pluck out an arrow, and the head will not follow, then they take on and are stark mad, for shame that so foul a prick should plague them so and be ready to kill them, insomuch as they call themselves on the ground, and lie wallowing along everywhere. Others there be of them that run full upon their enemy and those were ticked with arrows and darts from all parts & when they came near to hand were by the skirmishers killed and cut in pieces with their swords. Those fouldiers use to cover them selves with a shield of three foot long., carrying in their right hand certain spears to use aloft, and wear by their lds a spanish sword. Now in case they come to hand fight, they stir their feet upon their right hand into the right, and take them to their swords. By this time there were in view of the Gauls left a yea, who perceiving that the light armed skirmishers of the enemies were too good for them. Seizing within the enigns of the legions to approach near unto them, took them to their heads on all hands, and began to file again toward the camps; which now was full of fear and tumult as where women and children and a multitude of feeble folk (not fit to bear arms) were wounded and thronged together. The Romans following the train of their victory, seized the hills abandoned by the enemies that were fled. About the same time M. Adelius and C. Helvius, having mounted in so far as they could find way, traversing the sides of the hill, when they were come to an end, where they could see neither way nor path; they turned to that quarter of the hill which onl afforded a way, and both at them began to follow the Conuls battalion a pretty distance, although they had agreed beforehand to do; and that which at first had been very, the better thing to do, they were of necessity forced at last to put in execution. For in such difficult places and places of disadvantage, sequaces behind in a retreating have oftentimes served in right good stead: that if none in the vanguard should chance to be beaten back, in the second place prevent and protect them, and so begin fresh a new fight. A ter that the foremost enigns of the legions were come to those hills, where the light armed before had desisted the Conuls commanded the fouldiers to wait them awhile and breathe themselves, and then to follow them where by the sides of the Gauls lay dead along all over the mountains. And if they were to make use of the light armed fouldiers as they had been before, the Gauls would have made a riddle of them: what is to be looked for at the hands of the legiionary fouldiers armed all over in compleat harness? What will they do that carry the hearts of so noble a war to ? Surely they must needs win the camp, into which the enemy is chased and driven by the light armed fouldiers. Howbeit he commanded the light armed to go a fore who all the while that the legions rested themselves spent not the time in vain, but employed it in gathering together the darts and javelins that lay about the hills, to the end that they might be sufficient shot. Now the Romans marched forward and approached the camp, the Gauls likewise for their parts, setting their defences would not be able to defend them, stood armed before the trench and rampart. But afterwards being overcharged with all sorts of darts, they were driven in the turning of an hand within their hold, (for the more they were in number and the lesser they fould, the less lighted any dart in vain) only they left strong guards about the gates and entrenching the camp. Moreover, among the multitude which was driven into the hold, there was discharged at random a mighty number of darts: and that many of them were hurt thereby, appeared by theirry mingled with the Rikes of women and children.

E Now against them that waited the gates, and took up the avenues with their guards the legiionary fouldiers in the first row let fly their javelins. And all in their were not wounded in their bodies, yet by reason that their shields & bucklers were pierced through, they were most of them entangled one within another and fl.h. fail. Long they could not abide the violence of the Romans. in so much as before that the victors could enter into the camp, the Gaul's fled forth at all the gates wide open, and ran they will neither like blind men, as well through places which had no way, as those that were passable. No rocks to sleep with downfal, no cliffs to rough with crags, could hold in their way, and nothing feared they affront; their enemies only at their heels affrighted them. And therefore most of them either fell headlong down a mighty height and brake their necks, or else for very fear one's lost their breath, were windied, and ready to die. The CoF. after he had taken their camp, would not suffer it to be ranlacked, but commanded the fouldiers to follow the chase hard; and whilsts the enemies were thus aournd to affright them thoroughly. Then came the other regiment with M.Adelius but the Conulf would not suffer them to enter the camp, but let them forth with to pursue the enemies. Himself also in person soon after followed, when he had delivered the charge of keeping the prisoners, unto the military Tribunes of the army: for this reckoning and resolution he made that the war was at a small end if in this tumultuous sort of theirs he might either kill or take prisoners a number of them. The Conulf was no sooner departed but C. Helvius came with his third regiment, but he could not hold his troopers from the pillage of the camp, in much as the booty and prizes were most untively dealt among themselves who were at no end of thievish. The Cavalry found all this while still and will not of the fight; or that their fellows had gotten the victory; but afterwards they alsoeping the Gaul's delighted about the foot of the mountains made after them as well as their horses would mount against the hills; some they flew and others they took prisoners. The just number of those that were flyin cannot easily be counted, because they fled far and near among the crags and windings of the mountains where they were killed in bottom corners. Many of them besides, having engaged themselves to the crags and rocks that had no way forward,
ward, tumbled down into the valleys of a monitory depth underneath. Yea, and some hapned to be killed in the woods amidst the thickets & bushes; Clodius, who writeth of two battles fought upon the mount Olympus, reporteth that there died there forty thousand enemies. But Paterius, who otherwise went to overreach and exceed in number hath recorded not above ten thousand. But without all question the prisoners amounted to forty thousand full, because they went with a train of all sorts and ages, more like men dislodging and removing out of one country into another, than going to war. The Consul, after he had burned all the amour of his enemies in one heap commanded his soldiers to bring forth the rest of the cattle into one place, and either sold and made money of that which was to come into the publicke treasury of the City, or else parted it amongst the soldiers indifferently, with great regard, that every one should have a just and even portion. Moreover, he commanded them all in open audience, and rewarded every one besides with gifts according to their several deerts. But above the rest, and with the general accord of all he both prais'd, and also recomman'd Ataltes. For truly that young gentleman shewed not only singular valour and forwardness in all travels and dangers, but also a speciall modelly and rare integritie.

There remained yet entire and whole the war with the Tectosages, against whom the Consul made an expedition, & upon the third day arrived at Ancyra, a noble City in those parts, from whence the enemies were little more than ten miles distant. During the time that he lay there encamped, there hapned a memorable fact, performed by a captive Lady. Among many more prisoners, there was oneafortunates to be kept in ward, the wife of Octagon, a woman of surpassing beauty. The Centurio who had her in his purse, was lecherous and covetous withall, as many of these found it. Here he solicited and tempted her to commit folly: but seeing her altogether unwilling, and that she abhorred to prostitute her self unto him, he did violence upon her body, others, who fortune had made bond and thrall unto him. But afterwards to mollifie and allay the indignity of this villainy, he put the woman in good hope and promised that she should return home again to her friends: many he would not do all for pure love alone and freely without ransom for he bargained to have a certain sum of gold besides. And to the end forsooth that no person belonging to him might take knowledge thereof, he permitted her to send one of the prisoners whom he would her self as meffenger to her friends and kinsfolk, and appointed a place near unto a river whither the next night following two or more (of the said captive Ladies friends with the gold aboveaid) for to receive her at his hands. It fell out that among the rest of the captives committed to his guard, there was a bondslave of her own; this meffenger at the shutting in of the evening the Centurio conducted without the corporis guard. The morrow night after came accordingly to the place appointed both the two friends aforesaid of the gentlewoman and also the Centurio himself with his prisoner, where they shewed the gold, amounting to the full sum of one Attic talent (according as it was agreed between them) where with that the woman spake unto them in her language and commanded them to draw their swords, and kill outright the Centurio as he was weighing the gold. Which done, she casted her head to be cutt off, and wrapped it her self within her garments, and so carried it home to her husband Oristas, who from Olympus had fled and escaped to his own house. But before that she clipped and embraced her husband, she threw down the Centurio his head at his feet. And when he wondred what man's head it was and what act this might be, a passing woman made the confession to her husband the injury that her body had suffered and likewise the revenge for the abuse of her chastity by force and violence: and as it is reported, she maintained the honour of this maconlike act ever after even to her dying days, in all sanctimonie of life and modest carriage of herself like a chaste dame.

While the camp lay at Ancyra, the Orators of the Tectosages shewed themselves unto the Consul, requesting him not to dislodge and remove from thence before he had parted with their Lords and Princes laying withall, that they would accept any conditions of peace whatsoever, rather than war. The time was set down, even the next morow and a place likewise appointed, as just in the middle way (as it could be guessed) between the camp and Ancyra. The Col, thither came at the hour assigned, accompanied with a guard of five hundred horse: but receiving no Gauly at all there he returned into the camp. And thither repaired the same Orators unto him the second time with all the delates and demanding that their Princes could not come in person by occasion of some fruitle of conscience that arode the while: howbeit, the chief performances besides of the whole nation should appear by whom all matters might be composed as well with themselves. The Consul made answer, that he likewise would send Ataltes in his stead. So they came to this compacting from both parts. Ataltes had three hundred men of arms about him for his guard; and certain conditions of peace were drawn and propounded: but forasmuch as they might not grow to any small conclusion in the silence of their chief Commanders, accorded it was the day following the Consul and their Princes aforesaid should meet in that place together. Now the drift of the Gauls in making these delays and trifling off the time, was thus, that first they might gainsome convenient time to transport over the river H. Lyall all that over they had (which is not to hazard with their own persons, together with their wives and children) and afterwards to lay a train of an ambush for the Consul himself, who took small regard and was not provided for to prevent their villany intended under the colour of that conference. For that purpose they chose a thousand horsemen out of all their cavalry, of especiall valour and approved hardi-
nns, for the execution of this treacherous design. And truly this their fraud had taken effect, if fortune had not defended and maintained the law of nations, which to break and violate they had
compromised. Certain soldiery of the Romans went out to purvey forage and fuel, were directed
to those very quarters whereas the party above said should be kept. The Colonists thought it the
surer place for them, because they were to have the Comitills guard also opposed for their defence
against the enemy: howbeit, they set another cohort of their own, consisting of 600 horse
men nearer to the camp. Now by reason that Atilius affumed the Comitills, certainly, that their
Princes would come, and that the matter might be soon knit up and disposed; he departed out
of the camp with the same guard of horsemen as before, and when he had marched almost five
miles forward, and was not far short of the place appointed, he discovered all of a sudden the
b) Gauls riding in full gallop against them in most furious manner as enemies; whereon he said
the march and made a stand commanding the horsemen to make ready their weapons and resolve to
fight. The first charge and shock he received right valiantly, and hopped not back one foot: but
afterwards as the multitude pressed still upon him, he began to give ground and retreat, but so as he
brake not the ranks of his troops. But in the end, when they found more danger in longer flight,
than commodity and help in keeping their arrasies, they all at once turned their horse heads and
fled. When they were disarrayed once, the Gauls pursued hard and killed them; and no doubt a
great part of them had died for it, but that the forragers guard of 600 horse afore said came in to
release them. For they hearing afar off the fearful cry of their fellows, made ready their armor and
horse, and being fresh & heart entered upon the fight that was given over by their wearied and
discouraged companions: whereupon fortune quickly changed, and the fear turned from the losers
to the winners: for as the first encounter the Gauls were put to flight: and withall, the said
forragers and ewers came running out of the fields, and from all parts made head and confronted
the Gauls. Know h as they could neither fly readily nor escape turly, because the Romans with
their fresh horses followed them in chace, and they themselves were already tired; so therefore
they went away with life, and nor one was taken prisoner for the greater part by the usual
method of the Gauls, to make violaters of this their party under the colour of truth and fidelity. The
Romans which their fellows were inflamed with anger, the very next day came against them with
the puissance of all their forces. But the Cof, employed two whole days himself in viewing and
discouraging the situation and nature of the hill, because he would not be ignorant of anything re-
quart, upon the third day after he had first taken the aquisites and prerogatives of the birds, and afterwards
killed a faconice, he led forth his army divided into 4 battalions. Two of them were to
mount up the midst of the hill, and the other two he let in the side to flank the wings of the Gauls;
and to march up against them. The Teuton and Trogiones, who were the whole flower and
strength of the enemies, made their main battle in the midst, consisting of 5000 men; and because
there was no use of horse among those tough & uneven rocks, the cavalry alighted on foot to the
number of 10000, and those they put in the right wing. The Cappadocians were armed like
auxiliary Morians, and the auxillary Morians who were to the number almost of 4000 men, held the left.
The Cof, like as before in the mount Olympus marshalled his light armed skirmish in the forfront of the
vanguard, & gave order to have ready hand at least 50 darts & other shot of all sorts as he had
before. When they approached one another, all things answered both of the one side & the other,
like as in the former conflict: having that the courage of the victors increased in regard of their
former successes & the hearts of the enemies were much abated and damped. For albeit themselves had
not yet been foiled & vanquished, yet they took the overthrow & loss of their comraten for their
own, and therefore as the beginning of the battle was insecure, the issue was likewise. For the
Gauls bastall was overspread & covered again as it were with a cloud of light shot. And not one of
them durst run forth out of his range, for fear he should discover his whole body & lay open to
take all that came: and keeping still together as they did, the thinner they stood the faster mark
they were for the enemies to level at. & the more wounds they received, The Cof, perceiving they
were already of themselves troubled, and supposing that if he let forward & present them upon
the enemys of the legions, they would immediately all of them flee, received the light armed loole
shot, & the rest of the auxillary soldiery within his own ranks and files, and then advanced his
legions. The Gauls affrighting with the fresh remembrance of the late defeat and overthrow of the
Ponelobogians, carrying also about themselves the darts flicking in their bodies, weary beside with
long harding about, and overcharged likewise with many a wound, could not abide much as the oniet and flout of the Roman legions. Then began they to take their heels and file to
their camp, but few of them recovered it, and got within the rampier and other defences. The
greater number fled here and there on both hands, and disipered themselves into all parts as
it took them in the head, and as every man in this confus'd fight caught a way by himself. The
Conquerors followed them till even hard to the very camp, and all the way charged upon their
backs and beat them down. Which done, they fluid and stuck still in the camp for desire of pil-
lage: and there was not one that followed one foot after. The Gauls in the wings fled to it longer,
by reason that it was later ere they were set upon, but able they were not to abide the first charge
and shot of the Roman darts. The Comitill, who could not possibly pluck those one of the camp
that were once entered on for greeclines of spoiling and rifting the tents, gave out those immediately
that were in the wings to follow the enemies in chace still forward. Thee pursued them a certain
space; howbeit in this flight (for in truth it was no flight at all) there were not above eight thou-
and
land that left their carcases behind them, all the rest recovered the other side of the riverHal. Many of the Romans remained that night within the enemies camp; the rest the Consul brought back again to his own. The next day he took account and survey of the prisoners and prizes, which was as great as a man would conceive that a nation of all others most greedily of pillage and spoiling might possibly take and heap together for so many years, as they held all those parts within the mountain Loussus by force of arms. The Gauls thus scattered in flight rallied themselves into one place, as being many of them hurt or disarmed, and stripped clean out of all they had left behind them, and summoned the Consul to treat for peace. The Consul willed them to give attendance upon him at Epigus himself made haste to remove out of those cold quarters by reason that the mountain Taunus was so near (for now it was the midday of Autumn) and led back his victorious army to pass the winter near the sea-fide.

Whiles the affairs thus passed in Asia, all was quiet in the rest of the Provinces. At Rome the Senators Gnaeus Flamininus and Marcus Claudius Marcellus made a new choice of Senators: and P. Sesto Africano was chosen the President of the Senate now the third time: four only were left out and discarded: but not one of them had been office of State, and had the honour to sit in the Curule chair. The Senators showed themselves likewise phlegmatic in the review of the Cavalry and order of Knighthood. They put out to framing the foundations and ground works upon the Aqueduct in the Capitol: and likewise they bargained for to pave the street with hard flint or pebble, from the gate Capito to the Temple of Mars. The Campans demanded of the Senate, in what place they should be assemled and enrolled: and thereupon a decree passed for their enrolment at Rome. The rivers were out, and great deluges happened that year. The Tyber overflowed his banks twelve times and drowned Mars held and all the low parts of the City.

After this Cn. Mailloinus the Consul had brought the Gauls to an end in Asia, he the other Consul M. Fulvius having utterly subdued the Accaianians over into Cephalenian and sent to all the Cities about the Island certain messengers, to find them whether they would yield themselves unto the Romans or hazard the fortune of war? and if for the same fear among them all, that there was not one person refused to surrender. And being enjoyed (according to the ability of the people who were but bare) to give hollocations, the Nemesians Cephalianians, and Sameans delivered twenty apiece. This peace no sooner was known upon the Cephalenians beyond all their expectation, but suddenly one City of the Sameans revolted, and upon what cause it is not known: themselves alarmed and laid. That forasmuch as their City was beaten in a commodious place they feared greatly to be dispossessed and turned out of it by the Romans, but whether they only imagined this and put themselves in fright, and so changed their quiet and repose for vain and foolish fear, or whether there had been question hereof among the Romans and upon much concerning in mens mouth the rumour of such matter, ran unto them it is not certainly known. Only this much after they had given their hollocations, they flung their City gates upon a sudden; and defil they would not from their enterprise, for all the entrent and prayers that their own hollocations made, whom the Consul had lent (on purpose) even under their walls, to move their counsellors and parents to pity and compassion. When as therefore they would make no answer tendering unto peace, the Consul began to assail the City; and all the ordnance of artillery and engines of battery were under his hand, which had been brought from the siege of Ambraeis. And look what works and fabricks were needful besides to be made. the sondiers with great dill pace and forwards performed, so in two places at once they planted rams against the City and battered the walls. Heartly to the other side their part omitted and neglected nothing, that might either annoy the enemy or impeach the works. But two things there were principally whereof they made resistance and withstood their violence: the one was, a counter-mure within the City, which they over raised new instead of the old & for the same reason that was, that was demolished and broken down: the other was, their sudden fallsies, one while upon the fortifications and fabricks, others while upon the corporis de gaurd of the enemies: and for the most part in these skirmishes they had the better hand. But one mean there was devised, and the fame of small blew to speak of, to restrain and keep them infron falling forth. The Romans sent to * Aeclans, Pario, and Dime, for an hundred fiders. These nations from their childhood to execute themselves (after the manner of the country) to discharge out of flings into the open sea certain round stones, which commonly the shore is overspread with among the sands: by reason of which exercise, they have more skill both to toling farther from them and allo to strike more surely and give a smarter rap and stroke than those of the Balear Islands: for their fling is not made with one only cord as the Balearians are, and those of other nations but it hath three leather thongs hardned and made fit with many finures and seams left if the leathering were so and gentle, the bullet and stone within should wag to and floe and roll out in the delivery and hurling of it: but being fetled and counterpoised (as it were) it went merrily away, and sent and driven out of the noose of a stone-bow. And so well practiced were they in this feat that they could a great way off level a bullet through garlands, rings, and hoops of small compass, and miss not: may, they would be sure to hit, not only the head of an enemy, but any part of the face that they aimed at, pointblank, and never fail: these flings (I say) made the Sameans to pluck in their heads, that they durst not fall out neither to often nor so boldly as they did. Inomuch as from the walls, they requeted the Achaeans for a while to go aside and repose themselves, and see them how they skimmished with the corporis de gaurd
A of the Romans, four months space the Samians endured the siege. Now when of that small number which they had, some or other daily drop away, and were either killed outright or wounded; and they that remained, were both tyred in body, and daunted in courage; the Romans one night passed over the wall, by the fortresses which they call Cymlies (for the City where it bounded upon the Sea, lyeth toward the West) and entered so far as the market place. After that the Samians perceived that one part of the City was taken by the enemies, they fled with their wives and children into a greater fortresses, and the next day yielded: the Town was razed, and they themselves were all sold in open market, to whom would give melt.

The Consul having set the state of Cephalenia in good order, and put a garrison within Samos, passed into Peloponnesus, having been called and sent for to come thither a long time, principally by the Aegians and Lacedaemonians. Time our of mind, and from the first beginning of the Diets of Achaia, the whole nation used to assemble and meet at Aegion ordinarily, were it for to grace and honour the City, or because the place was commodious therefor. This ancient custom Philopomen that year began first to infringe, and went about to make a law and ordinance, That in all the Cities of Achaia, their Counsels and Diets shall be holden in course and order at their times, And against the coming of the Consul, when the Demiurges of the four Cities and states summoned the Dict to be kept at Aegion, Philopomen (Prior for that time) came with a coun tre-unions and proclaimed it to be held at Argos. And when it was evident to be seen, that they all in manner minded thither to resort; the Consul alfo (albeit in affection he favoured the Aegians) came to Argos: where, after much debate, seeing the matter growing the other way, he deft from his design and gave over the cause. After this, the Lacedaemonians avverted him from thence, and drew him away to the deciding of their controversies and dissentions. Certain banished persons they were who most of all disquieted and troubled that state: and many of them had their abiding place in the Camps coaling along the frontiers of the Laconian territory toward the Sea, which was taken wholly from the City. The Lacedaemonians much discontented and offended hereat, entred one night a certain borough called T. Las, surprised it unanimously to the inhabitants, and kept it to their use: to the end, that if need were at any time to lend Embassadors to Rome or else whither, they might have some free access unto the Sea: and withall, be served of a mart-Town for the same, and a place of receipt for all forrain merchandise from strangers to their necessary uses. The Townsmen within, as also the exiles aforesaid (there dwelling) were terriified at the sight with this fuddain and unexpected occurrence: but afterward (before day-light) when they had once rallied themselves together, with small ado and skirmishes chafed forth the Lacedaemonians: howbeit, the fear spread over all the Sea coast, so that in one general accord, the Camps and Villages every one, yea, and the Exiled persons (as many as there inhabited) dispatched their Embassadors to the Achaeans, Philopomen their Prior (who ever from the beginning inclined, he came of the banished, and had alwayes advised and counselfled the Achaeans to abate and take down the pride and reputation of the Lacedaemonians) granted them at their suit and seeking, a Diet. In which (upon a motion by him made) there passed a decree in this form: That whereas T. Quinsus and the Romans, had committted and delivered to the safeguard and protection of the Achaeans, the fortresses, burroughs, and villages, situate along the Sea coast of the Lacedaemonians; and (by virtue of a covenant and accord) the Lacedaemonians had nothing to do therein, but ought to forbear them; and yet notwithstanding, the Town Las was by them forced, and a great mallice there committed: therefore unless the principals and accessories both of that outrage, were yielded to the Achaeans, they deemed the covenant and accord in that behalf provided, to be broken. Hereupon incontinently were Embassadors addressed to Lacedaemon, to challenge and demand the parties aforesaid: but the Lacedaemonians took this for to proud a commandement, and thought it such an indignity, that without all doubt, if they had been in as good estate then, as sometimes they were, they would immediately have taken arms. But nothing troubled and disquieted their spirits so much as this, for fear lest it once they received the yoke of subjection upon their necks, in yielding obedience to their first demand, Philopomen would effect and put in execution that which he long intended and went about. even to deliver the City Lacedaemon into the hands of the banished aforesaid, Enraged therefore with choler and anger, they fell upon thirty of that faction who were complottet in connivell with Philopomen and the exiles, and drew them out right; and withal made a decree. To renounce and reject all sociery with the Achaeans; and forthwith to lend their Embassadors to Cephalenia, with commission, to deliver Lacedaemon unto M. Fulvio and the Romans; and to beleech him to take the pains to come into Peloponnesus, there to receive the City Lacedaemon under the obedience and protection of the people of Rome. When the Embassadors had made relation hereof to the Achaeans, presently war was proclaimed against the Lacedaemonians by common consent of all the states of that assembly and general counsell: but the winter impeached them for entering into any action and present execution. Howbeit they made small rodes into their frontiers, and waited the fame not only by Land, but also by Sea, after the manner of robbery and piracy, rather than of warlike hostility. Thrice troubles drew the Cof, into Peloponnesus, and by his commandment a Diet was published to be holden at Eili: and thither were the Lacedaemonians sent for to argue and debate their cause. Where there was not only much reasoning and dispute, but also wrangling and altercation. The Consul who in other points bare himself nicely enough, and answerd in doubtful terms, as one willing to entertain both parts, determined and ended the controversy in one only
word, warning them both to put up their swords, and lay arms aside, until they had sent their Em-
assadors to the Senate of Rome. So there were embassages addressed both from the one and the
other to Rome. In likewise the banished Lacedaemonians joined their cause and emibly with the
Achaeans, *Diophanes* and *Lycurgus*, both Megapolitans, were the chief in the embassage of the Achae-
ans, who as they jarred and disagreed in the managing of State-affairs, so they accorded not but
varied in the speeches that they delivered, *Diophanes* referred the decision of all matters unto the
Senat, as who were best able to compose all controversies between the Achaeans and Lacedaemo-
nians. But *Lycurgus*, intrusted by *Philopomen*, required that the Achaeans might do and execute
whatever they had ordained, according to the covenant, and the conditions therein comprised;
and that they would maintain their full liberty without abridging and empathing the same, accord-
ing as they had received it at their hands. The nation of the Achaeans in those days was in great
credit and reputation at Rome, bowbeit the Senate thought it not good to make any change and
alteration in the State of the Lacedaemonians. In conclusion, they returned such an intricate and
doubtful answer, that both the Achaeans might continue it as it they had permission and free liberty
to do what they would with *Lacedaemon*, and the Lacedaemonians again took it, as though they
had not to large a scope and absolute power allowed them, as to do their pleasure in every thing.
But this authority and liberty whatsoever it was, more or less, the Achaeans (stretched beyond all
measure and compass, and used it too proudly and insolently, *Philopomen* continued still in place
of sovereign government, and levied a power to be ready in the beginning of the spring, and so
encamped upon the frontiers of the Lacedaemonians. This done, he lent his Embassadors to de-
mand the delivery of them into his hands, who were the authors of the revolt; promising withal,
that if they would do, their City should remain in peace without any molestation, and they ful-
fier and fittest no harm, before they had answered for themselves in open audience. All the rest
for fear kept silence and said not a word, only they whom he had challenged by name, made offer
of themselves to go, under safe conduct, received from the Embassadors, and faithful promise that
no violence should be done upon their persons, until they had pleaded their answer. Accompa-
nied they were with divers noble personages of great mark and name both as advocates unto them
in their particular quarrels, and also in regard of the Common-well, as far as their private cause
any way touched and concerned it. Never had the Achaeans before time brought the Laced-
monian exiles with them into the confines of *Lacedaemon*, because they supposed that nothing so
to much alienate and ruffle the hearts of the whole City as that. But then the whole land, as if
were, of the vanguard, were no other but those banished persons. And as the Lacedaemonians a-
bove said were coming, who should meet and asfront them arranged in order of battle at the very
gate of the camp but they? At the first they welcomed them with chiding and railing, after that
they fell to bitter words and bruits, and their battle was up on both sides, insomuch as those of
the banished crew who were of hot spirit and harshest metal, made no more ado but ran unto
the Lacedaemonians; whereupon the Pretor himself came between, voided the press, and safeg-
guarded the persons of the Lacedaemonians, encircling and stoning some of their hands who
were already about to hit them, and made them inactive. But the tumult still increased, and the
multitude was all in an hurly. The Achaeans in first to see only what the matter was, and to
be lookers on. But afterwards, when the exiles began with a loud voice to cry out, and report
what wrongs and injuries they had sustained, beseeching them of their help, and avouching with
all might and confidence, that if they let slip this opportunity, they should never have the like again,
alluding moreover, That the league first made in the Capitol, after remeet at *Olympia*, and lift of
all confirmed by a sacred oath in the Camp of *Athens*, had been broken and disavowed by them,
and therefore the guilty and culpable parties were to be punished accordingly as they entered
into any bond of new accord. At their words the multitude was incensed, and by occasion of one
man's voice, who cried to strike and knock them down, fell to flinging stones at them. And by
this means seventeen of them, who during the garboil chanced to be tied in bonds, were floned
to death. The rest to the number of fix and thirty, were the next morning apprehended, whom
the Pretor had shielded and protected from violence, not for any decree he had to save their lives,
but because he would not have them military and peril before they were heard. These were
presented and exposed as a prey to the unryly and angry multitude: and when they had made some
small speech unto them, from which they turned away ther ears, they were all condemned and
delivered over to be executed. When the Lacedaemonians were once put in this fear, then
they were commanded, *Imprimis*, to demolish and break down their walls. *Items*, That all for-
rain auxiliary soldiers, who were waged and served for pay under the tyrants, should be void out
of the Lacedonian country. *Items*. That all the slaves whom those tyrants had let free (and of such
there was a great number) should depart before a certain day; and that it might be lawful for the
Achaeans to attack the bodies, to fall and carry away as many as flailed of *Lycurgus*, and remain behind.
*Items*. That they should abolish the laws, ordinances and cultums of *Lycurgus*, and frame them-
selves to live after the fashions and manners of the Achaeans, for to they should be incorporated
into one civil body, and better accord and fold together in all things. They condemned to none
of these conditions more willingly and sooner, than to the raising of their walls, and nothing
troubled them so much as vexed their heart, as the restoring of the banished persons. Howbeit
there passed an act at*Tegea* for their restitution in a general Council of all the Achaeans there held.
In which Allenby, upon a report and mention made, that the mercenary strangers abroad specified, and the new enrolled Lacedemonians called Africani (for so they termed them, who, by the tyrants were estranged and enslaved with freedom) had abandoned the City, and were departed hitherways into the country, it was thought good before the army was disdissed and called, that the Pretors should go with a company rightly armed and appointed to lay hold upon all that sort of people, and make sale of them, as of a prize and booty gained from the enemies. Many of them were apprehended and sold, and with the money raised of them, that part of the Gallery at Megalopolis, which had been ruinous by the Lacedemonians, was by the permission of the Athenians restored. Likewise the territory of Boeotia, which the Lacedemonian tyrants unjustly held in possession, was laid again to that City, according to an old decree of the Athenians, which was made during the reign of King Philip, son of Amyntas. The City of the Lacedemonians by this means much encreased, continued a long time in subjection and subordom under the Athenians, but their State received damage by no one thing so much, as by the abolishing of the discipline of Lycurgus, to which they had been used and accustomed for the space of 700 years.

Pretently after the holding of this Diet, where in the Athenians and Lacedemonians debated their causes before the Conuli, M. Fulvius repaired to Rome (for that the year was almost expired) against the solemn election of new Magistrates; wherein he created for Conuls, M. Valerius Messala, and C. Livius Salinator; and gave the repulse to M. Aemilius Lepidus his enemy, who that year made suit also to be Conul. This done, there were Pretors also chosen, to wit, Q. Marcus Philippus, M. Claudius Marcellus, C. Stercinius, C. Catinus, P. Claudius Pulcher, and L. Manlius Aemilius. When this election was ended, it was thought expedient that M. Fulvius should return into his former Province to the army there; and not only he, but his colleague also, Ca. Maurinus, had their commission revived, and they continued in government another year. The same year according to the direction of the Decemvirs, there was brought into the Temple of Hercules the statue of the same God: and within the Capitol were set up by Cn. Cornelius six plinths in gold drawing a chariot with this inscription, That he being Conul gave that present. Alio P. Claudius and Sulpicius Calo, Edies Curule, hung up twelve brazen shields, made of the fines that certain corn-hoorders paid, for hoarding up and keeping in their grain. Moreover Q. Fulvius Flaccus, an Edile of the Commons, erected two golden images raised of the mony that one guilty person was condemned in (for they commenced their actions severally by themselves.)

Asio A. Cecilius his companion, he condemned none. The Roman great games were set forth all through the city; and the Plebeian plays exhibited likewise full and whole, five times.

After this, M. Valerius Messala and C. Livius Salinator, entered their Conulsiphip upon the 7th day of March, and proposed before the Senate as concerning the affairs of the State, touching their Provinces also, and the armies. As for Etruria and Africa, there was no change at all. The Conul, by a decree of the Senate had the charge of Pisidia, together with the Ligurians; and the other of Gauls; and they were commanded either to agree between themselves, or to call lots for their Provinces. They were enjoyed also to levy new armies, and each of them to enrol two legions, and either of them to charge the allies of the Latin Nation with 15000 foot, and 1200 horsemen. Utte Messala the government of Etruria and the Salinator of Gaul. After this, the Pretors likewise called lots for their Provinces: the jurisdiction within Rome of citizens was allotted to M. Claudius, and of foreigners to P. Claudius. Sicily to Q. Marcus Sertorius to C. Stercinius, high Spain to L. Manlius, and the low to C. Attius. As for the armies, ordained it was, that the legions under the conduct of C. Livius should be withdrawn out of Gaul, and made over to M. Tullius the Propretor to serve in the Brutians country. Item. That the forces which were in Sicily should be discharged: and that M. Sempronius the Vice-pretor there, should bring from thence the fleet to Rome. Ordered likewise it was, that either of the Provinces of Spain should have one legion, which at that time served there: and that both the Pretors should for supply of the allies three thousand foot, and two hundred horsemen apiece, and transport the same over with them. Now before that their new Governors went to their Provinces, by order from the whole college and society of the Decemvirs, there was published a general proclamion and supplication to be holden for 3 days in all the quatorziums or cross streets of the City; for that in the day time between the third hour and the fourth, there were a general darkness which continued almost all that time. Moreover, a Novitial sacrifice was published to be celebrated for 9 days together, because on the Aventine hill it had rained flakes.

The Camps, when as the Centors (by virtue of an act of Senate which pased the former year) compelled them to be enrolled at Rome, (for aforetime they knew not where to be enrolled) made petition now that they might contract marriages and take Roman citizens to their wives; and that whatsoever had wedded any of them before, might keep them still: and what children lesser they had born before that day, should be reputed legitimate and their rightfull heirs. Both suits were granted. As concerning the free burghers of Formia, Fundi, and Arpinum, C. Faberius Toppa a Tribun of the Com. preferred a bill, that they might be priviledged to give their voices in Rome; for before that time, citizens in deed they were of Rome, (and that was all) for liberty of inimages they had none. This bill was crossed and nipped by four other Tribuns, because it was propounded without the warrant and approbation of the Senate. But being a freewill and better advised and enformed, that it appertained to the people and not to the Senate to give their voices where it pleased them, they gave over their enterprise, and opposed themselves
Now more to hinder the proceeding thereof. So it passed: and accordingly the Formians and Fundans should give their voices in the tribe Emilia & the Apamasi in Carnutes in their tribes then into and never before, were they enrolled by an act of the same Valerius, M. Claudius Antiochus the Censor took a survey of the City, and by lot obtained the pre-eminesence thereof before his colleague T. Quintius, In which there were numbered 358,308 polis of Roman citizens. This review being accomplished, the Consuls took their journeys into their several provinces.

During that winter election whiles these things thus passed at Rome, there returned embassages from all States, Cities and Nations which inhabit on this side Taurus, unto Cn. Modestus first Consol and afterwards Pro-consul, whiles he kept his winter in Asia. And as the victory achieved over Antiochus was more honorable and glorious to the Romans, than that over the Gauls, so the conquest of the Gauls was more joyous and pleasing to the Roman allies, than that other of Antiochus, for the terriblity in which the King held them was more tolerable than the cruelty of these savage and inhuman barbarians, and the doubtful and fear which they felt every day; as not knowing how far forth they would proceed, carried so (as it were) in a templum to wait and spread them thin. And therefore as nations who by the defeat of Antiochus recovered liberty, and by the subjugation of the Gauls enjoyed peace, they presented themselves not only to give thanks and dwell their contentment in that behalf, but also brought with them certain coronettes of gold, one every one according to their ability. Likewise there came Embassadors from Antiochus, as also from the very Gauls, to have conditions of peace minisfied unto them: yes, and from Aria, rate King of the Cappadocians, who staved pardon, and offered to buy out his repasts for money, in that he had given aid unto Antiochus; and fined he was to pay 200 talents of silver. The Gauls had this answer returned unto them, That K. Eumenes when he came home tender unto them articles of peace. The embassages of the other states and cities were dismissed with gracious answers, and went away better pleased and contented, than they were at their coming. The Embassadors of Antiochus were commanded to bring money into Pamphylia, and corn likewise, according to the covenant made with L. Scipio; for thither the Consul purposed himself to come with his army. After this, having taken a review and survey of his forces, he set forward in the beginning of spring, and within 8 days arrived at Apamea. There he sojourned in camp for three days: from whence he removed, and at the third days end came to Pamphylia, whether he had given order to the Kings Embassadors to convey their money and corn. There he received 500 talents of silver which were transported unto Apamea. The corn was divided in the army. From thence he marched to Perga, which was the only country in those parts held with a garrison. Where he approached, the Captain of the garrison met him on the way, requisiting 30 days space, in which time he might know the presence of K. Antiochus as touching the rendring of that City. The time was granted and within that day the garrison quit the place and departed, from Perga he went his brother L. M. Philip his 400 loutiers to Orocera, for to demand the rest of the money which by promise was due; and himself because he was advertised that K. Eumenes and the deputies of commissioners were come from Rome to Ephesus, revoc'd with his army also to Ephesus, and commanded the Embassador of Antiochus to follow him thither. There, by the advice of the ten commissioners, a final league was concluded, and comprised in their of such like terms: There shall be amity and friendship between King Antiochus and the people of Rome under these conditions ensuing. Imprimis. The King shall not suffer to pass through any part of his realms, or their countries that are under his dominion any army that intendeth to make war against the people of Rome or their allies, nor aid them with victory or any other fruit whatsoever. Item, The Romans and their allies shall do the like by Antiochus, and all clothe that are under his subjection. Item, It shall not be lawful for Antiochus either to make war with those that inhabit the lands, or to pass over into Europe. Item, He shall quit all Cities, Lands, Villages, and Fortresses on this side the mountaine Taurus unto the River Tanais; and moreover from the foot and valley under the said hill, unto that ridge thereof which bendeth toward Lycaonia. Item, Out of those Towns, territories, and Cattles which he is to void, he shall carry away no armament: and if he have conveyed from thence any already, he shall duly restore the same to every place accordingly. Item, He shall receive neither foes nor any other perison out of the Kingdom of Eumenes, Item, If any citizens belonging to those Cities which are inhabited and cut off from out of his realm, chance to remain now with him they shall return all to Apamea within a certain day. Item, As many as appertain to the Kingdom of Antiochus and are now with the Romans or their allies, may depart home or carry with them their pleasure. Item, All flowing, whether they be captives or taken captive in war: likewise all other persons free of condition before, and afterwards either taken prisoners or revolted, he shall deliver again to the Romans and their allies. Item, He shall make delivery of all his Elephants, and shall provide him of no more hereafter. Item, He shall yield up all his Gal- leries of war, with the tackling to them belonging: neither shall he keep above ten small vessels, and none of them shall have more than thirty oars to guide and row them; nor to much as one Galley with a finge bank of oars, to serve in any war that himself shall first begin. Item He shall not fail within the provinces of Calcedon and Sardes. Unless happily there be some ship that bringeth mony, Embassadors, or hostages. Item, It shall not be lawful for King Antiochus to levy and wage any fojourners out of those nations which are subject to the people of Rome: no, nor to entertain so much as voluntaries from thence. Item, What houses and edifices belonging to the Rhodians and their allies, are now within the confines of the realm of Antiochus, shall return to the
the said Rhodians and their associates, in a flood estate and terror as they were before the war began. And if any moeny or debts be to them due they may demand not recover the same. If any of them that have good law and right to recover, own, demand, and challenge it again. If any of those cities which ought to be rendered, be held by those unto whom Antiochus hath committed them, he shall withdraw the garrisons from thence, and take order that they be surrendered accordingly. He shall pay within twelve years by even portions, 1,200 Attic talents of good and lawful silver: provided, that every talent weigh no less than eighty pound after Roman pole: besides 3,000,000 modii of wheat. He shall pay unto King Eumenes 350 talents within five years: and for corn according to the rate and proportion 1,27 talents. He shall send unto the Romans 20 hostages, and change them for others every three years: provided, that they be not under 18 years of age, nor above 45. If any of those cities of Rome, begin of their own motion to make war upon King Antiochus, it shall be lawful for him to revenge himself, and all the forces means to withstand their violence; yet fo, as he hold no city in right of war, nor receive any into amity; and all controversies which shall arise between them shall be decided by law and justice, or if both parties be so pleased they shall try the issue by force of arms. It was comprised also within the covenants of this accord, that he should deliver into the Romans hands, Acmab the Carthaginian, Thoas the Aegy- 
itian, Mastmarcht the Acrisanian, Eubulus likewise and Philo the Chalcidians. Finally, if ought hereafter haped to be added moreover, or changed otherwise, the same in no case to prejudice anything contained within the covenants aforesaid. To this accord the Constil swears and receives the Kings oath likewise there was sent unto him Q. M. Minmus Theron and L. Menslins, he which forsook it that time to return from the Orosadians, And the Col. wrote his letters to Q. Fab. Lares Admiral of the fleet, presently to come to Patara, and what ships fewer of the Kings were there, to shew them in pieces, and make a light fire of them. So he departed from Ephesus, and either brake into fitters or burnt, so covered ships belonging to the King. In the same voyage and exploit he surprized and won Telmessus, by reason that the Townsman were so aflighted at the sudden coming of the fleet, Then forthwith he departed out of Lycia, and having given order to those that were left behind at Ephesus to follow after, he crossed the Seas (between the Ilands) over into Greece. After he had journeyed some few days at Athens, until the ships from Ephesus were entred into the harbor of Pyramus, they came thence he brought back his whole armado

to Italy. Q. Maslins having received (among other things which were to be yielded up ofAntiochus) the Elephants also, and beleft them all freely upon Eumenes, gave audience to the controversies of many Cities and States, amongst whom (during these changes and alterations) there arose sundry troubles and much variance. And Antarctas the King, who by the means and mediation of Eumenes (unto whom about that time he had adopted his daughter in marriage) was discharged and had an acquittance for the one moiety of the money imposed upon him entred into amity with the people of Rome. When the differences of the Cities aforesaid were debated and known, the ten Commissioners set down an order between them, respectively to their condition. To as many as had been tributaries to King Antiochus, and yet sided with the people of Rome in affection, they granted franchise and immunity: but as many as took part with Antiochus, or were tributaries into King Antiochus, those were commanded to pay their customs and duties to King Eumenes. Moreover, they freed and exempted from all task and tollage (expressly by name) the Coo- lophonians inhabiting Notium, together with the Cymeans and the Milefians. Unto the Chazoe- nicians (over and besides the same freedom) they gave the land Dryamata. To the Milefians also the territory called Sacer: to the Titans, they annexed Rhetaea and Gergitha: not so much for any fresh and late defects, as in memorial of their ancient beginning and foundation; which was the cause also that they set D. trada. Seals. The man, the Chians, Smyreans, and Erythraens, for their singular loyalty and devoir which they shewed in that war they not only inowd with fair and territories but also grasped with all kind of honor and reputation above the rest. Moreover, the Phegeans had both their own lands restored unto them which they enjoyed before the war, and also liberty to live under their ancient laws. As for the Rhodians, they had those things now confirmed and established unto them, which by a former decree were granted: and to better their estate, Lycia and Caia were bestowed upon them, as far as the River Meander, all fave the City Telsessus. Unto the dominion of King Eumenes, they laid Chastges in Europe and Asia, with all the Cities, Villages, and Lands thereto belonging, in as large terms and ample manner as Antiochus held the name talfo within Asia, the one and the other Perghis, as well that which confineth upon Health, as the other which they call the Greater. Moreover, they restored unto him Mytra, which King Pergyes had taken from him: over and besides, Lycia, Myr- vies, and Luqui: together with their Cities by special name. Telmessus, Ephesus, and Telmessus. As touching Pamphilis: some debate there was between the Agents of Eumenes and the Embassadors for Antiochus, because one part thereof is坐下 on this side the mounf Taurus, and the other lyeth beyond. The decision of this controversy was wholly referred to the arbitration of the Senat. Maslins having left down their covenants and decrees, departed with the ten Legates and all his army toward Hell Spis: and when he had toled the Princes of the Gauls thither to repair before him he declared unto them in what terms, and under what conditions they should enter into peace with Eumenes; therewith he gave them warning, to leave their manner of in roding and roving in hostile wise by force of arms: and to contain themselves within the precincts and

bounds
bounds of their own territories. After this, having gathered into one place all the vessels from the sea coasts, together with the entire flote of King Eumenes, which by his brother Athenus was brought from Eleus, he transported all his forces into Europe. From whence he marched through Chersonesus by short and easy journeys, because his army was heavily charged with prizes and booty of all sorts; and encamped at Lydianachus, purposing there to rest a while, to the end that his travelling beasts of draught and carriages, might be fresh and in good heart to pass through Thrace, which was a voyage and journey commonly feared and abhorred. The same day that he diloged from Lydianachus, he came to the River which they call Melas, and from thence the next day to Cyplia. When they were past Cyplia, they had for ten miles almost no other way, but through wild woods, narrow woodlands, and shone rough withal and uneven underfoot. For the difficulty of which passage, the army was divided into two parts. The one he commanded to march before, the other to come behind in the rearward a great distance aside, and in the midst between, he betowed the carriages with bag and baggage, and amongst them wagons and wains, laden with the publick treasure, and other pillage of great price. As he thus marched through the rear, there were about 10000 and not above, railed out of four nations of Asia, to wit, the Attians, Caenians Madnarens, and Cezereus, who beseiged the fireight to debar them of passag. It was supposed that King Philip of Macedon his hand was herein, and that they entered not into this action without his pravity and swindulent practice; who as he knew that the Romans could return no other way but by Thrace, to he was aware and will enough what a mass of money they carried with them. The Roman General himself was in the vanguard, careful only and troubled about the difficulty of the way. All this while the Thracians fast and stirred not, until the armed soldiers were past by. But when they perceived once, that the vanguard was gotten out of the fireights, and that the rearward was far enough behind, they fell in hand with the pack and carriages. The Thracians and after they had killed the guards, some of them ran and killed, and some in the wagons, others led away the pack horses and other smoller beasts with their load and burden on their backs. Hereupon arose a cry and a general alarm, and was first heard of those that followed; but Edwards of them also in the foreward & so from both ends they ran to the midle, and at one time in divers places, skirmished without all order confinedly. The Thracians heavily charged and encumbered with pileage, and more of them without any weapon at all, because they might have in theic their hands more nimble and agile to snatch & catch unto them their prizes, were by this means more exposed to receive hurt, and soon killed. The Romans again were much disordered and annoyed through the disadvantage of the ground and the waises, which the barbarous people were well enough acquainted with, and of out of them would set forth to encounter, and otherwise lurk within hollow blind caves, and nor be seen. The very packs likewise and the wagons, standing and lying unto wardly in the way, some of them, and sometime of other, (as it hapned) troubled and hindered them much in their fight. So here in one place lay the dead, there in another the true man that pursued him. And according as the plot of ground was good or bad, as well for the one part, as for the other as their hearts and courage servd or failed them, and as the number was more or less, the skirmish and fight was variable: and in one word, both fides many a man lay in the dust and lost his life. By which time the night approached, and the Thracians departed out of the conflict, not to much to avoid wounds and fear of death, as lot that they had iped themselves sufficiently of prizes. The Roman vanguard encamped without the forest in the open ground about the Temple of Bendis. The rearward remained still behind in the midl of the woods to guard their carriage fortified within in a double pallisado of strong bakes. The morrow after, when they had well diff. covered by their epitudes the way before them, they joined themselves with the vanguard. In this battle (over and besides a great part of their pillage lost, and a number of camp followers and laickies plain, with some foulers also, for that there was skirmishing everywhere throughout the chafe) there died Q. Minius Thermis: and a right good los there was of him, for he was a man of much value and execution. That day the army marched as far as to the River Hebrus. From whence they passed through the confines of the Attians, and to the Temple of Apollo whom the inhabitants name Zephythus. And there they met with another fireight passage about a place called Tempys, as rough and cumbersome underfoot as the former. But for as much as there were no woods about it, it yeelded no good place for ameses. Howbeit the Thracians (as people likewise of Thrace) assembled together, hoping also to light upon the like booty. But by reason that the valleys lay naked and open, so as any beaver the narrow waises they might be discovered a far off, the Romans were left afraid and troubled. For, by that they were to fight in some place of disadvantage, yet they might arrange themselves in battle array in open field, and join in close fight hand to hand. Being therefore embattled in Squadrions thick and strong, they charged the enemy with a great front and cry, and at the first shock forced them to retreat and lose ground, and afterwards to turn back and fly. And in the rout they were beaten down and killed; for even their natural waises for their vantage, empeached and hindered themselves. The Romans having got the victory, encamped near a village of the Maronitis, called Sace. The next day they marched through the champain open country, Primtus, where they journed three daies to take in corn, partly from out of the fields of the Maronitis, which willingly of themselves they confessed upon them, and partly out of their own ships, which followed after, well furnished with all kinds of provision. From this place they made but one daies journey to Apollonia, and so passing through the territory,


The eighth and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

A of the Abderitns, they came to Ntipet. All this way they journeyed peaceably through the Colonies of the Greeks. But the rest behind, if it were not dangerous unto them for any hostility, yet suspected still it was, all the whiles that they palled night and day through the midst of the Thracians, until at length they came into Macedonia. The same army conducted sometime before by Scipio that very way, found the Thracians more gentle and tractable, for no other cattle, but that they had less store of pillage and booty with them to set their teeth on water, and fingers on itching. And yet even then also (as Claudiuus wrote) there were thirteen thousand Thracians that encountered Mutinns the Numidian as he advanced before the van, and did over the coasts: and he, that he had in his company four hundred Numidian horsemen, and some few Elephants: also that his son, with an eleventh wing of a hundred and fifty horse, brake through B the midst of the enemies, who also within a while after (when his father Mutinus having placed the Elephants in the midst, and the Horsemen in the flanks, joined in battel with his enemies, charged them upon their backs, and put them in great fear) by means of which storm and tempest (as it were) of the Cavalry, they never came so far, as to deal with the battel of the men. 

C. Manlius led his army through Macedonia into Thrace, and marching by the way of Ephesus, arrived at Apollonia, where he abode all winter. For he made not so light a matter of winter-falling, that he durst take the Sea, and hazard the passage at that time of the year. The year almost expired, M. Valerius the Consul returned out of Lusitania to Rome, for the creation of new Magistrates, having achieved no such memorable exploit in his Province during the time of his government, as might have yeilded any colourable reason of his long stay, in that he came more tardy (than the usual manner was) to the assembly for an election of Consuls: (for holden it was upon the 32 calends of March) wherein were created, M. Eumений Legatus and C. Emilius. The next day after, these Pretors: were elected; namely, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, Sen., Sulpius Galba, L. Terentius Calpurnius, L. Terentius M. Sallius, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, and M. Eumений Curtiarius. After the elevation of the Magistrates the Consul proposed to the Senate as touching the Province and governments of the Pretors. And the LL. decreed that two of them should remain at Rome to minister laws and execute justice: other two should be employed out of Italy, in Sicily and Sardinia at two in Italy, to wit, at Tarantum and in Gaul. Immediately before they entred into office they were enjoined to call lots: and Ser., Sulpius had the jurisdiction of the citizens, and Q. Terentius of foreigners and aliens: L. Terentius took the charge of Sicily, Q. Fulvius of Sardinia, Ap. Claudius of Africa.

D. was to govern Tarantum, and M. Eumений to rule Gallia. It forforned the same year that M. Munatinus Myrtillus and L. M. Marius were delivered to the Carthaginian Emisfadors, by the hands of the official heralds at the commandment of M. Claudius Pretor of the City for the time being and transported over to Carthage, for that the voice and speech went, That they had beaten the said Emisfadors. A brut and rumour there was of a great war begun in Liguria, & which encreased every day more other. Whereupon the Senat ordained to both the new Consuls the Province of Liguria that day on which they propounded unto the Senat to consult about the Provinces and the affairs of the Common-wealth, but L. Fulvius the Consul opposed himself against this their act, and ordinance alleging. That it was a shameful indignity, that both the Consuls should be shut up and encloed within the valies of Lusitania whereas for two years already M. Fulvius and Ca. Munatinus had reigned like Kings, the one in Europe, the other in Africa, instead of Philip and Antiochus. And if (said he) it be the pleasure of the Senat that there should be armies maintained in those parts, more meet I wot, it were, that Consuls should have the command & conduct thereof of than those privet persons. As for them they range about those nations, terrifying them with threats of war, against whom there hath been none proclaimed in this merchandise and selling peace among them for sums of mony. Now if it be requisite and needfull to keep two armies for the government and defence of those Provinces, like as M. Fulvius and Ca., Munatinus Consuls succeded M. Aemilius and L. Scipio Consuls: M. Silanus and M. Fulvius also the Consuls ought to have entered in place of Fulvius and Marius. At leastwise now, when the Ethiopian war is finished and brought to an end, Africa recovered and conquered from Antiochus, and the Gauls vanquished subdued, either ought Consuls to be sent unto their armies, or else the legions to be brought back from thence, and at length delivered to the Common-wealth. The Senat notwithstanding they gave him the hearing, preferred still in their resolution that both Consuls should be imploied in the Province of Liguria. Yet thought good it was that M. Munatinus and Fulvius should leave their Provinces, withdrw their forces from thence, and return to Rome. An old judge there was and a courtly eminety between the said M. Fulvius, and M. Eumений the Consul: and among other matters of dissonencement, Eumений gave out, that by the means of Fulvius, himself was treated Consul two years later than other wise he should have been. And therefore to work him delight and make him odious to the World, he caufed the Emisfadors of Ambassedia (who had subordined and set on for to lay matters to his charge) to enter into the Senat.

G. house. These being in place, complained that M. Fulvius had waited upon them at what time as they were in peace performed all that other Consuls before had imposed upon them and were also ready in all duty and allegiance to do the same unto him. First our lands and territories by they were piciously spoiled and wafted: then were we terrified with the欺诈 of our City, and threatenedit with the killing of our people, that for very fear we were forced to flint our gates, Afterwards we were beaured and assailed, and against us all kinds of hostility practised, by word, by fire, by ruinating and ranfackling our City. Our wives, our children, have been led
and haled into captivity and bondage: our goods violently taken from us: (and that which a

above all wente to our heart) our Temples throughout the whole City despoiled and

robbed of their goodly ornaments: the images of our Gods, and finally our Godsthemelves

plucked out of their shrines and places, and so carried away; yea, the very walls and pillars left

bare and naked; so as the Ambracians have no Gods remaining amongst them to adore, and to

whom they might make their prayers and supplications. As they poured out their complaints,

the Consul of a mind to aggravate and heap more matter upon his adversary, ceased not to propone

unto them many interrogatories (as it was collonspited between them before) and drew them

on to speak many things, as if with they good will they would not have uttered them. When the

rest of the LL. were moved therewith, then the other Consul C. Flamininus undertook the apology

and defence of M. Fulvius, saying, "That the Ambracians trod in an old beaten way, and did do

otherwise than some before them had done. For even so was M. Marcellus accused by the Syra-
cutians, so was Q. Fulvius charged by the Capuans. And why by the same means suffered they

not T. Quintus to be charged by King Philip, M. Acilius and L. Scipio by Antiochus Cn. Manlius

by the Gauls, and the same Fulvius himself by the Aetolians and people of Ephesonia? That

Ambracia was assaulted, batterned, and forced in the end; that images and ornaments were

taken from thence: that other arts were done and committed, which usually follow upon the

wining of Towns, think ye my LL. that either I in the behalf of Fulvius will deny, or Fulvius

himself will disavow? who, in regard of these worthy exploits and noble acts, is minded to de-
mend at your hands the honor of a Triumph, who purposeth to carry before his triumphant

chariot the portraiture of Ambracia as it was taken, the images which they accuse him to have

carried away and other spoils of that City; yes, and to fet them upon the posts of his house for a

memorial to posterity? No reason there is that the Ambracians should fever themselves from

the Eetolians, and do more than they, for their case and condition is all one. And therefore let

my colleague shew his ran or malice, and bewray a betterd enmyty in some other cause: or

if he will needs follow and pursue this forward, let him intertain and keep still his Ambracians

unto the coming of M. Fulvius. And for mine own part, I will suffer no arts to pass either of the

or Aetolians or the Aetolians, so long as M. Fulvius is absent, Emilsius accused his enemy for hav-
ing a crasy head of his own, and for his table fetches, as being notorious and well known to all

men for no better: saying, that fully unnningly he would trie out the time, and make delayes all the

year long, that he might not come to Rome so long as his adversary was Consul. Thus in this de-
bate between the two Consuls two days were spent and nothing else done. And it appeared evi-
dently, that so long as Flamininus was in place and presence, nothing could be concluded and de-
determined. Whereupon a time was spied out when Flamininus chanced to be fiek, and by that oc-
casion was away. Then upon a motion made by Emilsius there passe an act of the Senat, That

the Ambracians should have all their goods restored unto them again: that they should enjoy

their freedom and franchises, and live under their own Laws: and finally might take what cu-

toms, toll and impostes they wold for postage, as well by Land as Sea: provided always that the

Romans, and their allies the Latinis. should be exempted and free there from. As for the im-
ages and other ornaments which they complained were taken out of their sacred Temples, the

Senat ordered that when M. Fulvius was returned to Rome, the college of the Pontiffs should

have the hearing and deciding thereof, and look what they awarded and set down: it should stand

and be performed accordingly. And the Consul not consent with all this, took the vantage when

there were but few Senators in the house, and procured an other act of Senat in this form. That

they judged Ambracia not to be restored a City forced by assualt, This done, there was by virtue

of an order from the Decemvirs a solemn supplication helden three days for the health of the peo-

ple, in regard of a grievous pestilence that dispeopled both City and Country. After that the

Latine feasts and holy-days were celebrated. When the Consul had accomplished these devotions,

and rid their confinences of scruple, and withal made a full and compleat levy to furnish

legions (for both of them were defirous to have new fouldiers) they departed into their Pro-

vinces, and called all the old.

After the Consuls were forth forward on their journey the Pro-consul Cn. Manlius returned home
to Rome. For whose sake the Preter Servius Sulpitius assembled the Senat in the Temple of Bel-
lona. Where after relation made of his deeds achieved, he demanded that in consideration

thereof, due honor and thanksgiving should be rended to the immortal Gods, and withal, that

himself might ride triumphant into the City. The most part of the Legats and Commissioneris, who

had been with him gainfald and denied the same, and above all the reft L. Furius Pompilius, and
L. Emilius Paulus, who leaped forth, and informed against him in these terms: "That they had

been sent in commisison to assist Cn. Manlius, for the making of a peace with Antiochus, and for

that mithing of that accord and those covenants and conditions, which were commended and begun

between him and L. Scipio. Yet Cn. Manlius, say they, endeavoured all that ever; he could to trou-
ble that peace yet, and to have surpried and intercaped Antiochus by trains of ambush; he had

ever come in his way or within his reach. But the King being a ware of the Consul's hand and

deceit, albeit there was made great means many a time to have caught him by colour of parley

and conference, yet avoided evermore not only to have speech and communication with him,

but also to come within his sight. And when Manlius would needs have passe over Taras,

hardly and with much ado could he be kept back, nor with standing all the commisioners prayed

and
and befought him to stay, and not to hazard himself and incur the danger of a notable loss and to overthrow, fore-told by the oracles and prophecies of Sybil to light upon them that would pass beyond the bounds limited by the fatal destinies. All this notwithstanding he advanced forward and approached with his army, yea, and encamped near the very pitch and top of the mountains, where all the water that felleth from above, runneth contrary ways into divers seas; and when he could and had no quarter there for which he might make war (because the Kings people and subjects were still and quiet) he turned the army about to the Gallicæans, against which nation there was no war intended either by warrant and authority from Senat; or by grant and commission from the people. And what man were so hardy and bold, as to war upon his own head? The wars against Atius, Philip, Ambell, and the Carthaginians, are most theft

in each man's remembrance; and of all thefe the Senat was conhunted with, and the people granted their ordinance. Embassadors many a time and often were adressed before restitution and amends were by order demanded: and of all the heralds were sent, solemnly to announce and proclaim war. Now tell me, Con. Mancius, Which of all these things were done that we may call this by the name of a publick war, allowed by the State of the people of Rome, and not rather a privy brigandage and robbery of your own? But conceived you your self with this, and did you no more: marched you directly forward, and took you nothing but what was in your way; leading your army against those only whom you took to be your enemies? or rather at all turnings and windings, may, at every forked high way leading on both hands, when you were at a stand, followed not you like a mercenary and waged Civil into Atius (King Lucius, menes his brother) with the Roman army, what hand forever he turned and marched? There was not a crank and hook but you visited; there was not a corner that you left unsearched, in all Paphia, Lycaonia, and Phrygia. There was not a tyrant, Prince nor Potentate, there was not a Lord of any borough or castle, how far soever out of the way, but you had a laying to them to pill and poll them, and to pick gence out of their purses. For what business had you with the Orandois? What had you to doe with other nations, as innocent and guileless as they? Now as concerning the war, (in regard whereof you demand a triumph) in what fort managed you it? Fought you a battle either in place commodious, or time convenient? Surely, I must needs say, great reason you have and good cause to require that honor and praise be given to the immortal Gods, first for that their gracious will and pleasure was, that the army should not smart for the temerity and rashness of their chief-leader, warring as he did against the law of nations:

then in that they presented unto us, not men indeed for enemies, but very beasts and no better. For ye must not think, that it is the name only of the Gallicæans, which is mingled and compounded; for long time before, both their bodies and minds have been mixed and corrupted, and the men themselves ballest and degenerate from their first nuture. Had they been the same Gauls with whom we have fought a thousand times in Italy, and with doubtful issue, and lot as much as we won, and every foot received as good as we brought, think ye there would have returned oxe messenger from thence, to bring us news, for any good at all wise that our General there did? Twice he came to conflict with them: twice he encountered them in place of difficult advantage; mounting his army against the hill, and ranged in the bottom of the valley, even under the enemies feet: in such fort, that if they had lanced no darts against us from the higher ground, but only come upon us with their naked and disarmed bodies, they had been able to have overcome us and gone over our bellies. And what hapned hereupon? God - amery the good fortune of the people of Rome: we may thank (I say) the great and terrible name of the Romans, The freth renown of the late ruins and overthrowes of Ambell Philip, and Antiochus, amazed and astonisht (as one would say) those men with their incorporeal and mighty bodies; with wings and arrow - fist only where they were dispersed and put to flight, to alight were they. There was not a word once blouded in all this Gauls war: at the first swing of the bow and singeing of the arrow they fled away, like swarms of bees with ringing of batons. And yet believe me, even we the fame and no other (as if fortune would admonish and shew what had become of us if we had affronted an enemy indeed) in our return, when we were returned to light upon certain petty robbers and theives of Thrase, were roundly beaten, killed, and put to flight: and polled and well stript of our bag and baggage. Q. Minutius Thermus (by whole death we have obtained a far greater loss, than in Con. Mancius had miscarried, whole realm was the cause of all this calamity and misfortune) with many a tall and valiant man besides lost his life in this skirmish. Our holtt bringing away with them the spoil and pillage of K. Antiochus, was dismembered and parted into three troops; the vanguard in one place the rearguard in another, and the carriages in a third went to take up their lodgings one whole night amongst buffal, briars, and brambles, and lurk within the caves and dens of wild beasts. Are there the brave and worthy exploits for which you demand a triumph? But say, that you had received in Thrase, neither danger nor dishonor: which be the enemies over whom you would needs triumph in all the halfe? so that be alike whom the Senat & people of Rome defined & alligned to be your enemies: for so was triumph granted to this L. Scipio here in place: to likewise to that M. MMi in before him over K. Thrase 5 olo there to T. Quinctius for the victory of Philip: and so to conlude unto P. Aferius for subduing Ambell the Carthaginians, and K. Syphax, And when the Senat had ordained war, yet before they enterprised and began these high and hasty affairs, they made some doubt and pause in such petty circumstances as these, to wit, whom they should
should lend defiance and denounce the said war whether to the Kings themselves in their own H person: or if it were sufficient to give intimation to one garrison or other within their fortified. & And would ye now (my masters) that all these observations and ceremonies should be pollu-
contended and confounded, that the rights and laws of the Felicials and heralds should be abolished. & that there shall be no more Felicials at all, But let religion and divine service (God forgive me if I seem to blaspheme) be trod under foot: suppose the Gods were utterly forgot not of you, and their remembrance quite exiled out of your hearts: Is it your pleasure also, and think ye it meet, that the Senate be confounded no more for their advice in question of war? or that a bit be not proposed to the people, in this wise: Pleadeth it you or no, to ordain that war be levied a-gainst the Gauls? The other day, and no longer time, the Conuls were detestous and earnest to govern Greece and Asia, yet when they perceived you to be resolute and perfidious in assigning unto them both, the Province of Liguria, they were content and obeyed. Great reason shall they therefore to demand a triumph at your hands, after they have achiev’d an happy victory and finished that war, which they first enterprised upon your warrants and authority. 

After this manner as ye have heard (sake Ennius and Ammius. And Manlius again, as we find in record, answered thus) or much to this effect, as followeth: Right honorable be & my very good LL, the Tribunes of the Commons were ever wont afore-time, to repugn and cross them that demanded triumphs: and I take my self much beholden unto them, for this favour, that either in their love to myself, or in regard of my great and notable exploits, they have not only by their silence given their consent for it, but also seem ready and pret to propound the fame unto the people, if need had been. But know (forsooth, whom have I (and God will) for mine adversaries, but even some of my ten adjacents or suffragauns, whom our ancients thought good to give unto their Generals in the wars as a counsel both to flill and aid them, and also to counte-
nance and grace them in their victory? L. Ennius and L. Ammius are the men and none but they, who, they inhibit and debar me for mounting up into the triumphant charriot; they are ready to pluck from my head the glorious and honorable crown that I should wear: even those (I say) whom (if the Tribuns had hindred and empeached my triumph) I would have repented myself unto as witnesses of my worthiness. Certainly, (my LL) I had be it from me, that I should envy and repine at the honour of any man: but I remember well, that of late days when in certain Tri-

Buns of the Common tate (men of great courage and action) went about to stay and forbid the triumphs of Q. Fabius Laber, ye by your authority diverted and scared them from that intended enterprise; and he triumphed in the end. notwithstanding his adversaries gave out and said aloud, not that he had fought a war unjustly, but in reprochful manner charged him. That he had not so much as let eye upon the enemy. And I, who have to often in ranged battell fought with an 100000 mofi fierce and war like enemies, slain or taken prisoners more than 40000 of them, forced and won two of their camps: and left all places on this side the ridge of the mountain Tauris, more peaceable and quiet than is the Land of Italy, am not only truftrate and put beside my triumph, but also stand here before your honors to defend my self against the challenge of mine own Council and Suffragans, Which accustion of theirs, Conclishe (as ye have heard my LL) of two principal points: for objected they have, first, that I ought not at all to have made war with the Gauls: and secondly, that I conducted and managed the fame, rashly and with our discretion. The Gauls (say they) were no enemies of ours: but being quiet in peace, and ready to do whatsoever they were charged, were by you abused and wronged, I will not require (my LL) that ye should have the fame hard conceit of the Gauls which inhabit in Asia toasting their cruelty and mortal hatred against the Roman name, which ye know generally to be in the people of the Gauls: Do but consider and judge of these Gauls as they be in themselves simply without respect of the infamous name and odious opinion that goeth of the whole ge-

neration: O that King Ememes were here, Would to God that all the States of Asia were pre-
fent in place that ye might hear them rather what complaints they would make, than my self ac-
cusing of them. Send but your Embassadors to all the Cities of Asia and enquire whether servi-

ces were greater and more grievous, that which they were delivered from by the chafing of Antiochus beyond the mountain Taurus or this whereof they are now caved by the subduing of the Gauls? Let them relate unto you, and make report how often their territories have been wasted by them, how many booties have been driven, and prizes carried away out of them, and how they were brought to so low a pass, that they hardly could find means and make any shift to redeem their prisoners by ransom. Let them tell you what they heard there besides, how they killed men, yea, and their children to sacrifice, unto their Gods. But know ye now from me, that your allies yielded tribute to the Gauls, yea, and should have paid full at this day, nor withstanding they were by you delivered from their subjection under King Antiochus. If I had not b:H rified my self the better, For the farther that Antiochus was removed from them the more prudently and outrageous would these Gauls have ruled like LL, over all Asia, and whatsoever lands had lien on this side the top of the mount Taurus, you should have laid to the feignory of the Gauls and not annexed to your own Empire & dominion. All this is true will some one say, and what of all these? These Gauls likewise once spoiled the temple at D Isph, reputed in times the common Oracle of the whole world and trust in the very heart and midst of the earth, and yet the people of Rome neither denounced nor made war for all that. Certainly, I always would have thought there had been some difference to be made between those days, when as neither
A

The eight and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

A

A page under your jurisdiction and obedience (that you should need to take care and regard of what was done in those parts) in this present time, in which ye have set the mountain Towns to be the bound and limit, whereunto your Empire extended, in which you gave freedom and immunity to Cities in which ye enlarge the confines of home and take in the territories of others, furnishing these cities with forfeitures & lots of their territories, punishing those with taxes and tributes: in which I say you augment and diminish realms, give and take away Kingdoms at your good pleasure: and in one word, in which ye judge it a matter that concerneth you, to provide that there may be a general peace both on land and sea. Were you of opinion indeed, that Afig might not be counted free unless Antiochus had withdrawn his garrisons, which kept quiet within their fortresses and cities, and firred not on the thought you wish'd, that your gifts granted unto King Smerdes might be allowed unto him, and the freedom likewise of the Cities, established unto them, if whole armies of Gauls might range all about and in those countries? But why and so much arguing and reasoning in this manner, as if I had not found the Gauls enemies, but rather countenanced them to be our enemies: O L., Seplis, I call you like Antiochus, and ye yourselves, into whole charge and government I succeeded, whole venue and facility withal, I besought the immortal Gods to you. I have one prayer (and my prayer was not in vain) and you likewise, P. and S.; who, with the Col, your brother and in the whole army, had the room & place instead of an adjoint Lieutenant and no more, but cried the Majesty of a Colleague, & joint companion, speak frankly both of you upon your knowledge, whether whole legions of Gauls fell not in the army of Antiochus? Tell us, whether you saw them not in the field, enthralled in both the points and places of the main battle, as the very flower and strength of the whole multitude of Gauls?

Antiochus: Say directly fought ye not with them, by which ye doth them not, & carried away their spoils, as undoubtedly and lawful enemies? And yet both Senate decreed and people ordained war with Antiochus by name, and not with the Gauls, but I tro (or else I am much deceived) within this decree and ordinance, they included all those besides that came to aid and assist him, of whom (excepting Antiochus himself, with whom Seplis had anti. led people and allane, and ye also had expressly given order therefore) they all were our enemies no doubt, who had been our haters and aggressors in the quarrel and behalf of the said Antiochus. Now albeit the Gauls above all others were compiled in this number, together with some petty Kings and Princes besides, yet I contracted accord and peace with others, (after I had forced them to suffer due punishment according to their trepasis) as far forth as I thought expedient for the honour of your Empire: yea, and I afforded also to gain and win the hearts of the Gods, if haply it had been possible, to have dissolved and reconciled them from their inbred ferocities and natural cruelty. But when I perceived that they were untractable, untamed, and implicable, then and not before I resolved, that it was high time to bridle and bring them into order by violence and force of arms. Now that I have deci-

red the former point of my accolation, as touching the enterprise of the war, it is manifest that I need you an account of the conduct thereof, Whereas verily I would make no doubt to approve mine innocence, and justify the goodness of my cause, if I were to plead, I say not the Senate of Rome, but even at the council table of Carthage: where (as men say) they make no more ado, but truss up hang, and crucify their Generals if they ako, led to execution of any service in the war with bad advice and counsel, although the ill and even be never so good. But in that City, which therefore utheth the name of the Gods both before they begin, and also when they proceed to the managing of all their affairs, (because no person should come to disaster or deprive that willingly, which the Gods have once approved) and which City in the grant and ordi-

nance either of procession or triumph, with this solemn form of words: For that he hath well and happily admide freed and managed the said publick: In this City, I say, if it were unwilling, nay, if I reputed it an odious matter, and favouring too much of pride and arrogance to vent our self and boast of mine own prowess; yet if in regard of the happy success and felicity of my self and mine army in that without any folly of fools, we vanquished and subdued to great and mighty a nation, I demanded first that due honour and thanksgiving should be rendered unto the immortals Gods and then, that I might myself ascend and mount up the Capitol in triumph from whence I determined to take my voyage, after I had conceived and pronounced my vows, and made my prayers after the solemn and religious order: would ye deny both me and the immor-

tals Gods also? Yet marry would you, and why? For tothis I thought in a place of disadavantage. But tell me then, I pray you, in what ground I might have fought with better advantage? considering the enemies were seiz'd of the hill, and kept themselves within their strength and fort. I should have gone unto them, if I had been willing to have vanquished and overcome them. What? how if they had been there within a strong City? how if they had kept within the walls, and would not have issued forth? You must then have laid siege unto them, and given the assault. Must I so indeed? And how I pray? Fought M, Achelus (I believe you) at Thermopylae in a place of advantage? Why? did not T. Quintus after this manner disposeth Philip of the high Mountains, which he held over the River Aenus? In faith, I cannot yet divite what kind of enemies they either imagine to themselves they were, or would have you to take and esteem them to be. We beg, if eminent, if necessitate, if necessary with the delights and pleasures of Antiochus: what danger was it to march up the hill against them with all disadvantage? If doubted and terrible for fierce courage and bodily strength, deny ye triumph for so noble a victory? Envy (my good LL.) is blind, and can skill of nothing but to detract and delame virtues, to palpitate
and corrupt the honors and rewards due thereto. Pardon me I beseech your H[...]/

excused if I have been over long and tedious. It is not I assure you, any delight and pleasure that
I take to put forth and glorify my self, but a necessity imposed upon me (in mine own defence,
-to confute these crimes objected against me) which hath driven mine Operation out in length. To
proceed, was it possible also that in Thracia I could make myself within the forrests large and
wide, which naturally were thicket and narrow? the ground plain and smooth, which by na-
ture was uneven and rugged? Could I make level downs of steep mounts? open champian and
fair fields of woodland overgrown, and rough wylds. Lay it inne.to prevent those Thracian
thieves that they should not hide themselves within their inking holes and ordinarly covert
thicket? Was it in my power, to impeach them that they might march and carry nothing of
our baggage? Was I able to warrant that none of our labors beats out of so great a number, I
should be driven and led away from their company? that no person should be hurt? and finally,
that Q Минимус a brave and hardy knight, should not die of his wound? My adversaries pres-
hard and much upon this misfortune, that it was our unluckie hap to lofe so worthy a Gentle-
man: but they never think that if they would lay nothing but apprises and conceal all, yet you
should know (since the whole army is here present to testify that which I say) That although
the enemy affailed us in a narrow freight, in an inconvinient place of great disadvantage, yet
both of our battalions at once, as well the vanguard as rearward, compassed the army of the
Barbarians buy and occupied inusting of our carriage, flew many thousands of them that very
day, and within few days after either killed or took prisoners a greater number of them by far.
Well, I had not drawn a sword in Afric, if I had not seen an enemy there, yet I Pro-cornal had
deferred a triumph well enough for those two battles in Afric. But enough hath been said of
thelematters, and I am to request you rather (my Lords all) to forgive me for my boldness, if I
have held you longer than my will and desire was.

The accumulation that day had prevailed more than his own defence, but that they continued
arguing and debating in the Council-honie until it was late in the evening. Then the Senate arose
with this mind [as it should seem] to deny him a triumph. The next morrow, the kinfolk, and
friends of En.Machihi, laboured all that ever they could. Likewise the authority of the ancients
stood him in great stead: who laid plainly that the precedent could not be found in any histories.
That a General who had vanquished his enemies, accomplished the full time of government in
his Province, and brought his army back, returned into the City as a private person without the L
honor of the triumphant chariot and the laurel garland. The very indignity and shame of this
example, intimated the malice of his adversaries, in so much as the Senators in a frequent assem-
blly granted his triumph.

The remembrance and memory of this debate, was afterwards drowned in a greater contentsi-
amer of this that arose with a fat mittier and more noble personage. For as Valerius Maximus hath recorded,
the two Q. Petili, called P, Scipio Africannus, was set to question, and set him down a day perempto-
ary to make his appearance, and answer for himself. This action divers men confinid diversly,
according to their several disposition and affection. Some blamed not so much the Tribunes of the
Commons, as the whole City in general, for suffering such an abuse: defecting in this wise: That
the two chiefest States and Commons-wealths in the World were become at one time unhonorable
but Rome more ungrateful of the twain. For Carthage being subdued, had bannish’d Ambitious like-
wife vanquish’d: but Rome a victim was about to expulse Africannus a conqueror. Others again
reasoned thusly that in no State there ought to be a citizen so pre-eminant and high above the rest,
that he might not be under law, and brought to answer into interrogatories accordingly. And
nothing prefereth honory in a City, and maintraineth equal liberty more, than to have the
mightiest man to hold up his hand at the bar. For what may be falsely committed to any man
(turely the sovereign rule of the free-leaf of all other things) if he be not to yield an account of
the managing of his affairs? And verily, he that can not abide to be equal unto others, to pro-
ced against such a one by rigor and force, is no injustice at all, Thus men commonly talked of
contra, until the judicial day came of his personal appearance, and answer to be made. Never was
there man known before that day (no, not Scipio himself when he was at the highest, either Coniil
or Censor) accompanied with a greater train of men of all degrees and qualities, than he that day
was conducted unto the common place and court of Pleis as an accused person, there to plead his
cause, Being commanded to speak in his own defence, he began his oration without any mention
at all of the imputations and matters with which he was charged, and entered into a discourse of
the acts by him achieved; and that with such a Majeity and magnificence as it was well known
and confessed, that never man was praised either better or more truly than he. For with what
courage and mind he achieved those his brave exploits indeed, with the same spirit he delivered
them in words. And no man thought him tedious and was ready to hear his speech, because all
that related was for his own defence in this his danger, and not upon vain glory and ostentati-
on. The Tribunes of the Commons his adversaries, when they had laid open certain impudens
crimes committed of old, as touching his warlike acts while he wintered in Syracusa as also the
riot and outrage of Peminius which hapned at Lati; they proceeded to charge him by pretensions
and imputations, rather than by direct evidences and proofs, for embezzling and diverting to his
proper use certain treaure gotten from King Antiochus: and namely, that his son being taken priso-
ner, was rendered unto him without ransom: and that in all other things, Scipio was suspected and
regarded
A alone had carried the Roman peace and war under his girdle. Also that he bare a strong band over the Confid, more like, I wrought, a Dictator and abid on a commander, then a Lieuenant and assistant unto him, all the while he was in the province. Neither named he and shot at any other mark, when that went that journey, but that the same, which long before was notoriously known to Spain Gaul, Sicily, and Africa might as evidently appear to Greece, to Asia, and all to the Kings and nations of the East parts, to wit, that he was the only man, he was the chief, the head and pillar of the Roman Empire, that under the shadow of Scipio's wing, that City which is the lady of the world, was covert and protected; that a beck and nod of his head, was as good as all arrests of Senate and helts of people. Thus when they could not touch him in life, nor fall upon him any note of infamy, they charged him all that ever they could with matter to kindle env. Thus with orisons they spent the time until night came, and the business was put over to another day: which being done, the Tribunes, only in the tines in the morning were set in their pewes within the Reffia [or common place, standing place] the defendant was called, who guarded with a great company of his friends and followers, passed through the mids of the assembly, approached the Reffia, and stood just under it. Then after an age, and silence made: My Matters (quoth he) you that are Tribunes of the commons, and ye likewise Quntes, my neighbors and citizens of Rome, upon this very day of the month it was that I sought a right bar against Amil(184) and the Carthaginians, with right fortunate and happy issue; meet therefore and good reason since it is, that to day all pleas and actions sucerate: I will go directly and immediately from hence to the Capitol and present my self before Leg. Opt. Maxs. before I undo and Minerv, with all the rest of other gods and goddeses, prefects and patrons of that temple and fortresse, to perform my humble duty unto them to salute and thank them, for that they have vouchsafed me that I should rise and powerfull means with li, both on such a day as this, and after many times besides, to perform my deair well and truly unto the Common-wealth. As many of yourtherefore (Quntes) as well may, go ye with me, and pray the gods to lend you to like governors to myself, and no worse. If I lay (and not else) as you ever since I was seventeen years of age, even to these mine old daies, you always advanced me to honors before the ordinary time of mine age, so I again advanced and prevented the said honors with good service and noble deeds. This laid, he departed from the Reffia and ascended up to the Capitol, whereas the whole assembly there assembled turned at once and followed Scipio into to much as at the febies and notaries, ye, and the very Sergeants left the Tribunes there alone, without any to bear them company but their own bondervants and the common cryer, which still from the Reffia called and cied the defendant, Scipio not only visited the temples upon the Capitol hill, but also made a perambulation with the people of Rome throughout the whole city to all the churches and chappells of their gods and goddeses. This was in manner a more solemn day unto him in regard of the affectional favour of men, and the estimation of his true grandeur indeed, then when he rode into the city in triumph over King Saphex and the Carthaginians. But it was the last fair day that ever he saw: and never shone the sunne in pleasantness upon P. Scipio. For after this, foreseeing envy growing toward him, and what a life and how full of debates he should have with those Tribunes, upon a longer day granted for the proceed of law against him, he retired himself apart to Laternum, of let purpQse to make default and not appear to plede his cause any more. He carried a greater spirit with him, this heart was too big, and used he had been, to a higher degree of port Scholor, then to take knowledge what it was to be accused: he could not skill to vale bonet and floop low, and to abate himself to the abject condition of those that pleas for themselves at the bar. Now when the day was come, and that in his absence his name began to be called, L. Scipio answered for him, and alleged the cause to the cause why he was away. But the Tribunes his accusers, would not admit of that excuse, replying and saying, That upon the same pride of heart, in which he avoided once before, his judicial trial, and left the Tribunes and the whole assembly, he now also would not appear to make his answer. Even so triumphed he then over the people of Rome, when accompanied with those whom he led after him as prisoners (after he had once taken from them their power and liberty to give their censure and doom of him) he requitted himself that day, by way of an intersecution from the Tribunes of the Commons into the Capitol. Well are ye now served therefore (say they) and justly punished for that daies folly and rashness. For how be he elf now to be pitied by you, who was your motive and leader then, toforkeus. See how every day more then other our courage is fallen and heart abated: and dare not we now tend to fetch him (in private per- son and no more) out of his farm and home in the country, and make him to appear and plead his anwer: unto whom not past 7 years ago, at what time as he was General of an army on land, & Admiral of the Armado by sea, we were so bold as to send Tribunes of the Com. & an Edel, to arrest and bring him away with them to Rome? In the end, the tell of the Tribunes of the Combeing called earnestly unto by L. Scipio for their lawfull favours, set down his order & conclusion, that if enemies were, he excused them, and that there were nothing else but to that occasioned his absence, is he should be received for good & lawfull, and their colleagues should adjourn his trial to a farther day. It fortunated at that time that Tib. Sempronius Gracchus was one of the Tribunes between whom & P. Scipio there was some quarrel. He forbid expressly that his own name should be subliterated to the instrument of the aforesaid decree of his colleagues. And when every man looked to hear some heavier sentence denounced against Scipio, he awarded
in this maner. For as much as Lu. Scipio executeth the absence of his brother by sicknes, it is good [1110] and sufficient in my opinion. And more then that, I will not for my part after P. Scipio to be excused before he return again to Rome. Yea, and then also, if he call for my helping, he will give him strict, nee, and stop the course of success against him. And as to the main point of the cause, this is my resolution, that P. Scipio being advanced to highly as he is to that pitch of honor, by his noble and famous exploits, and by the dignities received at the hands of the people of Rome, as if both gods and men had conformed to set him aloft, for him to come down now and stand pleading at the bar beneath the Reefia, and thence to have his ears glow and ring again with the cheeks and taunts of certain green heads and buffeycubs, were a greater shame and disgrace to the people of Rome, then to himself. Nay, he staid not thus with this bare award, but sealed and sent it on surly with words of indignation, telling his oiltonent for this course and manner of proceeding. And shall Scipio (quoth he, my master Tribunes) that renowned conqueror of A魅力, stand under your feet at your devotion? Defeated he and put to flight in Spain most brave and noble Generals of the Carthaginians, with their entire armies? Took be Syphax prioret, varnished he Hamilcar, subdued he Carthage and made it tributary unto us? Belie he Antiochus beyond the mountain Taurus, (for it must be confessed, that in this glorious conquest L. Scipio had his brother cooperator with him) and all for this, to be troden under foot of two Petilii? And that ye should seek to triumph over P. A. Africanus? Will it never be better? Shall great perjuries with all the good defects of their own (for all the dignities and honors by you upon them conferred) never reach and attain to a strong fort and sure place of defence, wherein they may make account to be safe, and pass all danger, and wherein their old age may relt and repose, if not with worship and honour, yet at least with in security, exempt from abuse and violent outrage? The sentence it left of Gracchus (ensured with such a speech especially) moved not others only, but also the very successors themselves; who made no other rejoinder again but thus, That they would consider better what they might by their place and what they ought of duty to do. When the assembly of the people was broken up, the LL of the Senat began to sit in council; where, the whole order of the Senators (but principally the ancient and as many as had been Coniiis) highly commended and thanked Tib. Gracchus, for that he had preferred the weal-publick, before privat grudges and particular quarrels. But the Petilii were well flent and bared with reproachful checks and bitter rebukes. in that they would seeme to ride by the fall of another, and to treasure themselves with L. the disgrace of Africanus, and seek to triumph over him and be enriched with his (paulis). Well after that, there was no more words of Scipio Africanus. The rest of his life he passed at Livernum and never had mind to come to the City: there ended his days in a country village; and (as they say) he charged his executors upon his death-bed, to inter him in that very place. And there his tomb or monument was built, because he would not that so much as his funeral obsequies should be performed at Rome, (his native country) to unhonour as it was. A rare man he was and worthy to be recommended to the memory of all posterity: howbeit the former part of his life was more singular and memorable, as well for the conduct of martiall exploits in war, as the governance of civil affairs in peace, then in his latter days. For in his youth, he followed the wars continually; whereas in his old age, as his body decayed and faded, to whatsoever he did, lost much of the wonted beauty and lustre. Besides, there was no matter presented, to employ that wit and spirit of his. What odds was there between his former Conspicuous and the second, although ye put his Censorship to it in the balance? What comparison was there, and what semblable thing in that lieutenancy of his in Asia of so little or no employment was it by reason of his own fieldcine; and blemished withall, by the occasion of the misfortune of his son. And afterward, his return home again was no lefe unfortunate, for the hard choice whereunto he was driven, forced of necessity to abide the triall of a doubtful issue in judgment, to quit withall his native City for ever. Howbeit he alone went away with the honor above all other, of finishing the punick war, as great and dangerous to the Romans as any that ever they made. When Africanus was once dead, and his head laid, his adversaries and enemies were aloft; of whom, M. Fercini Cat. was the chief and principal: a man who was wont to bark (as it were) and rail against him during his life in regard of his greatness. And it is thought, that the Petilii were set on him, and procured through his perturbation, both in the life of Africanus, to have drawn out, and after his death to have preferred a bill in this form and manner following: May it please you to grant and ordain, that true fetch and diligent enquiry be made, what sum of money were taken in prize, carried away, and levied away of King Antiochus and those which were under his obedience and dominion; and that of as much thereof as came not into the publick treasury and chamber of the City, Sec. Scipionis (the Pretor of the City) may propose unto the Senat, to know their advice and pleasure touching it; that whomsoever of them all the Pretors for the time how being, it shall please the Senat to appoint, he may sit in commission and inquire therein. This bill was first brought by Q. Luc. Memmius, who thought it meet and reason that the Senat alone (as at all times before likewise) should make the enquiry of the monies so purloined and embazed: as is aforesaid and not brought into the common chest of the City. The Petilii charged the Scipio for being over great and mighty: and as it were, as on the Senat, to carry all before them. L. Eurip. Purpurae (a man that had been Coniiis, and one in the ten commissiooors in Asia, was of opinion, that the forlaid encleet should be granted in more large & ample terms, namely,
A namely, as touching the mony not only taken from *Antiochus*, but also from other Kings and nations: covertly taxing herein. *Caes. Manlius*, his old enemy. *L. Scipio* on the other side stepped forth to dissuade this matter; albeit it was thought he would rather peake in defence of himself, then against the man. He complained much and the wéd his grievance, that such a toll as this should come forth now, and be set on foot after the death of his brother *Africanus*, the most va-lent knight and noblest personage that ever was. As if it were not sufficient, that *P. Aemilius* wanted the solemn Panegyric oration at the *Refers* after his death, but he must be acquitted al-so. Why ? the very Carthaginians are contented with the exile of *Hamilcar* and seek no more: but the people of Rome is not satisfied even with the death of *Scipio*, uncle both to his own good name after he is buried wounded and mangled and his brother also to fill the measure of *B*. mens malice and hatred be killed and executed upon his tomb. *M. Cato* spake in the behalf of the bill, and persuadéd that it might passe. His oration as touching the treating of King *Amp-tiocus*, it extant to be seen: and by the majesty of his authority, he diverted the two Mam-mem Tribunes of the Commons, clean away, from interposing themselves any more. When they once had renounced with their negative, all the tribes in general passed their voices affirmatively. *Vitruvius*. After this, *Syr. Sulpius* proposed unto the Senate, Whom they would appoint for this enquest according to the act *Pertusius* and the Law of the Senate deputed *Q. Terestius* Colles. This Prætor was to great a friend to the house of the *Curtius*, that some authors, namely those, who reproued how *P. Scipio* both died and also was carried forth to be entered at *Rome* (for that bruit the tunneth current) have written, How he went at his funerals before the bier and the mourners, with a cap of liberty on his head, like as he had done before in his triumph, and gave sweet wine or mead to all those that attended the convoy, as far as to the gate *Capena*. This honou[r] he did *Scipio* at his death, for that among other prisoners in *Africa*, he was by his means recovered out of the enemies hand. But it should seem rather, that he was such an en-cemy to that family, that for the carnkrd rancour and malice which he carried against that name, he was by the adversitation of the *Scipios*, chosen especially of purpose to sit upon & execute that inquisition. But certain it is, before this Prætor (as in his extremities, who either in love & friendship, or in hatred and enmity, kept no mean information) was given immediately against *L. Scipio*. Prelaments were made likewise, and the names received of his lieutenants *A. Heliogabalus* and *L. Heliogabalus* both Caes: and of his treasurer besides, *C. Flurius* *Cumulus*. And to the and that it should appear to the world, that they were all atraine of this crime of purloining and robbing the publick treasure of the common-weal in one compt, there were two secretaries also and one of his lieutenants. But thefe three last mentioned, and *L. Heliogabalus* before-named, were found ungilty and acquit, before *Scipio* had his judicial enquest: howbeit *Scipio* and *A. Heliogabalus* his lieutenant, together with *C. Flurius* were condemned. *Scipio*, for that the (as *Valerius Annonas* writtéd) to make some esie peace to the contentment of *Antiochus*, receivéd 60000 pound of weight of gold, and 45000 pound of silver more then he brought into the City chamber. *A. Heliogabalus*, for that he likewise detayned eighty pound weight of gold, and 4833 pound of silver: and *Flurius* the Quellor for keeping back to his own use 150 pound of gold, and two hundred of silver. These sums he set down of gold and silver, as I find them gathered and regildé by *Valerius Annonas* in his Chronicle. As for the sum of gold and silver, which *L. Scipio* should embalse, I would rather think that the clerk or secretary faulted with his pen in writing the copies, then the author liéd fouléd with his tongue in the first inquit of the Original. For it is more likely of the twain, that the weight of the fliver was more then gold. As also for the fine whereunto he was condemned, should amount but to forty thousand *Sesterces*, then arife to two hundred and forty thousand. And I am rather inducé thus to calculat, because it is said, that *P. Scipio* himself was required in the Senate to give his account but of such a sum: and when he had hidden his brother *L.* to fetch him that book of accounts, he took it of him, and there before the Senate, bare and rent it with his own hands, with indignation, that having brought into the Treasuries two millions of *Sesterces*, he was called to his account for forty thousand. In which condition boldness of spirit and courage, when the Quellors durft not (against the order of law) take forth mony out of the Treasury, he called for the keys, and said he would be bold as to open the coffins of the Treasury, since he was the cause they were locked. Many things besides are diverstely reported of *Scipio*, especially as touching the latter end of his life, his trouble and acculation, his death, his discourses, and last of all, of his sepulcre and tomb, which dwarft me, that I wot not what report to cleave unto, nor which records to believe. For they accord not as concerning his accént. Some write it was *M. Navius*, others again say that they were the Pettinates that called him to his aacount. Neither agree they in the time when he was troubled, nor in the yer, no, nor the place wherein he died, nor yet where he was enterred. Some affirm he ended his days and was buried at *Rome*, others at *Litursum*. And in both places there are monuments and Statues of his to be seen. For of *Litursum* there stood a tomb, and over the same tomb an image of his personage erected, of which late time we oue selves saw overthrowa in a tempest. At *Rome* likewise without the gate *Capena*, there be three statues upon the monument of the *Scipios*, whereof two are said to be of *Pub. Scipio*, and the third of *Q. Eumanius the Post*. And this difference among authors is not touching his acts and affairs only, but also about the very Orations (if to be they were the orations indeed of *P. Scipio* & *Tibecius Gracchus*), which are commonly to taken and caried about, which disgree so much as they do. For the title of the oration that goeth for *P. Scipio*, hath the name of *M. Navius*, a Tribune of the Commons: but through the whole
Oration it self there is no mention at all of that accusers. He termeth him one while Nebula [Knave] and another while Negator [Conferor.] In like fort the oration of Gracchus maketh no mention at all either of the Petrus, the accusers of Africanus, or of the day assigned unto him for his answer. And we must devile to tell the whole tale otherwise, it would have it to agree with the oration of Gracchus: and follow we must those authors; who write, that when L. Scipio was accused and condemned for taking bribes of King Antiochus, his brother Africanus was Embassador in Tarsici; and upon the news of his brothers misfortune, left his embassage and made halt to Rome. Where he took his way directly from the gate to the common place (for that it was told him how his brother was going to prison) and thruit the sergeant from his body, yes, and when the Tribunes themselves would have restrained him, he used violence against them, and carri'd himself in this action so, as he shew'd more kindness and love to his brother, than masters and civility otherwise. For thus complained Gracchus in his oration, that the Tribunes authority and power was infringed and broken by a privat person. And in the latter end, when he promis'd to assist L. Scipio, he knipt up his speech with these words, that it was a thing more tolerable that both the Tribunian puissance and the Common-wealth should seem overcome and forsworn by Tribunes themselves, then by a privat man. But he aggravated and enforced this one violence and execuitive outrage against him, and made it odious in such sort, that in blaming him for so much overshooting himself and degenerating as it were from his own nature, he rehearsed the commendable parts of his moderation and temperat carriage of himself abstinence, and that in so good terms and ample manner, that thereby he made him some part of amends for the sharp reprehension he used for the present. For he saith, that in times past he had redbound and reproved the people, when they would have made him a perpetual Conical and Dictator; that he had forbidden expressly, that any of his statutes in triumphant habitt should be set up and erected in the publick places of assemblies, as in the Constitution and Curia, in the Capitol and chappell of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Those commendable reports of him, if they were uttered in an oration penned of purpose for his praise, must needs tellifie and shew a wonderful magnanimity of him, in the moderunt use of high honours according to a civil port; which an enemy by way of reproach and upbraiding him, acknowledgeth and confesseth. But all writers accord, that Gracchus, took to wife the younger of his two daughters (for the elder without all question was affianced and given in marriage by his father to P. Cornelius Nasica. But it is not so certainly agreed upon, whether the was both betrothed and wedded unto him, after her fathers death or no. As also, whether L. Scipio was true (as it is reported) that when L. Scipio was a leading to prison, Gracchus, seeing none of his own fellow Tribunes to succour and rescue him, gave a great oath and promised that he was an enemy unto the Scipios as much as ever he was, and would not do any thing to curry it with them, nor to come into their grace, yet could be never endure that he should be carried to that prison, into which he had seen his brother Africanus lead Kings, great generals and commanders of enemies, captive. Moreover, that the same day the Senate forf ented to be at supper together in the Capitol, and arose up all at once, and required Africanus to aliance his daughter to Gracchus, before the supper and banket was ended. Which epistolae being performed with all due complements accordingly, during the time of that solemnity, L. Scipio, when he was returned home to his house, laid unto his wife by elegant, that he had married and belted his daughter upon an husband. She then falling into a fit of choler like a woman, and charging that he had not made her acquaintance with the matter, and taken her advice touching the maiden, who was as much her child as his, brake out into these words withall, that if he had given her in marriage to Tiberius Gracchus, yet good resition it was that the mother should have been at the making of the bargain. Whereupon Scipio took great contentment and joy at this conformity of judgment in the choice, and inferred sightwises, that he was the man whom the was espoused. Thus much I thought good to relate of this worthy and noble person, albeit there is great variety of opinions, and diversities of writings in that behalf.

After the Prec. Q. Terentius, had finisht the inquisition and whole process thereof, Helfilius and Turius, who were attaint and condemned, that very day put to sufficient sureties to be bound in recognizance to the treasurer of the City, for the payment of their fines. But Scipio debarred the matter still, & pleading that all the mony which he had received was in the City chamber, & that he had purloined none of the publick treasure, was laid hold on to be had away and commuted to prison. P. Scipio Nasica called unto the Tribunes for their help, and made a speech full of true prayers and commendations, not in general only of the whole name and family of the Cornelius, but in particular also of his own house. And namely he alluded and said, That himself and P. Africanus, together with L. Scipio (who now was going to prison) had to their fathers Cn. Scipio & P. Scipio, most noble and famous personages; those who for certain years in the land of Spain, advanced the renown and glory of the Roman name, mauget the heads of many captains & armies, as well of Carthaginians as Spaniards; not only in martial feats of war, but also in this especially, that they had given testimony and proof unto those nations, of the temperat government & faithful dealing of the Romans: and in the end both of them spent their blood and lost their lives in the quarrel of the people of Rome. And albeit it had been sufficient for all their posture to maintain only & uphold the glory from them received, yet P. Africanus so far surpassed the praiseworthy acts of his father, that it was verily believed he was not born of human blood, but descended from some divine and heavenly race of the gods. As for L. Scipio, who now is in trouble, to say nothing of his worthy acts which he achieved in Spain and in Africa, when he was
A: was lieutenant there to his brother Consul; he was both reputed by the Senate sufficient, without any calling of lots, to undertake the province of Africa and the war against King Antiochus, and also esteemed by his brother Africanus so worthy a person, that himself, who had been Consul twice, Censor once, and had ridden in triumph, thought not scorn to accompany him unto Africa in quality of his lieutenant. In which province (to the end that the greatnes & resplendent glory of the lieutenant should not dim the brightness of the Consul, and to drown his virtues and good parts) it fell out, that the very same day, on which L. Scipio vanquished Antiochus near Magnesia, P. Scipio lay sick at Elea, a City distant certain days journey. He detected I lay an army there, nothing inferior to that of Africanus, with whom his brother had encountered before in Africa. In which battle among other great commanders and captains under the King, B: Africanus was himself imploied in person, even he who had been the grand General in the patriotic war. Which service was so well conducted and managed, that a man possibly could not find fault so much as with fortune, or any accident that happened there. And now when the war was unblameable, there is picked matter of crimination in the peace: and it (they say) was bought and sold for money. In which challenge the ten deputies and assistance in council, are also touched and noted with corruption, by whose advice the said peace was granted and concluded. Well, of those ten, there were some that stepped forth and accused Cn. Manlius: yet to far off was that accumulation of theirs from being credited, that it did not to much as binder and delay, the very time of his triumph, But (believe me, P. Scipio his case) the very conditions of peace favour strongly of bribery and indirect dealing, for that they are advantageous, respective & favorable on part of Africanus. For his kingdom is entire and whole unto him; now that he is vanquished, he poiffeth as much as before the war began; and Scipio having received from him a mighty mafle of gold and silver, hath brought nothing into the common treasury, but averted all from them, and converted it to his proper use. Why? was there not carried in pomp at the triumph of L. Scipio (in the very sight of all men) as much gold and silver, as in ten triumphs before (and put them all together) could not be thieved. For what should I speak of the confines and frontiers of his realm? Namely, that Africanus beforehand held under his dominion all Africa, and the marches also of Europe adjoining? & gives a part of the world that is, which extendeth from the hill Taurus, and lyeth out to, far as the Parthian seas, how many not Cities only; but sparsious countries and populous nations contains, all men know right well: as also that this country, bearing out in length more then 30 days journey, and in breadth between two teas ten days journey, even as far as to the top of the mountain Taurus, is taken from Antiochus, & be driven into the utmost angle and corner of the globe of the earth? What could be have been differed of more in case his peace had cost him never a penny of money? When Philip was conquered, he had Macedonia left unto him: when Nabis was subdued, he enjoyed still Lacedaemon: and no man ever went about to call Aquitania in question for it. And why? may he had not to his brother Scipio Africanus, for whole take the envy and malice of men hath defaced and hurt L. Scipio, whereas his brothers glory ought to have grace and helped him. Would any man of famine and reason judge, that much gold and silver was brought into the house of L. Scipio, as may not possibly be raised, if all the goods he hath were fold to the worth? What should become of all the gold of the Kings? Where be those great pubb causes of lordships and inheritances that he hath made with her? Certainly it cannot be, but in that house that hath not exceeded in superficial expense, there should be seen some heap and mount of this new treasure. But what care his enemies for this? That which cannot be made of the substance and goods of L. Scipio they will make good on his body and back; which they mean to torture (vilely) and expose to commonly & villany, to the end that a man of the bell mask and quality that ever was should be shut up in a dungeon among robbers by the high-way side, amongst night theves and cut-purses, and there in the hard rocks and basefull darkness render his last breath; and when he is dead, to have his body cast out naked as the prison dore. But be it whenever it shall, this will be no greater Blot to the house Cornelius, than a shamefull reproach for ever to the City of Rome. Against all these monuments, the Preitor Terentius opposed and read the law Petilius, the decree of the Senat, and the sentence given of L. Scipio, and he for his own part laid, he could not do withall, but if the sum whereof he was condemned, were not brought into the common Treasurehouse, he knew n. other remedy nor what to do, but to command himself a condemned person to be apprehend again, and had away to prison. Then the Tribunes went saper to conclude and lay their heads together. And within a while after C. Flaminius pronounced aloud, according to his own advice and the opinion of all his Colleagues (excepting only Gracchus) that the Tribunes would not interpose themselves, but that the Preitor might do and execute his office and his authority to the full, But Tib. Gracchus set down his own decree in this form, That as touching the sum whereof L. Scipio was condemned, he would not be against it, nor impeach the Preitor, but that he might use his power according to his place, and take it out of his goods, as far as they would extend. But that L. Scipio would have induced the mightiest and most puissant monarch in all the world, who had drawn out and extended the bounds of the Roman empire, as far as the fathetfrontiers of the earth; who had obliged and bound King Eumenus, the Rhodians & to many Cities and States besides of Asia, and made them beholding to the people of Rome for favours and benefits bestowed upon them; finally, who hath himself laid up falt in prison many a General captain over the enemies, after he led them in triumph, that he I say, should lie in prison & ions among
The nine and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

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Marcus Aemilius the Consul, after he had subdued the Ligurians, made the first or big way from Placentia to Animum, until it was not with the way Flaminina. In this book are recounted the beginnings of the us and the like life brought in by the Asian army. All the Ligurians on this side Apennine were gathered and brought under. The Bacchanales (a Greek feast and celebrated in the night season, the very solemn and nurse-garden of all wickedness, being grown to this enormity, that there was contrived a conspiracy and complex of a mighty multitude) were now visited and searched into by the Conuls, and put down with the punishment of many persons. L. Quintius Flamininus, the brother of T. Quintius, was deprived of his Senators dignity by the Consuls; so was L. Valerius Flaccus, and Mat. Porcius Cato, a right excellent man, as well for feats of arms as peace. The cause was this, for that whilst he was Consul and governor in Gaul, at the request of one Philippus Pannus, a notorious woman Ganymedia whom he loved, he slew a certain Gaul with his own hand, or, as some have written, because at the entrance of an harlot, upon whom he was enamoured, he extorted one of them that were condemned. The inviolate orton of L. Cato against him is exact. Scipio departed his life at Litterum, and as fortune would have his funeral accompanied with the death at the same time of two most renowned and great personages Annual pontius himself, by occasion that Brutus King of Bithynia (unto whom he was first fled for succour after the death of King Antiochus) would have yielded him into the hands of the Rom, who had sent of purpose T. Quintius Flaminus to demand him. Likewise Philop amen the General of the Achaeni, an excellent man, was poisened by the Messenians, who took him prisoner in war. Colonies were sent to Pollentia, Pentium Mutina and Panorma. Over and besides, this book containeth the proposer attempts against the Celtiberians; also the beginning and cause of the Macedonian war, whereof the original sprng arose from Philip, much disconsolent, that his Kingdom was emperied by the Romans, in regard that he was forced by them to withdraw his garrisons out of Thrace and other parts.

The nine and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

During the time that these affairs passed at Rome (if this were the year wherein they hapned) both Conuls made war against the Ligurians, a nation born as it were, to maintaine the military discipline of the Romans, and to find them occupied in all times of repose and rest from greater wars; neither was there any other province that gave a sharper edge to the valor of the soldiers. For Asia both the beauty of their Cities, the abundance of all commodities as well by sea as land, the effeminate tenderness of the enemies, and the rapacious of the Kings riches, had made their armies more wealthy than valiant: and especially under the government of Cnemius, Millius, made they were in much loominess and negligence. And thereupon it was, that finding the way in Thrace a little more rough and difficult than ordinary to travel in, and an enemy better practised and exercised to deal withal, they received a great foil and loss among them. Now in Liguria, they met with all things that might sooner and awake sleepy soldiers: the country rough and full of mountains, that much ado they had themselves to fetch the arms, and as great a labour they found to disseize the enemies, that were before posessed of them: the waies, steep up-hill, narrow, and dangerous, for ambuscades: the enemy, light, twit, nimble, and luddingly letting upon them, giving no time of rest, no place of repose and security. Driven they were of necessity to assault strong and fortress Cities, with great difficulty and danger both: the country poor and needy, which caused the soldiers to spare and live hardly, and afforded them no opportunity of prey and prizes: and therefore no victuals, victuals, victuals, soldiers boys and lackeys, followed the camp; neither the labouring beasts for carriage, took up a length in their march: nothing there, but armour and men, repelling all hope in their
The nine and thirtieth Book of T. Livius

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A their arms, and nothing else. And never wanted they some matter of quarrell, and some occasion or other to make war: for by occasion of their brawne and penury, they made rodes into the lands of their neighbours, but so, as they neither ventured all once, nor put the main chance in hazard.

C. Flaminius the Consul having fought sundry times with the Frisian Ligurians, and in many battles gotten the better hand over them, even at home in their own country, brought the whole nation by composition under the obedience, and disarmed them: but because in the delivery of their arms, they dealt not boundly and faithfully, and should have been cast out therefore, they abandoned their villages & fled to the mountain Augustus, whither the Consul pursued them hard at heels, in whither, being disbanded and scattered again, and molt of them disarmed, they fled into the valley through places where no way leads, and overbroken and staggered steep rocks, whereas the enemies could not possibly follow after, and so passed the other side of Augustus. But as many as kept still within their hold, were beat round about and overthrown. Then were the legions led to the further side of Augustus, where the enemies for a while, defended themselves by the height of the place, but soon they yielded. Then was their armour fought for with more care and diligence then before, and they were dismarrished and stript out of all. After this, was the war diverted and before turned wholly upon the Apuan Ligurians, who had so over-run the territories of Pisae and Bolsena, but they could not be manured and tilled. The Consul having subdued them also granted peace upon the borderers: and now that he had brought the province into quietness and rest, to the end that his soldiery should not be idle and do nothing, he made a caieul of three ways from Bononia to Ariminum.

The other Consul M. Emelius, set on fire the villages, and walled the lands of the Ligurians, as well in the campain fields as the valleys, when the inhabitants themselves were retired into the two mountains Baiffa & Suismum which they held. Afterwards he failed them also who had taken the hills abroad, and fast wearied them with light skirmishes; afterwards, he forced them to descend into the plain, and there in after battle vanquished them: in which conflict he vowed a temple to Diana. Thus having subdued all on this side Augustus, he then set upon those that dwell beyond the mountain, among whom were the Frisian Ligurians, (so far as to whom C. Flaminius went not:) all those, Emelius, subdued, despoiled of their armour, he forced the multitude of them to forsake the mountains and come down to the plains. After this had quieted the Ligurians, led his army into the country of the Gauls, and made an high way from Placentia to Ariminum, as it met with the cauley Flaminia: and in the last battle, wherein he fought with banniers displayed against the Ligurians, he vowed a temple to Queen Iuno. And there were the exploits for that year, in Liguria.

M. Forcius the Pretor in Gaul, seeking in time of peace for some pretence and colour of wars, had taken from the Cenomans their armour notwithstanding they were innocent and did no harm. The Cenomans made complaint hereof to Rome to the Senat, and were put unto the Consul Emelius, unto whom the Senat had directed a commission of six and determiner. After great debate with the Pretor, they overbrow him in the action, and had their armure delivered unto them again; and to the Pretor was commanded to give over his government and depart out of the province.

E the province.

After this, the Embassadors of the Latin nation, who assembled and conferred in great number out of all parts of Latium had audience given them in the Senat. These complained, that the great multitude of their own natural citizens, were removed and gone to inhabit in Rome, and there were enrolled: whereupon a commission was granted to Q. Terentius Callos the Pretor, to make search for such: and look how many of them those Latin allies could prove to have been enrolled (either themselves or their fathers) in any city or corporation of theirs, either at the time that C. Claudius and M. Livius were Consul, or after their Consulship, to force those to return thither again, where they had been entred or naturalised. By virtue of this inquisition, the number of 12,000 Latins returned home again into their own country: for now the City of Rome was overcharged and pestered with a multitude of strangers and foricers.

Before that the Consuls repaired to Rome, M. Fulvius the Proconsul returned out of Etolia: who, first he had discovered of his exploits performed in Eetlia and Cephallenia, before the senate sat in the temple of Apollo, reeled of the I.L. to judge it meet and requisit, and according to grant and ordain, that praise and thank giving might be rendred unto the immortal gods, and himself allowed to triumph, for that he had so well and happily managed the affairs of the common west. Then legislated M. Aburius a Tribune of the Commons, and declared openly. That in case they went about to passe any decree in that behalf, b. before the coming of M. Emelius the Consul, he would croisle: that for the Consul himself was minded to contradict that proceeding, and had given freth charge against him, at whom time as he took his journey to the province, that the confection of this matter should be referred wholly unto his return home. And Fulvius (quoth he) sh. ill like to much time: and when the Consul himself is present in place so, then might the Senate move what decree it pleased them. Then answered M. Fulvius and said, If men were ignorant either of the grudge and quarrell between me and M. Emelius, or with what outrageous spirit and Kinglike cholere and indignation he pursued the said country and province, yet it were not a tolerable thing and to be endured, that the absence of the Consul should both impeach the honour due unto the immortal gods, and also hinder and stay the triumph.
triumph which I have so justly deferred: that a General (I say) who had so worthily achiev'd his service, and an army so victorious, should lay and give attendance without the City gates until it pleased the Consul to return home; who no doubt of any purpose and intent put off, upon this occasion would make show half and take his leisure. But now considering that the eminence and heart-burning that the Consul bestow'd on me is so litigious as it is, what indifferrency and reasonable dealing may a man look for at his hands? who taking the advantage of the time, when a small number of Senators were assembled, caused an act of the Senat to pass by stealth, and entered it in the treasurie house, containing thus much in effect, that Ambrocia should not be reputed as a own forced by affiains, notwithstanding it were alleged with mantiles and platformes: where we were driven to erect new fabrickes, and plant other engines and ordinance of war after the former were consumed with fire; where we maintained fight about the walls, as well under the ground as above, for the space of 15 days together: where after that the frontiers had fled and gained the walls, the conflict endured notwithstanding a long time doubtfull, from morning to night, and where were slain above 5000 enemies. Now as touching the facellam committed after the City was forced in spoiling the churches of the immortal gods what a slander think ye, hath he raid of me? what a matter hath he made thereof? and how he hath informed the Pontifies and Bishops and people of a man would say, that lawful it was not for the City of Rome to be garnished & beautified with the ornaments of Synagogue &c.

The Cities won by force; but the law of war extended it to this only City of Ambrocia? I beleeved you therefore the LL.of the Senat, yes, and I requir'd the Tribunes, not to suffer me to be mock'd and abused by a most insolent and proud adversary. Then at all hands they deal with the Tri. K. Bune, some intrested him other rebuked and blamed him: but the speach of Trib. Graccius (one of his colleagues) moved him most of all others: who bade him, that it was no good precedent and example, that men should maintain and follow their own private quarrells in time of magistracy and publick government, but a shameful matter and a foul indignity it was, and much becomming the Tribunes of the Commons and their sacred laws, that a Tribune should be Proctor to other men and prostrate their actions and enemies. Men ought (quod) according to their own discretion and judgment, either to love or hate the persons, to like or dislike the cause; not to depend and hang upon the countenance and becket of others, not to be carried to and fro with the will, pleasure, and appetites of other men. As for the Tribune of the Commons here, he disordered and took a part with a cholericke and tellie Consul, and remembred well what M. Emylius left with L. him in private chesse, but forgethe altogether that the Tribunship was committed unto him by the people of Rome: committed I say, and put into his hands for to assist private persons, and to maintain their liberties, and not to uphold the Kinglike rule and royalty of a Consul. Never the less he thus much before him, that it will be written another day in the Annals and yearly Chronicles, that of two Commoner Tribunes in the same fellowship and society, one for the love of the Common-wealth renounced and gave over his own private displeasure and enmity to a particular person, and the other took charge as it were by way of Commission, to pursue the quarrel of another man. The Tribune could endure no longer these rebukes and checks, and therefore departed out of the temple: then the Pretor Ser. Sulpius proposed the bill the second time; and to a triumph was granted to M. Fulvius. Who after he had rendred great thanks to the LL. of the Senat, added moreover and said, that the very day wherein he forced the City Ambrocia, he had by vow promised, to the honor of Jupiter Opt. Maximus, for to exhibit the great and glorious Roman games. And to that effect the Cities of Greece had contributed towards the charges, a hundred pound weight in gold: his petition was therefore, that the Senat would ordain that out of that mass of money which he was to carry and shew in triumph, and meant to bestow and lay up in the City Treasury, the foresaid sum of gold might be sequestr'd and referred apart for the proper use aforesaid. The Senat commanded, that the Collarage of the Prealt and Priests in this case should be consulted with, and their advice demanded, whether they thought it necessary that so much gold should be spent and consumed in the charges of the said games? The Prealt's made answer again, that it was not material to religion and to the service of the gods, to how great a sum a reckoning over the charges of the games should arise. Whereupon the Senat permitted Fulvius to defray what he could himself. As it exceeded not the sum of 8000s. [estes.]

He had proposed to triumph in the month of January, but hearing that Emylius the Consul (who was advertised by letters, that Ambrocia the Tribune of the Commons had renounced and let fall his opposition which he commenced) was coming in proper person to Rome, only to hinder the triumph, and said by the way sick; he prevented the day, for lest he should have had more anger and trouble in his triumph, then during his war. So upon the 22 day of December he triumphed over the Etolians and Cephalens. Before his chariot there were born 100 crowns of gold, weighing 124 pound speces of silver 83000 pound weight: of gold 243 pound weight of Attick Tetradrachmans 11800: of Philipp pieces of gold coin 12422: images of brass 85: of marble 230. Likewife of armor, as well defensive as offensive, and other spoils of the enemies, an huge deal besides Catapults, Balists, and other engines and pieces of battery. Moreover, here were brought him 27 captains other Etolians and Cephalens, or else under King Antocles, left by him in those parts. The same day before that he entered into the city, he bestowed in the circus Flaminius, many military gifts upon many colonels, captains, horlmen et centuriones, as well Romans as allies. Generally to all the footmen he gave out of the pillage 25 Denarii speces: twice as much to the centurions, and threefold to horlmen.
Now approached the time of the solemn assembly for the election of Consuls, and because M. Emilius had been sent it was to be president thereof, could not be present at the time. It being seen came of purpose to Rome. By which were created Quinctius S. Postumius, Afbrinus, and Q. Marcellus Villius. After that were Pretors elected, to wit, T. Manlius, P. Cornelius Scipio, C. Calpurnius Piso, M. Licinius Lucullus, C. Aemilius Scaurus, and L. Licinius Crassus. In the end of the 30th year, after the magistrates were thus created, C. M. Manlius Piso, the third day before the Nones of March, triumphed over the Gauls who made it Against the cause why he triumphed there was this, that he would avoid making his answer (according to the use of Eutynem) which T. Terentius Cullo was Pretor, fearing he should burn in the flame of the same lamentation and judgment whereb L. Scipio had been condemned, or let the flame of another man's judgment.

I mean the sentence whereby L. Scipio had been condemned, would have been too hot for him, and caught hold of him likewise: considering that the jury and enquirer were not convinced and provoked against him then Scipio; for that he succeeding after him, had spoiled and marred with all kind of licentious looseness, the military discipline. which Scipio had observed most perfectly and severely. Neither was he noted and touched in person for those things only which his bare heart had been reported to have been done in the province, nor removed from the view of men abroad of those particular instances to be heen daily in the demeanor of his conduct. For verily the foreign exeeve and strange flaverabilities took him ginning from the Alien army, whom brought all with them into the City. They were the first with Rome that took up the use of bright rables of rich counterpoints, carpets, cupboards, cloths, hangings and coverlets of lustrous kinds of dyue. Likewitl one of to ftanding rables, buffets and cupboards, which in those days were counted magnificent and falsely movable. Then came up the matter of having at banquets singing minken wenchs and such as could play upon the dulcimer or other instruments of music, with dancers, jesters and other pastimes, and delightful pleasures and hits of music at the table. Then began the board to be furnished and let out with more exquisite and deightful vessels, and of greater expense. Then Cooks, who in old time were reputed the most contemptible slaves, as well for calling as confusion, as for the use they were put unto, came to be of great respect; and that before times was a mechanical kind of manuall hervce, grew now to be accustomed a science of deep skill and understanding. And yet all these things therse basted so great a newe, were scarce to much as small seeds and sips, to the excessive flaverabilities that were to entice.

Well, C. Mauilus carried in triumph two hundred crowns of maitis beaten gold, weighing twelve pound a piece; of silver 43,000; pound weight of gold 193; pound weight of Attick Tetradrachms 170; of Electors 25. Allo much armour there was and spoils of Gauls carried in shew upon wagons: and 52 captains of enemies were led before his own chariot. Amongst the fodderers he gave a donative of 42 denarii apiece, he doubled the same to every centurio. Alto to every footman he gave double pay, and to every horsemanship. Many there were of all States and degrees, whom he rewarded with military presents or especial service, and those followed next after the chariot. The fodderers chanteds such songs and verses, as a man might easily see they were composed to feed the humour of a General dear of glory, and one that made much of his fodderers especially; whereby his triumph was more honored with the affectional favour of them, then otherwise recommended and celebrated with the hearty love of the people. Howbeit the friends of Mauilus loved him in good deed to win the good will of them also through holey soliciting and earnest endeavor, there pasiled an act of the Senat.th. out of that money which had been thewed in triumph there should be repaid unto the people that subsidy which had been levied among them for fodderers pay, and not yet contented back again. So the Treasurers of the City made true and faithful payment with all diligence of 25 asses and d. in every thousand [For the loan.]

About the same time two Colonels came out of both provinces of Spain, with letters from C. Camillus and L. Manlius the governors there: by which letters intelligence was given, that the Celtiberians and Lucanians were in arms, wasting and spoiling the lands of the Rom. confederats.

The Senat referred the entire confusion of this matter to the new Magistrates. During the time of the Roman games th. year which P. Cornelius Cestegnus, and Anius Poebtium Albinus represented, a certain maist or high pole which flood not fast in the new place called Circms maximus, fell down upon the image of Pollilue, and overthrowd it to the ground. The L.L. hereupon made some caprice in conscience, and ordained, that the solemnity of those games should continue one days longer, and caused those images to be put up for that one, and that the new should be all gilt.Likewise the Plebeian places were renewed one day more, by the Addes, C. Sempnus Blaflus & M. Eleius Latho. The year following avouched the Consuls Sp. Poebtium Albinus, & M. Marcellus Philippus from the army, from the regard I lay of wars and government of provinces abroad, to the punishment of a certain intellinite conspiracy at home. The Pretors left colts for their provinces. T. Manlius had the jurisdiction of the citizens, and M. Licinius Lucullus between citizens & strangers. Unto C. Aemilius Scaurus tell the governance of Sardinia, and to P. Cornelius Scipio of Sicily: L. Quintinius Crassus was assigned to the latter Spain, and P. Calpurnius Piso to the farther. Both Consuls were enjoined to make inquisitions into secret conspiracies within the City. There was a certain Grecian of base degree and condition, who came hith in Hetcugia; a man not ended with any of those arts, whereof the nation (of all others most learned) hath brought many unto us, as well for the education of our minds, as the trimming of our bodies but after
ficing priest he was, and a divine wizard withall. Neither was it one that made outward pro-
defension of teaching men, and thereby getting a living openly, and by an open show of religion
possessed their heads and minds with fear and horror; but the knowledge he had fortoth for cer-
tain hidden and secret sacrifices. These mysteries of his at first he taught but unto a few, because
afterwards they began to be communicated and divulged as well to men as women: and to this
religion were added pleasures and delights of wine and good cheer, to the end the more stubborn
might be allured and enticed for to have a liking thereof. Now when wine had drowned and
dulled the understanding: when the nightfaction, when the entermilling of men and women
ot together one with another (and, namely, they of young and tender yeers, with those of elder age,
had clean put out and extinguished all respect and regard of thamefaft honesty: there began first
to be practifed all sorts of corruption, for every one had all pleasures ready at commandment; and
his choice of thame whereby nature he w. s more prone and given to lust after. Neither was
there wickedness committed here, of one sort, namely, the abusing of mankind and womenkind
one with another without distinction: but out of this shop and workshop proceeded talle war-
nefes, forging of feals, depofitions, and testimonies; and more then lo, wrong and untrue
informations. From hence came the diuellish cell of poifoning, and privy murders of the nearest
kindred in one house: and the same to secret, that other whiles the bodies would not be found to be
committed to the earth. Now every sinful parts were there played by way of fraud, guile, and
eunning coulengage; but more by spett force. As for violence, it was kept close and hidden; by reason
that with the hideous noises, with the found of tymbrels, tabors and cymbals, there coulnde no voice
be heard of such as cried out, when either they were forced to villany and abuse, or beaten to death.
The infection of this catching potion of Heytoria, spread as far as Rome, like a contagious malady.

At the first the impacious capacity of the City, having been use to wink and beare with some enor-
mities, concealed all: at length revealed it was to the Cof. Posilomousus, much after this manner.

P. Eumius (whose father had lived in the wars in quality of a gentleman of Rome with a ci-
ty horie) left an orphan, after that his guardians were likewise deceas'd, became ward to his mother
Dorothea and his father in law (her second husband) T. Sempronius Rutialis, under whom he
had his bringing up. Now as his mother was wholly devoted and obsequious unto her husband,
to his father in law had so handled the matter in his guardianship that he could make no good ac-
compt thereof, and therefore his desire was, that either the infant his ward should be made away,
or else obliged and entrall'd unto him. The only way to compass and bring this about, was the
corruption and abuse of the Bacchans, The mother thoroore upon a time called her son unto her,
and told him, that she had made a vow for him which he was sick, that to boon as ever he should
recover and be well again she would present him to the priets of Bacchus to be consecrated
and professed in their mysteries: and now, quoth she, seeing that by the goodnomery of the gods thou art a-
amended, and I thereby obliged by the bond of that vow, I will acquit my self thereof, and perform
it accordingly. She bare him in hand therefore, that he might for ten dyes live chaste, and
not touch a woman: and at the ten dyes end after he had taken his supper, and was well wash'd
and purified, after the manner, she would bring him into the holy place of those fated mys-
teries. Now there was a famous trumpet, by condition a bond woman enfranchised, named His-
pala Fegeusa, too good, I wis, for that occupation which the ufed while the she was a young wench
and bondervant: but yet till after that she was manumitted and in frankfate of a free denizen,
the maintained her self by the same trade and manner of living. Grown she was into familiar ac-
quaintance with the foresaid youg Eumius, by reason they were near neighbours, and dwelt not
far austerly; yet so, as the endamaged not the youth one jot either in charging his purse, or touch-
ing his credit. For the it was that frist was inamored upon him, and him the wed, and for as much
as he had but thare allowance every way from his mother and father in law, and by them
kept hardly, he was maintained well by the bounteous liberality of this loving harlot. Nay,more
than that, in comminence of time she was so deeply engag'd in him, that when her own patron
was dead, and her self at the disposition of none, she lied unto the Tribunes and the Pretor for an-
tother tutor, because the meant to make her self will and testament, wherein she declared Eumius
her only heir in remaining or to alith the she had. There passing this between them those egges
and pledges of love, and they using to empare the one unto the other the secrets of their hearts, the
yong youth by way of merry and pleasant talk, told her one day not to marvell or think any thing
in it, if for certain nights he lay away and parted beds with her for that upon a religious zeal
and devotion that he had, he was minded for to be professed and consecrated by the Priets of Bac-
chus, and all to be abiled from a vow made in regard of his health. The woman hearing him lay
so, and trusted in spirit, Mary god fordend, (quoth she) and I would not that for all the good in
the world. And better it were for me and you too to die both at once, then fo to do: and with
that she threatened, she curled and banded, withing all milchiff and plague to light upon them
that had put such a thing into his head. The youth wondered much to hear her words, and to see
her so to bare and take on beyond all reason and order, and searching her of all less to be contented
and forbear those curst speeches and said, it was his own mother, by the content of his fat
ther in law, who had enjoined him so to do. And is it that father in law of yours, quoth she: (for per-
adventure I should not do well to bl. me your mother) that hathen'd you by this action of yours
to make shipwrack of your honeily and alliability, of your credit and good name, your hope another
day, and tally, to h zard your very life? Hereat the yong man marvelled much the more then be-
fora
The nine and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

A fore, and defired earnestly to know the depth of all this matter. Then after she had prayed all gods and goddeses to pardon her, if for tender love and affection that she bare unto him, she could neither will nor chafe but reveal those secrets that indeed were to be concealed, the first tale on end and said, "That she herself once entred into that chapel, when, as she waited on her mistress,

but since that she was made free and at her own liberty, the never let foot within the door.

And upon my knowledge (qd. fie) it is the very shop and workhouse of all wickedness that
can be devised. And now for certain these two years past, there is not one professed and
admitted to those mysteries there, who is above 20 years of age. So soon as any one is indicted
and brought thither, the or he is delivered to the priests as a very sacrifice to be killed: for they
lead them to a place which renowneth with yelling and crying with finging of divers conrists,
with jangling noise of cymbals, with thumping & beating of tabors, to the end that the voice of
any one that cryeth and complaineth of force and violence done to the aibut of his or her body
might not be heard. Now I believe you therefore, and of all loves I pray you, that in any case
by one means or other you avoid this, howsoever ye do: and plunge not your self headlong thiser,
where first you shall be lure to endure and suffer, and afterwards to perpetrate and commit
all abominable wickedness not to be named. And never would the let the youth go from her,
until he had made her faithful promise to abate in and forbear such mysteries and ceremonies.
When he was come home, and that his mother was in hand with him, telling him what he must
do this day, and that day, and so forth: he flatly denied and said plainly, he would do neither the one
nor the other. And at one word, professed and consecrated he would not be, whatsoever came of

C
His father in law was present at one end of this retortful speech of his. His mother straight-ways cried out and said, that he could not find in his heart to lie apart from Hispala one ten
dazes, and that he was so far bewitched and environed with the charms & poioned allament s
and建设项目 of that false serpent and pestious Hydra, that he had no respective regard either of his
mother, or mothers husband, nor, nor any reverent regard of the immortal gods. The mother rated
him of one side, the father baited and counted him on the other, till in the end they hunted him out
of doors with a bond slaves besides. The young man took himself to Eburia, an aunt that he
had by his father side, and showed her the whole matter, why his mother had thrust him out of
his house by the head and shoulders: which done, by her advice and counsel the next day he op-
pened and declared the same in great secret, without the hearing of any earthly creature, to the

D
Conulf Podamnum. The Conulf commanded him to repair again unto him three dazes after, and fo
for that time dismitted him. Then the Conulf in the mean while enquired of his wives mother Sulpi-
us, a brave and other matron: whether she knew an old wife called Ebunia dwelling in the
Aventine? Yes that I do qd. fie, and I know her to be an honest dame, and a woman of the old
world, and few her like now adays. I must needs speak with her (qd. fie) and therefore I would
have you send a messenger unto her, for to will her to come hither. Ebunia at the first sending came
unto Sulpius; and the Conulf within a while lerted (as it were by chance) into their company.
& began to find some talk of her brothers ion Ebunia: with that the woman eyes hold full of wa-
ter, and with ears he began to bewail the case and mishap of the young man; who being spoiled
of all his goods and patrimony (by those who of all others should leaft have done it) was now at
home in her house, chafed and driven out of doors by his own mother: for that the honest good
youth (God bleffe us all and be mercifull unto us,) was unwilling to be consecrated and admitted
to certain filthy and detestable sacrifices (ifall be true that is reported thereof.) The Conulf had
enough now, and was full perwaded of Ebunias, that he had told him no lie. Then he gave E-
bunia leave to go her ways home, and returned his mother in law Sulpius aforefaid, to send
likewise for Hispala from thence out of the Aventine to come unto her, a woman (qd. fie) affranch-
ished and well enough known to all the neighbours of that street: for that I have somewhat alfo
to say to her. Hispala was somewhat disquieted at this message, to think that she should be sent
for to so noble and honourable a dame, and knew no cause wherefore. But after that the law the
Lictors before the entry of the doore, the troop and train also belonging to the Conulf, and with-

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all the Conulf himself in person, she was attomed and (in manner) half dead. The Conulf taking
with him his wives mother, had the woman into an inward room of the house, and said unto
her, that she need not to be afraid, if to be she could find in her hart to tell the truth: and for all
nance thereof, she should have the faithfull word and promise either of Sulpius (a lady of so
good credit and reputation) or of himself if need were. Only he would have her to utter and de-
clare what was ordinarily done at the grove of Similla in the Bacchanals, where they used to
sacrifice in the night feacon. The woman had no sooner heard that word, but the fell into such
fear, trembling and quaking all over her body, that for a good while she was not able to open her
lips and speak a word: but after she was come to her self again out of this trance, and by them
Heartened and encouraged, she said, that when she was a very yong wench and a bond-maid, fie,to-
gather with her maidservant, was there professed and consecrated: but for certain yeares of late, and
and namely since that she was affranchised and made free, she was not acquainted with the place, nor
will not what work was there. I conthe thanks for this yet (quoth the Conulf) that thou denieth
not how thou wert there entred into that profession; but say on and tell out the rest as truly and
faithfully. She answered again, that she knew no more then she had already disclosed. The Co,
replied upon her and said, that in case she were taken in a trip, & that another came forth to her
face & reproved her, she should neither find the same pardon, nor have the like favour at his bands,
as otherwise the might if of her self the confessed the thing, forasmuch as he who had all from his own mouth, hath already discovered the whole. The woman knew where he was then, and was perplexed very (as it was indeed) that Eudius was a blab of the tongue, and had revealed this secret: whereupon she fell down to the feet of Salpitia; and first began in most humble manner to beseech her, that she would not suffer, that words of course passed between her, an enterprising woman and her paramour, should turn not only to carnal and importance, but also to a capital matter, to touch her as much as her life was worth: for what I said (quoth she) was but to right him, and not because I knew any such thing. Papilius hereat was chafed; and falling to a fit of choler: What? (quoth he) thou thinkest believe that thou art желаг and cogging with thy lover Eudius, and forgettest how thou - in the house of a right worshipfull lady, and in communication with a Confalon. But Salpitia on the other side, willed her to stand up, (affrighted I as she was) and wilt, both exhorted her out of good cheer, and also appeased the wrath of her fon in law. In the end after she had taken a better heart unto her, she greatly blamed & found fault with the effusity and falsehood of Eudius for serving her to, and respecting her falsely again for to singular a good turn that she had done him, and then said, that the flood's great awe of the gods, whose secrets she should reveal and divulge; but in greater fear of men, who no doubt for bewraying these matters. would be ready to tear her in pieces with their very hands. And therefore she thought Salpitia, and entreated the Confalon to take some order for her; and to send her into some place out of Italy, where she might passe the rest of her days in safety yet of her life. But of good cheer woman (quoth the Confalon) let me alone for that, I will provide well enough, that thou shalt live at Rome, and that without all danger. Then declared Hyspel the original and frill commencements of these sacrifices, and solemnities. At the beginning (pg. the) it was privileged place & consecrated for women only; & they alone medled with these mysteries, neither was the costume and manner, that a man should enter in among them: and certain holy days they had in the year, during which time, the priests of Bacchus performed their ceremonies in the day time, and folk were admitted by them, to their religion and profession, and women they were all (and those matrons) who were created priests for that purpose, in thrice and return one after another. But Patilla Minia (a Campanian woman) whom he was the priest, chang'd all, as being advertised and admonish'd by the gods to do so; for she was the first that sac'd and admitted men, to wait, her own sons Minias and Hieromenius the Certanos: she altered the solemnity from the day of the; and three days in the whole yeer, she ordered five or six month, to leave for the attendance and ministry of these mysteries, since thence time that these sacrifices & ceremonies were thus divulged, & men and women intermingled together, & the licentious liberty of the night time also to help all forward, here is no as to wicked, no fact so filthy, but there it is committed; and more sinful & unnatural abuse there is of mankind one with another, then there is of women. If any are either unwilling to suffer this intolerable, or belie themselves more dully in the beatly action and performance of that villany, such presently are to be killed and sac'd as beasts. And this is suppos'd amongst them, the principal point and aim of their religion, to hold and believe that nothing is uns - full whatsoever. The men flanking and wagging their bodies to and fro after a fantastical fashion, as if they were diattic & one of their right wrists, seem to divine and tell things to come. The women, attired like the like-priests of Bacchus, with their heads unbound and their hair hanging loose, about their ears, run down with flashing torches to the river Tyber; where they dip their torch stems into the water, and take them out again light burning tall, because they are made with sulphur and quicklime: and they say, that certain men are by the gods carried away from among them, no man knoweth which: such as they bind fast to a certain engine or frame, and hart them out of fight into certain hidden caves: and those the like, as either would not wear to be of their conspiracy, or be partners with them in all their mischiefous designs, or endure against kind to be stab'd. The number & multitude there assembled, is exceeding great, and grown now to be another body of a people and among them are some noble person's, as well men as women. But now for these two years last, ordained it is That none should be there profell'd and sac'd above twenty years old, for such ages they lay to for to serve their turn, as are loonest reduced and drawn to errors, or most tryed to be forced to suffer abuse and villany. When he had thus finnish'd her information and discovered all, the fell down upon her knees again, and lay at their feet, and repeated her former supplication the second time, to wit, That he would send her away out of the country. Then the Confalon proceeded in law to place some void corner of her house, whereunto Hyspel might retire her self, and there make her a bed. So she allowed her an upper lodging in her house, and the and thors that led towards the street were flapped up, and the entrance turned into the house. Then presently were all the movable goods and household stuff of Pessina removed, and her family sent for thither, and there entertained. Likewise Eudius was commanded to go and lodge with a tenant or client belonging to the Confalon. Then when both the informers were forthcoming and under Papilius by his hand, he declared the whole matter to the Senat, And after he had laid everything abroad in order, namely, what was reported unto him first, and what he had learned afterwards by enquiry, the Lords of the Senat were surpriz'd with exceeding great fear, as well in regard generally of the commonwealth, left those conspiracies, nightly meetings and conventicles, might import some secret complott of mischief and danger: as also for doubt in particular, that some of their own friends or family should be accettly and culpable.
The nine and thirteenth Book of T. Livius.

The Senate yet were of this mind, that the Consul should be highly to be praised and thanked for that he had found out and brought to light such a matter as this, both with so singular care and diligence, and also without any tumult and uproar. Then they took order and ordained, in primum, that the Consul should have an extraordinary commission to make such and inquisition into those Bacchanals and night-festivals. Item, That Euhimias and Festus, the informers thereof should not be prejudiced thereby, nor come to harm for it, yea, and that a recompense and reward should be proffered to others who might give light and reveal the same. Item, That the Priests belonging to these religions, be they men or women, should be fought out not only at Rome, but in all other markets towns, fairs and places of frequent resort and convened before the Court to be and remain at their disposition, Item, That proclamation be made at Rome, and edicts sent throughout all Italy, that no person whosoever, who had been sacrilegious and profaned religions by the Priests of Bacchus, refer to any more in assembly or conventicle for those laetrices, nor yet do ought pertaining to such divine service. And above all things, that information and preliment be made of all those that had frequented such meetings or conventicles, to commit whereofome or any such filthiness and wickedness. And these were the ordinances of the Senate. The Consul, then, granted their warrants out to the Ediles Consulares, to make diligent search and inquisition for those Priests of that religion, and upon apprehension to keep them in free ward and large prison forthcoming for to be examined; also to the Ediles of the Commons to look well, that no service of the gods be celebrated in secret. Moreover, the Trumburs capital were straightly charged to let good watch and ward throughout the City, and see to meetings by night, for fear that no bare-fire caught hold of any place. To these three Commissaries or Triumphirs were five other Quinquevirs adjourned asstiffs, who every one should watch well and take charge of all the houses of his quarter within Tyberis. Then the Consul having got for them about the thousand several charges, mounted up the Kephyra or place of public audience. And when the people were assembled together, then the Consul after he had pronounced the solemn prayer which Magistrates are wont to use as a preamble, before they make speech unto the people began his Oration unto them in this wise. "Never in any of your assemblies, O Quirites, was there solemn prayer unto the gods, either to meet and convene, or to requisit and needull in this, to advertise and put you in mind, that these be the true gods indeed whom your ancestors ordained, that you should honour, serve, worship, and pray unto, and not these here who pritk & provoke (as it were) with goads of furies, your spirits and minds transported and carried away with false and strange religions to commit all wickedness and profanities, and filthy lust. Surely for mine own part I wont not either what I was be the by, or so far forth to speak out and utter my mind. If you know not all, doubt I should give you occasion to be negligent; again, if I differ over, I fear me that I shall affright & terrify you too much. But what and how much over I shall say, ye be sure it will be far les than the greatest and enoriosity of the thing requireth. Yet endeav our will we so much to deliver, as may suffice for you a giving a warning and watch-word to take heed. This I am well aflur'd of, for you understand not only by hearst, and bare reports, but also by the ringing noises and yelling cries in the night season that the Bacchanals have been a long time kept over all Italy, yea, and in many places throughout the City of Rome, which refoundeth again therewith. But what manner of thing it is, I am verily persuaded there is not one of you that knoweth. Some believe that it is a certain worship and service of the gods, others suppose it is some lackeyry and wanton pathime tolerated and winked at. But be what it will be, they think there are few or interred and employed therein. As touching the number and multitude of them, if I should tell you that they were many thousand, you cannot chule but suddenly be afraid, unless I also presently tlorh, who they be and of what quality, know ye therefore first and foremost that the most part of them are women, and some from thence is sprung the source of all this filthiness. That there are men indeed but such as for all the world resemble women, so effeminat they are, such fey, as have abandoned themselves as well to be ashamed as to abuse others; fanciuleral persons, and beaved of their wits by reason of excessive watching, pafl fience and even adomned with bibboning wine without measure, with houting, howling & crying all night without intermission. This convinitve of conspirators is yet of no great force, howbeit it gathereth much strength in regard that they mult vill be, & their number is every day more than other. Your ancestors in times past would in no wise admit that ye should assemble together at a venture and without important and just occasion, unleas it were either by raising a standard or banner upon the fortresses for to levy an army; or to gather the people together to give their voiced in elections of Magistrates; or that the Tribunes proclaimed a general congregation of the common people; or of some of the Magistrates summoned them to an open audience for to hear an Oration and wherever a multitude were thus met together there they ordained and thought meet to have a lawful government and over- seer of them. But what kind of night conventicles think ye yet there might be & namely, where men and women are met and thronged together bell mone one with another? Infaith, if ye will at what age they of the male sex are professed and made novices, ye would not only pity them, but also be ashamed and dismayed. Think ye my Matters Quirites, that young men thus professed and having taken this oath, are meet to make foudiers of? and that ye are to put weapons into the hands of such as are taken out of that thinking and detestable Chappel? Shall they be thusblained polluted, and overwehme with filthy uncleanness, as well of their own kind as others fit for the pure chaitly, for the honesty (1 say) of your wives and children? Let's harm
"had it been, if they could have refrained, and become only estimable by their own unchaste im-H
purify that for which had redounded most to their proper fame and dishonour, and not have abused
their hands to practice mischief, and buried their brains to contrive fraud and deceit. But never
was there in Commonweal other to great and dangerous a malady, as touching more persons,
or reaching to farther matters of greater consequence. For wert ye well this, that all the sinfull
parts committed for these late years, were it filthy lust, crueltie cozening, or any wickednes what-
soever, proceed & sprang out of this one ungracious chappel and place of counterfeit holiness,
and no other. Yet have they not put in practice all their mischiefs, which they have most curied-
ly contrivd and sworn to execute. Hitherto their impious & detestable conspiracy hath bro-
ken out, and proceeded no further than to particular and privat mischiefs, because they have not ga-
thered force and strength enough to invade and oppress the Common-weal. Howbeit, the evil I
encreaseth, and the malady increaseth further daily, and by this time is grown so much, as it will
not contain within the privat fortune and condition of particular persons, but threateneth the
very main State of the Common-weal. And inlike (Quirits) ye take order to prevent it, these
night-Congregations may soon be as frequent and great as this present assembly, summoned by
order of Law and commandment of the Consil, in the open day time. Now are they (fangled by
themselves apart) afraid of you, when they see you thus all assembled together, but so soon as
you are retir'd either to your houeses within the City, or farms in the country, & by that means
leveld slaughter will surely meet together; devile they will and confult both to save them-
theselves, and also to ruin and destroy you at once. Then take heed to your selves; then shall you
(singled one from another, be in dread and danger of them all in general. It behoveth therefore
every one of you to desire and wish that all they who belong any way unto your charge, be safe
and well given. Then if either freely lust or furious rage, have drawn & baled any one of them
headlong into that gulf and sink of sin, to hold such a person to be of the true, with whom he
hath thus sworn and devoted himself to all sin and abominable wickednes, and not reckon him
of your own retinue and train any more. Moreover, careless I am not of your own persons in
this behalf, that none of you should be seduced and led away with error. For nothing is there
in the world, that decideth more under fair semblance, than false religion. For when the name
and Majesty of the gods is pretended to cover and colour naughtiness, suddenly there enthr
into one mind a tumultuous awe, which doth captivate and possesse our confidence, for fear lest
in.chastising and punishing human trespassers, we violate and offend some divine rigth and power L
therewith. But of this scrupulosity discharged ye are, by an infinite number of Pontificall decrees,
acts of the Senate, and answers of divine Sages and Soothsayers. For how many a time and
often in the daies of our fathers and grandfathers, hath commission been granted to the Magis-
trats, To restrain and forbid expressly all forrain sacrifices and strange liturgies? To chafe & ba-
ith all odd hedg-Priests, Wizards, Tellers of Fortune, and Magicians out of the common place,
out of the flew place and theatre, ye, and quite out of the City? To search out all their books
of Magick and Prophecies, and to let a fire on them? Lastly, to abolish all other order and man-
ner of sacrificing but according to the Canon, and order of Rome? For they judged (wife
men as they were) deeply seen in all divine and humane laws) nothing to forfcible to ruin
and overthrow religion, as when divine service is celebrated after some strange and forrain fa-
fion, and not according to the ancient custome of the place. Thus much I thought good by way
of caveat to foretell you of to the end that no superstitious opinion should trouble your spirits
when you shall see us to demolish and overthrow the Bacchans, and scatter these unhawfull
assemblies. For all this will we do with the good leave, favour, and grace of the gods. Who be-
hing highly offended to see their divinity and godhead thus polluted with wicked and abomin-
able filthines, have discovered the same lying hid in darkness, and brought it to light: neither in
their wisdom and providence, was it their will and pleasure, that such enormities thus detected
should remain unpunished but be suppressed and extingushiad for ever. Now hath the Senat
directed out unto me and my Colledge an extraordinary commissiion and warrant to make due
inquisition hereto into; by vertue whereof, we for our parts will accomplish our charge according
ly with all diligence and expedition. As for the night-watch throughout the City, we have gi-
ven order already to the inferior Magistrats to look unto it. Likewise, meet and reason it is,
that every one of you according to his place and calling, quit himself well in whatsoever shall
be imposed and laid upon him: and especially to endeavour and prevent that no danger or mi-
tiny arise by the malicionsnes of those that are culpable and offenders. Then the Consil com-
manded the acts of the Senat in this behalf to be read openly: they propounded and promis
ed rewards to all informers, that either convicted and brought before them any such persons,
or preferred their names if they were absent and out of the way. And look whatsoever were thus
nominate and fled upon it, they would affig him a certain day to make his appearance: upon
which day, if he answered not to his name when he was called, he should be condemned not
withstanding his absence. And if any of their names were preferred, who hapned at the time of
the information to be without the land of Italy he should have a longer term left down to come
in and make his answer. After this they published an Edit, forbidding left any one should be
delusive to sell or buy or partie to flight and departure, to receive, consent, or maintain by
any means those that were about to fly. After the assembly of the people dismissed, great fear
there was over all the City: neither was it contained within the walls, liberties, and territory only

The nine and thirtieth Book of T.Livius.
A of Rome, but in all parts of Italy they began to quake and tremble for fear; and namely, after that letters came from their friends and acquaintance touching the ordinance of the Senat, the solemn assembly of the people, and the Edict of the Consuls aforetold. The next night following, that day (wherein this matter was thus declared openly in an audience before the people) many would gladly have flared and been gone; but apprehended they were and brought back again by the Tribunes, who had set a good watch at every gate. Many pretentions were made, and certain persons thus present, as well men as women, knew them selves. It is reported that there were found in this conspiracy of both these ones with another about eleven thousand, the principal heads were known not certain to be M. and L. Curtiuss Romans both, and by calling "not to good as Senators:" Dr. Palle, L. Ocrerinus of Faleria, and M. Cerrinus a Campana. These were the ringleaders of the rest.

B from them arose all mischief and villainy whatsoever: these were the chief Priests (forsooth) and the founders of this religion. To apprehend these persons with all speed, no pollutions were neglected. And when they were brought before the Consuls, they confessed all, and for any let in them, they might probably have been condemned; but such a number there was of them who fled out of the City, that because the actions and goods of many men hereby were in danger to be lost and perished, the Praetors T. Mainius and M. Lucinius were constrained by the Senat to give thirty days repit and delay for the pleasure; until such time as the Consuls went through with their inquisition. By occasion of the same inconvenience (for that whom their names were presented, neither made answer nor, on demand found) the Consuls were enforced to ride their circuit about market towns and places of resort, and there to hold Affilis and Seftinas for to make inquisition, and justly to proceed in sentence against the offenders. As many as they found to be only entred, and to have taken orders, namely, such as according to a certain form of words ended and pronounced by the Priests, had made their prayers laying after him (in which was contained a detestable asment and oath that they to commit all wicked acts and beattly filthiness, and yet nor with fasting had offered and done no such act either in their own persons, or in others, to which they were obliged by oath) those they left till in prison and duration. But such as were defiled with filthiness of any polluted with bloody murders such as were attained and stained with bearing false widens with lodging and follying of wills and testaments, with counterfeitling of seals, and other such oozing calis, stole they exercised with lodi of life, and the number of them thus was put to death summariously those other that suffered only imprisonment. But

D a wondrous multitude there was of both sorts the one and the other, and those as well men as women. As many of the women as were condemned they committed over to their next kinsfolk, or to some guardians under whole tuition and subjection they were that they might themselves privately at house punish them accordingly. But if there were none to be found meet to do the execution, then they suffered publicly abroad in the face of the world. After this, a commision was granted to the Consuls, for to overthrow and pull down first at Rome, and then throughout Italy, all the places of such Bacchanals unites in any of them there stood some old altar or image consecrated. And for the time to come, by an act of the Senats prohibition went out, that there should be no Bacchanals in any other city in Rome, or in Italy. Moreover, If any person made some complaint of this religion, and held it for a devout solemn, and necessary institution and proceeded before the Praetor of the City, that he could not lay away the same without prik remorke, and clog of conscience: then the said Praetor was to put the cause in question before the Senat, and if the Senat (assembled in no less frequen than one hundred) would allow and permit the same, then might the party solemnize that devotion and divine service: provided always that there were not above five persons present thereat to affit him nor any common silver to be used in the ministray, nor Offer-matter nor Priest. Over and besides, another act of the Senat there was joined unto this, and the same moved by the Consul Q. Marcius. That as touching those persons whom the Consul had for the informers and revealers of this matter, the full authority in dispatching of them, should be wholly referred to the Senat, so soon as Sp. Pobbinus had finished his inquisition, and was returned to Rome. As for Cerrinus the Campana, they ordained that he should be sent to Ardea there to lie in prison, and that the Magistrates of Ardea should have a charge given them beforehand to look to their prisoner more straitly, that neither he brate prison and made an escape, nor yet might have means and opportunity to make himself away. After a certain time Sp. Pobbinus came to Rome again, and when he put to question before the Senat, concerning the reward of P. Ebitinius, and Hippola Pergina, for that by their means the Bacchanals were diisolved, there passed an act and decree, that the Treasurers of the City should deliver unto them out of the City Chamber 100000 sestertii. Also that the Consuls should deal with the Tribunes of the Commons for to prefer a bill unto the people, as soon as possibly they might that P. Ebitinius for ever might be exempt from loundiery, and have his pension and fees as if he had accomplished his term of service by law required, so as he neither were compelled to go to warfare against his will, nor the Cenions should affign unto him a publicke honor of office. Moreover, that Hippola Pergina might have the liberty and power to make a deed of gift or alienation of her goods unto whom she pleased, yea, and spend the same, and do therewith what she thought good. Item, That she might be wedded out of her own family into what house she would her left and make choice of her tutor and patron to her own liking and contentment, as if her husband by his will and testament had so ordained and set down. Item, That she might be wedded to one of frank condition or rieborn, and that he who had espoused and married her, should
should not thereby sustain discredit or receive damage. Finally, that not only the Consul, but also those there to come, should provide and take order that no wrong be done to that woman, but learn her from all harm, this the Senate judged meet and requisite to be done. All these things were likewise proposed unto the Com., and executed according to the ordinance of the Senate, finally as touching both the impunity and also the recompend of other the informers, it was referred to the direction of the Com.

By this time Q. Marcius also having finished the inquisition in his circuit and quarter, made preparation to go into his Province of L. Africa, after he had received to supply and make up his legions 300,000, and 150 horsemen Romans, besides 3000 footmen and 2000 horse of Latins. The same Province with the like number as well of horse as foot, was deducted and sent unto his companion in government. Those armies they took charge of which the former year (H. minim. 1) and M. Emmanus the Consul had; moreover, by an act of the Senate enjoyed they were to enrol two new legions besides: and withall they levied of the Latine allies 300,000 and 3000 horses 300 of footmen and 200 horsemen Romans. At these forces (letting aside the legions) it was thought good to be led to punish the army in Spain. And therefore the Consuls, which they were themselves in person occupied about the forecald inquisitions, gave commission to T. Menius to take the military, and when those envoys were performed and done as before said Q. Marcius took his journey with of the twain towards the Aprians in Legio 4, but whiles in eager pursuit of them he engaged himself into the rear and bind-plates, wherein at all times they had their lurking retreats and places of safety rest: wherein those frights and plagues which the enemies had heralded before, he was environed by them in a place of great disadvantage: where he left 40000 soldiers, with three enclaves of the left-division, and six enclaves of the right division which were all taken by the enemies. Also much armour and many weapons were thrown away: and there, by reason that they were enumbered together as they fled through the wooded paths of the forrest: neither did the Ligurians go over their charge, before that the Romans ended their flight. The Consul so soon as he was espoused of the enemies territory sent his army away into divers parts of the peaceable country to the end that it might not be seen how much his forces were emplire; yet could not he for all that suppress and thorn the bruit that was blown abroad of his unfortunate journey, nor cancel the remembrance of the overthow: for ever after, the forrest out of which the Ligurians hunted him was called, The forrests of Marcius. A little before the news of the affairs in Liguria, the letters out of Spain were read, containing lorum L. mixed with joy to wit: That C. Caetinius (who two years before went as Procurator into that Province) fought a field with the Lusciani in the terriory of Ares; where 600 enemies fell upon the sword, and the rest were dispersed out to flight and driven out of their camp. Afterward, he conducted his legions to the island of the town Ares; with whom he forced and won by greater ado than he before gained their camp. But as he approached near the wall and took no good heed to himself, he was wounded, and of his hurt within few days died. Upon the reading of the news, the death of the Procurator the Senate was of advice to dispatch a messenger (to overtake the Procurator C. Capito) as far as the port of Lissa, and give him to under-stand from the Senate, that their advice was he should make all the haste he could in his journey, to the end that the Province might not be without a governor there to command. The conqueror which was sent, within four days arrived at Lissa: and but few days before, Capito was departed and had put himself in his journey.

Moreover, L. Menius Agathus (who went into his Province at the same time that C. Caetinius went) had a battell likewise with the Celifberians in the hither Province of Spain. But they departed on both sides out of the field with doubtful victory; for only that the Celifberians the next night following disliedged and removed from thence: whereby the Romans had liberty and time both to inter their dead, and to gather up the spoils of their enemies. And within few days after the same Celifberians having raised a more punitive army, of themselves gave the Romans battell near the City Callipoi. It is not set down in the history what should be the cause why they were the weaker, considering their number was re-enforced; but soified they were in flight and had the overthow. Of the enemies there died upon 12000 and not to few as 2200 taken prisoners: and the Romans likewise were Masters of the camp. And had not Menius been empeached and restrained in this train of victory (which he hotly followed by the coming of Capito his successor in government) the Celifberians had been utterly labored. The new Prators withdrew both armies to their wintiring harbors.

At the same time that their news came out of Spain, the plates called Tavilla were exhibited two days together in honour of the gods. And after them, M. Fulvius put out (with great furniture in aptness manner for the space of ten days) his plates which he had vowed in the Etruscan war. And for to do him honour and grace this solemnity, many cunning actors and players came out of Greece. This was the first time that there was represented at Rome the play of champions and wrestlers for the belt game: then also was exhibited the prize of hunting and baiting, Lions and Panthers: and in one word, these sports were celebrated with as great magnificence and variety as the modern plays and games in these days. After all this was a certain festival in which there was much sacrificing and all by occasion that for three days it rained flames in the Picene country: and because it was reported that the lightning in divers places, and in wind and storms, had blased and lightly surged the garments especially of many,
The nine and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

A To the said feat there was adjoyned a supplication of one day, ordained by a decree of the Pontifices, for that the Chappel of the goddesses Opfit (stading in the Capitol) was smitten with a thunderbolt. In regard of these prodigies, the Consulg provoked expiation by sacrificing great beasts, and to they purged and hallowed the City. At the same time word was brought out of Umbria, that there was an Hermafrodite or Satr found almost twelve years old. This was held for a detestable monstər; and therefore order was given, that it should be kept out of the territory of Rome, and killed out of hand.

The same year, certain Gauls from beyond the Alps passed into the territory of Vicent, without forraging, spoiling, and using any hostility; and not far from the place where as now Aquileia standeth they set upon a plot of ground to build a City in. Certain Roman Embassadors were sent about this matter beyond the Alps; where they received this intelligence and answer from the inhabitants of the country. That neither those Gauls took that voyage and expedition by authority and warrant from the whole nation neither knew they what they did in Italy.

L. Scipio likewise about the same time, set out his plaines for ten daies together: for which he said that he had made a vow during the time of the war against Antiochus & he defrayed the charges thereof with the money contributed unto him by divers KK, & States for that purpose. Antiochus Antius wrote, that after he was condemned, and his goods, cattle, &c. &c. &c. he was sent in Embassage into Asia, for to take up certain controversies and differences between the two KK. Antiochus and Eumenes: and then it was (lith that the said contribution was made, many skilled artificers and players gathered unto him out of all Asia, and in the end, after this Embassage, he moved the Senate for these games, because he had made no mention nor words at all of them after the said war: by occasion whereof (by Valerius) lying he vowed them.

The year being now at an end Q. Marcellus in his absence was to leave his Magistracy, &c. Poetbonnus having late upon the inquisition storeaid, and with all side levy and carefully collected: that it was brought to an end, held the solemn assembly for election of Magistrates: wherein were chosen Coll. Ap. Claudius Pulcher & M. Sempronius Tuditanus. And the money after were elected for Proctors, P. Cornelius Cetheicus, A. Poetbonnus Albicanus, C. Afranius Scipio, C. Attilius Severus, L. Poetbonnus Tempore, & M. Claudius Marcellus. At the yeares end, upon the relation of Sp. Poetbonnus the Coll. & in his visitation about the enquests storeaid, as he rode along the seas costis of Italy on both sides he found certain Colonies dispelled and desolate, to wit, Sipontum upon the Adriatic sea and Bonana upon the Tufcian, & at the City Prætor (by virtue of an act of the Senate in that behalf) created three Commissaries, called Triumvirs, for to enroll and plant new inhabitants there, namely, L. Scribonius Libo, M. Tucius, and C. Rubens Temporibus.

The war against King Persens and the Macedonians, which now was a breeding, arose not upon that cause & occasion which most men imagine not yet from Persens himself for the first ground thereof was laid by Philip, who if he had lived longer, would have been seen in open action. One thing there was above the rest which flung him, at what time as the Romans imposed conditions upon him after he was vanquished to wit That the Senate laid a bari for to be enforced of those Macedonians who had revolted from him: which he depaircd not but it had been possible to have obtained at their hands, considering that Quintus in the capitulations of peace required that point entire and excepted not against it. Now afterwars, when Antiochus was defeated in the battle of Thermopylae and that both Philip & the Consulg upon the several exploits: Actius went in hand to allure Heraclea, and Philip at the same time the City of Lambes. Heraclea was no sooner forced, but Philip had commandment to levy his siege before Lamis and the town was yielded to the Romans: and this he took to the heart. Howbeit the Consulg appeased his choler for the time, in that making haste in person to Naupactus (unto which town the Eolians after their rout were retired) he suffered Philip to war upon Athens & Antiochus &c. to adjourn also and lay unto his kingdom those Cities which the Eolians had taken from the Thessalians. Now had Philip chafed 'Aminipber out of A Boeotia, and won certain Cities without any great ado. Demetrias also (a strong City of great importance, and very commodious for all things) together with the nation of the Magnesians he brought under his obedience. After this he forced certain towns in Achaia, which were troubled with the tedious variance of their principal and great personages, by reason that they knew not how to use their new liberty, whereas they had not been acquainted: he won those Cities (1) by taking part with those, who in this civil difference were the weaker, and other wise would have gone to the walls. By these means the wrath of the King against the Romans was well allayed for the present: nevertheless he created not all the time of peace to befink how he might gather more strength, and be able to war again, whensoever any good occasion should be presented unto him. He encroached therefore the revenues of the Crown, not only by raising taxes out of all the fruits of the earth, and letting import and customs upon all merchandise brought into his Realm by sea from foreign parts; but also revived the rents & issues of the old mines which had discontinued, yes & in many places ordained new.

Moreover, to replenish his country, which by many calamities following was dispopled, he not only took order that his subjects should multiply by forcing them toget, breed, and bring up children, but also translated a great multitude of Thracians into Macedonia: and for a good time wherein he was in repos and rest from the war, he kept his whole mind, and employed all his study how to make himself great, and augment the pruifance of his kingdom. Then old matters and quarrels were renewed, which might whet his temper and kindle his anger against
the Romans. For the complaints which the Thessalians and the Pheraebians made for that their
Cities were by him polled, likewise those grievances which the Embassadors of King

Ennius laid abroad touching the Thracian Towns, which he seized and held by force, were heard by the
Romans; so as it evidently appeared, that they neglected them not, but that which moved the
Senat most, was this, That they had intelligence how he intended to be Lord of the

Metoeas: as for the Thessalians, they took left regard of them. Moreover there came the Embassadors
of Athemae, who complained not for the los of some part of their territory, nor that he en-
croached upon their frontiers, but that all Athemae, hill and whole, was reduced under the sub-

mission and jurisdiction of the King. The banished persons also of Morone, who had been chased
out of the City by the Kings garrion (for that they stood in defence and maintenance of liberty)

made relation, that not only Morone was in the hands of Philip, but the City of Aces also. Like

wife there came Embassadors from Philip, to purge him of all these matters laid to their charge,

who averred. That their King and Maller had done nothing but by commission and warrant from

the Roman General. They pleaded and alleged, that the cause of the Thessalian, Pheraebian, and

Magonian Cities ye, and the whole nation of Athemae, was together with Amandine, was all one

with the Thebians, namely: That after Actebe, the King was chased and expelled, the Col, himself

being employed and occupied in besieging the City of Athoia, sent Philip for to recover the

States abovenamed, which being vanquished in war, were now subject unto him. Hereupon the

Senat, because they would not determine and let down anything in the absence of the King, sent

three Delegates or Commissioners to decide these controversies, viz., Q. Caecilius Metellus

M., Marcus Tullius Cicero, and T. Sempronius. Upon whole arrival there was published a general

Diet of all those States that were at difference with the King to be helden at Tempa in Thessaly.

When they were all met there in council, the Roman Legates, as umpires and judges, the Thessalians, Per-

rachians, and Athemans as plaintiffs and accusers, and Philip as defendant to hear and receive the

challenges and accusations against him; the chief Embassadors from the said Cities, pleaded

against Philip bitterly or mildly, more or less, according to the several disposition of their natures,

and the proportion either of affectionate favour or malicious hatred which they bare to him.

Now all the question and debate touching Philip, Philopoemen, Thracian, Phthia, Eurytia, and other

towns about them was this: Whether those pieces, considering the Thessalians won and held them

by force (well known it was that Philip had taken them from the Thessalians) belonged in right to

the Thessalians, or appertained of old time to the Thessalians; for Actebe had granted them

due to the K., upon these conditions, namely, if they were any of the appurtenances of the Thessalians,

and if they combined and took part with the Thebians willingly of their own accord and not by

contraint and force of arms. Upon like terms stood the controversy of the Perachian and Magne-

tion. For the Thesalian had brought a cause in all their tenures, by reason that they held and possest those Cities, by taking their vantage upon divers occasions, besides their sub-

stantial point properly to be decided the Thessalians came in with their complaints also: For

that those towns (in case they were out of hand delivered unto them, yet) he should render

them spoilt, sick and desolate. For over and besides those who were carried by casuality of war,

Philip had carried away into Macedony 500 even the principal flower of their youth, and abu-

sed them like slaves in putting them to base ministr nies and servile drudgery, and look whatsoever

by compulsion he redelected to the Thessalians, he had taken order afore that they should

be good for nothing. As for example (say they) Thbes in Phthia, the only maritime City for

much traffick and merchandise was in times past gainful and commodious to the Thessalians,

and brought them great revenues and immense profits. But Philip had turned the staple and all the trade

and negotiation by sea from thence to Demetrias, and having got bulks and boys, caufed them

to be banked and pafs by Thbes, and direct their course for Demetrias. Nay, he could not so much as

hold his hands from evil treating their Embassadors, who by law of nations are inviolable.

For he forced them in ambulce as they were in their journey to T. Q. thias, by which means

the Thessalians all in general were so over-awed by him, and put in such fear, that there is not

a man amongst them dare open his mouth, either in their own Cities, or in any of the Diets and

Committs of the whole nation. For why? their patrons of whom they hold their liberty are far

off, but an impertinent Lord have that fitteth ever on their skirts, and pricket them continually

in the sides, and will not suffer them to live and enjoy the benefits granted them by the

people of Rome. For take away from them the liberty of speech once, what freedom have they

left? And even at this present, for all the assurance and confidence they have in the privilege of

Embassadors they rather sigh and groan on their words, than speak frankly, and parlly with li-

berty. And unless the Romans provide better in some good fort, that both the Greeks remain-

ing in Macedony, may be void of fear, and Philip also curb'd and kept short for being bold, it

would be too great an imposition, that either he was vanquished, or they enfranchised, He is therefore

to be holden with a rougher and harder bit in his mouth, like an headstrong and unruly horse,

that will not be ruled with a gentle bridle. In this sharp and eager manner dealt the last, where-

as the former had used fair language to appease and mollify his anger, beleeching his grace to

pardom them in cafe they provoke their minds for their liberty, to lay down the rigor of a Lord and

Maller to bear himself like a kind ally and loving friend, & to take example of the Romans, and

them to imitate, who chose rather to gain associats by love, than constrain them by fear. After

the audience given to the Thessalians, the Perachians came in place and alleged that Commodus-


A

A City which Philip named Olympia belonged in right to PerrhaBes & called it, they were, that it might be restored unto them. They demanded also to have Amenas and Eretrium again.

Then the Athenians put in, and spoke for their liberty, and to have the forts of Acteae and Potium rendered unto them. Philip because he would seem more like a plaintiff than a defendant, and to accite rather than to be accused, began himself into with complaints. He found himself chiefly grieved that the Thessalians had won by force of arms the City of Leipus; part of the appurtenances belonging to his kingdom. Item, That the same Thessalians and the PerrhaBes together had forced Faras in Plevna, As for Xynus (an Attian town without all question),

they had indeed laid it unto his feignory, but Parcebeus, which should be under Aristonact,

by no right in the world was annexed to the Thessalians & comprised within their charter. For

B

touching the matters (quoth he) charged upon me to odiously, namely of laying away for the Embassadors of frequening those port-towns or abandoning those: the one is a mere mockery and ridiculous thing: namely, to me to give account what have, merch. hands and mariners sail unto or arrive at: the other is, clean and contrary to my nature & that which I never could abide to practice. For their many years, he) Embassadors have never ceased and given over, to inform grievous matters against me to the Roman Generals, and to the Senate at Rome; and which of them ever to this day hath had to much a foul word given again unto him from me? Supposed & objected it is, that once they were troubled by the way as they were going to Quirinus, but it is not said with what haughtiness as to that, this manner of dealing & accusation last-voireth of quarrellers that aim would have somewhat to say, but it never so late, when they can find no matter of truth to charge a man withal. Thise Thebians beyond all measure abuse the kindness & indulgence of the people of Rome, & raging as men who had endured a long drought, they drink over-speedily pouting in their liberty, & nothing else to it, and know not when to make an end, and to break their draught. Like, for all the world to bondilanes suddenly set at freedom beyond their hope and expectation, whole manner is to break out into broad terms and alentious language and cannot contain but revile and sall at their very Manners. And, at last, in a furious fit of cholera he burst forth into those words, That the inn was not let and gone to bed for ever, but would one day rise again. This minatory speech of his not only the Thessalians took to themselves, but the Romans also confused as a plain censure. Upon these words stole some brute and murmuring in the assembly, but being in the end appeased & hinted he answered the agents for the PerrhaBes and Athenians in this wise, That the care and condition of those Cities, let in which they stood, was one and the same, namely, that the Col. Actaeus and the Romans passed them unto him by a deed of gift, as having sometime belonged to their enemies. Now if they who have the city shall also take away the same, they (as he) must needs quit his hold and lose them: but in doing so they shall to gratife their fickle, inconstant and vain allies, men of no regard, and good for nothing, do not that beloved nor other to a far better and more faithful friend. For nothing is there in the world more thankless and less while accepted than liberty, especially with them who know not how to use it & by abuse thereof will soon spill the grace of such a benefite. Then the Roman Delegates having heard the reason and allegations of both parties pronounced sentence, That the Macedonian garrisons should quit the Cities above laid, and the Realm of Macedonia be confined within the ancient bounds and limits. As touching the injuries which they complaining to have been reciprocally offered from one to another there was a form and course of law to be let down which should contain a precedent and manner, how the matters between the Macedonians and the other nations might be reformed and composed. Hereat the King was highly offended and displeased, but the Delegates were their ways toward Thessalians, to visit likewise the Cities of Thessal, and to hear their cases: where the Embassadors of King Eumenes made a speech to this effect.

If the pleasure of the Romans be, that the two Cities Acan and Maroneas shall be free, it is not for us in modesty to say any more, but advertise & admonish them to leave the same in real and no; in verbal liberty, and not suffer a gift by them granted to be impeached or intercepted by another. But if they have free care and consideration of the Cities and States planted in Thrace, yet more meet and reason it is, that thole places which sometime were subject unto Amintas, should fall to Eumenes rather than to Philip: by way of recompence for war-service. In regard as well of the merits of his father Acteaeus during the war against Philip, as of his own deserts, who during the war with Amintas, was personally present in all travels & dangers both by sea and land. And to this effect he hath besides an award of the ten Delegates passed already beforehand, who in the grant and donation of Cheronomus & Lysimachus, have no doubt given Maroneas & Acan likewise to be as dependants of a greater gift, considering the near vicinity and neighborhood of those other Cities. For, as concerning Philip, what hath he deferred at the hands of the people of Rome? What right of seigniory can he pretend, why should platoon garrisons in those Cities or far remote & distant as they be from the frontiers of Macedonia? I wish ye would call for the Maroneas, and hear what they can say, who are able to inform you more fully and certainly in all respects of the whole state of these Cities. Then were the Embassadors of the Maroneas called in: who affirmed, That the King had a garrison not in one place only of their City (as he had in other Cities besides) but in many quarters thereof at one time, so asMaroneas was palled full with Macedonians. And therefore (say they) the Kings favorites and flatterers are they that rule all and bear the sway: they and none but they, may be allowed to speak.
Speak both in Senate at the Council-table, and in general assemblies before the people: they go 
away with all honours & dignities, & either are invested therein themselves, or else confer them 
on whom they please. The belligerents, who stand either for defence of freedom, or in mainte-
nance of the laws, either are driven their country and banished, or else a cold & blow their nails, 
for any advancement they come unto; & being subject and thrall to persons of no worth, stand 
like cyphers and hold their peace. Somewhat they said moreover as touching the right of their 
limits to wit, That Q. Fabius Labour, at what time as he was in those parts, conferred Philip 
within the bounds of the old Kings-street or high way, which directly leadeth to Pheraecia in Thrace, and 
in no place declineth toward the sea: but Philip afterwards had made a new castle, and drawn it 
with a compals about, in which he emplanted and took in the Cities & territories also of the 
Marianistes. To these challenges Philip began far otherwise than he did of late against the Thessali-
ans and Pheraeblackns, and in this wise he spake: I have, quoth he, no matter to debate either 
with the Marianistes or Eumenes; but now at this present I am to content even with your Majesty's 
Matters of Rome) at whose hands I have seen thus long that I can obtain no reason and equity. I 
thought it meet and right that the Marianistes Cities, which had revolted from me during the 
time of truce, should be rendered again unto me: not for any great encrease of feignesy that 
thereby should have accrued unto my kingdom(though small towns they are god wot, and situated 
on the utmost frontiers) but because their precedent and example might have importuned much, 
to retain the rest of the Marianistes in their duty and allegiance. In no wise it would be grant-
ted. During the Erolian war I was enjoyned by the Consul Atilius to besiege and affiance the 
City Lamps: and after I had been tooit out and wearied with maintaining skirmishes, raising 
fabricks, planting ordnance and engins against it, even when I was at the very point to scale 
the walls and force the City, the Consul declared and called me away; yea, and compelled me 
to levy the siege, and withdraw my forces thence. And for to make me some part of amends 
for this wrong done, permitted I was to win again and conquer certain small places and ports, 
rather than Cities of Thessaly, Pheraeblack and Asia Minor. And even those I, may say unto 
you Q. Cæcilius ye have taken from me within these few days. And now forsooth of late the 
Embassadors of Eumenes also (and God will) have premised upon this as a thing granted and 
without all question. That more it is for Eumenes to have & enjoy that which belonged 
to Antiochus than for me. But my judgment is far otherwise. And why Eumenes could never 
have continued in his Realm, unless the Romans, I will not say, had vanquished K. Antiochus 
but surely if they had not waged war against him. And therefore is he endeavoured unto you, and 
you no wiser beholden unto him. As for my kingdom, so far it was that any part or quarter 
of it should be in hazard and jeopardy; that when Antiochus of his own mean motion offered 
to buy my society with three thousand talents, and fifty covered ships of war, together with 
all those Cities in Greece which I held in possession aforetime: I refused all, and disdain'd his 
aliance, yea and I professed openly, even before that M. Aelius came over with his army into 
Greece, that I was his enemy, and together with that Consul, was employed in what part loco-
wer of the war, which he charged and laid upon me. Also when L. Scipio the Consul his suc-
cessor, determined to lead his army by land to Hellas, I not only gave him leave to pass 
peaceably through his Realm, but also called up the high waies to be paved and gravelled, bridges 
to be made against his coming, yea, and furnished him with provision of victuals. And the said 
I not in Macedonia done, but also throughout all Thrace, where among other matters, this 
was not offer'd: but in consequence, to restraint those barbarous nations there from 
running upon them; and to keep them in peace and quietness. In consideration now of this 
kind affection of mine (If I may not call it a good desert) unto you, whether ye Romans 
in renon to give me somewhat to that I have, and augment and encrease my dominion by your 
targets and munificence or to take from me (as you do) that which I have either in mine own 
right or by gift from you? The Macedonian Cities, which you confesse to have been parcel of 
my kingdom are not restored unto me. Eumenes on the other side, he comes to make spoil of 
me, as if I were Antiochus, and (mark I pray you the devise of it) he pretendeth a decree of the 
ten Delegates to colour his most shameless, impudent & cautious falsehood; even that by which 
himself may be most refuted and convicted, For in very express and plain terms it is thus writ-
ten. This Chonaeis & Hypsea are given to Eumenes. Where I pray you, and in what corner 
of the instrument and patent (and Eumeneus, Maroneus, and the Cities of Thrace) Shall he ob-
tain that at your hands, and by your means, as given and granted from those ten Delegates, which 
he never durst to much as once demand and require of them? Tell me (if the thing be worth your 
much) in what place ye would range and reckon me? If your purpose be to persecute me as an 
enemy and mortal foe, I care not, but go on still as ye have begun: but if ye respect me a 
King, as your ally and friend. I beseech you, repaire not worthy of so notorious and mani-
sented a wrong. This Oration of the King in some measure moved the Commissariouners, and there-
fore by framing a mean and indifferent answer, they held the matter still in suspense undecided, 
If (say they) the Cities in question were given to Eumeneus, by virtue of a decree set down 
by the ten Delegates, we will not change nor alter anything therein. But in case Philip acquired 
them by Conquest and force of arms, he should have held them as the gudement of his 
victory. In neither, we are of opinion. That the hearing and decision of this difference shall 
be referred over to the Senate: and to the end, that all may remain entire, the garnitons in 
thee
The nine and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

A whole Cities shall be withdrawn and depart; the next step, were the caues that principally engendered the affection of Philip from the Romans, and wrought discontentment in his heart: insomuch, as is evident, it was that the war was not entered into by his son Publius upon any new quarrel, and treated occasion, but upon these motives let unto him by his father to be pursued.

No inspiration there was there at Rome of a Macedonian war. L. Manlius the Proconsul was returned out of Spain, and when he demanded a triumph of the Senate, they allowed it him, the same in regard of his noble and worthy exploits might have been obtained, but for example it was not granted. For an order it was in Rome, by an intendment of their forefathers, that no man might triumph who brought not his army back with him unless he left unto his successor the Province fully subdued and settled in peace. Howbeit, Manlius was allowed an indistinct honour, namely, to enter into the City by way of Oration. In which solemnity he had borne before him in a pompous pageant two and fifty coronets of gold. Moreover in gold a hundred thirty-two pound weight and in silver six thousand three hundred. Also, he pronounced aloud in the Senate, that Q. Furius the Quettor was coming, and brought with him ten thousand pound weight more of silver, and eighty of gold, which he meant likewise to bring into the Chamber of the City.

This great commotion and insurrection there was of bondslaves in Apulia. L. Postumius the Praetor had the government of Tarentum, and he sat in inquisition upon a damned crew of certain herdsmen and gravers, who had conspired together, and used to rob by the high-way side, and in the common pastures belonging to the City; which Commission he followed with

C in his severity and rigor, that he condemned seven thousand of them. Many escaped and fled, but many were executed and suffered death. As for the Celts, long were they kept in the City of Rome, about the levy of soldiers, but at length they went into their Provinces.

The same year, C. Calpurnius and L. Quinctius the Praetors in Spain, having in the beginning of the Spring led forth their armies out of their wintering holds, and joined their forces together in Betium, advanced forward into Carusium; (where the enemies were encamped) with a resolution to receive the Roman armies, which were encamped together, and used to rob by the high-way side, and in the common pastures belonging to the City; which Commission he followed with

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and hardy legion.) fought right courageously: which the enemies, seeing that they could not o - H therwise forth to retreat and give ground, began to charge upon them with a battalion in coin- 
fation close together; and still they pressed hard upon them in the midst more & more in num- 
ber, and even this line ranged, Calpurnius the Praetor seeing this battle dill more and in danger, 
est with all speed L. Quintilius Varus, and L. Munatius Fulvus, two Lieutenants, to either of the 
legions severally, to enrage and exhort them to stick to like men, and to make remembrance and re- 
lation. That in them alone consisted all the hope of conquering and keeping Spain; if "they never to little yielded back & lost their ground, there was not one of the whole army that "should ever see Italy again no, nor so much as the farther bank of Tagus, As for himself, he took 
with him the Cavalry of two Legions, and when he had wheeled a little about and set a compas 
with them, he charged hotly upon the flank of the foremost battalion of the enemies, which I 
sailed and urged still the main battell. Quintinius also with his Cavalry flanked the enemies on the 
other side, but the horsemen of Calpurnius fought more fiercely by odds than the other, and the 
Praetor himself in person was foremost of them all; for he was the first that drew blood of an ene- 
my & so engajed himself within them that hardly a man could know of which side he fought: 
by his singular valour, the horsemen were mightily animaded; and by the valour of the Cavalry 
on horseback, the infantry also were enkinded to fight on foot. The principal Centurions were 
abashed and ashamed to see the Praetor in person among the pikes and swords of his enemies: 
and therefore every man for his part did his best, put forward the ports-enings, willing them to 
advance their banners, to the end that the soldiery might follow hard after. Then began they on 
all hands to set up a yntch and lively shout; they took their bier and charged upon them as from 
the vantage of an higher ground: by reason whereof they disarrayed them first, and like a far 
stream they bare them down before them, so as they could not stand upon their feet and sustain 
this violence of theirs, but fell one upon another. As many as fled toward the camp the horse- 
men pursued, and so intermingled themselves among the rout of the enemies, that they caused 
per-me& with them into their hold: where they that were left for the guard thereof. followed 
the fight, so that the Roman horsemen were forced to light from their horses: and whilst they 
maintained the conflict, the fift Legion came to second them, and consequently more and more 
succoured as they possibly could run to them: down went the Spaniards and were mangled in all 
parts of the camp: and not above 4000 of them all, fled away and fixed themselves: of which 
number, about 2000 (who still kept their armour) seized upon a hill near adjoining: the other 
1 thousand being for the most part armed by the hands, were scattered all over the field. The 
enemies were at first above 3500 but after this battell see how few of them were left: and from 
them were won 133 enligns. O Romans and Allies, there died less above six hundred of auxi- 
liary soldiers from out of the Province, about 150. Five martall Tribunes were lost, and cer- 
tain Roman Gentlemen, whose death especially, made it seem a bloody vict'ry, After which 
the army above within the enemies camp for that themselves had no time to fortifie thier own. 
The next morning, C. Calpurnius in an open audience, highly praised the horsemen, and rewarded 
them with rich harness and trappings decl.ing aloud, That by means of their good service 
principally the enemies were discomfited and their camp forced. As for Quintinius the other Prae- 
tor, he bestowed upon his men of arms, small chains and buttons of gold. The Centurions M 
likewise of both armies received gifts at theirs hands, and namely, those who fought in the main 
battell.

The Consuls having finished the levy of soldiers, and accomplished all things requisite to be 
done in Rome, led the army to their Province of Liguria. Sempronius departed from Pisa, and 
made a journey against the Apuan Lignarians; whereby, waiting their territories and burning their 
towns and fortresses, he made way into the forest and opened the passages as far as to the river 
Maxent and the port of Luna. The enemies took a certain mount (an ancient hold) where their 
ancestors sometimes had fixt themselves: but from thence they were by force dispossessed, by rea- 
on that the Romans overcame the difficulties of the avenues therto. Ap. Claudius likewise for his 
part, was equal in valour and good fortune to his Colleague, as having fought certain prope- 
rate battles, with the Ligurian Enemies. He forced besides six towns of theirs, and took many 
thousands of prisoners within them. Of the chief authors of that rebellion, he caused three and 
four to lose their heads.

Now approached the time of the solemn assembly for election of Magistrates at Rome: and albe- 
it Sempronius his lot it was to hold the laid assembly, yet Claudius returned first to Rome, becau- 
e P. Claudius his brother made suit to be Consul, He had for his competitors, L. Emilius Q. Fabi- 
us Labo, and Servius Silvius Galba all four of the Nobility. Old factors they were all, and be- 
caus'e they had suffered the repulse aforetime, they renewed the suit for this dignity, as being so 
much the rather due, because it had been once denied them. And this was the cause that these 
four followed & pressed the harder for to obtain the same, because it was not lawful for any more 
than one of the Patricians to be created Cons, There were also of the Commoners certain per- 
sons well beloved and of good reputation that stood in election for the place, to wit L. Porcius, Q. Terentius Calveo, and C. Gabinius Tampullius; they also had taken repulse beforetime, and were 
put off still in hope one day yet to obtain that honourable dignity. Claudius of them all was only 
the new Competitor. Now men thought verily without any doubt & question, yea and defined 
in their consciences, Q. Fabius Labo, and L. Porcius Licinius to be Consuls, But Claudius, the Consul, 

and
A together with his brother besmirched himself, and without his fellow attending upon him, traveled and laboured hard in all parts of the common place; notwithstanding the adversities of the Senate, and the consent of the Senators cried out upon him, and laid. That he ought to conduct and remember rather that he was the Son of Rome, than brother to P. Claudius, why then fast he not still in the Tribunal either as judge and president, and the court assembled, or else as a beholder and spectator only, without saying any word himself? Howbeit, he could not possibly be reclaimed from this disorderly affection of his which swayed him in labouring for his brother. This election was divers times also troubled with the great debates and contentions caused by the Tribunes of the Commons: whilst some of them faked against the Col, others again maintained his first, and took part with him. But in the end, Fadini took the field, and Appius went away with the game for his brother, so P. Claudius Pecteur was created Col, beyond his own hope, and more than others looked for. L. Portius Lictor held his own, and obtained the seat; and in his course it that the Commoners were moderated to work, &dewid so much affection and forrible means as Claudius did. After this, was holden the election of Praetors. And when there were, C. Decimini Flavus, P. Sempronius Longus, P. Cornelius Claudius, Q. Nasor Naso, P. Sempronius Blafus, and A. Terentius Varro. Thus much concerning the acts achieved both in the home in the City, and abroad in the war, that year wherein Appius Claudius and M. Sempronius were Consuls.

In the beginning of the next year, in which P. Claudius and L. Portius bare the Conspirihip, when as Q. Caecilius, M. Fabius, and T. Sempronius (who had been sent to hear and decide the controversies between the two Kings, Philip and Eumenes, and the States of the East) had made report of their embassages: they permitted likewise the Embassadors of the said Princes and Cities, to enter into the Senate, who related the fall-time things again, which had been alluded before in the presence of the foresaid Legats in Greece. After this, the Senate addressed another new embassage into Macedonia and Greece, whereby Appius Claudius was the chief to visit and see, whether the Cities adhered or adhered to the Rhodians, Thessalians, and Peribabians were delivered unto them according, and to look that all the sea-coast of Thrace, were freed from the subjection of Philip and the Macedonians. They were enjoyed moreover to go into Peloponnesus, from whence the former embassie was departed in more doubtfull terms than if they had never gone thither. For over and besides other things they were sent away without any answer for their dispatch: and also they requelled the Achaian: for to assemble their general Diet, they might not obtain it. For which, when as Q. Caecilius found himself discontend, and gravely he complained, and the Macedonians withall made pitious mean, that the walls of their City were demolished and rated, their common people lend away in captivity into Achaea, and there held, and the laws of Lynceus taken from them, under which their City and Common-wealth until that day had been maintained and governed: the Achaian excused themselves most of all for the impertinency of refusing to hold a Council: and to that purpose they rehearsed a Law and Ordinance, whereby they were forbidden expressly to call and publish a Diet, unless it were in the cause of levyng war and contriving of peace, upon occasion that any embassadors came directly unto them from the Senate of Rome with letters, or commission in writing. But for that this matter of excite should not serve their turn again afterwards, the Senate gave them plainly to understand, that they ought to take care and order that the Roman Embassadors might at all times have means of free access to their Councils, like as they also reciprocally should have a Senate held for their fakes, as often as they would themselves.

After those embassages were departed, Philip was advertised by his Embassadors, that there was no remedy but he must abandon those Cities, and withdraw his garrisons: and hasting mightily offended & angered against all, yet he discharged his cholery only upon the Maronites. Unto Omonius, warden of the ports and sea-coasts, he gave commandment to kill the chief of the adverse part. And he by the means of Caistor, one of the Kings subjects and favorites, who a long time had dwelt in Maronea procured certain Thracians to be let into the town by night, there he committed murder and massacre, as it had been a City won by force of arms. And when the Roman embassadors made complaint to him, namely of such outrages committed to cruelty against the genteles Maronites, and to proudly and insolently against the people of Rome: in that they should be killed and cut in pieces as enemies, unto whom the Senate had ordained restitution of their freedom he made answer and said, that neither himself, nor any of those who belonged unto him, could do withall: but it was long of themselves and their variance one with another: whilst some of the Citizens drew upon them, and others entwined to King Eumenes. Which ye may (as he) soon know to be a truth, if ye will but ask the Maronites themselves: for this account he made, that whilst they were all terrified with so late and fresh a massacre, there durst not one of them open his mouth against him, Appius replied again, and laid, That they were not to make an enquirie in this so evident and notorious a case, if it were in any respect doubtfull: but if he would discharge and clear himself as innocent of the action he should lend to Rome Omonius and Caistor, who were named to have committed the outrage that the Senate might examine them upon interrogatories. This word at the first troubled and dismayed the King, that his colour went and came in his face, & he knew not how to keep his countenance. But after he was come again to himself, he made answer, That (as they needs would) he cared not much to lend Caistor, for that he had dwelt & continued in Maronea, but as for Omonius, who neither was at Maronea, not
not so much as in any quarter near unto it, how possibly could he be charged or touched with the matter? Now as he spared Onomiothus the rather of the twain, and was loth to have him come in question, as being his more dear and honourable friend: so he feared him much more than the other, lest he should betray and disclose the thing; for that himself had conferred with him thereabout; and besides, he had served his turn divers times as a Minifter to execute, and been privy unto him as a complice to plot such like disensions. Càssander also, as it was very thought, was poisoned and made away, by certain that were lent of purpose to accompany him through Epirus to the sea side; and all because the villany should not be detected and come to light. Thus the Legates departed from the parley and conference with Philip, as shewing in their countenance, that they were nothing well pleased: and Philip on the other side went his ways as resolutely to levy war again: but forasmuch as his forces as yet were not sufficient to do any exploit, and because he would delay the time between, he determined to send his younger son Demosthenes to Rome, both to purge his father of those matters wherewith he was charged, and also by humble request to appease the anger of the Senate: supposing, that this young gentleman, who had been left as an hostage at Rome, and there had shewed a good testimony of a Princely nature and royal disposition, might much avail in the cause. In the mean while himself under colour of aiding the Byzantines, but in very truth to strike some terror into the Princes of Thrace, made an expedition against them: and when he had in one battle discomfited them, and taken prisoner their chief Captain Amadornus, he returned into Macedony, having sent certain messengers to solicit the barbarous nations inhabiting near the river Ister, for to enter and invade Italy. In Peloponnese also the coming of the Roman Legates was expected, who by this commission were enjoined to pass out of Macedony into Achaia: against whom because the Achaeans would not be to seek what to say. Lycurtos their Prætor summoned a public Council aforeshore. In which there was party as touching the Lacedemonians, namely, how that of enemies they were become informers and accusers, and danger it was, lest when they were vanquished they would be more to be feared, than all the time that they waged war. For during the wars the Achaeans found the Romans to be their good auxiliaries, but now the same Romans are more friendly to the Lacedemonians, than to the Achaeans, seeing that Areus and Molibades (banished persons both out of Lacedemon, and by the means of the Achaeans restored again to their place) had undertaken to go in embassage to Rome, against the Achæan nation, which had so well deferred at their hands; and there gave so hard language against them, as if they had been chafed and driven out of their country, and not restored thereunto by them. Hereupon arose a great outcry from all parts of the assembly, for to put to question, what should be determined expressly of them by name, and in this fit where all went by choler, and nothing by counsel, condemned they were to die. Some few days after came the Roman Embassadors, for whose sake a Council was held at Citium a City in Arcadia. But before any matter was treated on the Achaeans were surprized with exceeding fear, considering and thinking how this deciding of matters was not like to be managed and carried with any indifferency for their behoof; forasmuch as they law Areus & Molibades (condemned by them in the last Council) to be in the company of the said Embassadors, and no man durst open his lips and speak a word. Appius declared, That the Senate was much displeased at those matters whereas the Lacedemonians had made complaint; namely, That first in a tumultuous fray and conflict, they were murdered, who had been called forth by Phil. pater, and came to plead and speak in their own cause: Then, after they had exercised their cruelty thus against their peers, to the end, that in no part their inhumanity should be wanting, they had raised the walls of a right noble and famous City, aboliished their most ancient laws, and put down the discipline and government of Lycurgus, so renowned throughout all nations. When Appius had made an end of his speech then Lycurtos, both in regard that he was Prætor, and also because he took part with the faction of Philopomen (who was the author of all that had been done at Lacedemon) made answer in this wise: "More hard it is for us now, O Appius, to speak before you, than it was in the presence of the Senate. For then we were to answer the Lacedemonians, who accused us: but at this present we have you to be our accusers, before whom, as competent judges we should plead in our own defence. Howbeit, we have submitted ourselves, and undergone this unequal and hard condition, presuming upon this hope, that you will lay aside that accustomary heat which not long since you used, and put upon you the peril of a Judge to hear with indifference and equity. For mine own part, considering that you are WHILE have but related these matters which the Lacedemonians both here in place before Q. Cecillius of late, and also at Rome afterwards complained of, I would think that I am to answer therefore not unto you, but unto them in your hearing. You charge us with the murdering of them who being called out by the Prætor Philopomen to plead their cause were killed. This crime I hold that it ought nor to be objected against us by you Romans, nor so much by any other in your audience. And why is't because it was expressly specified in your own treaty and accord of covenants, that the Lacedemonians should have nothing to do with the maritime Cities. At what time as the Lacedemonians took arms, and feigned by force in the night those Cities, which they were precisely forbidden to meddle withal; T. Quintius, if the Roman army had been in Peloponnese, as aforetime no doubt we must needs think, that being thus surprized and evil entreated, they would have had recourse either for succour. But since ye were so far off, whether else should they flee and retire themselves, but to us your allies, whom they had seen before to help and succour Gyrthium, whom
A

whom upon the like cause they knew to have affiled Lacedamon together with you? It was in

your quarrels therefore that we enterprised a just and lawful war. Which being an act of ours, by

others commended, and which ought not by the very Lacedemonians to be condemned, and

confessing that even the Gods themselves have approved thereof in that they gave us victory,

how cometh it then to pass, that you bring these matters into question which are by right of

law warranted? And yet a great part thereof in no respect toucheth and concerneth you. Then

we called them to come forth to answer their suit, who had raised a commotion of the multi-

tude, who had forced the maritime Cities, who had remarked them, who also had miscalled

the principal citizens, we are to answer therefore and to it that properly appertains. But

that they were murdered in the way as they came into our camp, was nothing to us, but your

B

deed O Athenians and Alkibazos, who now (torsooth) are become our accusers. The hamstrung Laceda-

donians (o which number those two also are and who at that time were with us for that

they chose the coil Towns to retire into for their habitations) supposing that their own death

was bought, and that there would have been outrage committed upon them, ran upon

those by whole means they were driven out of their country; even upon an indication, that

they might not so much as pass their old age in banishment with safety. They were the Laceda-

monians then and not the Athenians that slew the Lacedemonians whether justly or unjustly,

that is not the question, rather speak to it. But what say ye to this O Athenians, how can ye deny

that ye are incapable, in which ye have also sided the Laws and the most ancient discipline of

Lacedemons? And within of those all, of Lacedamon? And how is it possible that both these

C

pieces should be objected unto by the same men? conferring that those walls were never

built by Lacedamon, but contrary wife (and not many years since) for to overthrow and annuish the

different interested in Lacedamon? For the tyrants of Lacedamon built them for a fortres

and but working themselves, and not for a defence into the City. And Lacedamons at this day

should they again from death to life, he would take their in their ruins, and say that he acknow-

ledged new his own native country and anient Sparta indeed. You Lacedemonians shoul

not have expected help from the Athenians but your selves ought with your own hands to

have expelled all and defiled all the tokens and memorials of tyranny. Those walls were the

watermarks and as mon woud lay the unfeemly and deformed scars of your thraldom and fer-

citude. And you who without walls for the space almost of 8oo years had lived in freedom,

D

yeas and for a certain time who had been masters of Greece became slaves during a hundred years,

and loned and retained within walls, as ye had been lettered by the leer. Now as touching the

walls, which ye pretend to have been taken away by us, I happest verily that the tyrants they

were, who leagued the Lacedemonians of their ancient laws; and that we have not taken from

them theirs (for none they had of their own) but rather have given them ours: neither have

we done otherwise than well by them; but regarded much the good of their City and Common

wealth in that we have united them in our solemn council of Parliament and incorporated them

unto us to the end, in that all Pompous there, should be but one body, one State, and one

Conn. Then (I wot well) they might have justly complained to have been wronged then

they might have grieved and said they had not been well季id. In case we our selves had lived

under one kind of laws, and put them to be ruled by others. I know full well, O Appius that

E

all my face is hitherto is neither becomning allies to site unto their allies, not decent and meet

for a nation that is true but rather (to speak more truly) fit for slaves debating before their ma-

sters, for it is found of the trumpet if that voice of the public krier were not in vain, whereby

ye ordered and declared That we Athenians before all others should be free; if the confedera-

tion hold firm and stable; if our alliance and amity be entertained and obtained equally and

indifferently why demand not of you Romans what you did alter the winning of Cepore? Seeing

you will have us Athenians to make account unto you, what we did to the Lacedamonians

whom we conquered by war? Set case that we called some of them to be killed. What of that?

Commanded not you (I pray) that the Senators of Cepore should lose their heads? We have

F

demolished the walls indeed, but ye have not only murdred their walls but wholly turned them

out of City and territory. But (you will say) the confederation in behalf of the Athenians is equal

and indifferent in outward appareanc, and in truth and both their liberty dependeth upon the

good will and pleasure of the Romans, who indeed have the pre-eminoence of the feignory and

dominion besides; I know it Appius, as well as you can tell me, ye and (although it behoveth

me not to be) I am not overmuch offended and discontented therewith. But this I beseech

you let there be as great odds and difference as ye will between us Athenians and you Romans:

provide this only, that your enemies and ours be not with you in as good regard and account, and

may that they be not in a better precise and condition than we our allies and affaticats. For,

that they should be equal to us, we have been the cause in that we granted them our own laws,

in that we admitted them to be in power in the general diet of the Athenian State and com-

monalty. But will ye have the truth? the conquered have not sufficient to consent and suffice

the conquerors; enemies demand more than allies have and enjoy, and those things which are

confirmed by oath, ratified and confirmed by monuments and instruments of writings, cut any

engraven in stone, for a perpetually memory to all posterity, they would force us and well from us

even with our perry. Truly it. O Romans we honour and rely on you; and if you will

needs have it to, we dread and fear you also: but yet, as we both honour and also fear the

mortal
The nine and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

After this debate and variance was appeased, there arose another in the neck of it, occasioned by the death of P. Decimius the Pretor. Q. Fulvius Flaccus, (who had been Ediles the last year before,) likewitite. Vado in the Flamin of Jasper, and Q. Fulvius Flaccus, bado to he in his room late de cased. As for the till o these rehearsed (because he was Edile Curule) he shewed not himself in his white robe, but he made more mean and laboured above all the rest, having to his adversary and rustic the Flamin above said. At the first he seemed equall on unto him in the suit; but afterwards when he began to have the better of him, certain Tribuns of the Commons stood upon this point, and alleged, that his name was not to be accepted as eligible; for that one and the other said, though they might not take nor exercise at one time, the functions of two Magistrates: and namely both Curule or of State. Others again said, that it was meet and reason that he were dispensed with, and exempt from the Laws, in the behalf thereof, to the end, that the people might be at Liberty to elect whom they would for Pretor. L. Porcius the Consil was first of this resolution, not to admit his name: and afterwards, because he would seem to do by warrant and authority of the Senate, he assembled the LL. thereto, and said, that he pronounced and put to question before them, that for a man to be a Edile, or Edile, should be in the Person of the Pretor, and that he was in the light and in any precedent tolerable in the State: for his own part he was minded, unless they were of a contrary opinion, to hold the general assembly for the election according to Law. Then the LL. gave their advice, that L. Porcius the Consil, should commend and treat with Q. Fulvius, that he would be no hinderance, but that he should freely for the navigation of a Praeto in the room of C. Decimis departed, might be held by order of law. As for the Consil was thus in hand with him according to the act of the Senate FL. consent made answer, that he would do nothing, unifying his own person. By this doubtful and indifferent answer of his kept those men in doubt (who expended and confirmed as they would have it,) that he would accommodate and apply himself to the authority of the LL. of the Senate; but at the time of the election he found more earnestly than before complaints of the Consil and Senat, that they were weak and were cut off from their hands the benefit of the people of Rome intended unto him; and to bring him into ill will and obloquy.
A obloquy of the people, they made much ado about two offices and a double dignity: as if all the world saw not, that after he was declared and pronounced Praetor, he would incontinently resign up the Edileship. The Conful, perceiving both him fully resolute and set upon a pitch in the fur, and also the fear and affection of the people inclined more and more toward him, brake up the assembly aforesaid, and called a Senat: where, in a frequent session of Senators it was ordained, That for as much as Flaccus was little or nothing moved with the authority of the LL., of that honorable court, he was to be dealt withal in a general assembly before the body of the people. When the people were met together at the summons of the Conful, he propounded the matter unto him before them. Flaccus teemed never a jot, but persisted still in his opinion, and gave the people of Rome thanks for their favour, in that they slew themselves willing to elect him Praetor.

B to often as they had time and place wherein they might testify and declare their love to him: which affectionate kindness of his fellow citizens, he never meant to reject and abandon. This constant and resolute speech of his, kindled and enflamed so great love and affections in them toward him, that all peradventure he had been chosen Praetor out of hand, in case the Conful would have received his name. Much strife and debate there was amongst the Tribunes, one against another; and between them and the Conful, until at length the Conful held a Senat, and there a decree passed in this wise, That forasmuch as the willfull Fliborne's of Q. Flaccus one side, and the inordinate affection of men on another side, was such, as the solemn assembly for selecting of a Praetor in the place of the deceased, could not be holden according to the laws, the Senat agreed and resolved, that there were already Praetors enough, and P. Cornelius should administer and execute both jurisdictions in the City, and exhibit the plays and games in the honour of Apollo.

After this troublesome debate about the election, was by such wide and valorous courage of the Senat suppressed, there were another further greater; by how much the thing was of weightier importance, and the persons agents therein more in number, and for quality and place mightier. There stood in election to be Cento's (and that with earnest endeaunce and exceeding heat of contention) L. Valerius Flaccus, P. and L. both Scripsi Ca, Marcus Fabius and L. Enius Pompeius, all Patr. And of commoners, M. Porcius Cat, M. Falcius Noblius, T, and Marcus both Scipio, the one renowned Longus, the other Thalassus. But M. Porcius over-went them all by many degrees, as well theo of the Patrocinians as also of the commons, notwithstanding they were come of most noble families. This man carried with him so vigorous an spirit and prepared wit that howsoever he was born and defended, it seemed he was able to make way of himself to advancement and honour. He wanted no Art and skill meet and requisite for the managing either of private busineses of his own, or publick affairs of State: cunning he was in country husbandry, as well as in civil policy. Some were advanced to the highest dignities and most honourable places by their deep knowledge in the law; others attain to promotion by eloquence: and there be again, who have risen and become great through martial prowess and feats of arms. But this man was by nature sotrainable andpliant to all alike, that whatsoever he adddected and gave himself unto, a man would have said, he had been born and framed even from his mothers womb to it and to nothing else. In war a most hardy and valiant soldier: and in many longen fields highly renowned. Being mounted once to high places of honorable calling, a right excellent commander he proved, and General of an army. In peace again for sound counsell in the civil law, paffing well learned: for pleasing at the bar and making orations, most eloquent. Neither carried he himself fo, that his tongue florished only whilst he lived, as leaving no monument behind him of his singular eloquence: but it liveth, nay, it flourished still, immortalized as it were and recommended to posterity in all kind of writing. Orations of his there be extant many, which he penned and pronounced as well in his own cause as for the defence of his friends, and inveighs also against others: for able he was to put down and weary his adversaries not only by declaming and accusing them, but also by pleading his own cause. Fervent quarrels and enmities there were exceeding many, that tormented him: and he plagued others with as many: and hard it is to say or set down, whether he was urged and pressed upon by the nobility, or himself counseller and bated them more. Doublet by nature he was a little and rigorous his speech was sharp biting, and beyond measure plain and free: but he carried a mind with him that flopped to no delights and lusts whatsoever: his life to severe and precise, as it was untouched and without all spot of blame: despiing all flattering words, and constraining earthly riches. In truth and frugality, in sobriety, in patience, in inexperience of trauaille and danger, his body was steeled to the very back. And as for his mind and courage, it was such, as very age and time (which abated and consumeth all things else) was not able to break and daunt: when he was fourscore years old and he pleaded at the bar for others: he made orations for his own defence, and wrote books: and in the ninetieth year of his age he performed Sergius Columba before the people to receive his judgment by them. As all his life time before the nobility was set against him so when he stood now to be Conful, they pressed hard upon him: inform'd as all his competitors (excepting L. Flaccus, who had been his colleague in the Consulship) compleated together, how they might give him the repuli and put him besides the Censure: not only for that their own teeth watered and they were desirous themselves rather of that honor: nor because they repined to see a new rite Gentleman, and one of the first called to be a Conful: but also because they looked for no other but that his Consularship would be rigorous and prejudicial to the name and reputation of divers men: considering how he had been crost
crostood and hurk by very many, and was desirous himself to wait them a while, but be met. He with them again. For even then, while he laboured and fued for the place, he used imparative speeches, and gave out, that they only were opposed against him, who feared they should have a Censorship apparently vested without partiality and respect of persons. And here with he maintain-
ed and upheld the suit of L. Valerius with him, saying that if he had but him of all others to be his colleague, he should be able to repel the wicked extremities newly come up and rise in the City, and to bring in regard against the ancient manners and fashions of the old men. We were much moved in these respects and confederations: and so muffled the heads of the nobility, they not only created him Censor, but also adjourned unto him L. Valerius for his companion in that go-

erment.

After the election of Censor was ended the Consuls and Pretors took their journeys into their several Provinces. All have Q. Nasus: who before that he could go into Sardeius was staid be-

hind no less than four months, about certain inquiries of poisoning; whereas he fate upon many without the City of Rome, in corporate burghs, market Towns and places of great refor-
s, for that thought him manner of proceeding more convenient. And if we will to believe V. An-
tius, he condemned two thousand persons.

Semblably, L. Pedumus the Pretor, (unto whom the government of Tusculum by lot fell) did good justice upon great conspiracies made by certain graffers: and with great care and dili-

gence followed the enquete of the Buchanans, and dispatched the relics thereof quite and clean. Many of them who were adventurer and made not appear, but gave the slip and left in the lurch their batties bound body and goods for them, and lurked in that quarter of Italy he either judged and condemned as guilty and concurred, or caused them to be apprehended and sent to Rome unto the Senate, who were all call in prison by P. Cornelius.

In the other part of Spain all was quieter, by reason that the Lusitans were in the last war sub-
duced: but in the other part, A. Tarentum lured Capua a Town of the Suefetans, which he assaul-
ted with mantlet and other fablacks of war and sold all the prisoners: which done, he passed the winter peaceably in that higher part of Spain also.

The old Pretors, C. Calpurnius Piso and L. Quinctus returned to Rome; and both of them were

with great accord and content of the LL, or the Senate allowed to triumph, and first C. Calpurnius

 triumphed over the Portugals and Celtiberians. In which triumph, he carried in shoes 8 golden-
s, and 12000 pound of silver. Within few days after, L. Quinctus triumphed over the same Portugals and Celtiberians. In which solemnly, there was represented in first, such as was not in the former.

The Censor, M. Porcius and L. Valerius, whiles men hung in suspense between fear and hope what they would do. He reviewed a new choice of the Senate. Seven Senators they dispia-
ded and depoted from that dignify: amongst whom, there was one mark, for his nobility of birth and honorable offices which he had born, namely L. Quinctus Flaminius who had been Comul. An ancient order they say, it was in time of our fore-fathers, That when the Censors had put any out of the Senate, they should note them directly for those faults which they had com-
mitted: and at this day, exist there be divers scrupul of Comul, against them whom either he called and displaced out of Senat, or from whom he took away horses of service: but of all oth-

ers, the fourest and bitterest is that of his, against this L. Quinctus: which if he had pronounced as an accuser before he had noticed him with that disgrace, and not as Censor after the said note, his very own brother T. Quinctus (if he had been then Censor) could not possibly have kept L. Quinctus in the state of a Senator, Among other grievous matters he arraigned against him, That he had trained with him from Rome into his Province of France (in hope of many great rewards) one Philippus Pontius, a notorious and crafty Ganimede. This boy, as he was fooling and playing

the wanton with the said Quinctus then Comul, tried to upbraided him with this, That he was had away from Rome, against the very time that the show of word-players at utterance was to be exhibited: and this he said, to shew how ready he was to satisfy the pleasure of him his lover.

Now it chance as they were making good beer together, and having taken their wine liberally

were well beat there with news came and reported it was in the banket time, That a certain noble

man of the Boians was arrived, with his children as a renegat from the adverse part: I was de-
sires to speak with the Comul, for to have a favour from his mouth of safe-conduct: who being

brought into the pavilion began to party with the Comul by a trickman or interpreter. And in

the midst of his speech: How fell thou (saith Quinctus to that wanton deiny, his Catamite) be-

cause thou hast mislead and lost the office of those word-players at Rome, wilt thou lie presently

here this Frenchman die in the place before? He made not any great semblance unto him in good

earnest of his desire that way: but the Comul at the first beck of that beally fifth and baggage,
cought the naked sword which hung over his head, and fist gave the poor Gaul a wound in his

fierce as he was speaking unto him, and afterwards as he made shift to flee from him, and called

upon the protection of the people of Rome, and the affiance of those that were prefent, Quinctus

ran him quite through the field. Valerius Antius, who never had read the oration of Cato but gave

credit to a flyable tale, without any head or author, tells the tale with some other circumstance

howbeit much like in substance of matter, as tending his lecherous lust and bloody cruelty.

He writes, that Quinctus whiles he abode at Placentia, sent for a famous courelian (upon whom

he was enamoured) to a banter, and as he counted and made love to this trumpeter, wanting himself
A unto her, among other discourses he recounted with what rigor he had followed certain inquisitions; what a number of prisoners he had in irons condemned to death; and how many of their heads he minded to chop off. Then this harlotry lying next beneath him, said, That she had never in her life seen any man to cut ones head off, and it was a sight that all other she would faint see. Whereupon, this kind amorous knight, to gratify the queen, caused one of their poor souls condemned to die, to belet out of prison into the banqueting room, and presently to be beheaded before her face. A cruel fact it was & inhuman, whether they were committed as Cato hath objected, in his oration, or as Valerius hath written in his history, that any human creature should be thus manhandled as a sacrifice; and the table be sprinkled with his blood, amid the cups standing full of wine and the dishes furnished with viands, where and when the manner and sublime was to last B and take the first essay in the honor of the gods; and that devoutly with grace and good prayers; and all to content and lead the eye of a wanton and shameless Hang, lying in the bosome of the Conful. In the end of Cato his oration, this condition was offered unto Quinctius, That if he would plead unguily, and deny this fact and others which he charged him with, then he should put in a real caution, and stand to his defence and trial: but if he confessed himself guilty, then he would help him to consider whether he thought any man would griеve and be sorry at the ignominie which he was to receive, being transported beside his understanding with wine and women, made but a sport and pastime to fed mens blood at a very banker. In taking a review of the Cavalry or Gentlemen of Rome, L. Scepio Afraticus had his great horse of service taken from him. This Centurioth was likewise executed with severity and rigour to all forts and degrees, and namely, in the prizing and valuation of their goods. For Cato commanded the Sergeants to take a note of all the ornaments, jewels, and apparel of women, also of their chariots and coaches if they amounted to the sum of 1,0000 asses, and to enrol the same in the Censor's book. Item all bond slaves under twenty years of age, sold after the last tax or assessment for 1,0000 Asses or upward, that they should be valued at an higher price by ten fold than they were esteemed worth: and that for all these things they should pay and contribute to the City chamber after three in the thousand, These Censors cut off all water either running out of any common stream into a privat hose, or derived into particular fields and grounds. And all homes either build by private persons upon common grounds, or any ways encroaching and leaning to publike places they caufed to be demolished and pulled down within thirty days. After this, they let out divers pieces of work to be wrought at a price, of that money which was ordained to that purpose; namely, to pave certain pools with stone, to foure the drenches and finks where need was; and in the mount Avenue and other places where none were already to make new. And particularly of thesmelves Plaucus caus'd the cauity or what is to be made against the waters called Nepuana, that the people might pass to and fro by that way: and also a street-way through Formamini, and Cato for his part built two galleries, * Maximum and Titium, in the Mineries; and bought four shops for the City: he build there also the latter Hall or Palace called Porcia. As for the City revenues, they did let and let them forth to farmers, at an exceeding ranked rent: but all the City works they put out to undertakers by the great, at as low a reckoning as they could. These leases and bargains abovefoe being once cancelled by order from the Senate, and new made at the importunat limb and that with D outries and tears of the Publicans, as well farmers as undertakers; then the Censors by proclamation commanded those to avoid far from the subfaltation, who did dafolat the former leases and bargains; and with some little abatement and easing of the former rents, they demifed the fame profits and revenues again to others. This was a cenfeorship of great note; full of rapine ill will, which troubled and molest M. Porcius as long as he had a day to live, for that he was reputed and held to be the author of that severity and rigor exercised therin. The same year, two Colonies were erected and inhabitants sent from Rome to civit. Pollentia into the Picene territory, and Placentia into the Gauls country. Six acres of land were allotted to every one of the coloners, and the same Triumvirs, namely, Q. Fabius Laboc. M. Furius Plautus, and Q. Furius Nobilius, were they that both parted the said lands, and also had the leading and planting of the forefald Colonies. The Consuls that year achieved no memorable exploits at all, neither at home in City, nor abroad in war. Against the year following they created Consuls M. Claudius Marcelus and Q. Fabius, who upon the fifteenth of March, on which day they entered into their governments, put to question as concerning the Provinces, as well their own as the Pretors. For there had been chosen Pretors C. Valerius the Flamin of Jupiter (who also the year before was in election for the place) S. Pol, Pompianus Aburnius and P. Cornelius Sestus, also L. Poppius, L. Julius, and Cn. Scribonius, Utno the Censors was assigned the province Liguriae, together with the charge of the same armies which P. Claudius and M. Porcius had conducted. As for both the Provinces in Spain as well beyond as on this side therus they were refered with their ordinary forces, for the Pretors of the former year by special commission without calling any lots at all therefor. The new Pretors were enjoined to dispose and part their governments, that C. Valerius the Flamin of Jupiter might, exercise one of the jurisdictions of Rome. So he was L. chief justice for the forreiners, and Sicenum over the cities, Unto S. Pol, Pompianus fell Sicily, to L. Poppius Apulico to L. Sestus Cilicia, and to Cn. Scribonius Sardinia. As for L. Julius he was enjoined to make hali and set forward on his journey for the Tramalpine Gauls (beyond the mountains) had passed over by the ftreights of the, forreits and waies unknown beforetime into Italy, as hath been beforefaied, and were building them.
a Town in that territory, which at this day is called Aquilenia. This Pretor had in charge to im-
pitch them in that enterprise, so far forth as he might possibly without war and force of arms: and it
there were no other remedy but that they must of necessity use violence, then to certify the
Concilis for: for agreed it was that one of them should lead the Legions against the Gauls. In
the end of the former year there was a general assembly held for the choosing of an Augur where-
in Sp. Pollio Pater Albins was created in the room of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus he deceased. But in
the beginning of this present year P. Licinius Crassus the arch-Pretly departed out of this world,
in whole place M. Sperinum Tadunus was inveted for the Bishop. But C. Servilius Geminus was
created the arch-pretor or high-priest aforesaid. In the honor of P. Licinius at his funerals, there
was given a done of flesh and a fiew exhibited of two sword-fencers fighting at sharp: likewise there
were represented funeral plates and games, which continued three days: and after that solemnly, if
a feal was holden during which, when the tables were let & spred accordingly all over the grand-
place of the City, suddenly there arose a tempest with great storms, which forced multo men to
crant and booths and there: but after a while when the weather was fair again they were taken
down and had away and men commonly gave out and said, that whereas the Prophets & wizards
had foretold among other their faral prefage that they should be forced to quarter & pitch tents
in the market place of Rome: now that prophetic was fulfilled, and they were freed and excused
from farther danger. And no sooner were they ealled and delivered of that temple, but they were
troubled with another for that it had raised blood two days in the court-yard of Valesan and the
Decemvirs published a solemn application for the expiation of that prodigious expi.

Before that the Consils departed into their provinces, they brought it into the Senat for to have
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audience, the embassies come from beyond Sea. And never before that day were so many of
those foreign parts seent at Rome. For from the time that the fruit was blown abroad amongst the
nations bordering upned Macedon, that the Romans gave no darctor to the complaints and accu-
culations commended against Philip, that many had sped well by complaining to every City and
State in their own behalf, ye, and many private persons in particular (for all neighbour he which was
to them all) repaired to Rome, in hope either to be righted and ealed of their wrongs, or to
charge their fioraments and be mended and comforted for their miseries. Likewise from King Em-
menes there arrived an embassies accompanied with his own brother Athenes to make com-
plaint, as finding themselves grievied that the garrisons were not withdrawn out of Thrace at a
to inform that Philip had sent certain aids into Bithynia to Profers who made war upon Em-
menes. Now Demetrius (Philip his lon) at that time a very young Gentleman, was to answer to all
these challenges: and an ealy peace of world was much desired. He himself had all the matters ob-
jected to, or to think upon the passing of every answer according. For over and besides that the ar-
ticles were many in number: most of them were of very small consequence and importan-
ly, strike about limits and fund-land-marks, about caring away men and ravishing women; old driving
of custod of mifirifying justice partially and with affection or else of none mifirired at all; of
sentences giuen and judgments passed in caitns either by force or for favour. The Senat perceiving
that neither Demetrius could speak to these points and give them good evidence, nor themselves
be well informed and cleey instructed by him: being moved also and grieved to see the youth to
raw a & oder in the eaffairs and therewith so much troubled in spirit, gave order to enquire and de-
mand of him. Whether he had received any notes in writing from his father as touching the pre-
mises? And when he answered and said, Yes, they thought the first and principal thing for them to do
was to see and hear what were the answers of the King to every speciality and particular, and
thereupon they presently called for that book of his fathers, and then permitted him to read the con-
tents thereof. Now therein were set down certain brief abstracts of pleas and defenses, to each
federal point of view. In primis, that some things he had done according to the decrees & awards
of the Roman Delegats and commissioners, Item, Whereas he had left somwhat undone the default
was not in him but in the very parties that accused him. He had interchanged between, certain griev-
ances and complaints, as touching the inquity and hard penning of those decreees and how matters
were not scanned and debated before Caesar with that indifferency and equity as was meet and
required and namely that without deffer of his part, all men were set against him and insuluted
over him. The Senat collected hereby good arguments, how the heart of Philip was wounded and
called against the Romans. But when the yong Prince excused some of these matters, and for the
self promised and undertook, that all should be done to the utmost as it pleased the Senat to or-
der and let down: then it was thought good to deliver this answer unto him. That his father
had in nothing done better nor more to the contentment of the Senat than that he seemed willing
(howsoever matters were passed already, to make satisfaction to the Romans by the means of his
Son Demetrius. As for the Senat, they could dissemble, forget put up and endure many things done
and past ye, and were swallowed verily in their hearts, that they might believe and trutl Dem-
etrius as knowing a favorite, that although they fept his body again to his father Philip yet they had
his heart and affection with them stillis a sure pledge and bond yet and that he was a friend to the
people of Rome for forth as his reverent duty to his father would permit and give him leavest
him withal to understand that for to do him honor they would send Emfitadors into Ma-
cedonias to the end that it ought not been so fully effredtated as it should have been, it might
be done yet in good time, without imputation of fault and blame or penal satisfaction to be made
for anything hitherto omitted: yes, and defcrues they were that Philip should understand, that by

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The mediation of Demetrius and for his sake, he flooded yet in good terms of peace and friendship with the people of Rome. These things intended and done for the increase of credit and reputation, presently turned to the displeasure of the young Gentleman, and in the end to his utter ruin and overthrow.

Then were the Lacedaemonians admitted to audience in the Senate. They moved many petty matters and trifling controversies; but those that principally touched the main point were these: to wit, Whether they should be reformed again whom the Achæans had condemned, or not. Items, Whether they were guilty or not guilty, whom they murdered? Moreover, they put to question, Whether the Lacedaemonians were to be comprised within the general assembly and Council of Achæa; or, that this State (as before time) should have their rights and franchises apart by themselves from all others in Peloponnesus? The Senate ordained and awarded: Imprensus. That they should be reformed. Items. That the sentences pronounced against them should be reversed. Items. That Lacedaemon should do service to that high court and public. Dict of Achæa; and finally, that this accord and award should be engrossed, inscribed, and signed as well by the Lacedaemonians as Achæans.

Q. Martius was sent Embassador into Macedonia: who also had direction and order given him by the same commission, to visit the State of the allies in Peloponnesus; for there also remained some troubles after the old quarrels and variance years, and the Meleagrians refused to appear at the general council of Achæa. Now if I would let in hand to record the causes and circumstances of that war, I should forget my purpose in the beginning of my work, wherein I resolved not to touch at all any discourse of former histories, no farther than they were linked to the Roman affairs: Howbeit one memorable occurrence there happened, which I cannot pass by namely, that albeit the Achæans had better hand in wars, yet it chan ed that Peloponnesus their Pretor was taken prisoner by the Meleagrians, as he made an expedition to seize upon some, by prevention which the enemies were devious to be maisters of. Surprised he was in a valley of great disadvantage, and some few horsemen with him. It is reported, that by the help of the Thracians and Carians, he might have fled and escaped: but for very shame to abandon those men of arms, which were the nobilit of Gentlemen of that nation & whom he lately had made choice of: he had not the power to do otherwise: but to set on the latt, for whilsts he came himself behind in the rearward, because he was desirous to make means for their evasion through the straits of that pass, and to that purpose valiantly received the charge of the enemies, his horse fell and cut him at once: to his with his own fall and his horse lying upon him he had like to have gone away in a swoon: a man now three hundred years old and ten; and withal, newly crept abroad and recovered of a long and lingering disease, which had mightily waited and consumed the strength of his body. Well, thus lay he along, and the enemies ran over him; and so soon as they knew who he was, they rested him upon his feet from under his horse, no leses respective than if he had been their own General in regard of a reverence they bare unto the man, and in remembrance of his noble exploits: they brought him again to himself, and forth of that by-valley standing out of the pas: they carried him into the high way: and were so far pleased and overcome with joy to unexpected that they could not well believe their own eyes that they had got him. Some dispatched van-couriers to M sene with the news: hereof: namely, that the war was brought to an end, considering that Peloponnes was taken and was their prisoner. At first the tidings seemed so incredible, that the foremost meilteger was held not only for a villain, but also for one not well in his wits: but after that there came one another, and all with one voice verified and affirmed the fame at length it was believed. And then, fee what they did! before they knew for certain that he approached near unto the City: they all ran forth of the gates by heaps to see the man: all (I say) bond as well as free, women and children one with another. In so much, as the gates were choked up with the throng and throng of the pref: for no man could believe it hastily it was true, the thing was so strange unless he might see him with his own eyes. They that had the charge of bringing him, thereunto much ado put by the multitude whom they encountered, and to enter in at the gate: and so think they floated in the pref: that they took up all the ways beside: so as he could not be brought forth to be seen. Now because the most part of the people might not possibly have a sight of him, they got up all at once into the Theatre, which flooded near into the way, and poldered it full and with one voice they cried aloud, That he might be brought thither and presented unto the view of the whole people. The Magistrats and principal citizens, fearing lest the compasion that might arise in mens hearts upon the beholding of so worthy a personage would raise some trouble and commotion: whiles some comparing the reverence of his former authority and Majestie, with his present condition and calamity: and others calling to remembrance his manifold defects and putting good men, might haply be touched with pity: set him a far off in the open light of them all: and then at once took him hastily out of their view: for their Pretor Directors gave out openly and said, That the Magistrats were to enquire and demand certain points of his as touching them in him of the total war. Then he was brought into their Council-Chamber, where their Senate assembled and began to confute about him. It was now well toward evening: and so far off they were from resolving in other matters, that they could not bethink themselves and agree, in what place they might keep him that one night in safeguard. Afflicted they were and amazed to consider and think upon the greatness of his estate pull, and of his noble nature and valor: and no man durst receive the charge and custody of him in his own house, nor trust any one besides with his
his keeping. At length some there were, that put them in mind of the publick treasury of the City, vaulted under the ground like a dungeon, and walled all about with strong square stone, into it was he let down bound as he was, and a mighty huge stone (being the cover of the vault) was by an engin laid over, to envelope him sure, Thus reposing moretrust for his safe custody in that place than in any person, they waited and attended the next morning. When morrow day was come, the whole entire multitude in general, recommending the benefits and good turns done of old by him to their City, were of mind to pardon and spare him, and by his means and mediation, to seek for remedies and redress of their present direftries and calamities. But those persons by whose motive and inducement the Messenians had revolted (and such were they as ruled all the common-weal) conjoined apart in secret, and concluded with one consent to put him to death: only the doubt and question was, whether they should do the thing with speed, or by delay. But those prevailed in the end who were more greedy of present revenge, and so they sent one unto him with a draught of poison. When he had taken the cup in his hand (by report) he gave not a word but only asked, whether Lycorcas (the other General of the Achaeans) were escaped alive, and the least harm done to him? When answer was made, that they were in safety: That is happy, (quoth he) and therewith drunk off every drop in the cup right heartily, and a while after yielded up his vital breath. But long joyed they not of his death who were the bloody authors of this cruelty: for the City of Messene being conquered by force of arms, among other capitulations delivered these malefactors into the hands of the Achaeans, who demanded presently to have them. The bones and reliques of Philopomen were likewise rendered unto them, and interred he was by the general Council of all Achæs, in such solemn way, that in heaping upon him all honours that could be devised for an earthly man, they forbore not also to adorn him as a God immortal. The Historiographers as well Greek as Latin, attribute so much unto this man, that some of them have recommended to posterity (as a memorable thing of all others that hapned this year.) to wit, that in this one year there died three renowned Captains, Philiopomen, Annibals, and P. Scipio. See how they have matched him in equality with the greatest warriors and noblest Generals of the two most principatl nations in the whole world.

Then came T. Quinctius Flamininus in embassage to King Prusias, whom the Romans had in supposition and jealousy, both for that he had received Annibals after the flight of Antiochus, and also because he made war upon Eumenes. Now were it among other matters Flamininus charged Prusias, that he entertained in his court the most impious enemy of all men living, unto the people of Rome; who still solicited his own native country to take arms against the Romans, and after the force and power thereof was abated and defeated, persuaded King Antiochus to do the like: or rather that Prusias of his own accord to gratify Flamininus there present, and to do the Romans a pleasure, had a meaning and intent either to kill Annibals, or to deliver him alive into their hands. I wot not how it came about, but upon the first communication and conference between them, there were soldiers sent in continence to beseech and guard his house, Annibals evermore forcait in mind some such time and end of his life, seeing the deadly and inexpiable hatred that the Romans bare unto him: reposing besides no confidence at all in the fidelity of these Kings and having withal some experience already of the inconstancy and levity of King Prusias. Moreover, he had in honour this coming of Flamininus, as fatal unto him, and a mean to work his final destruction. To the end therefore he might be ever provided of force and against the inconveniences and dangers, whereon with all sides he was encumbered, and have a ready way of occasion to use himself; he had devised and caus'd to be made seven doors for ege's out of his house; whereof some were very privy and secret vaults, because they should not be envizaged with guards. But King's commandments are of that force, that whatsoever they would have to be searched out and discovered, cannot be long hidden. For the guards so compassed and enclosed the whole circuit of the house, that it was impossible for any to get forth and make an escape. Annibals being advertised that the Kings' soldiers were at the gates, adhered to steal away at a pattern, which stood narrowth out of the way and whereof the Constancy was most secure, but perceiving that the soldiers had beaten it too, and lay for to encounter and receive him that way, that and that every place was invested with a strong guard, he called for the potion which he had of long time before ready prepared for all such occurrent occasions and uttered these words withal, 'Let us rid these Romans of this their continual fear and pain wherein they have been all this while, since that they think it so long to stay for the death of one old man. Flamininus shall obtain no greater or memorable victory of so great a disarmed thus as I am and betrayed into his hands. But this every day shall prove and tell, how far the people of Rome are degenerate and changed from their ancient manners. Their forefather (ed he) advertised King Prusias their enemy armed in field, and living with an host of men against them in Italy, they gave him warning I say to take heed of poison; but these living at this day, have sent their Embassador, even one that had borne the dignity of a Conul, to advise and counsel Prusias wickedly to take the life away of his own child. Then after he had caus'd the person of Flamininus and his whole realm, and called upon the Gods, and the city of the law of hospitality, to bear witness how he had violated his faith and broken promise with him, he let the cup of poison to his mouth and drank it off. This was the end of Annibals. Plutarch and Strabo write, that Scipio also died this year. But I accord neither with them nor with Valerius. From them I f划算, because I find that when M. Porcius and L. Valerius were Censors, the same L. Valerius being Censor, was elected President of the Senate, where-
A as Africamus had been President for ten years space together, during the time of two reviews by Cnenors next before. And so long as the said Africamus lived, there would have been no other chosen President in his room, unless himself were to have been called and deprived of the Senators dignity, of which disgrace and none of infamy, there is not one that maketh any mention. And as for P. Valerus Ambrosius, he is sufficiently refuted by M. Naevius, a Tribun of the Commons, against whom there is an Oration extant, and the same penned by P. Africamus, and bearing his name. This Naevius is recorded in the rolls and registers of Magistrates, by the title of Tribun of the Commons in that year when P. Clodius and L. Porcius were Cornuls, but he entred into his office during the Consularship of Appius Claudius and Q. Sempronius, the tenth of December. From which time to the fifteenth of March, are three months upon which day P. Clodius and L. Porcius began their Consulship; So, it semeth that he was living during the Tribunship of Naevius and that he might well commette a crime against him, and call him to his answer, but he departed this life before that L. Caecus and M. Porcius were Cnenors. But in my conceit the death of these three (the most renowned personages each one of their own nation) are not to be compared one with the other in this regard that they happened all just at one times, more than for this, that none of them all had an end correspondent and univerable to the person late and glorious life of his. For first and foremost in this they all jumped together that they neither died nor were entered in their native country. Again, Annibals and Philopommi were both poison'd, Annibal was banished and betrayed by his own friend and host, Philopommi was taken prisoner, and left his life in prison and irons. As for Scipio, although he was neither exiled nor condemned, yet making default of apparatus at the day assigned unto him and being cited to his anwser, in his absence, willingly banished not himself only for his lifetime but his corps and immans also after his death.

While those affairs palled in P. Eponinus (from whence our pen hath a little diverted and digressed) the return of Demetrius and the Embassadors into Macedon diversely wrought in men's minds, and amended them fome in one thing, and fome in another. The common people of Mazedon, who were mightily afraid that the Romans would make war upon them, highly affected Demetrius, and call a laudable aspect upon him as the author of peace and withal they defined him without all doubt to the Kingdom after the decease of his father. For albeit he were younger than his brother Perseus, yet men thought and spake, that he was begotten in onnity by Philip of his lawful wife, whereas he had Perseus by a consub, who carried no token and mark of a certain father, as having to his mother a woman that was nought of her body and common. Whereas Demetrius resembled his father Philip, and was as like him as might be. Moreover, withal, Demetrius said, that the Romans would place and etablishe Demetrius in the Royal throne of his father, but Perseus was in no credit and reputation among them. Thus folk fink not to give out abroad in their common talk. Whereupon not only Perseus was in care and doubt, that the preeminence of age would little boot and advantage him, considering in all respects he was inferior to his brother, but Philip also himself, supposing verily that it would hardly lie in his power to leave the inheritance of the crown to whom he pleased, thought that his younger son was amite in his eye, and trusted him more than was for his ease. Offered otherwheresthe, that the Macedonians returned unto him so much as they did, and highly displeased that there should be any more royal courts than one in his realm, during his life. And to speake a truth, the young Prince himself returned from Rome more puffed up, no doubt with pride than was becomimg as who presumed and grounded much upon the opinion that the Senat had of him, perceiving that they had granted those things to him which had been denied unto his father before: but look how much favor and honor in respect of the Romans he won among the rest of the Macedonians, so much envy and ill will he procured himself thereby not only with his brother, but with his father also; and especially after that other Roman Embassadors were arrived, and that Philip was forced to part with Thrace and withdrew his garrisons, and to do other things either by virtue of the old award of the fift commissioners, or by a new ordinance of the Senat. Well, he performed all, but with an heavy heart and many a deep sigh and groane, and so much the rather, because he observed and saw how his son Demetrius converted more with the Embassadors, and frequented their company other than his. Howbeit he obeyed, and did whatsoever was enjoined him by the Romans, because he would minitost unto them no occasion of laying war against him out of hand, And supposing it was good policy to asserting their minds from all suspicion that he minded any such designs tending that way, he led his army into the midst of Thrace against the Odryans, Dinehelets, and Beffians. He won the City Philoppopolis, abandoned by the inhabitants who were fledd, and had retired themselves with their whole families to the high mountains next adjoining; and when he had wasted the lands and territories of the Barbarians that inhabited the champaign country, he received them under his subjection by composition. Afterwards, having left a garrison at Philoppopolis, which soon after was chaced and expelled by the Odryans, he determined to build a Town in Demroprius, a region of Paeonia near the river Erginus, which influet out of Thrace and keeping his onft through Paenia Cithargem it left, and lighten into the river Axios. Not far from Sebota the old City he built a new and called it to be called Peribus thereby to do honour to his eldest Son Perseus.

During the train of these affairs in Macedon, the Cornuls took their journey into their several Provinces. Marcellus sent a messenger before him to L. Porcius the Pro-continis, to give him to understand that he should present his legions before the new Town of the Gauls. But at the first approach
The approach of the Consul, the Frenchmen yielded the place. Twelve thousand were that bare arms, and most of them had by force gotten their armour out of their country villages, which was taken from them maugre their hearts, with all things else, that either they had gotten out of the country by pillage and robbing, or brought with them of their own. Whereupon they addressed their Embassadors to Rome, to make complaint of these abuses and wrongs: who having audience given in the Senate by G. Valerius the Pretor, declared, how by occasion that Gaul was furthered with a multitude of people, they were constrained as well for want of ground and possessions as also for need and poverty, to pass over the Alps and seek themselves some place of habitation. And where they saw any quarters forest, desert, and uncultivated, there they had planted themselves, without offering injury to any person: where also they had begun to build a Town, which might be a good proof and argument, that they came not to do violence upon any City or Country Village. And now of late M. Claudius had sent unto them a missilage, that unites they submitted and yielded, he would war upon them: whereupon they preferring certain peace (although it were less honorable) before the doubtful hazard and adventures of war, surrendered, rather to be in the protection and safeguard, than under the subjection of the people of Rome. But a few days after, they were commanded to quit both City and Country. And thereupon resolved in their mind to depart in silence and laying never a word into what place locver they could, there to seek their fortune: but then they were disarmed, yeas, and spoiled and stripped of all that ever they had, and nothing left that either they drove before them, or carried about them. In regard whereof, they were humble suppliants to the Senate and people of Rome that they would not proceed in more rigour and cruelty against them, harmles persons as they were, and submitting themselves unto them against professed enemies. To this Oration of complaint the Senate caused this answer to be returned: That neither they had done well in coming into Italy, and presuming to build a City upon other men's territories, without permission of the sovereign Roman Magistrates, who had the government of those parts: nor yet the Senate was well pleased, that they should be thus depredated, considering they had yeilded. And therefore minded they were to send with them their Embassadors to the Consul to command them in their name to see that all their own goods should be restored again unto them, so that they made return thither from whence they came: who also should go forward immediately over the Alps, to give the States of France warning to keep in their people with them, and hold them in their native country: forasmuch as the Alps were the frontier limits standing in the minds to confine between them, and therefore those Mountains neither ought nor might be passed of one side or the other: and to make account of this, that they should speed no better now in transgressing their bounds, than at what time as they first made away and passage over them into Italy. The Embassadors employed about this business, were L. Furius Putorius, Q. Minucius, and L. Manlius Academius. Thus the French, after restitution made unto them of all that was their own by good right, and without wrong of others, departed out of Italy. Now when the Roman Legates were come, they had good words and courteous answer from the Transalpine nation. And those amongst them that were more ancient than the rest, blamed the people of Rome for their overmuch lenity, in that they let those persons go, who without warrant from the whole State, durst be so bold as to take a voyage to settle upon any lands belonging to the Signory of Rome: and were so hardy as thereon to build a Town. For surely they decreed not less than to abridge grievous smart for their rash demeanor. Moreover and besides, whereas the Romans have given them their own goods again, they feared much that so great ingratitude of theirs, would induce and encourage others to enterprize the like. So they friendly entertained and as kindly accompanied the Embassadors, and liberally presented them with rewards.

M. Claudius the Consul, having thus expelled the Gauls out of his Province, began to lay the ground of the Ilirick war, and for this purpose wrote his letters unto the Senate, for a warrant and commission to pass with his legions into Iliria. The Senate was therewith contented. But whereas they were in question and consultation about conducing a Colony to inhabit the Aquilia, they could not agree with them to send, whether Latin or Roman citizens. But in conclusion the LL. N. M. thought it better to plant there a Colony of Latins. The Triumvirs for to effect this, were created P. Scipio Nasica, C. Flaminius, and L. Manlius Academius.

The same year were two Colonies of Roman citizens created at Mutina and Parma: and two thousand persons were to either place translated out of the territory which lately was occupied by the Boians, and before time had been in the tenure of the Tuilans, They of Parma were endowed with eight acres of land, and those of Mutina with five a piece. The Triumvirs-Commissioners who had the disposing and managing of the business, were M. Emilius Lepidus, T. Euhubius Carus, and L. Quintius Crispinus. Likewise the colony Saturnia consisting of Roman citizens, was brought into the territory of Lusitanus, by the consent of Q. Fabius Laber, C. Afranius Stellus, and T. Senec Gracchus; deputed Triumvirs therefore: who set out for every man ten acres of ground.

The same year A. T. erenius the Propoctor, not far from the River Iberus in the Anuleans country, fought fruitfully against the Celtiberians, and forced certain Towns which they had fortified. Rest Spain beyond Iberus was quiet this year, because both P. Sempronius the Propoctor lay sick of a long disease, and also the Lusitanians (as good hope was) setted still and quiet, as being by nor man provoked to stir. Neither was there any memorable expede archived in Lusitania by Q. Fabius the Consul, M. Marcellus was called home out of Iliria: and after he had discharged his army,
Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the fortith Book.

I

The fortith Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the fortith Book.
The spring season that year was very stormy and tempestuous. On the seventh of April, the sea was very much agitated. The feast of Apollo about noon-tide, suddenly there arose a mighty bisterous wind, which overthrew many edifices as we laced as profane. It cast down the brazen statues and images in the Capitol: it caught up the wicket of the door belonging to the Temple of the Moon, (which is in the Aventine) carried it away and set it fast to the back wall of the Temple of Ceres. It overturned and laid along other statues in the great circle or show-placed called Cesius Maximus, together with the pillars upon which they stood. The lanterns and pilasters in the same place, from the roof and top of certain Churches, and carried them clean away. And therefore this tempest was held for a prodigious token, and the Atrufpues presided for the expiation and satisfaction thereof. Likewise the same provision was made in regard of a report from Rome, that a mare was foled with three feet: and from Formia, that the Chappel of Apollo (and namely at C. j.a.) was struck I with lightning. For these prodigies, there were twenty greater beasts killed for sacrifice: and a supplication was made one whole day. And about the same time, intelligence was given by letters from A. T. Remius the Preitor that P. Sempronius, when he had continued above a year in the province, was departed this life, in the farther Province of Spain: which was the cause that the Pretors were made whole again, and to make the sooner to pass into Spain.

After this, the embassies from beyond the sea had audience given them in the Senate. The first was that of the two King Eumenes and Pharnaces, and also of the Rhodians, who explained for the great losses and overthrow by the Sinopians received. And about the same instant arrived also ambassadors from Philip from the Aetians and Lacedemonians, who had theri answer and dispatch, after a speech made by Marinus, who had been sent to visit the estate and affairs of Greece and Macedonia. But as touching the forsworn Kings of Asia and the Rhodians this stood for their answer: namely, that the Senate would send their Ambassadors and Commissioners to take knowledge and see to all things there in place, but as concerning Philip, Marinus had so told his tale, that he put the L. of the Senate in fear and perplexity: for in his declaration he contended, that Philip indeed had accomplished the will and pleasure of the Senate, but in such fort, as it was evident to be seen, that he would do no longer than he was held thereto and compelled of necessity; for apparent it was, that he minded to make war again, considering that whatsoever he either did or failed to tend no other end. For it was and formost he caused all the multitude to be removed and translated (with their whole families) out of the cities by the sea-coast, into that quarter which now is called Eumenes and in that part was named Eumene and gave those cities aforesaid to the Thracian and other barbarous nations to inhabit: supposing that this kind of people would be more fatal and fruitful in him in his wars against the Romans. And verily this deed of his bred a great discontentment and murmuring throughout all Macedonia: informations, as few there were of them, that those left their natmve habitations together with their wives and children, that could bite in and contain their father's grief and heart-breaking, and say nothing; but being pricked and nettled more to anger than curbed and bridled with fear, they brake out and were heard of; and cry out upon the King as they went along in the way in troops and companies. Hereupon his fel diemack by nature was called that he had all men in jealously, and no time or place there was but he inspected. In the end he began to give it out openly, that he could not make account to be in safety and security unless he apprehended and kept in prison the children of those persons whom he had before-time killed for to dispatch and make away them also (in time) one after another. This came in to itself haimous enough and enormous the calamity and wrong misery of one house made more odious and detestable. Murdered he had many years before Herodotus a noble man and a Pur of the Thesala and some timeafter, he flew also his sons-in-law, who had married his daughters. These Gentlewomen being left Widows, had each of them by their lineages a little Son: and the names of these women were Theoxena and Arch. As for Theoxena she was in no wise merry again, albeit she had many fitters that woed her: but Arch was wedded to one Perseus, the very principal and noblest perfidious of the Elean Nation: and when she had born him many children she died, and left them all very young. Then a teriety priests took the wife was married to the forsworn Perseus, to the end, that she might have the bringing up of those her sisters children with her own hands: and in truth she was not more kind to her own pretty for thin to those her sisters children: but so tenderly regarded them all alike as if she had been them of her own body. Now when she heard one of the Kings ed & and proclamation which was gone forth, for the apprehension of all those infants whose fathers before had been put to death; supposing that these children should be exposed only to the abuse and fearful mockery of the King but also to the luft and villany of his guard she conceived in her mind an horrible dejection: yes, and the flush not to say. That with her own hand she would rid them of their lives, rather than they should come within the clutches of Philip. But Perseus her husband (who alhorted the very naming of so abominable a fact) said that he would convey them out of the way as if he were Arch, to certain truly friends of his there, and would himself in proper person accompany them all the way thither, and take part with them of that exile and banishment. So they put themselves in their journey all together: he and his wife and children from Thessalonia toward Arcadia, into a remiss arrival and left which yearly they use to celebrate with much ceremonious pomps in the honor of Eneas their first founder. Now when they had spent that day in feasting full solemnly, about the third watch of the night (when all others were found asleep) they were embarked in a ship prepared beforehand by Perseus.
...
The beforteb Book of T.Livius.

have fent us again, but his heart and fould they are poftfe& of, ever fince he was an highluggage at H. 4. Rome. All the Macedonians in a manner have their dies upon him yet, him they court, and give
out in private, that they will no other King than whom the Romans mall let up. Old Philip
was of himfelf badly enough affected in his mind, but upon their luggations stuffed into his head,
he was the worfe, and more defiquinated and let out of framing: he entertained their burffilies, and let
them nearer to his heart than he made fair in outward show and cowntenance. Now it fortuned
that the time was some of the ordinary review of his army, the solemnity whereof was usually
perfted in this manner. They cut a dog oveftart the midft in two halfs, the head and foreparts
together with the entrails were let on the right hand of the high way: the hind parts on the left.
Between this flaccitude thus divided, the companies in their armour paifed in a fhew. Before
the front of the vangard were carried the coats of arms and royal ensigns of all the Macedonian Kings
that ever had been from the beginning. Then followed the King himself in perfon with his chil-
dren. Next marched the Kings guard and cohort, with the lifec of his body. And lat of all, in the
rear of behind came the ret of the multitude and commons of the Macedonians. Of either side
of the King went his fons, two lufly Gentlemen. Perfens was abont 30 years old, and Demetrius
five years younger: the one in the mid of all his age and strength, and the other in the very
prime and flour thereof. An happy father had he been for fo fair illife, seeing this proof, this ma-
terity and perfection of theirs, if the grace of God had gone withal, and that they had been well dis-
pofed and affected in mind. The manner and cultume of this Review and solemn fight was (after
the flaccitude duly accomplished) for the whole army to feif and tourney in this wife that being
divided into two battalions, they fhould one charge the other, and repreft the fhew of a very
conflic! and let field. And whofhe should be the chief leader and captains in this brave battle,
but the Kings two fons? But believe me they jettel never a whit, nor made a vain fhew for diport,
butf went to it roundly in good earneft, as if they would determine now who should be King a-
other day? Foul work they made with their woorden walters and headles piks; many were
wounded and nothing wanted there but sharp iron, of a very bloody battle indeed. That regiment
which Demetrius commanded, had the upper hand by odds. Perfens fhewed himself highly displea-
fed and angry theretof: but contrary with his friends and favorits of the wifer forte rejoyned at it,
and made remonflance, That this was the only thing to minifter quick occafion unto him for to
challenge and accufe his yonger brother. Now the fame day, the one as well as the other alcafed
their companions, who had thus performed the jousts and tourneys of either fide with them.
Perfens was invited by his brother to supper, but he refufed and denied to come. Houwertfhuch
was the good fellowship amonfl them, and fo merry were the yong gallants and lofty Cavaliers,
that they paffed the fettall day in all joy and mirth, either part with their Captain, and pifed the
wine call liberally. Then in their, ups they told to discount free of their running and paltime,
and began to tell out merry conceits and broad jels at their adverflaries of the contrary fide, in-
forrnuch as they forbare not to glance at the very Captains themselves. Now had Perfens lent a
privy fpie, one of his geifts, to illen what good talk there was at his brothers board, but he de-
meaning himfelf & walking not fo circumftantly as he fhould, was encountered by certain youths,
that chanced to come on the of the hall or pater where they ate at supper, and was evil entreated
and well beaten for his labour. Demetrius nothing aware thereof, among other tale talk, Why
go we not (am, he) and banket with my brother, and if there remain any anger and difpleafure be-
hind after our jouflying in jett, appeafe and mitigate the fame in fimplicity of heart and mirth-
making? Mary, no better, tried they all again with one voice, fave only thofe that feared to be met
with prefently and ferved alike for milifying & knocking the fulide fpie. Demetrius would needs
draw even them alo with him: whereupon they carred weapons hidden under their apparel, for
fear of the work that they might defend themselves, if any violence were offered. But what can be
carried fo secret, but out it will, where there is ifantime discord in one family? All was full of spics
and little knives, as well in the one house as the other. For there ran a pie-thank and tale carrier,
before unto Perfens and declared unto him that there were coming with Demetrius four young men
with privy keys by their fides. And albeit he will well enough what was the caufe thereof (for
he had heard that one of his geft was by them beaten) yet to aggravate the matter and make it
more odious he commanded the drove to be feft locked, and from the upper rooms and loft of
the house and out of the windows to the street fide, he kept off and repelled thofe (that came to ban-
quet and be merry with him) from approaching the drove, as if their coming were for no other pur-
pofe but to murder him. Demetrius after he had for a time cried out in the street and taken
for this disgrace and indignity, faying it was long of the wine and nothing else that he was thus
excluded, returned again to his own home to make an end of the banket there: and all this while
knew nothing what the matter was. The morrow after, Perfens, as soon as ever he thought he
might have access to the speech of his father, came to the court and in the sight of the King brook
ftar off with a troubled countenance and heavy cheer, and not a word with him. How now (go
his father) what is amifs with you? is not all well? Ah, my good lord and father (sah) I would
you knew that it is the fair gift & grace of God that I am a liveman at this hour. That brother
of mine, gooth not about it any more by way of secret pr efficies and hidden ambushes: for the
night that was, he came with armed men to fet upon me in mine own house, and to take away
my life, I was driven (father) to shut the doors againft him, and to save my felf from his furious
rage,wifhin the defence of the walls thereof. When he had thus poftfe& his father with fear
and
A and obstinacy together: Nay, (quod. he) I will prove all plainly before your face that you shall know it is a truth that I say. If your graces can be content to give me audience, Andien. e (quod. he) ye may well say, and that with patience; and immediately he commanded Demetrius to be called before him. And withal, he sent for two of his old friends to all of him, and to take their advice, to wit, Lycurgus and Onias, who with nothing of the quarrel and variance between the two brethren, for they had been strangers a long time at the court. In the meantime, while he walked up and down, and attending their coming, courting and disputing many matters in his head, and his son Porus stood (till a while) after word was brought that the parties were come, he retired aside with two of his friends, and as many of his guards into an inner room, and permitted his sons to bring with them into the place, these friends a piece unarmed. And when he was set thus be-

B gan to speak,

Here it is, I most wretched father, to be a judge between two sons: the one plaintiff, the other defendant in the case of partizans; and to find among those of mine own house and blood, the foul stain of that felonious crime, either falsely forged or indeed committed. Certainly long ago I feared such a thought and trembled toward, and I saw it slant afar off. When I perceived your unbrotherly looks one toward another, when I overheard some unhappy words, I passed between you. Yet other whiles I was in good hope that the heat of your anger might cause a proper

and, and the suspicions and jealousies be cleared and pass away, considering that even professed and mortal enemies have laid down arms, and indeed peace and become friends at last, ye; and great quarrels and enmities between private persons have had their end. I hoped that one

came or other, ye would remember how we were natural brethren, that ye would call to mind,

how we were little children together, and had conversed with all simplicity, and singletons of heart

familiarly in your infant years, and finally, that ye would think upon my good intentions and take especial care upon myself; how I have blamed my parent and my brethren and heard the examples of brethren at their own hands, and how they have thereby induced themselves and their race overthrown their own houses, yes, and utterly subverted whole Kingdoms? On the other side, I laid before you better patterns and precedents to follow, and name of the concord, agreement, and unity, between the Lacedaemonian and KK, that reigned two by two together to their own good and the public welfare of their country for many hundred years; but the same City fell soon to decay and ruin, when the faction once was taken up to serve the tyranny and to enslave every man for himself alone. Moreover, I see before your eyes these two brethren hereby Eunomus and Atalus, who at the first began with so little to that they were in manner abashed and ashamed to take upon them the title and style of Kings; and at this day are equal in grandeur of dominion to my self to Antiochus, and to any Kings of this age living; and that by no other means in the world, more than by brotherly love and mutual concord, Nay, I laid not too but discovered unto you and recited in didy examples of certain Romans which I had learned by ear, or observed of mine own eye, sight and experience; and namely, the two Quinque, T, and W, who ware both against me, The Scipios likewise, P, and L, who vanquished and subdued Antiochus: their fathers also and uncles, which were brethren and whole concord and unity all their life long was such, as it was not disjoined in their very death. But neither the wickedness of those first recited, and a semblable end correspondent to their ungracious life, was able to scare you from outrageous discord; nor yet the good heart and meaning of the latter two together with their happy fortune and indue, that you may be wise. During my natural life, whilst my breath is within my body both yours and mine, you will be happy. For I have done the best that I could do for you, and it will be to your interest to do the same for the children. And if I live long only, ye have to live, until that I receiving the one of you, might be prevented by my death all put out of question, and make the other (as for their present) undoubted King. Stilly ye are the best of father and brother, ye can abide neither the one nor the other, there is no good in you at all nothing is there that ye hold dear, nothing that you count holy and inviolable, but in lie and sense and of all there is creep and enter into you unfavourable desires to reign and that hath wholly possessed your hearts. Come on therefore now, show and wound your fathers as with your anger, and tales and wicked words; debate and dispute the matter with reciprocal accusations you shall shortly decide and determine it by dint of sword; in that case let no man speak a word, not one word of all that either you can allege truly or lie to devise and invent falsely. Mine ears are now wide open, but shall hereafter for ever be close shut, against all secret fancies that ye shall whisper and report one against the other. When he had breathed out these words with great indignation the Philistians the 3 began all to weep much and did weep, and for a good time there was silence, and not a word until at length Perfectus began and said: I should believe I have opened the door in the night that I should, and received into my house armed guests to banter with me, yes, and held out my throat unto them for to be cut, since that nothing is believed unless the deed hath been done and disputed; since that the same is laid upon me (who have been overturned and whose life hath been forgotten) which were more befitting to speak unto a wood and a rock by the high way-side: it is not for ought that we will that these here, give your abundance and so that you have no more sons but Demetrius, and call me a bastard and supposition of yours, as brother of a concubine. For if you held and allowed me legitimate if you vouchsafed me the place, the degree and love of a son, you would never dare and storm a
gainst me so as you do, for discovering the ambulat fort the (as, and explaining thereof; but a
after him rather that laid in wait to surprize me: neither would you set forth and make to me
small account of my life, as to be moved neither for the danger past wherein I was, nor at the
time to come if such wait-riers may escape unpunished. Now if there be no remedy, but that we
must die and say nothing, let us hold our tongue and be mute: let us only pray to the Gods be-
fore that this intended mischief begun in me, may also take an end in me alone, and that you be
not, he who is to be wounded and pierced through my body. But in case (like as by the very in-
lust and suggestion of nature, they are that ahd that set upon in a desert wildness, be
taught to enter and call for mens help and succour, although they neither saw nor knew of
my before) in case (I say) it be lawful for me likewise to open my mouth and speak, when I fee
the naked sword drawn upon me: then I beseech you for your own love, even for the love of I
your good self, and the name of a father (which whether of us twain have more esteemed and
regarded, you have full well known long ago), to give me audience, and to hear me as if you had
been awakened at my cry and pitiual lamentation in the last nights riot, and came in the way
where I was forced to call. Help, help: and as if you had taken discretion in the manner, with
in my gait, in the very entry of my door, accompanied with armed men, as an attendant and un-
deer hour of this night past. These plaints and moneys which then I would have uttered with
by disorder and confused cries, in that Luidain affright of mine upon the deed doing the same
I now make the morrow after. Ah brother, we have lived now a good while, not (I wot) as
brthren that should banket and make merry one with another. It is the crown that you look
after, that is certain and pat peradventure: but your hope to attain unto it, is crossed divers K
wiles. My birthright and mine eldership is a block in your way between you and it: the law of
passions is against it: the ancient custom of the Macedonians, he keth it; and finally, the will,
pleasure, and judgment of our father is opposite unto it. Mount you cannot possibly to high, but
by the effusion of my heart blood. You go to work, you stay all means, you leave no stone un-
rolled, and nothing unattempted to effect that: but to this day, either mine own wary diligence
or happy fortune hath guarded me and withstood your wicked particide. Even yesterday, dur-
ing the time of the solemn review and purging of the army, during the time of running at tilt
and jousting in time of the shew and patillse, resembling a skirmish, you missed very little of ma-
kings a bloody bateall of it, and a deadly conflict indeed: and nothing else saved me from death,
but this, that I suffered my self and my men togo by the worse and be overcome. From this ma-
terial combate, as if it had been no more but a game and sport among brethren, you would need
have trained and drawn me to a suppert. Why: think you father, that I should have suffered a
among those uffets unarmed, who came in arms to banket with me? Do you believe, that I should
have been in no danger of their naked swords of steel at night who in the day time and within
your sight, laded on such load with * wooden swords and balloons. that they had like to have kil-
mbed me? To what end else came you, brother at that time of the night: why came you as an ene-
my, considering I was in choler and my blood was upper, wherefore came you accompanied with
tall fellows privately armed and with short swords under their garments? I durst not venture to sit
at supper with you: should I have received you then, coming as you did with armed men to ban-
quett with me? Father, is the door had been opened whereas you hear me now to make my com-
plaints, you should have been by this time busied about my winding-sheet, here, and funerals.
I lay not heath and urge matters in flanderous manner, after the fashion of these accusers at the
bar: neither collect I bare conjectural presumptions to enforce & conclude any doubtfull points:
for what need I to do? Denith be that he approached my door with a troop of menior that he
had in his train a company, such as wore weapons covertly under their apparel? Do but sends
for them whom I tell you, I shall in faith, what will not they dare to do that can do this? and
yet Irow, they will never be to hardy and shameless as to deny it. If I had taken them in the
manner with their weapons about them within mine entry, and I brought them before you,
then you would say, it were a plain cafe and out of all doubt. If then, they confess as much with
their mouth, hold them as culpable as if they had been surpriged in the act doing. Now curte
and plaine: the greedy appetite and thirst after a Kingdom: now fall to raife and call up the
juries out of hell to let brethren together by the ears: but good father, let not your curtes and ex-
tractions thus flie at blind random: make some distinction yet and difference, between him
that lyeth in wait, and the party who is forelaid. Let him be holden guilty that fought to kill
his brother, let him feel with all the gods of his father to be his enemies and angry against him,
but as for him who was in danger to lose his life through his brithers mischiefous practice, let
him have his reigne and recource to the mercy and justice of his father. For alas, whithether else
should I flie for confessing that neither the solemn review and purging of my arms nor the
running and jousting of the men at arms neither mine own heart nor mine body nor the very
night reason (which nature hath given to mankind for covert & repose) affordeth me safety and
security? If I go to my brother (being hidden to supper) die I shall: if I receive my brother with
in my dores (comming to be a-quanter) die I must. So that whether I go or stay all is one: I cannot
avoid but fall into trains and ambashes, hid for to take away my life. To what place shall I retire
and betake my self: None have I regarded nor nothing have I relied upon, but the gods & your good
self, father. As for the Romans & in no such terms with them of grace and favour so to trust
upon your succour: may, you all with me hanged, because I take the wronges done unto you by them,
The Romans, Demetrius alone is altogether in their books, They are all for him, and pass for none else,

He call them his King, during the lie of his own father. Now I seem to betouched, offended, and grieved here with by and by I am sure to have it charged reproachfully on both sides of mine ears, not only from others, but also from your mouth father, that I aspire and seek to be King, for mine own part I would both they and you knew, that if the diadem and crown were there let between us both I would none of it. For who is he that should need to undermine & supplant, for to step into his place and succeed? None there is at all but my father before me, and long may he be. I pray God, and I wish to arrive him no otherwise, but if I be worthy & deserve that he should likewise desire the time. If my father will make me his heir and inheritor of the kingdom, I will accept thereof. He indeed coveteth to be a king, yea, and most unspeakably coveteth he, that he might make pace for himself, and to step before the course of nature, the order of age, the custom of the Macedonians, and the law of nations. But what imaginest Demetrius, suppose ye? Mine elder brother (thinketh he) stands in my way between me and eyes to him appertaineth the kingdom by right and by my fathers will. Let us rid him out of the World,

What? I am not the first that sought to be a king; by murder of a brother. As my father he is aged, he is delect, and bereaved of a son, he will have more care to look to his own person, than

mind to revenge the death of his son. The Romans, they will rejoice, they will approve and

maintain my father, Tho' be nice points, and there be ticklish and doubtful hopes, but believe me

they are not altogether vain and frivolous, For thus stands the case, and this is the sum of

all: Well may you preserve me out of danger, now whilsts I am alive, by inflicting punishment

upon those who take weapon in hand to kill me but let their enterprise speed once and take eff

feet, you shall never be able to purify them to the purpose and revenge my death.

When Perseus had made an end of his speech, they that were present in place call their eyes with

upon Demetrius as if he would have made answer immediately, and so were all silent a long time, and said not a word for they perceived evidently that he could not for weeping open his mouth:

but in the end he was urged by them to speak, and then after that necessity had humbled his
grief, thus he began: My father, all those means of help which were ever wont to serve the defend

dant in good stead, I am prevented and disappointed of, by the plain of my accuser. By those fail

and finding means, I was well and tried to work the ruin and undoing of another, he hath

made my true tears impudent which nothing out of mine eyes, proceed from a melting & wound

ded heart within. And whereas himself hath not ceased (ever since that I returned from Rom

to practice secretly with his conforts and complies both night and day to lay wait for my life,
now he begins first with me, and will needs put upon me the vifor, and have the world believe 
that he play the part not only of a secret and cunning waifer, but of an open thief and a no-
torious murderer and cut-throat. He leemeth to fright you with his own danger, that he might 
make even you the very means and instrument to hasten forward the death of his innocent bro-
ther. He flath that he hath no place of refuge in the whole world: to the end that I might have 
no parcel at all of hope left so much as in you. Thus circumvented as I am, left alone, forsook, de-
flute, and void of all succour, he chargeth me with being in favour and grace with forrain stran-
gers: a thing I wis, that doth me more harm than good. Moreover see how he procedeth like a 
practised and cunning barrister, in that he interteth and mingleth the last night's work together 
with the blame of my former life: to the end that he might make more impious by the couiple 
of mine other years past, this criminous matter also (the simple truth whereof you shall know) 
 anon) and withal confirm and maintain this vain infamous and slander, of my hopes, my will, 
and intended designs, by this subtile invention of his, by the fained & forged table I lay of that which 
was pretended the night that was. He hath not failed moreover to make you believe that this 
acculat of his was not premeditat and studied upon beforehand, but framed ex tempore, and 
occaftoned only upon the fudden in right and trouble overnight. But in good faith, Periogel 
I had been a traitor to the King my father & the realm. If I had complied with the Romans and 
other of my fathers enemies, me thinks you should not have waited for this nights devised table, 
but you ought to have accused me before this time of treason. And if that imputation were vain 
and frivolous without this fummis, and served to discover and bewray your envy & spight which 
you bear against me, more than it did etheth every crime which is in me: yet you should have let 
me alone and forborn this day, or put it off until another time; that it might have been dearly 
seen whether of my side I did wait for the other, you or I, upon a strange & extraordinary man-
ner of hatred. As for me (to farth as I possible can in this saufain trouble of my spirits) I will 
endeavour to speak lerely of each point, which you have heaped up together so disorderly, 
and reveal I will the ambiances and trains of this night, yours or mine, fall out as it shall. He 
would have it thought that I practised to kill him, for this intent forsooth, that when mine elder 
brother were once made away, unto whom the inheritance of the crown appertaineth by the 
right of nations by the custom of the Macedonians and also, as he faith by your judgment; the yon-
ger might step into his place, and succed him whom I had killed. What meaneth then, and 
wherto serteth that other part of his Oration, wherein he faith, that I have been so respective to 
the Romans, and that upon the afiance that I have in them, I hoped to be King? For if I were 
perfidated thus of the Romans, that they could set up whom they pleased to be King of Mac-
edon, & if within I prefumed so much of their good grace and favor to me,ward, what need had 
I then to commit a particlde? Was it because I had a mind to wear a diadem embrowd with my 
brothers blood by me murder'd and was I deirous to make my self odious & execrable among 
them, with whom eithe either for mine heiney indeed, or at least wales for a counterfeit shew ther-
of I have won some credit, such as is if haply it be any at all? Undes perhaps, you think that 
T. Quintus (by whose virtue and counsel, you reproach me that I am ruled) advised me to kill 
my brother Quintus, I say, who is to kind into his own brother, and liveth with him fo loving-
ly. This plain and acciter of mine hath collected not only the affection of the Romans which 
they bear unto me but also the opinion which the Macedonians have of myse, and in manner 
de the content of all Gods and men in my behali; in which regards all he took himself not able to 
match me in this quarrel and difference about the Kingdom: and yet hee, how the lame man 
faith to my charge, that as if I were in all other respects, inferior unto him, I was fain to have 
recourse to this laft hint of practising mischie and wickednes. Will you have this to be the case? 
Will you be content to join issue in this point? That whether of us twain feared the other to be 
reputed worthier of the Kingdom, he should be judged & condemned to have fought and con-
ceived the death of his brother? But let us discuss and examine in some forre or other, the order 
and manner of this pretended and deviled crime, He hath burdened me, that I have laid for him 
many and sundry waisseyet hath he knit up all these means and conched them together in one 
dies work, I purposed to kill him (faith he) in the open day-light, after the solemn review and 
sifting of the army even when we jousted together, and deemed to charge one another in bat-
tel-wale eye upon the very day (God he knoweth) of the said solemnity. I intended Iwis (be-
lieve him if you will) when I invited him to supper, to make him away with a cup of poion, I 
would have stabbed him (what else?) or run him through with my sword, when I came to ban-
ket with him & was accompanied with some of my train armed and having weapon about them. 
Yon fee, father, what proper and choice opportunities I had picked out to commit this pretended 
murder, namelie the very day of diports, the time of supper, of bankey and collation. As for 
the day, let us examine it, and the manner thereof: was it any other than that, wherein the army 
was mustred and solemnly purged? when between a sacrifice cut in twain, the royal coats of all 
the army of Macedonian Kings that ever had been, were carried aloft in a flately fway; and we 
alone your two tons (father) marched on the side of you before the rest, and the whole Ma-
cedonian army followed after. When I was thus cleansed and purified by this expiatory sacrifice 
(prophyl I had committed any sin before that deferred expiation) and especially at the very 
first instant when I beheld before mine eyes (on either side of the way) the parcels of the beast 
scarified entertained I then in my thoughts the practical of poison & the handling of swords pre-
A pared aforesaid against the banker, to perform a parricide, that afterwards I might with some other fuclicitics expiate and cleanse my conscience thus stained & defiled with all kind of wickedness? A likely matter surely. But a spirit corrupt & blinded with the humour of flattering another upon a desire to gather matter and make all suspicions careth not to huddle one thing upon another confuted. For if I meant to have poisoned you at supper, what was there more unfit to set forward that delinquency than to provoke you to anger, by running eagerly upon you & fighting with you so thoroughly, that thereby you might take good and just occasion to refuse being required, for to come to supper? And when in your choice you had once denied to sit with me, was it not the next way for me then, to endeavour how to appease you, and seek some other opportunity, since I had prepared the poftion for that present only? But I must leap from that defigament to another, even to the killing of you by the sword, and that upon the very same day, under a pretence of banqueting with you? If I thought that fear of death you forbade my table at supper time, how comes it that I imagined not feemably, that for that faid fear you would avoid my company at banquet after supper? There is no cause why I should be ashamed, Father, if upon such a festal day as it was I drank wine liberally, and took perhaps a cup too much as among my companions. Nay, I would it might please your majesty to enquire with what mirth, and meriment I feated yesterday at home, and this joy set as the father out, because in that was like paffime of lufy youth, our fide went not by the worle. But this misery & unhappy fear upon that our mirth, hath well debiled and cooled the wine: spent it hath the strength thereof tumbling up into our hearts, which it had not come betweene, as we great laiers.

B. As we were had to this hour lien found asleep in our beds. Well, if I had minded to affail, and force your house, and that done to murder you, the matter thereof, would I not think you, have for born for my part one day to bib and quaff wine freely, and likewise kept my louder from drinking drunk, but because I should not alone plead my simplicity and make my excuse thereby, this my good brother also, who God wot is none of these murphy and futilious creatures, comes in with his wit and faith, I know nothing. I charge nobody neither who I what to say else, but that they came armed to banquet with me. If I might be so bold as to ask how you came to that knowledge, that you cannot chafe but confefs that either my house was fuel of your spies, or those armed men of my train took their weapons to openly, that every one saw them. And because he would have you believe, that neither himself made any enquiry before, nor at this time putthef the matter with the any acculator spirit, he willed you to demall of them whom he named, whether they had not their swords about them, to the end that after you had fought into it as a matter doubtful, and found them to confess it, they might thereby be held convicted, But why rather will you not, that examination should be taken in this manner: whether they took their swords with them to kill you or not? And whether they did fo by my warrant direction, and priuity? For this is it that you (brother) would make the world believe, Is it which you would have to appear, and not that which my men confess. But the cafe is plain, yea, & they will be known no other, than that they were armed in their own defence. Whether it were well, or ill done, they are of age to make account and render a reason of their doings. Do not you mingle my cafe with that action of theirs, which intereseth it nothing at all. But rather declare, whether we meant to affail you openly or secretly? If openly, why were we not all armed? Why was there none of us besides those persons that did best your spif? If secretly, what was the train and order of the execution of that design? After the banket ended, and the letter of the banker retired from thence, should those four have lain behind to fall upon you when you were asleep? How could they have carried it to clofe as not to be spied, for that a little before, they had been seen in a baize? And say, they had killed you: by what means could they escape themselves? Was it possible that your house should be forced and with all swords? Fie, fie, Perfid.e speak no more for shame of this night, but come again to that rather which galleth you in the heart, which kindleth your envy, and lettereth you in fire. How cometh it to pass, O Demetrius, that men speak abroad that you shall be King? Why should you be deemed of some more worthiy than my self, to succeed the royal estate of my father? How is it that I am in doubt of my hope, which but for you, were sure & certain? There are the sincerest thoughts of Perfid.e, although he believe nothing: these make him of a brother to become an enemy: these caufe him to be mine accuser: these conceits are that fill your palace your court, and your realm, with murmurs, slanders, and jufpicion. But for mine own part, father, like as I ought neither to hope for your royal crown, nor at any time peradventure, to make words and dispute about it: because I am the yonger, and because it is your will and pleasure, that I should give place unto mine elder brother: lest became me not herefore, neither do it become me yet, to demene my self to any action that I should seem unworthy to have for you for my father, but to be capable of all dignities whatsoever. The one point I should attain unto by indirec courts and wicked vices, in not yielding unto him, as right and reason would but the other by my good carriage and sober behavour. You reproach me with the Romans, brother: and those things which in right ought to turn to my praise and glory, you blame and reprove me, For, it was no lack of mine that I was delivered to the Romans as a hostage, or sent to Rome as Embassador: but when I was appointed by you father, I refused not to go. At both times such was my demeanor that I had an eye still and good regard, not to discredit either your highness, or your kingdom, or the Macedonian nation. And therefore were the cause, father, of that friendship which I have with the Romans,
Romans. As long as you and they are at peace, I shall be well affected to them: begin war once; I that was an hostage and Embassador among them, and (though I say it) not unprofitable for you my father, even I, will become a most spirituall and mortal enemy unto them. Neither do I at this day require that the favour I have in the Roman State may lead me any way: only I beseech you that it may not prejudice and harme me. It began not by occasion of war, neither is it referred for the time of war. For assurance of peace, I was a pledge and hostage: for maintenance of peace I was employed in embassage. Content will I be, by the one and the other, in case I neither pur. hale fame nor incur blame. If I have committed any impicity against you father, if I have done or designed any wicked part against my brother, I relieve no punishment. I crave no pardon or favor. If it be innocent, I desire only and humbly beseech your grace, that I be not overweighed with the heavy load of envy and ill will, since I can be overthrown by no crime justly objected unto me. This is not the fift day, that my brother hath accused me: but this is the first day, that he is seen to be my accuser: and full little have I deserved it at his hands. If my father had been displeased and angry with me, I would have thought that you of all others being the elder brother should have been a mediator and intercessor for me (the yonger) to my father, and a means to purchase a pardon for my folly and the error of tender youth: but see: where my suffrour and refuge should have been, there contrary-wife is my ruin and overthrow. From my feasting and banqueting, from my mirth and good cheer, by his means have I been haled hither not half waked, but with mine eyes full of sleep, to answer in the cause of particide: and forced I am to plead mine own case without my counsel, without my proctor or advocate. If I had been to speak in the defence of another, I would have taken time to study remembrances and frame an oration. And yet what was I to hazard there, but the reputation of wit and learning. Instead thereof, I not knowing for what cause I was sent for, heard your Majestie first (wroth and angry as you were) to command us to plead our causes: and then my brother, who hath stood up to accuse me. As for him, he hath pronounced an Oracion judicious (for, and devising long before hand: but I was allowed no longer time: than whiles I heard my self accused) to think me what to plead or to examine and take knowledge of the matter that he hath laid forth against me. In that present moment of time, could I think you (so sudenly as I was) either give ear to my accuser, or consider and think dully of mine own plea, and ended it, was, with that sudden trouble and unexpected occasion, that much ado I had to understand what I was charged with: so far was I from desiring what to speak in mine own defence. What hope should I have now and in L what case were I if I had not my father for my judge at whole hands (albeit I am not so well beloved as mine elder brother is: yet since I am the party defendant, I ought at least to find as much pity and compassion. For I beseech you (O father) to save me, in regard of my self and you: but he requireth you to take away my life, only for his own assurance and better security. And what will be done against me think you, after you have made over the crown and sceptre into his hands: who now already thinketh it meets and reason to dispose of my blood at his good pleasure? In uttering of these words the tears gushed forth so abundantly, that they stopped his mouth so, that he could neither speak or draw his breath. Then Philip after he had commanded them to go apart and communed a while with his friends, spake and said that he would not decide their cause upon these words of theirs, nor upon one hour debating, but by enquiry into M both their lives, and observing their behaviour indeed and word, as well in great matters as in small. Herely they all saw well enough, that the accusation of the precedent nights act, was sufficiently refuted and evicted & the only thing in Demetrius to be suspected, was the overgreat favour that the Romans bare toward him. This was the very feed of the Macedonian war, sowed as one would lay, during the life of Philip, but the war was after to be waged most of all against Perus.

The two Consuls took their journey into Liguria, the sole confular Province of them both: and because they had achieved their exploits fortunately there, ordained there was a solemn procession for one day. It fortned that there came two thousand Ligurians or thereabout, to the utmost frontier of the Province of Gaul, where Marcellus lay in leaguer, requelling to be received under his N protection. Marcellus after he had commanded the said Ligurians to give attendance upon him, in the same place, required by his letters the advice of the Senat. The Senat gave order to M. Qulntius the Lord chief justice of the City, to write back again unto Marcellus to this effect. That it was more meet that the Consuls, unto whom that government appertaind, should give order and determine (as touching the Ligurians who yeelded and submitted) what was expedient for the common-wealth, in that behalfe than the Senat. As for them, if they were to give their opinion, they thought it not good to accept of the Ligurians surrender: and being once received then to be difmarred: but they were of this mind and advice, that it was requisite they should be sent and referred over to the Consuls.

The Pretors at the same time arrived in their Provinces, to wit, P. Marcellus in bai Spain, where he had been Governor before during his former Pretorship: and G. Fulvius Flaccus in the higher: where he received the army of Aventum; for that other side of Spain beyond Illerum, had been left without a Lord Deputy by occasion of the death of P. Sempionius the Pro-pretor. While Fulvius Flaccus afflicted a Town in Spain named Ubica, the Celtihrians made head and came upon him: where many and sundry hot skirmishes pass'd: and wherein many Roman fouldiers were both hurt and slain. Howbeit Fulvius held till his resolution, and by no for-
A

cible means whatsoever, could be brought to levy the siege. The Celtiberians toiled out of heart with divers combats, retired and departed. The City then seeing their forces dislodged and gone, within few days was forced and ran to: and the Praetor gave the pillage thereof to his soldiers. Thus his use, after he had gained this Town, and P. M. other, when he had retired and rallied his forces into one place, which had been dispersed without any other memorable act performed, brought their armies within the wintering harbours. And there were the exploits in Spain, during that summer, Leuon, who was departed out of that Province before, entered the City of Rome in a petty triumph by way of ovation. He carried before him in files, eight thousand three hundred and twenty pound weight of silver, and four score of gold: besides two golden coronets weighing 67 pound.

B

The same year the Romans were chosen Arbitrators between the people of Carthage and King M. F. as touching their territories: and came personally to see the place in controversy. And thus flood the case: Cala the father of this M. F. the Carthaginian, had won the ground in question from the Carthaginians, Sphax after thereof clad Cala thereof; and consequently to gratify Athenob, his wife's father, freely gave the same to the Carthaginians, and let them in possession again. Now laid all, even this very year, M. F. had disposed the Carthaginians of the same. This matter was debated by the parties of both sides in the presence of the Romans, with no less courage and reverence of spirit than at other times when they tried the issue by dint of sword in open field. The Carthaginians laid claim and put in their plea. For that first it appertained to their ancillors in right of inheritance, and afterwards was conveyed to them by the treaty and donation of Sphax, M. F. counterpointed again and aledged, that he had both recovered the said territory, as parcel of his fathers realm, and also held it by the law of nations: and that the case was clear on his side, in regard as well of the just title as all of the present possession whereat in he was: saying, that in his case he doubted nothing else but that the modesty of the Romans should prejudice him, for fear lest they might be thought to be partial in the cause and respective to him. A King their ally and good friend, and in favour of him to give up their award against the common enemies both to him and them. The Commissioners and arbitrators would not infringe and alienate the right of possession, but let all as they found it, and referred the entire decision of the matter to the Senate of Rome.

C

Nothing was there done after this in Liguria: for first, the enemies were retired for safety into their wilds and forests out of the way: and afterwards they called their army, and flit away every man to their own villages and castles. The Comiti like were unwilling to break up and dismiss their forces; and thereupon sent to the L. of the Senate to know their pleasure in that point: who advised the one of them to discharge his own regiments, and repair to Rome for the election of Magistrates the next year; and the other, with his legions, to winter at Pisa. A rumour there ran, that the Transalpine French put their youth and serviceable men in arms: but it was not known what quarter of Italy this multitude thus levied, would invade. But the Consuls thus agreed together, that Con. Babin should be present at the general assembly at Rome, for the election aforesaid, because M. Babin, his brother laid to be Comit. Then was the assembly holden for the creation of Comiti, and elected there were, P. Cornilius Lentulus, and M. Babin, Tampilus. This done, the Praetors also were chosen, namely, the two Quintus Fabius, the one Messana, and the other Lucius T. Claudius Nero Q. Petlius Spurius, M. Pinarius Piso, and L. Duranius. When these were entered into their magistracy, the Provinces were by lot after this manner disposed. The Liguriae fell to the Consuls: as for the Praetors, Q. Petlius was Lord chief Justice for the citizens pleas, and Q. F. Messana for the strangers: Q. Fabius Buto had the government of Gaul, T. Claudius Ner of Sicily, M. Pinarius of Syracusa, L. Duranius of Apulia together with the Istrians: for that the Tarentines and Brundins had given intelligence, that the seas-coasts were much troubled and annoyed by the robberies of pirates and men of war from beyond Sea and the like complaints were made by the Messalians, of the Ligurian navy. For these causes order was given, and warrants went out for to levy armies: that the Consuls should have four legions between them, containing in every one 5 800 Roman footmen and 200 horse: also to enrol 15 000 footmen and 800 horsemen of Latin allies. In the Provinces of Spain (both the one and the other) the six Praetors continued in tie their government, with the charge of those armies which they had already: and for a supplement to reinforce and make up their broken companies, there were appointed 3000 foot and 200 horse of Roman citizens together with 6000 of the one and 500 of the other, from out the Latin nation. All this while they forgot not their navy at Sea. And the Consuls had in charge to chuse for that purpose two war-dens called Dumvirs, who after they had out of the Aegadian into the Sea twenty ships, and let them alone, should furnish them with mariners, and those Roman citizens in h as had been slaves and were enfranchised: and that natural Romans were born should only be Captains and have the command of the said vessels. These two Dumvirs so parted and ordered them with the defence of the maritime coasts, with ten ships appeas that the Cape of Minervas should be as it were the middle point and mark between them: so the one should guard that part on the right hand as far as to Messinia: and the other the left side even to Brimin.

D

It was seen at Rome and reported from various parts many uncouth and strange prodigies. In the Church-yards belonging to Volca and Concordia, it rained sheep blood: and the bishops made relation, that the Spears [of Mars] shook and moved of their own accord.

All
Also at Laconia the image of Juno Sospita shed tears. Moreover, the plague reigned so hot in
the country that villages are marked. Towns masts and places of frequent resorts, and within the City
of Rome that they were not able to furnish the funerals accordingly and inter the dead. The L. L.
of the Senate, being in great anguish and trouble, in regard of those fearful tokens and the loss of
their people, ordained, That as well the Conuls should kill greater beasts for sacrifices unto what
Gods they thought good, as also the Decemvirs should visit and peruse the prophetical books of
Sibylla. And by virtue of their decree there was public supplication proclaimed at Rome for one
whole day, at all the altars and shrines of the gods and goddesses. By their counsel also and di-
rection, both the Senate adjured and the Conuls also published throughout all Italy for three
days previous solemnities and devout holy-days. The rage of this pietas was so great, that
whereas there passed an act by the Senate to enroll 6000 footmen and three hundred horses from
out of the Latinis (in regard that the lancers of Conac were revolted and the Iulians up in arms
within Sardina); with which power M. Poppion the Pretor was to fall over into Sardina: the
Conuls made report again unto them, that such numbers of people were dead already, and so
many lay sick, that it was not possible to levy that proportion of fighting men. So the Pretor had
commission to furnish out that defect of soldiers, with a supply which he was to receive of Cd.
Babinus the Pro-conul, who then wintered at Pisa: and from them directly to take the less and
paue over into Sardina.

L. Duronius the Pretor (unto whom the Province of Apulia was allotted) had a commission be-
sides to make inquisition for the Baccaniars, for there remained yet some relics of the former ene-
mities which had begun already the former enquiry and search of the matter rather than effected ought
and brought it to a final end: and therefore the L. L. gave order to this new Pretor to cutoff this mis-
chiefs in the spring and breeding thereof, before it get more head a second time, and upon growth
spred further. Moreover, the Conuls by the advice and authority of the Senate, preferred certain
laws unto the people, as touching the inordinat riot and ambitious seeking after offices of
government. After this they brought into the Senate the terror embassages: and gave audience
first to them that came from the KK. to wit. Eumenus Arisates the Cappadocian, and Pharnaces
of Pontus, But no other person had answer they had than this. That they would send certain De-
legates and commissaries to bear de idee and determine their controversies. After them, the
Embassadors of the Lacedemonian exiles, and of the Achaeans, were admitted into the Senate.

The banished persons aforesaid were put in some good hope, that the Senate would write
their letters to the Achaeans for their restitution. The Achaeans declared as touching the recov-
ery of their. Mess age and the publication of all troubles there, with the great contentment of the L. L.
of the Senate. There arrived moreover two Embassadors from Philip King of the Macedonians, na-
med Philadeles and Peter, about no suit that they had to the Senate, but sent rather as spies to un-
der prince and to learn from what personage points that Perseus had charged Demetrios with,
and namely of certain speeches that he should have with the Romans, and especially with T. Quin-
tius, and against his brother about succession in the Kingdom. These twain were chosen by the King
as indifferent persons, and nothing affected one either to the one brother or the other: howbeit
they were the ministers, confidants and confidantes of Perseus, in his intended mischiefious plots a-
against his brother, Demetrios (as one ignorant of all designments against him, but only of the late
wicked prank of Perseus which he had not brake) at the first, was neither in great hope, nor yet in
utter despair, to be reconciled unto his father. But afterwards, he had lest confidence every day
more than other in the good affection of his father toward him seeing his brother continually to bus
into his ears many matters, and passeth his head with tales against him. And therefore he looked
him in secretly about him that he trope not away, and namely, that he let no words fall, or did any
thing that might be offensive and breed more jealousy and abuse all, who wholly for the publice
contention and commonwealth of the Romans; in such sort, that he would not have them so much as to
write any letters unto him: knowing well, that his fathers heart would be exasperated against
him by his imputations and especiall

Philip because he would provide that his foenders and men of action should not degenerate
and were wont through idleness and disuse of arms and that under one he might avert from himself
all intimation that he intended any war against the Romans appointed the City Secbi for the Renov-
mation of his army and marched into the quarters of Madaia. A great desire he had to mount the
crest & top of the hill. Romans because there was an opinion commonly received & which he had
given credit unto that from thence a man might discover within one proposal, & the Perik and
Adadick leas, the rive. After also and the Alpfo thus he thought that the view of these places
would land him in no small head in projecting & plotthing the war against the Romans. When at
the diligent inquiry of them that knew those quarters well, as touching the seat of that mountain,
he had learned and found it clear and certain, that there was no way at all for to conduct an
army thither and that a few men & thowe nimble and lightly appointed should find enough to do
and exceeding much difficulty to pass, he took his younger son, whose he was resolved not to
have with him in that expedition; and because he would seem to dole and many life dif
mencents he had with some familiar and privy speech first he demanded of him confederis to great dif-
niculties of the journey preferred unto them, whether he were better to hold on the way till he a-
follow his design or give over? But if it should go forward (eq. he) I cannot forget that which
A "befell to Antigonus in the like case, who, being upon a time much toiled at sea in a boilerons "tempest, and having with him in the same ship all those that were of his blood, is reported "to have given this good advertisement and helion to his children, that they should always re- "member, and also give their puerility warning never to venture all their goods in one bottom, "nor to engage themselves together with their whorable and off-spring in any peril and danger, "Remembering therefore (q.d.) this good precept and counsel of his, I will not hazard both my "lions at once in this present jeopardy which I see before mine eyes: but for a while as I propose "to take mine elder son with me, I will send my younger back into Macedonia, for to uphold and "maintain the hope of my puerility, and for the defense of my Kingdom in the mean while. Dem- "metrius found him rightwise, and with well enough that he was left away for no other intent but B that he should not be present in counsel, when upon the view of those places abovesaid, he was to be devie, and commit in what cost lay the nearest and shortcrost way to the Adriatic Sea and to Salmy, and what course they should plot for the management of the war. But there was no reme- dy; he must not only then obey his father, but also toth him up and seem to approve and like well of that which he said, for fear left it might be thought, that it went against his flamock to yeeld obedience unto him, and to be held in more jeolousy and suspicion than before. Howbeit, to the end that he might pass into Macedonia with safety. Didas one of the Kings Deputies and Governor under him of Paeonia, was commanded to accompany and conduct him with a mean guard and convoy. Now was this Didas one of those conspirators that had sworn the death of Demetrius, whom Perseus had made surete to his part like as he had many other of his fathers friends, even since men began to make no doubt, unto whom Philip in affection was enlined, and whom he meant to make ther apparent to the crown. And at this very instant Perseus had charged him and given him instructions, by all obsequious services to inflinate and wind himself into most familiar talk, and to come to near within him, that he might draw from him all his secrets, & disco- ver the very inward and hidden thoughts of his heart. Thus departed Demetrius attended with a train about him more dangerous to his perion, than if he had travelled alone without any company. Philip first passed through Medica, and then forward over the defarts lying between Medica and Ammon, and at the seventh days march was come as far as to the foot of the mountain. Where after he had rested and itated, he made to choose of those whom he minded to take up with him the morning after he set forth & put himself in his way. At the first, the labour was not great, nor the pains much to overcum the nethermost hills but the farther they went and the higher that they advanced, the more wild and woody still they found every place, yeas, and they met with many that had no pasage at all. At length they were mounted to a path or way so dark and thick, that for the trees standing to thicke together, and their boughs plaited and inlacered one within another, scarcely or hardly could a man see the skie through them. But when they approached once the pitch and creft of the mountain, behold (a thing not lightly seen in other parts) they light upon to grove and thich a mist, which overspread and covered all that they had as much ado to match forward, as if they had travelled in the dark mid-night. At last by the third days end, they gained the very top of the mountain. Now when they were come down from thence again, they made no leis report thereof than the common opinion was that went of it; which I believe E verily they did of purpose, because they would not be mocked and scorned for this their foolisb and vain voyaging, rather than for that they could indeed within the same prospect and from one place, view seas, mountains, and rivers, situated and distant so far asunder, Much mowed they were all, and for toiled in this untoward way: but the King above the rest, by reason that he was far fpeer in age, and unweldy of body. Well after he had done sacrifice there upon two altars consecrated to Jupiter and the Sun, he descended in two days, whereas he had made three of it in ascending: and that which he feared most, was the cold nights, which there in the beginning of the dog-days were like to those of midwinter in other places. Many difficulties he wrested and strove withal during those days, and being returned into his camp, he found no better. Nothing was there but extream want & penury, as being pitched in a place compassed about on every side with defarts and wildernes. And therefore when he had itated there but one only day to rest and repose his men, whom he had taken with him in that journey, he hasted away, and in a running march, as if he had fled in rout, entred the country of the Denheers, Thee Denheers were his own confederate allies, but the Macedonians (such was their need and necessity) pilled and spoile their confines, no less than if they had been professed enemies. For first they waited & defroiled their hols, granges, and farm houses, afterwards certain wicks and villages also, robbing and rifting as they went, to the great dishonor of the King; who could not chufe but hear the piteous complaints & mone- yes of his associats crying to the Gods, Patrons of alliances, and calling upon his name for help, but could have no redres and remedy. When he was purveyed of corn from thence, and returned into the country Medica, he began to assail a city which they call Petra. Himself in person lay encamp- ed in the avenue and ready way upon the plains, but he sent his son Perseus with a small company to fetch a compass and give the assail from the higher places that commanded the Town. The Towns men thus hard beat with terror on every side for the present yielded on composition, and gave hostages: but after the army was retired, they forgetting their pledges, abandoned the city, and fled for refuge into certain forts, fenced places, and high mountains. Philip having wea- ried his loindies with all manner of travel to no effect, and withal entertained more jeolousy and suspicion of his son Demetrius, by the lawd practise and falfe suggestions of Didas (the Governor of
of Paonia) returned into Macedonia. This Didus (as hath been said before) sent to conduct Demetrius home, abused the simplicity of the young Gentleman, who was nothing circumspect and wary; but seemed disinclined and complained to him (as good cause he had) of those that were nearest in nature and blood unto him; he, I say, by flattering, by soothing him up, and seeming wistful to be offended and grieved for his part at hard usage, laid snares and grins, and set traps for him; and in conclusion, by his double diligence and offering his voluntary service to do him pleasure, protesting also to be true and fast unto him, yea, and to keep his counsel, fetched out of him the very secrets of his heart. Now had Demetrius a purpose with himself to flee to Rome, and to effectuate this designment of his, he was persuaded, that of a special grace and favour the Gods had lent and offered unto him this Didus the Pretor of Paonia to be his helper and assistant; for through his Province he conceived some hope to pass and escape with security. This intent and plot of his was both immediately disclos'd to his brother Perseus, and also by him declared to his father. And first were letters hereof brought unto him, while he lay at the siege of Petra. Afterwards Herodorus (the principal friend that Demetrius had) was committed to ward, and withal, order was taken to watch and observe Demetrius that he started not aside; but all underground and close, without temblance of any such matter. These occurrences above all others, caused the King to have a dolorous and heavy return into Macedonia. These new acclamations thus prefixed troubled him much: howbeit he thought good to expect the return of those whom he had sent to Rome as spies to hear all and find out the truth. In the anguish and agony of these cares and perplexities, when the King had continued several months, in the end those Embassadors came home; who at first ere they set foot out of Macedonia, had devise'd and framed before hand what reports they would make from Rome. These messengers, to make up the full measure of all their wicked and divellish practices, delivered also into the Kings hand a false and forged letter, sealed with a counterfeit signet of T. Quintius. The said letter was indited to this tenor and effect, That Quintius should seem for his own excuse to say, that albeit young Demetrius, carried away with an inordinate desire to be King, had flipp'd a little, and treated with him about some such matter; yet would he do no prejudice any one about K. Philip, neither would he be thought or found a man to give any ungodly and ungracious counsel. These letters struck it dead fierce and made the King believe, that all the former importations hitherto upon Demetrius were true and past all peradventure. Whereupon Herodorus presently was put to the rack and examined; but after he had endured intolerable pains a long time, and confess'd nothing, he died in the end under the tormentors hand.

Perfect accused Demetrius again before his father, for that he intended and provided to take his flight through Paonia, and there came forth certain to testify against him, saying, that he had corrupted, inveigled and induced them to accompany him in that journey, but that which made most of all against him, was that same devise'd letter of T. Quintius. Howbeit there was no grievous sentence pronounced openly against him to the end that rather by some covert and causeless practice, he might come to his death; and this, not for any fear that he had of him, but doubting left some open punishment execut'd upon him, might reveal and discover his secret designment, of making war upon the Romans.

Philip himself taking his journey from Thestolonica to come to Demetrius, sent Demetrius his son to Aesopus, a city in Paonia, and the same Didus still to accompany him: but Perseus he address'd to Amphipolis, for to receive the hostiles of the Thracians. Now it is reported, that when Didus took his leave of him and departed, the King gave him in charge to kill his son Demetrius. Didus then, either purposing indeed or making semblance to sacrifice, invited Demetrius to the celebration and feast thereof, whereupon he came in Aesopus to Hercules. And (as men say) at this supper he met with a cup of poison. He had no sooner drunk it, but immediately he felt that he was ipse; for within a while it began to work extremely, and for very doulour and pain, he was forced to rise from the table and retire into his bed-chamber: where he pitiably complained of the hard heart and cruelty of his father, of the murderous mind of the paricide his brother, and of the tre-herous villainy of Didus: and all this while endured deadly wrings and torments in his belly. But afterwards there were sent into the chamber, one Thyras Stuberba, and Alexander of Berytus, who enwrapped his head and throat with the bed-cloths, carpets and counterpoints of taffitry, and held them so hard, that they throttled and smothered him, and in the end flipp'd his breath that he died. Thus was this poor innocent young man piteously made away; whole enemies one single kind of death could not content and satisfy, but needs they must kill and murder them twice.

Whiles these things happened in Macedonia, L. Aemilius Paulus, who continued still in government after his Comitanship expired, marched with his army against the Ligurians Inguanes in the beginning of the spring. So soon as he was entred into the confines of his enemies country, and thence encamped, there came Embassadors unto him under colour of seeking peace, but indeed only to excite and fire, Paulus made them answer, That he could contract no accord with them, unless they yielded first: which they seemed not so much to refuse, but said, That they needed some time to persuade their nation unto it, being a rude and uncivil kind of people. And when they had tedious time allowed to effect this, they requested moreover, that the Roman soldiery might pass over the next hills adjoining, either for fewel or forage, forasmuch as those lands were the only tilled and well minered grounds of their appurtenances and territory. When they had obtained from them, this they assembled all their forces on that side of the hills, from whence they
A had averted the enemies, and laddainly with a mighty multitude charged upon the Roman camp, and assaulted all the avenues and gates thereof at once. With all forcible means they continued the assault in each fort, as the Romans had not so much as either time enough to set forth and display their enigia, or room sufficient to put their army in order of battle; but were compelled to defend their camp more by standing thick thrown together against the enemies in the very gates than otherwise by hardy fighting. But about the going down of the sun, when the enemies were retired, Paulus dispatched two light horse-men with letters to M. Ropius the Consul, as far as Pisa, that he should come away with all speed to succour him, being in time of case befied. But Ropius had delivered up his army before to M. Iunius, the Tribuns, the senators went unto Sardinia. Howbeit he both certified the Senate by his letters, that L. Emues the Fleet, as far as Liguria, and he wrote also to M. C. Marcellus, whose province was now adjoining, to bring over his forces (if he thought it good) out of Gaul to Liguria, and deliver L. Emues from Pisa. But alas! these succours should have come at all too late; for the Liguarians the venor were day returned and advanced against the camp. Emues, albeit he not only knew that they would come, but also might have brought his power forth into the field and ranged them in array, yet he kept himself to cloister within the strength of his rampier, mincing to hold off and not to fight, until Ropius might with his army come from Pisa. Now the letters of Ropius sailed great feast at Rome, and to make the more, for that Marcellus being returned to the City, some few days after he had made over his army unto Fabius, put them out of all hope, that the army which was in France could not possibly pass into Liguria, by reason of the war with the Britains, who immeased the planting of the colony of Aqui/a; against whom Fabius was gone, and might not possibly retire from thence, now that the war was once begun. The only hope they had therefore of aiding Emues was this, (yet the fame seemed to be with the latest, considering the urgent necessity of the time) in case the Consul made haste to go into their prouinces, which to do all the LL. of the Senat callet slow and earnestly unto them. But the Consuls denied it hastily to stir one foot before the levy of soldiers was fully finished; alleguing that it was not their slackness, but the violence of the plague, which caused it to be so late ere it were performed. Yet for all this was the general accord and content of the Senat, that they could neither will nor chuse but go forth of the City in their rich coats of arms, and by proclama nation to assign a certain day, upon which all the soldiers whom they had enrolled should meet at Pisa: and commission they had to take up military auxiliaries, all the country over as they went, to prefide them forth presently and have them away. Moreover, the Pretors, P. Petilius and Q. Fabius were both of them commanded, the one, namely, Petilius, to enrol in half a tabularium legionaries of Roman citizens, and tender the military oath to all that were not above fiftie years old: and Fabius, to levy of the Latin allies fifteen thousand foot, and eight hundred horsemen. The two Duvmvirs or Wardens for the navy and the ports were created, namely, C. Marcius and C. Lucertus, who were soon provided of ships ready rigged, trimmed and furnished to their hands. And Maniens, who had the charge of the coasts upon the gulf of Gaul, was commended to bring his fleet with all speed possible along, to the track of the Liguarians, if possibly he might any way stend L. Emues and his army. Emues after he perceived that no aid appeared from any place, supposing verily that the two horse men above-said, were intercepted and stifed by the way, thought good to put off no longer, but alone with his own forces, to try the fortune of a fight. And the coppen before the enemies came (who now already began more coldly and heavily to affaim them themselves) he put his men in battall array at the four gates of the camp, to the end that upon the signal given, they should all once from all parts rally forth. To the four extraordinary cohorts, he adjointed two other, under the conduct of M. Valerius a Lieutenant, and commanded them to break forth at the false postern gate called Extraordinaria: within the gate Principalis on the right hand, he embattled the Halitari or Lutiators of the first legion, and the pricipes of the fame legion in the rearguard to fecound them, commanded both by M. Scrivulis and L. Sulphus, two military Tribunes military. The third legio he marshalled full against the other gate Principalis on the left hand. This change only was here, that for the Pretors were set in the front, and the Hauliari behind in the tail of them. Sex. Inlvis Caesar and L. Aurelius Cotta, two military Tribunes had the leading of this legion. Q. Fabius Manlius a Lieutenant, having the conduct of the right wing, was placed at the gate Quelloria. Two cohorts and the Triarii of two legions had commandment to stay behind for the defence of the camp. The Generall himself in person rode all about from gate to gate, exhorting and encouraging his men: using all the forcible means he possibly could devise, to provoke and what the fluxacks of his foildiers, and to give a poynant edge to their courage and choler: one while reproaching his enemies for their falsehood and treachery, who having ceased peace and obtained truce; during the time of the said truce, against all law of nations were come to affaim the camp: another while shewing and declaring unto them what shame and indignity it was for the Roman army to be befied by the Liguarians, who more truly may be accounted thevves and robbers than go for warlike enemies. If (quoth he) you should escape from hence, not by your own vertue and valour, but through the help and succour of others, with what face shall any of you able to meet, I say, not those fouldiers who have vanquished Annibal, defeated Philip, and subdued Antiochus, the mightieft King, and greatest commander of our age: but even them who many a time have hunted and chased the very fame Liguarians like brut beasts, over the wilds and forrests as they fled, and bewed them in pecces in the end.

E c e  
That
That which the Spaniards, that which the Gauls, that which the Macedonians and Carthagians, dared not entreprise, namely, to approach and enter upon the remnant of the Roman camp: shall a Ligurian enemy adventure to do? Shall he of his own accord presume to befeigel and assail our camp, whom heretofore when we best all the blind buffets, by woods and thickets, to start him out, we had much ado to find, he lay to close and lurked to covertly? At these words the Gauls set up a connotatant crow in token of applause, and answered him with a general shout, saying, there was no fault on their part, seeing that no man had given them the signal to stuff forth and make a folly. For let him but once say the word to sound the trumpet, he should see and find, that both Romans and Ligurians were the same still as before-time. Now the Ligurians kept two camps on the near side of the mountains against the Roman legate, from whence (for the first days to the sun was up) they used to advance their ensigns, and march forward I well armed and ranked in battle array; but then they put no amm on their backs, nor took weapon in hand, before they had filled their bellies well with meat and their heads with wine: they came forth (I say) inspected and cut of order; as who hoped and trusted assuredly, that the enemies would not march under their ensigns without their rampart. Against then (coming thus in skirmish) the Romans suivd forth at once, out of all the gates in one instant with a mighty shout, which not only they who were within the camp set up, but also the laces, scullions, landers, and other drudges that follow the camp redeemed. This was such an unlocked for occurrence to the Ligurians, that they were fet, in so great an affright therewith, as if they had been surprised & beleaguer all about with sudden ambushments. For a small while there was some flaw of a conflict, such as it was; but anon they took their heels and fled for life; but as they fled, they left their lives K behind them in every place. Then the men of arms had the signal given to mount on horseback, to pursue them & not suffer one to escape alive: & to in this festival rout they were driven to shake their camp for safety: but in the end were dissiiized and turned out off: also. That day were slain of the Ligurians not so few as fifteen thousand, and 2500 taken prisoners. Within three days after, the whole nation of the Ligurian Ligurians, yeelded absolutely, and put in their hostages. A search was made for all the piles and mariners, who had ex-relish piracy on the sea, and they were all laid up fall in prison. Sempiby C. Mummius one of the Duumvirs or wardens of the navy met with two and thirty ships of that sort, belonging to men of war upon the coast of Liguria, and boarded them. To carry these news to Rome, 1st letters to the Senat, L. Aurelius Cotta, and C. Sulpicius Cotta were sent to Rome: who also were to require that L. Escipio, (when his time was expired) might depart out of his province, and bring his soldiers from thence with him, and to discharge them of service. Both these demands were granted by the Senat, and solemn procession besides was ordained in all churches and chapels, and at every shrine and altar for three days space. The Pretors also were commanded, solicits, to call and dimine the legions of the city, and Fabiius, to remit the Latin allies the levying and murthering of their soldiers. Also there was order given to the Pretor of the city, to write unto the C. a. to give them to understand, that the Senat thought it meet and reason, that the fubjed soldiers (who were enrolled in half for the fuddlin tumults and stans) should all speed be licenced to depart. The same yeer the colony of Gravers was planted in the territory of Tuscania, which in times past was conquered from the Tuscusians, and five acres of land was set out to every man. The T. Livius who had the charge thereof to distribute the lands, were C. Calpurnius Vispo, P. Claudius Pulcher, and C. Terentius Litra. A yeer it was of note, in regard of the drought that happened the year following, and the dearth of corn and all other fruits of the earth. For recorded it is, that in six month space it never rained one drop.

The same year it forord, that as certain plow-men and labouers plowed and digged some-what deep within the ground, in the lands of L. Persius (secretary, (which lands lay under the hill Isemnulm) there were found two coffers of tone, each of them about eight foot long and four foot broad, the lids and covers thereof were bound and lided with lead. Both these coffers had a superscription upon them in Greek and Latin letters to this effect, That in the one of them lay buried Same Pomponius the fon of Pomp, sometime King of Rome: and in the other, were belswed the books of the land Namn. The owner of this ground opened these coffers by the advice and counsel of his friends: and that which carried the title and inscription of the books thereafter, was found empty, without any shew or token of the religies of a mans body or soul thereof, by reason the bones and all were rotten and consumed, in continuance of time after many years past. In the other were found two fardles, wrapped within wax candles (for cear-clthes containing either of them leven books; which were not only whole and found, but also seemed very fresh and new. One set of them were written in Latin, as touching the Pictitey lawe; the other in Grecian, enstiled, The discipline or doctrine of Philosopher, such as those days might afford, Venerio Amstias faith moreover, that they were the books of Ptolemy, according to the common received opinion of Namn, that he was the disciple of Pitypos of egypt, giving credit to a probable lie, resembling a truth. These books were first read by those friends of his who were present at the place where the coffers were opened; but afterwards as they came into more men hands to be read, it chanced that O. Petrus, the lord chief judge of the city, deigning to peruse those books, borrowed them of L. Persius, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, by reason that the abovenamed Quamnius Petrus had chosn the fore and Lucius into the deceny of the States and secretaries, who after he had read the titles with the summaries and
A and contents of every chapter, and finding the most part thereof, tending directly to abolish the
state of the religion then established, laid unto L. Petilius, that he purposed to fling those books
into the fire; before he did so, he would permit him to use what means he thought by order of
law, or other woman would serve his turn to recover the said books out of his hands, and good leave
he should have to take that comic without his displeasure, or any breach of friendship between
them. The Scribe or notary aforesaid went to the Tribunes for their assistance, the Tribunes put
the matter over to the Senators, before whom the Pretor said plainly, that he was ready to take
his corporal oath, if it were to put to it, that those books ought neither to be read nor kept. Where-
upon the Senate judged, that for such a matter the offer only of the Pretors oath was sufficient,
and that the books should be burned with all speed possible in the open place of assemblies called
Cumitii; but they awarded with all that they should be paid unto Q. Petilius the right owner
as much money for the books, as the Pretor and the more part of the Tribunes of the Common's
acquitted them worth. The Scribe would touch none of money; but his books were burnt in the
said place before all the people in a light fire, made by the ordinary servitors attending upon
the fœtices.

The same summer there arose suddenly a great war in the higher Spain. The Celtiberians
had gathered a power of five & thirty thousand men, a number more then lightly at any time before
they had levied. Now was Q. Fulvius Flaccus, lord Deputy of that province. He for his part, be-
cause he was advertized that the Celtiberians put their youth in arms, had raised and assembled
before the town Eburas, after he had planted a mean garrison within it. A few days after the
Celtiberians pitched their tents within two miles from thence under a little hill. When the Roman
Pretor perceived they were come, he sent his brother Martius Fulvius with two companies of
the horsemen of allies in espial, to view the enemies camp. Billing him to approach as near to the
trench and rampier as he could, and to see what compass the camp took, but to forbear skirmishing,
and in any hand to retire, in case he perceived the cavalry of their enemies made out against him.
According to this direction, in did in every respect. And to fore certain date together, there was
nothing done, but only these two companies of horsemen shewing off, and afterwards retiring
back to loom as the cavalry of the enemies effused out of their camp. At length the Celtiberians
also came forth and advanced forward with all their power, as well horse as foot, and having let
them in ordainance of bataill, flasted as it were in the midde between. The whole ground was a
smooth and even plain, fit to join a bataill in. There stood the Spaniards (119) expecting their
enemies: But the Roman Pretor kept his men within the rampier four miles together still; and
they likewise of the other side held the same pace full in bataill array. The Romans all that while
filtered not a foot. The Celtiberians then seeing the enemies relented fight, held themselves quiet
also within their camp: only the horsemen rid forth: and they kept a corps de guard, to be in
readiness if peradventure the enemies should be buffed and come abroad. Both of the one side and
other, they went out of the back side of their camp to purse forage and fuel, and impeached not
one another. The Roman Pretor, supposing now that after so many days rest, the enemies were
born in hand, and hoped fully, that he would never begin first, commanded L. Aelius to take
with him the left wing of the cavalry, and fix thousand of the provincial auxiliaries, and to fight a
compasse about the hill which stood behind the enemies; and from thence to loom as they heard
a cry, to run down again and charge upon their camp. And because they might not be discovered,
in the night they departed. Flaccus the next morning by peep of day, sent out C. Scribonius, (a colonel of the allies) against the enemies camp, with the extraordinary horsemen of the left wing: whom when the Celtiberians beheld both approach nearer to them & also more
in number then usually they had been, they put forth all their cavalry at once out of the garis-
ons & withal gave the signal to the infantry also to come abroad. Scribonius, according to the directs
on given, lo loom as ever he heard the first noise and shout of the horsemen turned the head of
his horse, and retired back full upon the camp; there with the enemies followed more freely first
the horsemen, and within a while the footmen also, making full account to be mete with the Ro-
mans leaguer that day, and verily now were they put out hal's a smile. When Flaccus supposed
that they were turned far enough from their camp, for inclosing in, he issued forth at once in three
places with his army arranged before in order of battalions within, and causeth them to let
up a mighty cry, not only to astonish the footiers to the combat, but also that their fellows
behind the hill might hear it. Who made no stay, but presently ran down and fell upon the ene-
imies, as they had in charge, where there were left in guard not above five hundred armed
men. By reason therefore, that they within were few, the enemies without to many, and
the enterprise to find out and unlooked for, they were mightily terrified, and so in manner with-
out any skirmish and resistance at all, their hold was forced and won. Aelius set on fire that
camp, which might as well be seen of them that were fighting in the plain. Now the Celtiberi-
ans which stood behind in the rearguard, were the first that discovered the flame, but afterwards it
was noted and went current through the main bataill, that their camp were lost and all on a light
fire. The enemies were greatly amazed, but the Romans much more animated. For now
they might hear the sound of their fellows, having the upper hand, now might they see the
cent of their enemies burning with bright flames. The Celtiberians for a while stood in silence,
doubt fall what to do; but afterwards, perceiving they had no place of safe retreat, upon their
direction they should fall to running away, they saw no other hope but in fighting it out, and
do they began to renew the skirmish in which, with more resolution than before, fiercely they were
encountered and charged in the midst of their battle by the Silesians; but against the left flank and
wing, where they saw the head and advanced the enemys with more boldness and confidence. And verify
that left wing of the Romans was at the point to have retreated, but that the right wing fell
stayed and incurred the man and woman that were left within, Ebrar and another, came from
town in the very midst, and burst of the confed; and Aelius from another part, placed
on their backs. Down went the Celtiberians strong armed, and were cut in pieces between.
As many as remained, made flight to flee and escape on all hands in every quarter. The cavalry was
sent out after them two times in several bands; who also committed great slaughter and execution.
That day were slain of the enemies about 23,500; 4,000 taken prisoners, with five hundred
hurt and above; besides 80 military enemys gotten from them and carried away. A great victory
this was, but not without blussent of the Roman part; for of two legions they died somewhat
more than two hundred; but of Latin allies 2,500, of forren men, much about 2,400 the lives
in the field. The Pretor then retires with his victorious army into his own camp. Aelius was
commanded to abide still in that of their enemies, which he had forced and won. The next morrow
they tell to gather up the spoils of their enemies, and those who had born themselves valiantly
in that service among the rest, were rewar'd with gifts in a full and frequent assembly of the
whole army. After this, when the hard and marred were brought back into the town, Ebrar, the
K legion were led through the country, Corpetasia, towards Combricia. This City which it was
once besieged sent to the Celtiberians for succour; but they came not in time: not for any slack-
ness of their part, but because after they were departed from home, & had entered on their jour-
ney, the Xew was a hundred and clad them, which they were not able to pass for the continual
rain that fell over, and besides, the waters were cut and the rivers swelled to height, that possibly
they could not come forward; whereas upon the besieged inhabitants being in dispair of help, from their
friends, retired the town. Ebrar likewise was forced by the storm and tempestuous weather
to put his army into the same City. Now the Celtiberians, who were on foot in their journey,
and not aware that their friends had intrusted, at length having pass'd over the rivers (when the
rain gave over and the weather took up) came to Combricia, but seeing no camp whereabout
the walls, and supposing that it was either removed to the other side, or the enemies dislodged and
gone, they approached the town, and marched closely and tetchingly so forward in disarray. The
Romans fall'd upon them at two gates, fell upon them (distressed as they were) and put
them to the rout. But how what hapned? that thing which huse they them that they could not make
head resistance, and left themselves to begin fight (namely) because they came not together in one
entire band, nor yet by great companies about their colours. The same stood them in good stead
to lose many of their lives that fled. For they ran to scattering, and were to spread all over
the places that in no place could the enemy meet with them in any number thick together, to com-
pare them about on every side. Howbeit 2,400 of them were killed, and above 5,000 taken prisoners,
besides 400 hurt, 62 ensigns of war won from them. Those who after their flagging fight retired
homeward, met with another troop of Celtiberians coming forward, unto whom they recon-
counted the yielding up of Combricia and their own misfortune; by which means they caused
them to turn and go back again, who immediately lapt away in their villages and forts.
Then Ebrar departed from Combricia, and conducted his legions through Celtiberia was-
sting and spoiling as he went where he forced many castles until the greater part of that coun-
try was reduced under his obedience. These affairs passed in high Spain that year. As for the
lower province, Manlius the Pretor fought fortunately in certain battles against the Portugals.

The same year a Colony of Latins was placed in Aquileia, within the territory of the Gauls;
and thither were conducted three thousand footmen, and every one of them were endowed
with fifty acres of land. The Centurions besides had a hundred, and the lieutenants a hundred
and forty acres specie given unto them. And the Commissioners for this conduct and distribution
were P. Cornelius Scipio Naesica, C. Flamininus, and L. Manlius Acidinus. In which year also
two Temples were dedicated, the one to Venus Erica near the gate Collina (which L. P. Varia-
licius the son of Lucius dedicated, being a Dunumvir depur'd for that purpose, and had been
vowed before by L. Porcius the Confid in the Ligurian war) the other to the goddess Lecta, in the
herb market: and of this chappell M. Acilius Glabrio the other Dunumvir, b'd the dedication;
where, before erected and set up in the honor of his father Glabrio, a gilt statue, which was the first
gilded image that ever was made in Italy. This Glabrio the father was he, who had vowed to
consecrate the said Temple that very day on which he fought the battle against R. Antiochus, at Thermopyle,
and by warrant from the Senat, had bargained for the building thereof at a price. In those
dates wherein these holy houles were consecrated, L. Emnlius Paulus the Proconsul, triumphed
over the Ligurian Irgunes. He had born before him three and twenty golden Coronets, and
besides them there was no gold or silver else carried in that triumph. But many principal Li-
gurians, men of mark, whom he took captive, were led before his chair. He dealt among his
boulders, 300 Asles specie. The fame of this triumph of his, was much more rencended by

The fortieth Book of T. Livius.
this occasion, that the Ligurian Embassadors were to have a perpetual peace with the Romans by saying, That their whole nation were resolved, never to take arms again, but by commandment and licence of the people of Rome, Q. Fabius the Pretor, returned this answer unto them by the advice of the Senat. That it was no news to hear this language from the Ligurians; but it stood them upon and was becommg rather, to carry a new mind, and the same agreeable to their speech: and therefore they should go to the Contuls, and do by them which they were enjoined: forasmuch as the Senat would believe none but the word only of the Contuls in the behalf of the Ligurians, as touching their true and sincere meaning to observe peace. Thus was peace concluded with the Ligurians: but there was a battle fought in Canoba, with the Islanders there; in which M. Furius the Pretor flew 2000 of them in the field: which defeat compelled them to give hostages, and besides 100000 pound weight of wax. From thence the army was conducted into Sardinia, where passed some fortunate battles against the Ligurians, a nation at that day not fully quieted & appeased. In this very year also were the hundred hostages rendered back, gain to the Barbarians, with whom the people of Rome made and maintained peace, as well for their own parts, as in the behalf of K. M. Rufius, who, at that time with an armed garrison, held the possession of that territory in question. The Contuls in their province still and had nothing to do. M. Babini was sent for to Rome, against the general assembly for the election of magistrates: who created Contuls, A. Pabolius Albinus Lucretius and C. Calpurnius Piso. After this, were elected Pretors Tb, Sempronius Gracchus, A. Pabolius Albinus, P. Cornel. Maneretus, T. Minucius Mellius, A. Hœfisius Manucci, and C. Mancius; and they all entered into their magistracy upon the 15 day of March.

C. In the beginning of that year wherein A. Pabolius Albinus, and C. Calpurnius Piso were Contuls: A. Pabolius the Contul brought into the Senat those persons who were come from Q. Fulvius Flaccus: out of the bitter province of Spain; to wit L. Minucius his Lieutenant generally, and the two Colonels, T. Minucius and L. Maffilius. These men after they had made report of two battles fortunately fought against the Celts, that their country yielded and brought under their subjection; and that the term of government in that province was expired; and no more left to be done there; so as there was no need either of the ordinary money which was wont to be sent for soldiers pay, or of corn to be carried unto the army for that year: requisted of the Senat first to regard of their happy successe, to yield honour and praise to the immortal gods: and then, that Q. Fulvius might depart and come his wages out of the province, and bring with him that army of his from thence, whole valiant service, both himself and also many Pretors before him had used: which (say they) was not only meet and convenient, but also requisite and needful in a manner to be done: forasmuch as the Celts were so stiffnecked and obstinate, that it seemed impossible to hold them any longer in that province, but that they would be gone and depart without licence, if they were not dismissed: or else break out into some dangerous fire of a mutiny, if a man should go about to keep and hold them back by strong hand. The Senat gave order that Liguria should be the province for both Contuls: which done, the Pretors also called lots for theirs. To A. Hœfisius fell the civil jurisdiction over the cities; and to Minucius over the foragers: P. Cornelius had the government of Sicily; C. Mancius of Sardinia. Unto L. Pabolius was allotted the farther part of Spain, and to Tb Sempronius the bitter. This Sempronius (because he was to succeed Q. Fulvius) fearing his province should be left naked and disfurnished of the old soldiers, I demand (ad be) of you, O L. Minucius, since you bring word that there is no more trouble behind of that province, whether you think that the Celts will continue fast in their allegiance for ever, to as, that province may be protected and hold in obedience without any army at all? And if you cannot undertake to assure us of the faith and loyalty of their Barbarians & do advise us in any hand to maintain an army in those parts, whether you will give counsel to the Senat, for to send supplies into Spain that they only should be called and discharged, who have served out their full years required by law, and so that new and raw soldiers be mangled with the rest of the old? or that the old soldiers should full and whole be removed out of the province, and new legions enold, and sent either in their stead? considering that the small account that usually is made of such fresh and untrained soldiers, were enough to induce and move even the more quiet and peaceable part of Barbarians to rebel and make war again? Soon said it is, but not fiscally done, to have made an end of all troubles in this province, especially where the people are naturally inclined to war, and prone ever and anon to make insurrections, Some few Cities, as far as I can hear, and namely, those which being near unto the soldiers lying in winter garrison, were by them held in awe and kept down, have yeelded and are become subject, but they that were further off, be in arms still and have weapon in hand. Which being so, I tell you (my L. L.) even now before hand, that I will perform my service to the Commonwealth, with the help of that army which is there already at this present, but in case Flaccus bring away those legions with him will chuse those our retors which are in peace, to winter in, and nothazard my young and new soldiers among them; to be presented to the devotion and mercy of most fierce and warlike enemies. The Lieutenant answered to their demands in this manner, That neither himself nor any man else was able for his life to divine and foreordain what was in the heart of the Celts now, and what they would mind and intend to do hereafter; and therefore he could not deny, but the better policy it was to lend an army among those Barbarians (peaceable though they seemed to be at present) before
The fortieth Book of T. Livius.

cauae as yet they are inured to government, and cannot well skill of being subjects. But whether H
it beme more expeditent to employ new forces, as the old, it is for him to speak and set down, who
upon his knowledge can by how loyally the Celtharians will carry themselves in time of peace,
and is withall assur'd, that the souldiers will hold them content and quiet, if they be detained
any longer in the province. But if a man may conjeeture, and give a guess what they thin
their heart, either by their grumbling words secretly one to another; or their speeches uttered
in the presence and hearing of their General, when he maketh orations to them in publick audi-
cence I tell you truly they have cried out with open mouth, that either they will keep their Ge-
nerall with them in the province, or home they will with him into Italy. This debate between
the Preter and the Lieutenant, was interrupted and broken off, by a new matter propounded
before the Senat by the Conuls, which thought it meet and reasonable, that order should be taken for
their own furniture and in that forth with men, money, and munition to their provinces, before
any thing were spoken or treat of as touching the Preter his army. So, ordained it was, that the
Con. should have their entire army of new souldiers, to be in each of them two legions of Rom.
citizens with their cavalry, together with the small and unaccustomed number at all other times
of Latine allies, namely, 15000 foot and 800 horse. And with this power they had in charge to
make war against the Ligurian Apuans. As for P. Cornelius and M. Babus, they continued still
in place of command, and were willing to hold their provinces, until the Conuls were thither
come. Then they were commanded to discharge the army which they had, and so to return to
Rome. After this, speech there was concerning the army of Tib. Sempronius, and the Conuls had
warrant to enroll now a new legition, consisting of five thousand and two hundred foot and 400 K
horse; and besides, 1000 footmen, and 50 horse of Roman citizens. Likewise the Latine na-
tion was charged with a levy of 7000 foot, and 300 horse. With which army it was thought good,
that Tib. Sempronius should 3 go into the higher province of Spain. As for Q. Fulvius, he was per-
mitted to bring back with him (if he thought well thereof) all those souldiers, as well Romans as
allies, which had been transported over into Spain before the Conulship of Sp. Posthumus and
Q. Marcius; and more than that (after a new supply was come, the upplintage in two legions a-
bove 1400 foot, and 600 horse, and the over-plus of 12000 footmen of Latins, and six hundred
horsemen; and namely, those whose valours service C. Fulvius had tried and found in two bat-
tles against the Celtharians. Moreover, thereon proceeded and thanksgiving were by authority
ordained for his happy managing of the affairs of the Common-wealth; & the rest of the Pre-
tors were lenient into their provinces, Q. Fabini Edus had his commission renewed to govern Gallia
full. Thus it was agreed in the Senat-house, that there should be eight legions maintained and kept
in pay, three over and above the old army in Liguria, which was in good hope shortly to be
committed. Howbeit, even these forces (being no greater then they were) barely could be made
full and complete by reason of the pestillence which now three years had raged, and dispeopled
the City of Rome and all Italy. During which plague the Preter T. Minutius, and not long after
him, the Conul C.Caefarinius died: with many other brave and famous persons of each degree
and quality. So as at length these men began to hold this depopulation and calamity for a prodig-
cous stroke and strange wonder. Whereupon C. Serelius the Arch-bishop was charged, to search
out means for to appease the wrath and anger of the gods, and the Deceivers like-wit he peruse,
the books of Sibylia: the Conul, to vow certain presents and oblations, to Jun Apoll, Asellapós
and Lady Smyr. and to set upon their images garnished with gold: which he vowed and exe-
cuted accordingly. The Deceivers proclaimed supplications & prayers to deities together for the health
of the people, throughout the City, and in all market towns and places of frequent resort and af-
fectly. Above twelve years of age, wore chaplets & garlands of flowers upon their heads; & bare
branches of laurel in their hands, whiles they were at their prayers & devotion. Moreover, ther
was crept into mens heads a suspicion that some devilish and wicked hand might be the cause of
all this. Whereupon by an act of the Senat, a commission was granted unto C.Caefarinius the Pre-
tor (who was inlubircted and chosen in the room of T. Minutius) to make search and diligent in-
quiry after all confessions of poison & the praetors thereof, within the City, & for the compass
of ten miles about every way; in like manner, to C. Minus, for to sit in the enquiry thereof bef-
fore he enrolled above into his province of Sardinia in all the mist-towns and places of assem-
blly which were more than ten miles off, from Rome. Of all others, the Conul his death was most
suffered. For given out it was, that Quarta Hostilia his wife, had murdered him; but when he
was fnecost, that her own son Q. Fulvius Pletus, was declared Conul in place of his father in
law and mothers husband, the death of Piso the Conul began to be more infamous and suspicions
a great deal then before. And witnesseth there came forth ready to depose, that after Albuns and
Piso were pronounced Conuls (in which election the fald Pletus was rejected and suffered a re-
pulse) his mother reproached him therewith, and laid it in his dhis, that this was the third time
that he had for the Conulship and gone without: adding moreover, and willing him to be ready
to stand for it again, for that the would work and bring it about, that within two months he
should be Conul. Among other testimonies and depositions making for the cause and tending to
the same, that speech he also, taking effect too truly and so just within the time, was thought
ful sufficient to condemne Hostilia.

In the beginning of this spring, whiles the levy of souldiers flaid the new Conul at Rome,
whiles the death of the one and the choosing of the other into their place, caues all thing there
A to go more flowly forward; in the mean time, Corneius and Fabius had done nothing worthy of the remembrance during the Consulship; led their armies against the Ligurian Apuans. These Ligurians, who before the coming of the Consuls into the province looked for no war, were surprized at unwilling; and to the number of 12,000 of them yeelded: whom Corneius and Fabius resolved (upon advice had first with the Senate by letters) to transport from the mountains, into plains and spacious country from their own home; to the end they should have no more hope to return, for otherwise they supposed the Ligurian war would never have an end. Now there was in the Samnis country a certain territory belonging in common to the people of Rome, which sometimes had been in the tenure and possession of the Tarraucas. In which place they being deific to plant the Ligurian Apuans, published an edit, That they should defend down the mountains Asides, together with their wives and children, and bring away with them all that ever they had. But the Ligurians sent their Embassadors oftentimes to intreat, but they might not be forced to abandon their domestical gods, the place of their nativity, and the sepulchers of their ancestors; and there with promised to deliver up their armor, and to put in hostages. Howbeit, seeing they could not prevail, and having not strength and power enough to wage war again, they obeyed the edict and proclamation. So there was translated from thence at the public charges of the City, to the number of four thousand persons free born, together with their women and children: and unto them was allowance made of 15,000 Sellerces, toward the building of new houses. And to distribute and divide land among them the same men (to wit, Corneius and Fabius) had commission given to also removed them into those parts. However at the request of their train, there were Quooscerus or five commanders of soldiers granted unto them by the Senate, by whole advice they might manage all. These affairs being finished, after they had brought with them to Rome their old army, they obtained of the Senate a grant to triumph. And those were the first that ever triumphed under a war before. Only the enemies were led in flux before their chariot; for nothing had they gained and won for to be carried or led in pomp; neither was there ought to be seen in their triumphs, which might be dealt and given among the soldiers.

The same see Fulvius Flaccus the Pretor in Spain, by occasion that his Successor flayed long ere he came into the province, brought forth his army into the field out of his wintering camp, and began to wait and spoil the farther parts and territories of Celtiberia: from whence the inhabitants came not in to inform and do their homage and fealty. By which deed of his, he rather provoked and angered the barbarous people, then terrified them: for when they had secretly gathered together certain forces and companies, they beleaguered and barred the passage Mainaturnum, by which they were afferrd that the Roman army would passe, as L. Paullusus Albinus was upon his journey into the nether province of Spain, Gracchus his colleague charged him, to adversary Fulvius Flaccus for to bring his army to Tartessus, for that he proposed there to discharge his old fellows to distribute the supply which he brought, & to range, in order at his army by companies. Notice was given to Flaccus of the very day (which was the 29th) upon which his successor would come. This new occasion caused Flaccus to lay aside the enterprizes which he intended, and in all haste to withdraw his forces out of Celtiberia. The barbarous people knowing not the cause hereof, but supposing that he had some holding of their revels, and how they had in secret cast armies, and that thereupon he was fore-advis'd, guarded and stopped the passage much more particularly. Now to soon as the Roman army was cut off into the past one morning betimes at the break of day, the enemies arose sudainly: once out of two parts, and charged the Roman: which when Flaccus perceived, he gave commandment by the sound of the Cetturias, that every man should keep his place and find his ground, to have his arms and weapons in readinesse, by which means he appeas'd the tumult and striight in his hold. Then after he had brought all his labouring beasts with the baggage, unto one place the embattled and put in array all his bands and companies, partly by himself in person, and partly by his Lieutenants and Colonels, according as the ground and the time required, throwing no sign at all of fear, but putting his men in mind of the enemies, in these terms: Ye have (quoth he) to do with those that twice already yielded have yeelded unto us, who are inured and practiced in wickendness & perjury; not bettered in vertue and courage: those I say who are like to make our return home honorable and glorious, which other wise would have been obscure and nothing memorable: it was as we shall carry to Rome for a triumph, our swords all bloody and newly bathed in the green wounds and lieath massacre of our enemies; and bear away the spoils of their bodies, all embers and full dropping with their blood. Time would not permit him to lay any more, for now the enemies advanced forward, and the charge was already given in the utmost skirts of the army, and among the main battels encountered and joyed in conflict. The fight was hot and cruel alike in all parts, but the fortune divers: for the Roman legions in the main battel fought valiantly, and the two wings of either hand did their devote as bravely. The auxiliary strangers had to do with enemies armed in deed at all points like to themselves, but better foulders by ods then they were in lurch fort, as they were over-charged by them, and could not make good their ground. The Celtibrians perceiving they were not able to match the legions in ranked battel and close hand, fight, called their companies into a pointed and coin-formed battelion, for to pierce perforce and enter upon their enemies in which manner of fight they are to strong, that it is not possible to withstand them, wherover they give their violent charge. And then the legions also were put in disarray, and
and the whole main battle after a fort, was disabandoned and broken. Which disorder and fear
full trouble when Flaccus perceived he rode a gallop to the legionary men of arms: What? (qtd.
he unto them) is there no help at all in you? and shall this army here be thus defeated utterly
and come to nought? Whereat they cried on all hands to him to give direction and speak only
the word what he would have done, & he should see how they would belief themselves in the execution
of his command. Mary (quoth he) double your troops, you that are the hormen of two
legions, and run your horses with full carrier against that wedge-formed battalion of the ene-
emies, where they preface upon our men; and this shall you perform with the more violence
of your horses, if you disride them and let them have full head, and to set spurs and rush in
among them: which we have re- din stories, that the Romans many a time have professed to
their great prate and honour. No sooner said, but done it was; plaue were the bridles over
their horse heads; twice they ran through the mids of them to and fro in turn and side to
another, brake all their lances upon the enemies, overthrew them, and made foul work and slaughter
among them. When this pointed bataillon of the Cetiberians was once broken, (even the whole
and only hope they bad;) then they began to fear and tremble, then were they at the point to
quitt the fight, and to look about them which way to take their flight. The extr ordinary Caval-
ry in the out-wings (seeing to brave a service performed by the Roman horfmen) were enkindled
and incendied by their valorous example, and of their own accord without attendance of any mans
commandment, charged upon their enemies, thus disordered and in disarray already. Then
the Cetiberians ran away and fled on all hands. The Roman General seeing them once turn back
and throw their pin-parts, vowed to build a chappell to Fortuna aequiatri, and to exhibit ga-
# the honor of lap Opt. Macc. The Cetiberians, thus disabandoned and scattered in the rout
all over the length of the strait passage, were killed and cut in peaces. It is recorded that there
shewed that day seventeen thousand enemies, and were taken prisoners alive more than three thou-
sand, together with 27 field enigns, and well neer eleven hundred horses. For that day, the victo-
rious army lodged within no camp at all; yet was not this victory to clear, but it cost them
the loss of some foundiers; for of the Romans were slain four hundred seventy and two; of allies (and
namely of Latins) 1019; and together with them, sixtoundiers three thousand. Thus the army
having by this good hand recovered their ancient honor and glory, was conducted to Turcocy.
Thb. Sempronius the Preter, (who was arrived two daies before) went out to meet Fulvius
in the way as he came, and shewed how he rejoiced on his behalf, for this good managing and G
happy achieving the affairs of the commonwealth: which done, they agreed together with great
accord as touching the foundiers, namely, whom to care and send away, and whom to retain
in service. Then Fulvius having dispatched the foundiers that were discharged, took his journey to
Rome; and Sempronius conducted the legions into Celtiberia.

Both the Confuls led their forces into Liguria, and entered the country in two divers quarters.
Ptolemaeus with the first legion and the third, beat and invested the two mountains Balisga and
Suifmontium, and to thrivably he kept the narrow pases of those parts with his gardions, that
he cut them off from all traitors, and manned them with extreme severity and want of all thing.
Fulvius with the second legion and the fourth. After he had assaild the Apus Ligurians from the
coast of Pife, received submission and homage of as many of them as inhabited about the said
Macc, and when he had embarked upon seven thousand of them, he sent them over to Naples,
encalving along the Tuscan sea. From whence they were brought into the Samnian country, and a
certain territory assigned them to inhabit amongst the rest of this countrymen. As for Ptole-
maeus, he cut down the vineyards, and burnt the corn of the Ligurian mountaineers, so long until
they were driven by all manner of calamities following war, to come in and submit, and to deliver up their armor and weapons. From thence Ptolemaeus departed and took the sea, be-
cause he would visit the coasts of the Ligurian Lingaues and Intemelians. Now before that those
Confuls came to the army which was appointed to meet at Pise, it chanced A. Ptolemaeus, & M.
Fulvius Nobiliter, the brother of Q. Fulvius, were the commanders, and had the command there.
This Fulvius was a Colonell of the second legion, who during the time of those months, wherein
by turn he had the command and charge thereof, dissimulated that legion, having bound the Centu-
rions by an oath, that they should make payment back of their wage many whole and truly to the
Queders in the chamber and treasury of Rome. Notice hereof being given to A. Ptolemaeus at
Placentia, (for thither it hapned that he was gone) he rode after those called foundiers, and pur-
pumed them with a company of light horfemen. As many of them as he could overtake, after he
had checked and rebuked them for their fault, he brought to Pise; of the rest he gave information
to the Conful. Who put the matter to question, and after it had been debated in council, about
of the Senat palled against the said M. Fulvius, that he should be confined and sent into Spain beyond
new Carthage. And letters he had given him to carry from the Conful to P. Manlius into the far
ther province of Spain. As for the foundiers, they were commanded to return again to their colours,
and for an ignominious disgrace of that legion, ordained it was, that for a full years pay they
should be content and take up with six months wages. And what soldiers required not to the
army accordingly, the Conful had warrant and commissio to make sale of him and all that
he had.

The same year L. Duverius, who was returned with ten ships to Brundisium from out of Illy-
ricum (where he sat as Preter of the former year) leaving his ships there in the road, came to Rome.
A where in discoursing of the acts by him done, he laid the whole fault of all the recovery and peace at sea upon C. Sempronius, the King of the Illyrians, saying, that all the ships which had lain upon the coast of the Adriatic sea, came out of his realm. For which he had sent Embassadors to complain, but they could not ever find means to speak with the King about it. Now they were Embassadors arrived at Rome from Sempronius, who avouched, that when the Romans came to parle with the King, he bann'd to be lack in the most remote parts of his kingdom: and therefore Sempronius, their King and mater requested the Senate, not to give credit to those false accusations and forged flanders which his enemies had raised and informed against him. But} Durio, in councilled moreover, that divers and londry persons, as well citizens of Rome as Latine allies within his dominion, had received many wrongs: yea, and by report certain Roman citizens were slain and

B detained at Corcyra. Whereupon it was in council thought good that they should be brought to Rome, and that C. Claudius the Pretor should have the hearing of the matter, before such time no answer would be given unto King Sempronius or his Embassadors.

Among many others that the plague this year continued, certain priests and prelates also died, and namely, L. Valerius Flaccus, a bishop, in whole room was chosen C. Q. Fabius Labo. Also P. Mamilius one of three Triumvirs for the celebration of the holy feasts. In whole head Q. Fulvius the son of Marcus was elected Triumvir. He was at that time very young, and not out of his em* Pretexation. But as touching the King of sacrificers, who was to be chosen in place of C. C. Servius the Archibishop, and Cornelianus, who was that which Dobellus one of the Dunumvir for the navy. For when the bishop would have had him to resign that office, that he might consecrate and inaugurate him the King sacrificer, he refused it to do. For Lycus

C which cause the bishop put a round fine on the Dunumvir his head. Then Dobellus appealed to the whole people, and before them it was to be tried, whether the said fine should be taken off or paid. Now the end of the when most of the tribes called into the mails for to give their voices, advin'd the Dunumvir to obey the bishop, and vowed the fine to be pardoned and remitted, in case he would give over that office which he had, so long it lighted at the very instant from heaven, which is the only continuous sign that interpreted the assemblies of the people. Whereupon the Colledge of the bishops made an humble temple of concurrence to inaugurate Dobellus, but they consecrated P. Claudius Scipio, who had been in the second place. In the end of the year C. Servinus Sempronius like the Archibishop himself departed this world, who also was one of the ten Decemvirs deputed for the holy ceremonies. And Q. Fulvius Flaccus, was by the colledge of the bishop, elected bishop in his room. But M. Aemilius Lepidus was created the sovereign Pontifex, not without many noble persons made lust therfore. Likewise Q. Marcius Philip and Decemvir for the holy ceremonies, who chosen in his place. Moreover, there deceased Sp. Posthumius an Augur, in whole head P. Secio the son of Africenna was elected by the Augurs. The same year granted it was to the inhabi-

bants of cities, at their own request and petition, that they might commonly speak Latin as also to the publiccries, to make portia of goods in the Latin tongue. The Senat gave thanks to the Pilus for the offer they made them lands, wherein to plant a Colony of Latins. And three Triumvirs or Commissioners for that business were created, namely, Q. Fabius Buteo, Marcus and Publius, both named Postumus, and both named Lanicus. Letters were brought from M. Marcius the Pretor (who having the government allotted unto him of Sardinia, but commission also to enquire after the praetise of poynoning in all places, not within ten miles of the City of Rome) importing such much, that he had condemned already 3000 persons, and that the informations and pretentions multiplied daily, by reason of new masters discovered still, and therefore either he was to give over that inquisition, or to resign up his province Sardinia.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus returned out of Spain to Rome with great honour for his acts there achic-

ved. Who remaining yet without the City, because of his triumph, was created Quintus with L. Manilius Asidius, and within few dates, made triumphal into Rome, accompanied with his soldiers, whom he had brought home with him. He carried in triumpha 2000 * golden coronets. Moreover in gold 33 pound weight, besides 173,200 pieces of coin in Olean silver. He dealt to his soldiery fifty Denari pieces out of the booty and pillae which he had gotten. To every Centurion it gave him double, and to the gentlemen of Rome that served on horseback silver. The like he did by the Latin allies, and to all in general he paid double wages. This year was the law first proposed by L. Iulius a Trib. of the Com. atouching the year of the age requisit and meet for to be given for any publick office, or to exercise the same. And hereupon it came, that the whole race of that family was named * Annals. Many years after there were created four Pra-

tors according to the law Biblio, which provided that there should be each other year chosen four Prato from princes and cities, to let his triumph.
and C. Valerius in Sardinia. Q. Fulvia the Consul, before that he went in hand with any at. 
Jars of State, said he would both discharge himself and all the City of the duty to Godward, in 
performing the vows which he had made. He declared that on that very day when he fought 
his last battle with the Celts, he had made a vow to exhibit games to the honor of that 
most mighty and gracious god Jupiter, and likewise to build a temple to Fortuna Taurina: and 
how thereto the Spaniards, he had contributed certain items of money. So a decree passed, that those 
plains should be let forth: and two Decemvirs chose, to give order and bargain for the edification of 
the same temple. Likewise there was set down a certain time of many to be disputed for the 
deferring of the charges: to wit, not exceeding that sum in the solemnity of the plains, which 
was allowed unto Fulvius Nobilior, when he exhibited the like sports after the end of the Etolian 
war. Item, that for these games he should not seek or fend for, gather or shave, receive or do 
any thing, contrary to the Act of the Senate, which in the time of L. Aemilius and Cn. Babinius 
Consuls was made touching such pallices. This decree the Senate ordained, by occasion of the 
supercilious and excessive expences employed about the plains of T. Sempurnus the Aedile; which 
were very chargeable not only to Italy and the Latin allies, but also to foreign provinces. The 
winter this year was very sharp, by reason of snow, and all manner of tempestuous weather. The 
trees were then tender and subject to frost and cold, were all blighted and killed: besides the win- 
ter lesion continued much longer then ordinary in other years. And thereupon the solemn fol- 
lominy of the Latin holidays were troubled and disordered by a sudden and inapproachable 
frost and tempest upon the hill [Alba] that by an ordinance of the Bishops, it was celebrated 
again the second time. The same temple cast down certain images in the Capitol, and disfig- 
red very many places with thunderbolts and flashes of lightning. It overthrew the temple of 
Jupiter in Tarraeina, the white temple at Capua: Item, the gate there called Romana, and the sate- 
estments of the walls in divers places. Among these wondrous prodigies it was reported also 
from Romagna, that a rule was foaled with three feet. For this cause the Decemvirs were com- 
manded to go to the books of Sibyls: and out of that learning they thought to what gods sacrifice 
should be made, & what number of beasts was to be killed. And because many places were with 
lightning defaced, they ordained that a solemn supplication should be holden one whole day in the 
temple of Jupiter. This done, the foresaid games and plases which Q. Fulvia the Consul had 
vowed, were with great magnificence exhibited for ten days together. After this followed the 
election of the Centoars, wherein M. Emilius Lepidus the Arch-bishop, and M. Fulvius Nobil- 
ibio, who had triumphed over the Etolians, were created. Now between these two men, there 
had been notorious enmity, oftentimes testified and feared in many sharp and bitter debates, 
both the Senate, and also before the people. When this election was ended, that two Centoars ac- 
cording to the ancient use and custom, sat upon their ivory chairs of estate in Mars field, near 
the altar of Mars. To whom there soon repaired thither, the principal Senators, accompanied with 
a troop besides of citizens: and among the rest, Q. Caecilius Metellus made a speech to this effect: 
"My masters, you that are Centoars, we have not forgotten that an eon while were chosen by 
the universal body of the people of Rome: to be superintendents and wardens over us for our man- 
ners and behavior: and that it became us to be taught, admonished, & directed by you, and not 
by us. Howbeit we ought to tell and declare, what there is in you, that either is offensive M 
to all good men, or at least which they with were amended. When we behold and con- 
sider you severally apart, either you, M. Emilius, or you M. Fulvius, we have not this day in the 
City of Rome any men, whom if we were called to a new learning for to passe our voices again, we 
would prefer before you to this office and place of dignity. But when we see you both together, 
we cannot chuse but much doubt and fear that ye are very badly matched and cuplaimed as com- 
mansions in government: & that the common-weal shall not receive to much good by this. That 
ye please and like us all to well: as telling harm in this, That you dislike and dislike one anot- 
or. These many years together, there hath been great heart burning and much malice bete- 
 tween you and the same must needs be grievous and hurtful unto your selves: but now it is 
to be leaved: & art this day forward, that rancor will be more prejudicial to us & the common, N 
well, than unto you. Upon what motives and cause are we thus feareful, much we could say, 
but that peradventure your irreconcileable anger is such, as hath wasted and postfixed wholly your 
spirits and minds already. These quarrels, jars, and grudges of years, we all in general would 
request you heartily to end this day, and in this very temple wherein we are assembled: and 
since the people of Rome by their voices have conjoined you one in office: suffer your selves 
by us to be linked & reconciled in perfect atonement. With one mind and accord, with one heart 
& counsel chuse the Senaor, review the Cavalry and Nightwatch of Rome: number the citizens 
atheir goods: purge and cleanse the City: & finally determine the solemnity of the centa- 
with a sacrifice. And whereas in all your prayers well-mean, ye shall inter this ordinary form of 
words, That this thing, or that, may fall well in the end well and happily, to my self & unto my col-
leagues. See that you with the same truly; sincerely and from the very heart, that whatsoever ye 
shall pray unto the gods for, we may believe and all the world see, that ye desire the same 
to be effected indeed. T. Tasis & Remulius in this very City reign'd together with great utility 
& concord, in the midst whereof even in the very market place, they had encounters and joined 
battle together as mortal enemies with their stanch allies. But here it eminently have on no 
end, but wars also. And many a time most venemous and spiritful fees become fair and all, 

The Oration of Metellus to the Centoars.
A the yeas, and otherwhiles near neighbors and fellow citizens. The Albans after their subversion and
and utter ruin of their city, were brought over to inhabit Rome. The Latins & Sabins both, were
endenized Romans. An old saying it is, and not to old as true, and for the truth become a
common proverb, that enemies ought to be tunstatory and soon die, whereas friendship should
continue so long as ever. At these words there aconfused burs among them there assembled,
token of their content and approbation: and anon were heard the distinct voices of them all in general,
craving and requesting of the Centurials the same; which making one cry, and
brake off the speech of Metellus. Then Paulus among other matters complained that M. Furius
had twice put him besides the Consulship, when other wise he was sure of. And Furius on the
other side found himself grieved, that he evermore by Metellus had been provoked and that he
had waged law by litigation against him to his disonor and disgrace. Yet both of them made fair
and threw, that if the one were as willing as the other, they would remain and be overruled by
so many honorable personages of the City. So, at the instant request of all them that were present,
they shook hands and thereby allured one another to forgive and forget all matters past, and truly
to make an end of malice; and be perfect friends again: whereupon they were much commended
by the whole assembly, and conducted by them into the Capitol. Where the Senate approved
and highly praised, as well the careful industry of the principal citizens, in effecting this so weighty
a matter, as also the good nature and flexibility of the two Centurials. Who afterwards when they required to have a certain sum of money assigned unto them for to employ in the publick
enemies and other works of the City, were allowed by their decree, the full rent and revenues of one
whole year.

B The same yeas L. Posthumius and Tit. Sempronius the Pro-Pretors in Spain agreed to together
that Albans should make an expedition against the Vacci through Lusitania, and to return from
thence into Ceilerris. But Gracchus went as far as the utmost quarter of Ceilerris, for that in
those parts there was the greater war. And still he forced the city Munda, which he surprised
instand in the night at unawares. Then, after he had received hostages, and put a garrison
there, he went forward assaulting forts, and burning the villages, until he came to another City of
exceeding strength, which the Cilurrians called Certosa: where, as he was about to approach
the walls with his engines of battery, there came unto him other out of the City, who like good
plain men of the old world, made a speech unto him, nothing dissembling but that they would
war and be revenged, if their strength and forces were sufficient. For they required leave to pass
to the Cilurrian camp, there to receive aid and succour: but if they could not speed, then they
would conclude, that by themselves what to do. Good leave they had of Gracchus; and some few
days after, they brought with them ten Orators more. About noone-tide it was of the day,
and the first thing that they craved at the Prurtor his hand was this, That he would make them
to drink before they parted. When they had once quaffed and corned round, they called again for
more: whereas, all that were present and llood about them, laughed heartily, to see them to rude
and uncivil, and altogether without good manners. But afterwards, the eldest man of the company
began in this wise: We are sent (saith he) unto you from our nation, to know what affli-
ted means hath induced you to levy war against us? To this demand Gracchus answered, That he
comprehended the confidence that he had in a brave and valiant army; which (if they were to defer-
rous) he would do them the favour to see, that they might be able to make more certain report to
their countrymen upon their own knowledge. And with that, he commanded the colonels and
knight marshalls, to put in arms and emaranell all the bands and companies, as well foot as horse;
and then armed as they were to charge one another in manner of a battle. These Embassadors
after they had once seen this sight, were sent away: who went directly to the Cilurrians their
neighbors, and frightened them for sending any accourse to the City besieged. The townsman within
having in vain the fire-lights in the night time aloft upon their turrets (which was the signal agreed
upon between them) and seeing themselves delude of the only hope they had of aid, yielded
by compulsion. So they were enjoined to make payment of four and twenty hundred thousand
Settresses; and to deliver forty of their noblest gentlemen and best men of arms; not by way
of hostages (for commanded they were to serve in the wars); and yet in truth, they stood for a
paw of assurance for their fealty. From thence anon he marched to the City Alca, where the
Cilurrians lay encamped and from whom of late the Embassadors appeared came: whom, for
certain days he provoked to fight, making small skirmishes, by wearing out against their corps de
guar the light-black armed vancouriers, to the end that scuffling together every day more then other
he might train them all forth of their camp at length. And when he perceived once that his
design had taken eff & he commanded the captains of the auxiliary footiers, that after some
their skirmish, they should make semblant as if they were overcharged with numbers, and to at
once turn their backs, and file as fast as they could to their own camp; himself in the mean while
put his men in a vallay array within the rampier at every gate. Long it was not, but he might see
his own bands and companies returning back on let purpose, and running away, and after them the
barbarous enemies following as hard as they could in chase. Now had be his army embarras-
led for the purpose, and ready to receive them: and therefore he made no longer stay then only
to suffer his friends and allies to enter at liberty into the camp, but he set up a loud cry, and at
one instant fill'd forth at all the gates. The enemies were not able to endure this unexpected
violent charges and to they that were come to assail the camp of others, could not to much as de-

The fortieth Book of T. Livius.

The Roman city, whose battlements have been preserved, was on the site of the modern city of Rome. The city was surrounded by walls, which were first built by the Roman founder Romulus. The walls were strengthened over time, and the city grew to become one of the most important in the ancient world.

The city was not only a political center, but also a cultural and religious one. The temple of Jupiter was one of the most important buildings in Rome, and the city was also home to many other temples and shrines.

The city was also a center of commerce and trade, with many markets and shops. The city was a hub of information, with libraries and schools where people could learn and share knowledge.

The people of Rome were known for their bravery and courage, and the city was often at the center of important events in history. The city was a place of both peace and war, with many battles fought on its streets and in its fields.

The city of Rome was a place of wonder and mystery, with its history and culture still remembered and celebrated to this day. It is a testament to the power of the human spirit and the importance of memory and tradition.
A places in the tenure and occupation of private persons, they took order to be reduced to the use of the people in common, and to be let open for all comers. They changed the order of giving voices, and caused to enroll the tribes according to sundry quarters and divisions, having regard withall of the degrees of men of their trades, mysteries and occupancies. Alto the one of the Centors, M. Emilius lived unto the Senat, that allowance should be made unto him of money for the games and plates at the dedication of the Temple of Queen June and Diana, which in the Ligurian war he had vowed eight years before. He assigned there into him twenty thousandoubles. So he dedicated both those Temples in the circit or show-place of Flamininus, and gave also he station plates three days together after the dedication of the Temple of June, and two days after the other of Diana, and every one of those dates within the cirque Flaminian.

B The same Centor dedicated in Mars held a Chappell to the sea-gods, vowed by L. Emilius Regillus, eleven years before, in a naval battle at sea against the Captains of R. Antiochus. Over the gates which Chappell there was fixed a tablet with this title. For the appo^sing and composing of a great war between two kings, the field is a sacrifice... for to make peace. This conflict, when L. Emilius Regillus the Praetor, the son of M., Under the charge command, and government, shipped fortune, and conduct of him between Lycia, Samos, and Chios, the fleet of King Antiochus the eighth dates before the Cross of February was conquered, dispersed, burnt, burned, and put to flight, and there upon the same day two and forty Gallia were taken, with all the numbers and fortresses within them. After which King Antiochus and his Reina... in consideration heretofore made a Temple to the Sea-gods, whilst unto him in achieving the said other. Another table, likewise, with the same vame inscription, was set up and fastened over the gates of the Temple of Jupiter in the Capitol. Within two dates after that the Centors had chosen a new Senat, Q. Fabius the Com, made an expedition against the Ligurians: and for that he paved his army over wilds and mountains, where no roads led them, through straight and plies of forrests, he fought a pitchy, barcell with the enemies, and not only won the field, but also in one and the fell-lame day forced their camp. Whereupon three thousand and two hundred of the enemies, and all that quarter of Liguria yielded unto him. Then the Comil placed there the that had bestirrered, in the plains and champain country, and planted garrisons upon the mountains. Letters herel, with great speed came to Rome: whereupon there were ordained preclusions for three dates. During which time of preclusion the Praetor's celebrated sacrifices, and killed forty greater bearts. But the other Comil

D A. Marmor did no expios worth remembrance in Liguria. Three thousand Transalpine Frenchmen passed over the Alps into Italy, in peaceable manner marshing without any hostility or harm doing, and requited of the Comil and the Senat a territory to inhabit, where they might remain quietly under the seignory of the Romans, but the Senat commanded them to avoid out of Italy; and gave the Comil Q. Fabius in charge to make search and enquiry into this matter, and to proceed against them who had been the captains and counsellors to pervert them to pass over the Alps. This very year died Philip King of the Macedonians, worn away to nothing, partly, for age and party, with grief of heart after the death of his son Demetrius. It is reported he kept his winter in Demetrias, tormented with anguish of mind for the loss and mists of his son, disquieted with remorse and repentance for his cruelty against him, which hung and prick'd his guilty conscience.

Besides, he saw his other son (whom now was the undoubted heir apparent of the Crown, as well in his own opinion as in the concit of others) how all men turned their eyes and courted to him. He considered withall, how his old age was decipled and forfeit whilst some expected his death, others did not so much as look for it, which was the greatest grief and trouble of all other. And together with him there was Antigonus the son of Echestratus, bearing the name of his uncle Antigonus by the fathers side, who had been guardian to Philip. This Antigonus the elder had been a man of princely port and regal majesty, renowned also for a brave conflict and noble battale against Celenoe and the Lacedamonian. And him the Greeks for distinction sake from other King, of that nation, named Tetr. His nephew or brothers son (I lay) Antigonus, of all the honourable friends that Philip had, was the only man that continued still and firm unto him without all corruption. But this his loyal fidelity and truth caused Percon to be no friend of his, but ther the most mortal enemy that he had in the world. This said Antigonus foreasting in his spirit in what dangerous terms he should stand, when the inheritance of the kingdom were devolved upon Percos waiting his first time and opportunity, when he perceived that the Kings mind was troubled, and that now and then he fetched deep sighs for sorrow that his son was dead: one while would give ear only to the Kings words, other while also would find some talk and minister occasion to speak of the act to rashly and undutifully committed. Oftentimes he followed and sided unto him in his moans and complaints, and would be thought to lament with him (or company. And as Truth withal sways to give many signs and tokens of her self coming to light) he would enforce and help forward every small thing that he could, to the end that all might the sooner be discovered and break forth. The chief ministers and instruments of this villainous act were Apelles and Philostratus, who were the Embassadors sent to Rome, and had brought those pernicious letters, under the name of Ptiminus, which wrought the death of Demetrius. For commonly it was given out through all the Kings Court, that those were falsified letters, forged by his Secretary and sealed with a connivent signet. But the thing being rather deeply suspected, than apparently detected, it chanced that Antigonus upon a time met with Apelles, and laying hold upon him, arraigned

* Guardian or Protector.

* This thêmst to the Secretariat.
arrested his body, and brought him into the Kings house; and when he had left him in the safe custody of certain persons, he went himself directly to Philip. 

"It should seem to me, if it please your grace (quoth he) by many words which I have observed, that you would expend a great deal to know the whole truth as touching your two sons, and be resolved whether of them twain it was that laid wait to take away the life of the other. Now the only man of all other that can undo the knot and clear this doubt, is in your hands forth coming, and that is Xychus. Herewith he advised the King to call before him the said party since that (as it fell out) he was already brought into the Court. Sent for he was and presented before the King; and being asked the question he denied every thing at the first; but with such inconstancy, as it appeared evidently, that upon some little fear of torture offered unto him, he would be ready to bewray all: for at the very light of the tormentor and the scourges, he relented. Then he did cloi, and shewed in order the whole proceeding and manner of this wicked practice and villany, how it was wrought as well as by the embassadors as also by his own self their minifter. Immediately there were some of purpose went to apprehend the said embassadors, And Philocles who was present in the way, they surprised and took of a sudden as for Apelles who had been sent to pursue one Cresena being advertised how that Xychus had bewrayed & told all, fled from over into Italy. As concerning Philocles, there is no certainty known. Some report, that at the beginning he denied the matter stoutly; but after that Xychus was brought to his face and confronted him, he fled no longer in it. Others say again that being put to torture he endured the pains, and continued still in the denial. Philip sorrow and grief was by this means renewed and redoubled, repeating himself more unhappy in his sons, and his misery the greater, in that one of them was now dead and gone. Perseus being certified that all was discovered, took him himself for a greater and mightier person, than to fear and think it needful for him to flee upon it. And therefore he sought only to keep far enough out of the way, purposing to stand upon his guard all the while that his father lived, and avoid the flaming fire (as it were) of his burning choler. Philip seeing that he could not possibly come by his person to execute justice, thought upon that which only remained to be done, and studied how Perseus besides impunity, should not be recompens'd and rewarded also for that his wickedness. He called therefore Antigonus before him unto whom he was bounden and beholden already, for bringing to light the unnatural murder committed upon Demetrius his son; and of whom he conceived this opinion, in regard of the fresh and late glory of his uncle Antigonus, that the Macedonians should have no cause to be ashamed or repent, if they had had him for: to be their king. K

And in this while he brake with him: "Since my unhappy fortune is such (quoth he) O Antigonus, that I ought (contrary to all other fathers) to with my self childless, I have a mind and purpose to make over unto you that kingdom, which I received at the hands of your uncle, which he preferred and kept yea, and augmented for my behoof during the time of my nonage: where also whilst I was under his guidance, he bare himself not only valiant but also true and faithful unto me. No man have I but you, whom I can esteem worthy to wear the Crown; and if I knew of none all at, yet I rather that both it and the Realm perished and were extinct for ever than Perseus should enjoy it as the guardian of his ungracions & deceitful fact. I shall imagine you to bring Demetrius is riven from death to life, I shall think that I have the fruition of him again if I leave you in this place, you, I say, the only man of all others that wept for the death of the poor innocent young man, and lamented for my unhappy error and unfortunat trefpafs. After this speech with Antigonus, he never ceased to entertain and grace him in the face of the world with all kind of honour that he could devise. For seeing that Perseus was in Thrace, Philip went in progress to every City of Macedonia, and recommended Antigonus to all the Princes and and States thereof. And without all doubt, if God had given him longer life but a little, he would have entailed him in full possession of the kingdom. Well, to return again unto Demetrius, where he wintnered (as before is said) he departed from thence, and sojourned a long time in Thessalonica. From thence after he was come to Amphipolis, he was surpris'd with a grievous malady, Howbeit, certain it was and very apparent that he was more sick in mind than body; and that ever and anon the remembrance and objext, the apparition and ghost of his son, whom he cau'd (innocent as he was) to be put to death, followed and haunted him so continually with care and grief, that he was out of all sleep, and could not lay his eyes together; yea, it drove him into raging, cursing, and execration of Perseus his other son; and so he ended his days. But although Philip died somewhat with the sooner for Antigonus, yet he would have gone very near to have slept into his throne, if either the Kings death had immediately been divulged abroad, or that Antigonus had then been about the Court that he might have had intelligence thereof. For Calligines the Kings Physician, who had the care of him, laid not until the breath was fully out of the Kings body: but so soon as he perceived that his state was desperate, upon the first deadly signs that he observed, sent messengers post to Perseus, who were set of purpose in places convenient, according as it was compell'd between them twain: but he concealed the Kings death from all them that were not of the household, until he was come. By which means Perseus surpris'd them all before they looked for him, or knew abroad that the King was departed, and thus he took the Crown upon him by policy, which he had purchas'd with mischief.

The death of Philip fell out very well to give some delay and respit, and to gather more forces for the waging of war: for the nation of the Barbari having been a long time solicited thereto, departed out of their own country, and with a great power as well of foot as horse, came on this side
A s Independent. After, Now there were arrived before to advertise the King hereof, "Antiquus and Cato. This Cato was a nobleman among the Barbarians, And Antiquus was full against his willjoyed in embassage & sent with Cato to raise the Barbarians, Howbeit, not fit from Amphipolis they met with news (but very uncertain) of the King's death: which occasioned trouble the whole course of their designs. For thus it was commotabled, that Philip should give the Barbarian late passage through Thrace and find them victuals: to the effecting and performing whereof, he had entertained the peers and principal State of theiquarters with present and assured them upon his fidelity, that the Barbarians should pass through their country peaceably without any harm-doing. Now his intent and full purpose was to extinguish utterly the nation of the Dardanians and to plant the Barbarians in their country. Hereby he aimed at a two-fold commoditv:

B the one was this: that the Dardanians (a people most malicious ever to the Macedonians, and who alwais in time of the troubles and adversarys of the King, took their vantage to annoy them) might be rooted out of existence, that is to say, the barbarians leaving their wives and children in Dardania might be sent to waste and spoil Italy, Now were they to pass to the Adriatick sea and Italy, by the way of the Scorditians (for other way there was none to lead an army) and soon would they, thought they flage pittance unto the Barbarians: for they differed not at all, either in language, or manners & talhonics: and more than that, they were like enough to join with them in the expedition, seeing they went to the conquest and pillage of a most rich and wealthy nation. These designs were accommodated and fitted to what events sooner should happen. For in case the Barbarians should happen to be defeated by the Romans and put all to the sword: yet this would be a comfort again: that the Barbarians were consumed from the face of the earth, that he should meet with a booty of that which the Barbarians left behind them: and finally, have the possession free and entire to himself of all Dardania. But in case their fortune were to have the upper hand, then whereas the Romans were averted from him, and amnited upon the war with the Barbarians, he should be able to recover whatsoever he had lost in Greece. These had been the designs projected by K. Philip. So they entered peaceably, and marched without hostility, under the word and promise of Cato & Antiquus. But shortly after that news came of the death of Philip: neither were the Thracians to tradable and ease to be dealt with in commerce and traffick: nor the Barbarians could be content with that which they bought with their money, or be kept in order as they marched, but that they would break their ranks & turn out of the direction hereupon. Henceupon they began to do wrong & injury on both sides one unto another: whereas, increasing daily more & more to outrages, kindled the fire of an open war. In the end, the Thracians not able to endure the violence of multitudes of their enemies, leaving their villages in the plains beneath, retired to an exceeding high mountain, called Donus. To which place, when the Barbarians would have gone: behold notwithstanding, they approached to the tops and ridge of the hills, they were surprized with a storm much like to that wherewith the Gauls (as it is reported) perished at what time as they were a-polling and pilling the Temple at Delphi. For they were not only drenched with showers of rain pouring upon them, pelting afterwards with thick storms of hailstones, thronged with great cracks of thunder and lashed with gleams of lightning that dazzled their eye-fight, but also the lightning flashed upon them on every side that it seemed they were charged and shot directly against their bodies: so as not only the common soldiers, but also the principal leaders and captains themselves were smitten down therewith and overthrown. Whereupon when they were shattered & would have fled down the hill, from the exceeding steep rocks they tumbled down they knew not now with their heads foremost, And albeit the Thracians pursued them thus scared and affrighted, yet they had nothing in their mouth, but That the gods forced them to run away, and that the sky fell upon them. Being thus dispirited with this tempestuous storm, and returned as it were out of a shipwreck into the camp from whence they set forth & most of them but half armed; they began to debate in council what to do. Hereupon arose some dissention among them: whereas part were of opinion to return back into their own country, and part advised to follow the way ofill and pierce forward into Dardania. About 30000 persons went through under the conduct of Clodius: the rest of the multitude returned the same way they came into the parts beyond. "Dimidius, Perus was being chass'd of the kingdom, commanded Antiquus to be put to death: and whiles he was setting the States in order, explaining himself in his own deceit he sent embassadors to Rome, as well to renew the amity that his father had with the Romans, as also to request that he might be elected with the name of King by the Senate of Rome. And these were the affairs in Macedon that year.

F Edon. the other Col. triumphed over the Ligurians: and known it was for certain, that this triumph was granted unto him more for favor than for any great exploit of his that might deserve such honor. He carried in shew a mighty deal of the enemies arms about little or no money at all. Howbeit he dealt among his soldiers thirty Ases specie to every Centurion the same twice as much; and to each Gentleman setting on horseback, the same threefold. There was nothing in this triumph more memorable and worthy the noting than this, that as it fell out, he triumphed now the very same day that he had the year before upon his Prerogative. After this triumph, he published the general assembly for the election of Magistrates: wherefore were created Coll. M. Aemilius Brutus, and M. Marullus Censor. This done, when there had been three of the Pratores elected, a sudden tempest brake up and dissolved the assembly. The moreover which was after this: four days full before the Ides of March the other three were chosen, namely, M. Valerius Publicus, C. Junius Brutus, and M. Licinius Crassus. **
The one and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviarv of L. Florus upon the one and fortieth Book,
A on every side. Toward **I*bria** there was one standing frontier garrison, consisting of a cohort of *sclavonia*. Placentia's levied on a sudden, opposed and lodged between the sea and the camp. And to the end the same might serve for a guard to defend them that watered at the river, *M. Eburum* (a Colonel of the two legions) was commanded to adjoin two legions of foeldiers out of the second legion, **C**, and **A** (Colonels likewise) had led the third legion, by the way that goth to **Aquitania**, which should guard the forragers and Jewellers, from which quarter about a mile distant was the camp of the French. And a certain petty King there was among them, one *Cornelius*, having the conduct of three thousand armed foeldiers or foemen far more. So soon as the Romans were approached, the lake **Timauve** with their camp, the Iturians set them down neatly in a close place behind a little hill; and from thence followed the Roman army as it marched. 

B by crofs and crooked ways, eloping and lying for all advantages that might be presented; for intelligence they had of all that was done either at sea or by land. And when they parted upon a time the *corps de guard* before the camp legible and weak, and that there was a great number of unarmed Merchants between the camp and the sea, without any defence at all either from land or water, they ran on upon the unprecedented guards, to wit, the Placentine cohorts, and also the legions of the second legion. Now their enemie at the beginning was covered and hidden by occasion of a morning mist, which at the first warmth of the sun brake and scattered away, and then began somewhat to appear through it: but the light was not yet clear and come to the full; by reason whereof everything (as commonly in such a case) seemed far bigger than it was. And this at that time mightily deceived the Romans, causing the army of the enemies to seem the greater by many degrees. At which sight, the foeldiers of the one guard as well as the other being affrighted, fled into the camp with a great tumult and alarm; and there confabulated more fear than they brought with them: for neither were they able to tell why they fled thus as they did, nor give a ready answer to those that asked them the question. Over and besides, a great noise they heard from the camp gates, as where there was no sufficient guard to sustain the first assault. Besides, their running thus is a strong together in the dark, while one tumbled upon another, made such a confusion, that they knew not whether the enemy was within the rampart or no. No other cry was heard but this: **To sea, To sea.** For by occasion that one foeldier at adventure began to let up that note, all the camp presently rang again therewith, from one end to the other. Whereupon at first, (as if they had been commanded so to do) to the sea they ran, some few armed but the most part without any armament or weapons: afterwards more, and consequently at last in manner all, sea, and the Consul himself, seeing that he laboured in vain to reclaim them, back fled, and could prevail neither by command nor authority nor yet by prisers in the end: only **M. Licinius Stroeo** (a Tribune or Colonell of the third legion, abandoned of his own legition) remained behind with three enigns and no more, the Iturians finding him alone (for no man else was left in arms to make reliance) entered joyntly into the camp andupon him &c he was embattling his foeldiers and encouraging them in the quarter about the Praetor his lodging surprized, and with numbers over-charged him. The skirmish and fight was more cruel than proportion of so few defenders: and not ended before that the Tribune himself and those about him, were slain every man. The Generall his pavilion and all about it, was overthrown: which

C as the enemy had ransacked and filled of all that was there, they went as far as the treasurers lodging, the market place, and to the gate **Quinuncis**: where they found abundance of all things set out ready for their hands, and within the treasurers pavilion the tables spread and covered with good cases and meat upon them. Then their chief Lord & Leader (the petty King himself) made no more ado but late him down, fell to his victuals and made good cheer: and anon all therewith following his example, did as likewise, and never once thought of arms, or of enemies; and like to those who were not wont to fire to well and feed liberally, they greedily overcharged their bellies with wine and viands: but the Romans all the while flowed in farther terms. They trembled, they went hastily to their business both on land and sea. Down went the shipmen and fitters with their tilts and booths: and look what provision of victuals or other things

D were let forth to sale upon the strand and shore, they hurried and hurried a shipboard: the foeldiers all sighted ran amain to the sea-side, for to be embarked. The mariners leaving left their velvets should be overcharged, some put back the pret's and withfood them for coming in, others shoved off from the wharfs, and lashed into the deep. Hereupon began a free and broil, and from that they fell together by the ears, foeldiers and mariners, one with another: some went away withknocks and wounds, and others left their lives behind them; until at length, by the Consul's command the fleet was retir'd far from the land. Which done he began to form the armed and unarmed apart. And hardly were there (of so great a multitude) twelve hundred found with armes about them, and very few horsemen that had brought their horrors with them. All the rest were a confounded and disorder'd company, resembling the raifal fort of camps.

E followers as victuallers, launders, fun tons, and lackies: who had been a ready bootie to have preyed upon in case the enemies could have thought upon any fears of armes. Then at last came a messenger to recall the third legion and to surprize the guard of the Gales; and with that from all parts they began to return again toward their own camp for to recover it, and wipe away and hot out the flamefull plain and discomfit which they had received. The Colonels of the third legion commanded the foeldiers to throw down upon the ground their forrage and jollwell, they charged the Centurions to let the elder and unwieldy foeldiers two and too upon the horses and

F
labouring beasts which they had discharged of their load; and willed the horsemen to take up his hind them every one a young lusty footman; shewing what an honour it would be to the third legion; for to regain by their valour the camp, which had been lost by the cowardice and fear of the in the second: and easily (lay they) may it be won again, if the Barbarians, while they are encumbered with the pillage, might be surprised at unawares, and be taken themselves, like as they overlook others before. This exhortation was received with great alacrity and contentment of the foudiars. Aloth were the enigns born and advanced apace, neither flaid the post-enigns one whit for the foudiars, Howbeit the Coi, and thate companies which were brought from the sea, came first to the rampier, L. Atius a principal Centurion of the second legion not only encour- aged the foudiars but made remodelance unto them. That if the Itarians these victories, had ever meant to guard and keep the camp with the same force of arms by which they had won it, they would at the first have purfied the enemies to the sea, so soon as they had turned them out of their tents: and afterwards have let a good corps de guard, at leastwise before the rampier and the avenues thereof: but like enough it is faith he that with guizing wine they were dead asleep like beasts. And hereith he commanded, A. Bacchanus his own enign-bearer, a man of approved valour and singular prowess to advance his banner forward. Mary, that I shall (quoth he) full soon, if you will follow me alone that the thing may be done more quickly. With that he forced his whole strength and sending flung the enign over the trench into the camp. He was the first himself that entered at the camp-gate. On another part likewise T. and C. both Atius, and Colonels of the third legion, were come with their Cavaliers: thence presently followed those also who them who had horrid two by two upon the labouring jades and wagons of carriage, and after them the Col. K with his whole army. But of the Itarians some few there were (such as were not stark drunk) whose wits and memory served them to run away; the rest were dead asleep indeed and never awoke again. So the Romans recovered all their goods, save only the wine and vessels which was devoured and continued. The Roman foudiars who were crazy and sick, and had been left in the camp, after they perceived their own fellows within the rampier. found their hands again caught up weapons, and made a great slaughter and execution. But above all others C. Popillius, surna- med Sabellus a Gentleman and Cavalier of Rome, bare himself most bravely that day. who being left in the camp (because he was hurt and maimed in one of his feet) flew the greatest number of the enemies by far. Eight thousand Itarians fell upon the edge of the sword, and not one taken prisoner alive: for the choler and despititious indignation of the foudiars was such, as they had no mind at all of prizes and booties. Howbeit, the K of the Itarians, drunk as he was, had so good fortune as to be taken from the very boord where he fat, and hastily mounted on horseback by his men and so fled away and escaped. Of the winners there perished in all two hundred thirty seven foudiars: and of them, more in the day than in the recovery of their camp. Now itchanced so that C. and L. both named Gaius, new Colonels and inhabitants of Aquileia, as they came with vessels, had like to have fumbled ignorantly upon the camp, when it was taken & possefliev by the Itarians. They being retired back in great haste to Aquileia, leaving their carriage behind them, let all on a fright & uproar not only at Aquileia but also at Rome within few dais after: for this was the rumour ran. That not only the camp was forced by the enemies, and (which was true indeed) the Romans put to flight, but that all was lost, and the army utterly defeated. Whereupon, as the manner was in all fudden tumults and alarms, writes went forth for mutters and levies of foudiars extraordinarily, not in the City only, but also throughout all Italy. Two legions of Roman Citizens were enrolled, and the Latin allies were commended to set out toke of foot with three hundred, M. Junius the Coi, had commandment to pass over into Cisal, and serye of the Cities and States of that Province, as many as were able to make and furnish. It was ordained with that T. Claudius the Praetor should make proclamation, that the soldiers of the fourth legion, and of the Latin allies five thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse, should meet together at Pife, and that in the absence of the Coi, he should defend that Province: also that M. Titinius the Praetor should appoint the Rendezvous at Ariminum: that the first legion and the like number of allies, as well foot as horse, should there assemble. Then Nero took his journey, clad in his rich coat of arms toward Pife his Province. And Titinius having to Ariminum Came Caius a Colonel, to take the conduct of the legion there, took mutters at Rome, M. Juvius the Coi, passed out of Liguria into Gaul and arrived at Aquileia, having led foudiars as he went of all the Cities of Gaul and the Colonies, to be in readiness out of hand. There he certified that the army was safe and found: whereupon he dispatched his letters to Rome to declare them that they should not trouble themselves any more in this false alarm, and himself after he had discharged the Gauls of those aids which he had imposed upon them, went to his companion in government. Great was the joy at Rome, coming thus as it did unlooked for. The mutters were laid aside, the foudiars discharged who were enrolled and had taken their military oath and the army visited with the plague at Ariminum was dismissed and sent home. The Itarians albeit they were enamped with a great strength of armed men, not far from the Coi, his camp after they heard one that the Consul was come with a new army, disbanded and flit many man away on all rides to their several Cities, and the Consuls retired with their legions to Aqui- leia, there to winter. When these troubles of Itria were thus at length appeased, there went forth an act of the Senat, that the Coi, should agree among themselves, whether of them twain was to return to Rome

for
A for to hold the assembly for election of Magistrates, At what time as A. Laevinus Nerum, and C. Papirius Tardus, two Tribunes of the Commons, in all their Orations to the people, weighed bitterly against Manlius in his absence, and promulgated a Law to this effect, That after the Ides of March (for the Confl, had their Governments already prorogued for one whole year) he should continue no longer in place to the end that so soon as he was out of his office, he might presently be called to his answrer judicially. Quintus Albinus, one of their Colleagues, with that this bill by them proposed and after much debate and contention prevailed so much that it passed not.

About the same time Tit. Sempronius Gracchus and L. Pofthmonius Albinus, being returned out of Spain to Rome, had audience given them by the Praetor M. Titinius in the Temple of Bellona, there to discourse of the acts by them achieved, to demand their deferred honours, to the end that praise and thanksgiving also should be rendered to the immortal gods. Moreover, at the very same time Intelligence was given by letters from T. Sempronius to the Praetor, which his son brought and shewed to the Senat, of great troubles in Sardinia: Namely, that the Littans, joying into them the strength of the Latins, had invaded the province standing in peaceable terms neither was he able to make head against them with so feeble an army as he had & the fame waited and continued much with the patience. The same news related the Embassadors likewise of the Sardiniants, making humble suit to the Senat to relieve and succour their Cities at leafl, for that their villages and country towns were already pal part. This embassage, with all other matters concerning S. diniants put over to the new Magistrates; as pitiful an embassage also was prefixed unto them from the Lyrians who complained grievously of the Rhodians, unto whom they had been annexed and made subjects by L. Cornelius Scipio: Indeed (say they) we lived sometime under the ignomy of K. Antiochus, but that terribilitate of ours under the K. compared to this present state and condition wherein we now are seemd unto us an excellent liberty: for not only are we now laughed and kept under publicke authority in general, by taxes, levies and impotations, but every one in particular endureth meer bondage and slavery. Our flocks are abased, yet, and our wives and children suffer villanies before our eyes: upon our bodies, our backs and breasts they work upon and discharge their humour of cruelty: in our good name (an indignity unsupportable) we are detained depraved, and deamed: yet openly in the face of the world, they cause not to commit outrages against us, even to usurp and extend their authority over us, and to try matters with us extremity: to the end that we Lycians might be put of all doubt, that there is no difference between us and slaves bought and sold for fiver in open market. The Senat moved with these remonstrances by the Lyrians: addressed their letters to the Rhodians to this effect, that it was no part of their meaning and intent, that the Lycians should be slaves to the Rhodians: or that any other born free, should be enthralled by any person: but their will was, that the Lycians should in such terms live under the government and protection of the Rhodians, that both States the one as well as the other might range and frame themselves like good subjects under the Dominion and Empire of Rome.

After this followed two triumphs over Spain one immediately upon another: first, Sempronius Gracchus over the Celtiberians: and the morrow after, L. Pofthmonius over the Lyrians and other Spaniards of these parts. Tit. Gracchus carried in thew 45000 pound weight of silver and Albinus twenty thousand, both of them divided among their soldiers twenty five Denarius apiece to each Conqueror the same double, and trebble to every horsemann. Thus did they also by aliases as well as by Romans.

It is reported of the day that M. Junius the Confls came out of Spain to Rome, by occasion of the election which was to be holden: and when the two Tribunes of the Commons, Papirius and Lucius, had in the presence of the Senat bidden and warned them with interrogatories, as touching the affairs past in Spain, they brought him forth also before the body of the people. To which questions after, the Confls had answered, how he had not been above 11 days in the Provinces and as for the things that happened in his absence, he knew no other wisdom than they did, only by the common brute and report: then they went upon urging him till, and asking how it came to pass that M. Manlius rather came not to Rome, to give account unto the State, why he passed out of Gaul (which was his allotted Province) into Spain? and to know, when it was that either the Senat decreed, or the people of Rome granted by their voices to entreprize that war. But haply it may be said (quod he) that albeit the war was undertaken only upon his own head alone: yet no doubt entred it was right worthy with policy and valour, Nay, I wis, but far contrariwise and hard it is to say, whether it were begun more deadly, than managed incon siderably. Two entire conscript guards were on a sudden at Ariminum surprized by the 115000 soldiers of the Roman camp was forced & taken, with all the strength of horse and foot that was therein: the citi felled without arms and the Confls himself was the foremost man that ran away to the sea, and fled unto the ships: and surely he should render an account of all these matters, when he is a private person again since the shame should not do it being Confl. This form past the general assembly for the Magistrates election was holden: wherein were created Confls, C. Claudius Pulcher, and Tit. Sempronius Gracchus. The next day following, were the Praetors chosen: to wit, P. Attius Florus the second time, C. Quintus Placentinus, C. Naevius C. Maximus Cn. Cornelius Scipio, and C. Fabius Luscinus. The civil jurisdiction of the City fell to Fabius, the Fora to Quintus. The government of Sicily was allotted to Numistrius of Sardina to Mamunius. Howbeit, this Province by reason of the great war therein became the charge of the Confl. And by lot it fell to Gracchus: but
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but Isernia to Claudius his Colleague, Gaull was divided into two Provinces; whereof Scipio by lot H obtained one, and Livius the other.

Upon the Ides of March upon which day Sempronius and Claudius entered their Consulship, it was only in the Senat, as touching Sardinia and Isernia, and the enemies to both those Provinces, who there had levied war. But the morrow after, the Embassadors of the Sardinians being referred over to the new Magistrates, and L. Minucius Tolumnius, who had been Lieutenant to the Consul Manlius in Isernia, entered into the Senat-house. By then the Senat was informed how dangerous the wars were in those Provinces. Moved likewise were the senators by the embassadors of the Lateine allies, who in the end were admitted into the Senat, after they had impurrord the Centors and Conuls of the former year: the sum of their complaint was this: That their own Citizens being once enrolled at Rome, were most of them departed and removed thither to dwell; which it might be suffered, within few reviews and ceilings it would come to pass, that their Cities should be depopulated and desert, their villages and fields deserted, and able to set out no soldiers for the wars. Semblably the Samnites and Pelignians complained, that four thousand households were gone from them, and retired to Fregellæ: and yet neither the one nation or the other, were yet at a less proportion of soldiers in all their levies. Two cautious means and devices there were brought up, whereby men changed thus their Cities at pleasure. The Law granted this indulgence to the allies of the Lateine nation, as many as let issue of their race behind them in their house, That they should be reputed Citizens of Rome. By abusing this Law, some did injure to their allies, others wronged the people of Rome; for, both they that were to leave such issue at home, gave their children, as it were, in villenage to some Roman Citizen or other whom they liked; with condition to manumit and make them free, that they might be Tribes or enfranchised Citizens. And they also that wanted issue to leave behind them, were held as Citizens of Rome. But in process of time without any of these colourable pretences of right, without regard of Law and respect of issue they crept in and had the benefit of the Burghers and freedom of Rome, by their transmigration thither to inhabit, by enrolment in the reviews. To meet with these practises, the embassadors craved a remedy for the time to come; as also that they would peremptorily command all their allies to repair again to their own Cities: with an express inhibition, that no man should receive any other to be his vassall and villain, and so alienate him, with intention by that means to change the City wherein he lived: and that who soever became Citizens of Rome after that manner, should not be counted for a Citizen. These petitions were granted by the Senat. Then were decrees passed for those provinces of Isernia and Sardinia which were in arms, to wit, for the enrolling of two legions into Sardinia, having either of them five thousand and two hundred foot, and three hundred horse, besides twelve thousand footmen, and 600 horsemens of the Lateine allies: and ten quinqueremes or galleasses, with five banks of oars, in case the Generall would war them out of the affeall. The like number as well of the Infantry as Cavallry, was alligned for Isernia. The Conuls also were enjoyned to send to M. Titinius in Spain, one legion with three hundred horse, besides 5000 footmen of allies, and 250 horsemans.

Before that the Conuls cast lots for their Provinces, certain prodigies were reported. Namely, that in the territory of Crassifonium, there fell from heaven a stone in the lake of Mart. That in the territory of Isernia therw was an infant born like a very stump, without head, feet, or hands: and a snake or serpent seen four-footed. That in the market-place of Capua, many houses were finnited with thunderbolts and lightning. Also at Putecul two ships were set on fire by lightning, and burnt. While these prodigious wonders were by others related, there was seen a wolf also in the day time at Rome, which having entred at the gate Collina, after much courting and bunting, with much ado and noise of them that followed the chase, escaped away from them all, and passed through the Esquilina gate. In regard of these strange tokens, the Coff, killed greater beasts for sacrifices: and for one whole day, a solemn supplication and prayers were made at all the shrines and altars of the gods. These sacrifices done and passed, accordingly as it appertained, the Coff cast lots for their provinces: and to Claudius, beliell Isernia, to Sempronius, Sardinia.

After this, C. Claudius published a Law by virtue of an ordinance of the Senat, in favour of allies and proclaimed that these allies, and namely of the Lateine nation, who either themselves or their ancestors, had been enrolled among the Latine allies, during the Censorship of Marcus Claudius, and Titus Quinctius, or any time afterwards, should make return every man into his own City, before the fifth day of November next ensuing. And Lucius Mummius the Pretor had in commision to enquire and search for those that returned not accordingly. To this Law and Edict abovefald of the Conul, an act also of the Senat was adjourned. That the Dictator, Conul, Interregent, Censor, and Lord chief Justice in the Common Pleas for the time being, should endeavour out and take order, that whoever were manumitted and made free, should take an oath, That he who manumitted or enfranchised him, did not with an intent, for to exchange the City wherein he was: and look who would not thus swear, him they thought not worthy to be manumitted. But his charge and jurisdiccion was afterwards committed to C. Claudius the Conul.

Whiles these affairs passed at Rome, M. Junius and A. Manlius, who had been Conuls the year before, having wintered in Apulia, in the beginning of the Spring entered with an army into the frontiers of Isernia. Where, as they made war and spoil and, near as they went, the Iberians
A Illyrians entered into a com motion and took arms, rather upon grief of heart and indignation to see their goods thus pillaged and ransacked, than for any allure of hope they had of their influence to make head against two armies. Having therefore raised a concourse of their able youth from all their Cities and States, they assembled in haste a sudden and summari army, which at the last gave battle and fought more in heat of courage than with perseverance of resolution. In conflict there were slain of them to the number of four thousand: the rest abandoned all war, and fled here and there into their Cities. From thence they sent embassadors first into the Roman camp to crave peace and then the hostages which were demanded. After intelligence given at Rome of these news by the letters of the Pro-Consul, C. Claudius the Consul, fearing lest this occurrence might put him by the government of his Province, and the conduct of the army, without a
leth prayers and vow made, without his Lieutors clad in their coats of arms, departed suddenly in great haste (all of the head) by night towards his Province, and made no manly orther, but only his College. His voyage thither was not to rash and inconsiderate, but his carriage there was more foolish and undirect: for being thither come, he assembled a general audience; where after he had very unreasonably reproached Minullus for his running away out of the camp, (to the great discontentment of the fouldiers, who were the first that fled:) and with approbation terms: taken up M. Junius also for taking part in this dishonour with his companion; in the end they commanded both to avoid out of the Province. Whereupon the fouldiers made answer again and said, That they would then obey the Consul's commandment. when (according to the ancient custom of their fore-fathers) he had made his solemn vows within the Capitol,
C and then taken his leave and departed out of the City, accompanied with his lieutors in their rich coats of arms, warlike. Hereat he was so far enraged with anger, that he called upon the treasurers deputy belonging to Minullus for chains and gies and menaced to end Junius and Minullus both bound to Rome. But the deputy likewise made as little reckoning of the Consul's commandment: and the more animated he was to disobey the Consul, by reason that he was backed by the whole round about him: who as they supported the cause of their Captains and Leaders so they hated the Consul at the heart. In conclusion, the Consul being loadend and wearied with the contumelious and railing behaviour of every one in particular, and with the tumults and tumults of the multitude in general (for they stuck not over and besides to mock him and make a laughing stock of him) he went his waies again to Aquentia in the same ship wherein he came,
D From thence he wrote unto his College by an Edict, to charge those new fouldiers who were enrolled for infra nato meet at Aquentia to the end that no business should keep him at Rome, but that with all speed he might depart from the City in his coat of arms, and after he had conceived and pronounced his vows accordingly, his companion in office was well content and did all those things require full willingly: and a short day was assigned for the assembling of the fouldiers at the Rem. But Claudius was at Rome well near as soon as his letters; where, at his first coming he made an Oration in the public audience of the people, as touching the demanor of Minullus and Junius: and having laid no longer than three days at Rome, he set out with his Lieutors formally in their coat-armour, when he had made his vows solemnly in the Capitol and did depart into his Province again with as much, as fortitude and hate (if not more) as he came from thence.
E Some few days before, Junius and Minullus began to afront all by forcible means the town Neatmum into which the principal persons of the Illyrians, and Aquanti their King, were retired. Claudius with his other legions, pressed himself before the town; and after he had discharged the old armies and their commanders, laid siege unto it, and intended to force it with mantlets and engines of batter. The confines of the river which ran along beside the walls, and not only embattled the İllyrians but yielded water unto the besieged, he diverted into another new channel, and belowed many days work thereabout. This mightily affrighted the barbarous people, to see how they were cut off from water. Howbeit, they never thought of peace for all this, but fell in hand to kill their wives and children; and when they had so done (because they would
F present to the view of their enemies, their hostile, as fearfull spectacle) they massacred them upon the walls openly in their sight, and then threw them headlong down. Whilest the silly womans and poor mothers (midst their pious and lamentable cries) were thus cruelly murdered, the Roman fouldiers mounted over their walls and entred into the City. Their King when he once perceived (by the fearfull outcries of those who fled) that the town was lost: for fear he should be taken alive flabb'd himself with his dagger to the heart. All the rest were either taken prisoners or killed. After this two other towns, Marida and Fertovia, were won by assault and rased. The pillage was greater than an man would have looked for to so poor a nation: which was beflowed every which upon the fouldiers. Five thousand and two, and thirty persons were fold out right in portfer under the guidland. The Captains of this war were little shorn with G rods and then beheaded. Thus infra by the ruin of three towns and the death of their King, was appeased: and all the Cities and States thereof from every quarter, came in with their hostages, made subjection, and did fealty and homage to the Romans.

The Illyrians war was no sooner ended but the Ligurian began to complot for to take arms and enter into rebellion. T. Claudius the Pro-Cos., who the former year had been Praetor was governor and commander at that time of Pifhe with a garrision of one region. The Senat being adverised thereof by his letters, thought good to lend the very same letters to C. Claudius (for the other
Conful was already passed over into Sardinia: and withall, a decree was granted out to this effect. That confiding he had performed his commiffion in Ifria, fo as there remained no more for him to do there, he thought it good to transport his army into Liguria: Moreover, upon the Conful his letters, wherein he wrote what exploits he had achieved in Ifria, there was ordained a solemn procession for two days together. Simlably, the other Conful Tib. Sempronius, managing his affairs as happily in Sardinia: he entered with an army into the country of the Sardianian Ilions. Great aids were come from the Balarams to relieve and succour those Ilions: with both these nations he fought a battle in pitched field. The enemies were discomfited and put to flight, turned out of their camp, and 10,000 armed men slain. The Morrow after, the Confl, commanded all their armor and weapons to be gathered together and hid on an heap; and this he burned as a sacrifice to the honor of Vulcan. Which done, he retir'd with his victorious armies into the adjacent Cities, there to pass the winter.

C. Claudius likewise, upon receipt of the letters of T. Claudius, and the commiffion directed from the Senat, marched with his legions out of Ifria into Liguria: where the enemies were come down into the plains, and lay encamp'd near the river Scultenna. In which place there was a battle fought: 15000 of them were put to the sword, and not to few as 700 taken prisoners, either in the conflict, or within the Camp for that also was forced and won: besides, 51 enigns they loft. The Ligurians, as many as escaped the execution, fled on all sides to the mountains for refuge; and notwithstanding that the Conful spoiled and waited their champaign country, there was not one man made they of arms. Thus Claudius having in one year vanquished and subdued two nations, and in one Confulship (a rare felicity in any other man) reduced other two Provinces into quietness and peace, returned to Rome.

Certain prodigies and monstrous sights were that year reported, to wit, in the territory of Cynthus, a certain bull, called Sanguinolus, with her bull pierced into a faced stone. In Campania a Beef-spake; at Syraca a bull that fired out of the fields from the herd, lef the brazen cow there in the City, and did his deffe. In the territory of Cynthus, there was a supplication and procession holden one day long in the very place of the foresaid prodigious sign. In Campania, the beef forow sharefold, was put out to be kept and fed at the charges of the City. Laft of all, the prodigy of Syraca, was expiated by a purgatory sacrifice, by direction from the footfathers to what gods, supplications & sacrifice should be made. That year died M. Claudius Marcellus the Bishop, who had been Cof and Censor. In his stead M. Marcellus his son was consecrated Bishop. Likewise, in the same year, there was a Colony of 2000 Citizens of Rome planted at Luca. The Triumvir or the Commissiurers who had the conduct and placing of them, were P. E. Livius, L. Egilius, and Cn. Securinus. one and fifty acres of land and an half was set out for them apiece, to occupy the territory lately conquered from the Ligurians, and which had been sometime the possession of the Tufcans, before it was holden by the Ligurians.

Then came the Conful C. Claudius to the City of Rome, where after he had discourse before the Senat, as touching the prosperous execution of his affairs, as well in Ifria as Liguria: and thereupon demanded a triumph, he foon obtained that honour: and during his Majestie triumphed at once over those two nations. In which solemnity of his triumph, he carried in fiew 307000 Deniers and 81702 Victories. He gave to every common [Roman] soldier fifteen Denars as a peace, a double proportion to the Centurions, and thrice as much to every horfman. But upon the allies he bestowed lefts by the one moity than to natural Citizens: and therefore as they followed his chariot, they were silent and faid never a word: a man that had feen them would have faid they were malecontent.

During the time of this triumph, the Ligurians perceiving that not only the Conful his army was brought home to Rome, but the legions alfo at Pife discharged by T. Claudius: thinking now all fear pant and o'erflown, secretly levied a power; and having passed over the crofs frontiers, by travelling the ways through the mountains, defended into the downs, and wafted the demains of Moderna, and by sudden attack surprifed the very Colony. The news hereof was no sooner arrived at Rome, but the Senat commanded C. Claudius the Conful to hold the high Court for the flemen election, with all convenient speed: that fo soon as new annuall Magistrates were created, he might return into his Province, and perseff recover this Colony out of their hands. So according to the advice and ordainice of the Senat the faid assembly was holden: wherein were elected Conulf Cn. Cornelius Seipio Hippatus, and Q. Petilius Spartius. Then were the Praetors afterwards chosen, to wit, M. Popllus Lentus, P. Licinius Cragus, M. Cornelius Seipio, L. Popllus M. fo, M. Atturinus, and L. Aquilius Gallus, The Conful C. Claudius had his Patent fealed again for one year longer, to continue in command of the army, and government of the Province Gallus. And for his left the Ilirians likewise should follow the example of the Ligurians: he had commiffion to lend thene allies of the Latin nation, whom he had brought out of his Province for to gloriifiz his triumph.

Upon that very day, on which the Confuls, Cnus Cornelius and Quintus Petilius entered their Majestie, and sacrificed each of them an ox as the manner was, in the honour of Jupiter: In that feast which Q. Petilius caufed to be flain, the liver was found headless. When he had reported this accident unto the Senat, he was enjoyed to sacrifice another beef, for to appeale the wrath of the gods. Moved then it was in the Senat house as concerning the Provinces, and a decree passed that both Confuls fhou'd be sent to Pife, and againft the Ligurians: but order was given, that
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that whether of them had the charge of Pise allotted unto him, he should (when the time came) repair to Rome against the election of yearly Magistrates. Moreover, there was another branch of this decree, that either of them should enroll two new legions, and three hundred horsemen and levy of the Latine allies ten thousand foot, and six hundred horse. And T. Claudius continued still in full command, until such time as the Consul was arrived in his Provin(e. While these matters were thus debated and passed in the Council House. Co. Cornelius was called forth by a buliff or other. And within a while after he was gone out of the Temple, he returned thither again, with an heavy and disannounced countenance, and declared into the L. of the Senat that the officer of that one which he also had killed for sacrilege, a beast of six years old and well liking, was consumed and come to nothing; and when he hardly besought the Minifter attending upon the Sacrifice, who told him hereof, that himself caufed the water to be poured forth of the pot whereunto the trips and inwards were put, and that the water being poured away, after a wonderful and mysterious manner, not to be spoken. The LL. were much terrified and amazed at this prodigious object and the more perplexed were they, for that the other Consul likewise related unto them, how in regard that in his sacrifice the artifice.wanted an end; he had killed three oxen more, one after another, and yet could not procure the favour and grace of the gods. Hereupon the Senat commanded him still to sacrifice their greatest beasts, until such time as he had, and the gods were pleased again. Now it is said, that all the other gods were well enough contented, and their ire mitigated and appeased, only the goddesS Sabins Petulins could not be reconciled unto for all these evil might do. Then the Coifi, and Praetors committed the disposition of their Provinces to the abovement of the lots, Petulius to Cornelius, and Liguria to Petulins. As for the Praetors, L. Papirius Mago was Lord Chief Justice by lot appointed, within the City of all Citizens pleas, and M. Albinus had the jurisdiction over Strangers: M. Cornelius Scipio M Lucenius had the charge to govern the lower Spains, and L. Aquilinus Salus, Sicily, The two Praetors behind, required earnestly that they might not be sent into their Provinces, and namely, M. Petulins into Sardinia: alleging, that Crassus was able to quiet that ill mind, and the rather, for that T. Fulvius the Praetor was by the Senat enjoined to him for assistance: neither was it good to interrupt courts begun the continuity whereof is the most effectual means to expiate any great impoflant affairs. For what with delivering up the sword by the old L. Deputy, and receiving it by the new successor (whom it were more meet first to be trained up in knowledge of the State, than to be put to the managing of State-matters) oftentimes the good opportunities of achieving brave enterprises pass by and are lost. This exuice of Petulins was held for good, and so approved. Then comes P. Licinius Crassus, and he for his part made allegations why he might not go into his Province: namely, by occasion of the solemn sacrifice, that he was to give his attendance upon. Now the higher part of Spain was allotted unto him. But commanded was he either to go into his Province, or else to take oath in a frequent and full assembly of the people, that the solemn sacrifice (as he pretended) was the thing that hindered him, and nothing else. This order being set down and thus passed in the behalf of P. Licinius: then they put me up M. Cornelius, and required them to take an oath of him likewise, that he might not go into the nearer Province of Spain. So both these Praetors were sworn according to one and the same form of oath. Whereupon M. Titurius and T. Fonte were commanded to remain in quality and place of Pro Consuls within Spain and retain all the same authority and power of command: and order was given, that for to supply their forces, there should be lent unto them three thousand Citizens of Rome with two hundred horse, and also fifteen thousand Latine allies, and three hundred horsemen.

The solemnity of the Latine holydays began the * third day before the Nones of May, wherein, because of the sacrificing of one beast the Magnificat of Lurumiis in his prayer left out these words [Popoli Romani Quiritinos] and prayed not for the good estate of the people of Rome: and the Quirites it bred a Temple. The matter was moved in the Senat, and the Senat referred it over to the College of the Bishops and Prelates of the Church, and they pronounced this award, That forasmuch as those Latine feasts were not solemnized as they ought, they should begin again anew: and that the Citizens of Lurumis, by whose defect they were thus to be renewed, should at the charges of all the beasts for sacrifice. Moreover, to breed more terror and popularity in men's minds, it was ordained that Cornelius consequet the Consul as he returned from that solemnity out of the Alban mountain fell down in a fit of Apoplexy: which turned into an Hemoptysis or dead pale all the one side of his body, and so he was conveyed to the bath and hot waters at Tarentum, where by occasion that his disease grew upon him still, he departed this life: from whence he was brought to Rome, and there carried forth in all magnificence of funerals and obsequies: and right honourably interred. He had been Bishop also as well as Consul. Q. Petulins the other Consul being commanded to hold an assembly for the introduction of Collegue unto him, (to form as possibly he might be warranted by the auspices and approbation of the sacred birds): and withal, to proclaim and publish the Latine feasts and holydays aforesaid: summoned the election against the * third day before the Nones of Sextills: and the Latine solemnity, the third day likewise before the Ides of the same month.

Whiles mens minds were much poiffessed already with religion, and set upon their devotions, word was brought moreover of certain feastfull prodigies: to wit, that at Tresulins there was been a burning flame in the sky: that at Gabes, the Temple of Apollo, and many private mans houses:
houes: likewise at Gravice the town wall and one of the gates were smitten with thunderbolts. For the procuratio whereof, the LL. of the Senat ordained that the Bishops should give order according to their discretion.

While the Conuls were thus laid, first both, by their own scrupulous holiness, then one of them by the death of the other; and afterwards by occasion of the new election and the renewing of the Latine festivall solemnity: C. Claudius in the mean time approach'd with his army to Modena, which the Ligurians the year before had won. He had not continued the siege full three days, but he forced the Colony: and having thus recovered it from the enemies, he retor-

red it again to the former inhabitants. Eight thousand Ligurians died there within the walls upon the sword; and immediately he dispatched his letters to Rome, wherein he not only declared the simple news, but glorified him and made his boast, That through his fortitude and fortune, both the Romans had no enemy that durst shew his head on this side the Alps; and that he had conquered so much land as might serve for to be divided by the poll among many thousands. Tib. Sempronius likewise at the same time, fought many fortunate battles in Sardinia, and utterly tamed and subdued the Ilyanders: 1500 enemies he there slew: all the States of that nation which had revolted, were reduced to obedience under the people of Rome: the old tributaries had an imposition and exaction laid upon them of a double tribute, which they thereby paid: the rest were put to a contribution of corn. After he had set the Province in quietness, and received out of the whole Island two hundred and thirty hostages, he sent certain Lieutenants as messengers to make report at Rome of all his proceedings: who also in his behalf should make suit unto the Senat, That in regard of the happy successes in those exploits under the charge, conduct, and fortune of Tib. Sempronius, first, due honour, praise, and thanksgiving might be rended to the immortal gods: and then that himself might be allowed at his departure out of the Province to bring away his army with him. The Senat gave audience to the messengers above said within the Temple of Apollo: and upon their relation ordained a general procession for two days: commanding the Colf. to sacrifice 40 head of greater beasts: and withall, enjoyed Tib. Sempronius the Pro-Con-

ful to continue that year with his army in that Province. Then the election which had been published against the third day before the Nones of Sexi. lis for the substitution of one of the Colfs, was the same day accomplished. And Q. Petilus the Colf. created for his Colleague, M. Valerius La-

vinus, for to enter immediately into his Magistracy. This Laurens had been a long time devises to be employed in some Province or other: and pity it fell out for his longs desire that letters came importing how the Ligurians rebelled and were gone out again in arms. So after he once heard the contents of their letters, he made no longer stay, but upon the very Nones of Sexi.

lis all goodly to be seen in his warriors coat of arms, he commanded the third legion (by occasion of this alarm) to go into France, to C. Claudus the Pro-Conful: also the Dumnovis or two wardens for the ports and navy to go to sea, and with a fleet to make sail for Pisa, &c. from hence to coast about all Liguria and thus by hov'ring upon the seas, to terrifie the enemies that way alfo. Q. Petilus likewise the Colf. had appointed a day for his army to meet in the same place. More-

over, C. Claudius the Pro-Conful advertised of the Ligurians revolt, over and besides those forces which he had about him at Parma, levied in hate a strength of more soldiers; and so with his compleat army approached the borders of the Ligurians. The enemies upon the arrival of C. Claudius by whose conduct they well remembered how late they had been discomfited and put to flight near the river Scultena, minding to seek for defence rather by the strength of advantageous places than force of arms, against that power of his which to their coast they had before tried, jezed the two hils, Lutus and Badlsa, about which they raised a mure also for their better safety, But such as legged behind and quite the champaign plains and lower grounds with the last, were surprised and cut short, to the number of sixteen hundred. The rest kept within the mountains: who albeit they were in fear and danger of their own parts, yet forgot not their inbred cru-

ely; but ran upon the booties and prizes which they had taken at Modena, their poor prisoners whom they held captive they pitiously mangled, and killed most villanously: as for the beasts in the Temples everywhere, they rather hacked, hewed, and cut in pieces butcher-like, than sacrifi-

ced in decent, leemly, and religious manner. Thus being satisfied with the blood and massacre of living creatures, they took all their breathless things they had, and reared and stuck them upon the walls; and namely, implements of all sorts, made rather for use and necessitie than ornament and flew. Q. Petilus the Colf, for fear lest the war would be ended in his absence, dispatched his letters to M. Claudius, to hawe away with his army into France, for he would attend his coming upon the plains called Maeri. Upon the receipt of which letters, Claudius dislodged out of Li-

guria, and delivered unto the Conful his army at the said plains called M. Meri. Few days after came Cn. Valerius the other Conful thereto also. There they divided their forces, and before they departed one from the other, they both together made a survey and review of their severall armies. This done, they cast lots into what quarters they should either of them go for, that they held it not good policy to charge the enemy both of them joyntly in one part. Now certain it is, that Valerius received his lot according to the auspices; in that he was within the precincts of the Temple or prospect by the Augurs affign'd. But Petilus here in made default (as the Augurs pronounced afterwards); and namely, the error was herein, because he being himself without the compass aforesaid, had put the lot into the casket, which was carried afterwards within the circuit-

of the said Temple. This done, they went into divers quarters: Petilus encamped affront that
A bank and rising of the hill between Babylon and Lusus, which by a continual ridge unites and joyneth the one mountain to the other. There, as he was exhorting his soldiers in open and audible manner, he let fall (by report) an ominous word, interpreting his own death never thinking of the ambiguity and duplicitous construction thereof, saying, that he would that very day "capere Lusum." In two or three places at once he began to mount up the hills. That regiment wherein he was himself advanced forward courageously: but the other was repulsed and beaten back by the enemies: whereupon the Consul rode full gallop to help that side which went down: and in very truth, he became men who did from running away; but whilsts without good regard of his own person he kept before the enmies in the forefront, he chanced to be shot with a dart, and so fell down and died in the place. The enemies were not aware of the Generals death: but some few of his own men who Baw him tall, made haste (as knowing well that in it confined now the main victory) to cover his body. So the reit of the multitude, as well cavalry as infantry, captains and as, were dishevelled and the enemies were masters of the mountains. Of Ligurians there were slain 3000: of the Roman army not above two and fifty. Now besides this evident issue and event which fell out upon heavy and deadly a preface by the *omen aforetold, the pulletier also was heard to say, that all was not well in the audices of the birds: neither was the Consul himself ignorant thereof. This Omen of his (which I commonly interpret [Oke] fortunum vasta judicium: When a man causeth forth a word as a preface, and Ikipeth more truly than he is aware. For want of a proper reason to expel the Luxe [Ux] all ten of it likewise birother, French, Italian, and English, hath been to let his things, and it is themselves like [Preßage] Which in mine opinion is not appropriative to the thing, but common, as comprising other tokens of like kind; whether it be auguria or omen; omen towards of lightening and the right: or rather implying [Apparitio, i.e., the fate by which both signs, yes, and extenuated to the fate, among the men. Whereas as the other word [Foe] apparetio, and in its analogue equivalent to [Oera] I knew much this error; it is thought either foreign and new (Gergu, in English) that was not made commonly in times past, and at this day current in the North parts, where the people happily are more observant of such prefaces. Rather than many other terror words brought into our language, and ranged with the Englisher for it should be considered as absolute and not pleasing to the ear, more than Greek, wherein commonly (by common language) more properly in Plato (as such truth well observed) is taken for [Oera] live as being a sure augur, &c. *Lapidus (Lapidus) as *Lapidum. Moreover upon how much is said in [Conn.], and his utterance, and still its business, this being unchristian, but defended from the mother of all learning. Greek sentences, and the like in that time and country minded (though it hath been confined in the North) would not be told loudly, but rather reduced and received for a free denatured, quod pellitimus.

C, Valerius having heard

* * * * * [The great clerks and deep divines, those also were profoundly seen in the common law, gave it forth. That seeing the two

D ordinary Conuls (Conn. Coriolanus, Scipio Hostinian, and Q. Petilius Spruntus) of that year, were both
defeated, the one by sickness, the other by the word, it was not lawful for the other Conul. (C, Valerius

Leuen) intragd in the place of the deceased to hold the assembly general for the election of
new Magistrates.)

* * * * * conducted. On this side the Apennine were the Gauls, Lapins, and Civilians. Beyond the

Apennine were the Brinians. Against them that had pillaged and ravished Piside and Tamba Q. Minu-
tius made war within the compass of the River Ardea: and when he had brought them in sub-
jection, he took from them their arms. For which exploits cherished in France and Liguria, under the
conduct and happy fortune of the two Conuls, the Senate ordained that there should be pub-

E licated public procession for three days and commanded to sacrifice forty greater beasts. And thus verily

T the tumultuous wars of the French and the Ligurians, which arose in the beginning of the year,
were in short time and without any great mazly disturbed and appeased.

But now in lieu thereof great care was taken for the Macedonian war by occasion that Persis

sold the teads of debate and quarrel between the Dardanians and the Balkanians. Besides, the

Roman Embassadors who were sent into Macedonia, to see in what terms things there stood, were

now returned to Rome, and had brought word That in Dardan they were up in arms. With

them there came also from King Persis certain orators to make excite in his behalf, and to cheer

him in the action, namely, that the Balkanians neither were by him sent for not entered into any
execution by his motive. The Senate would neither acquit the King as unrightely, nor yet directly

accuse him as culpable in that point. Only they required that he should be advertised and admoni-
donied, to be very well advised and careful to keep that league and accord inviolable, which he

would seem to enter with the Romans.

The Dardanians seeing that the Balkanians were so far off departing from their country (as they well hoped they would) that they endangered and endangered them still every day more than other, as bearing themselves bold upon the incursions of the Thracians near neighbours, and the Scordisci, thought it their belt course in policy, to adventure upon some hardy enterprise, although it were rash and imperceptible: whereupon they assembled all in arms, and from every quarter of their country hewed and advanced before the next Town, to the camp of the Balkanians. Winter time it was, a season of the year which they made choice of, that the Thracians and the Scordisci might be retired home into their own countries: when they were advertised of, and that there remained none but the Balkanians alone, they divided their forces in two parts: with the one, to march directly forward and openly to make head against them afaroff; with the other, to fetch a compass through by-was and blind forrests, and to charge upon their backs. But before they could wheel about the enemy's camp, the battall was begun: wherein the Dardanians had the overthow, and were driven to put themselves within their City which was about twelve miles distant from the camp of the Balkanians. The conquerors followed the train of victory,
and incontinently invested the Town, making full account, that the next day either the enemies would yield, or else they should be able to win the place by mere force. In the mean time, the other regiment above-aided of the Dardanians, which call about, knowing nothing at all of their fellows defect, began to afflict the camp of the Baetians, left without a sufficient guard for defence.

* * *

As the manner of the Kings was, he fare in a stately throne of ivory, to hear pleas and decide controversies of the smallest and most trifling matters. So transported was he and carried away with an humor of levity and spirit of inconfinancy, so distracted & wandering in all the course of his life, that he was never neither and well contented in any condition or state whatsoever: in such fort, as neither he knew his own will, nor any man else with what to make of him. He would not seem to speak unto his friends, and hardly was seen to laugh familiarly among those of his nearest acquaintance. He made a fool of himself, and mocked others likewise; such was his inordinate and irregular munificence. To men of honor standing highly upon their worth and reputation, his manner was to beat low childish trives, as sugar-plums to eat or to play with, toyes and gawgawes instead of great and precious presents: others again that looked for nothing,those he enriched. And therefore some deemed, that he knew not what he did: others gave it out that he did all in plain mockage: and there were again that let not say, how he was one of his right wits, and clean besides himself. Yet in two things, which were both great and laudable, he carried with him a Princely and Royal mind indeed: to wit, in adorning Cities with statelie gifts, and honouring the Gods with divine worship. He promised the Megalopolitans in Arcadia to raise a wall about their City: and in truth the better part of the money to defray the charges thereof, he sent unto them. He went in hand to build a magnificent Theatre of marble at Tegea: at Cynus, he gave freely to the Prytaieum (a fair hall by it itself in the heart of the City, where, at the common charges, certain had their diet of free-coal) by way of honourable reward, a cupboard of golden plate sufficient for the furniture and service of one table. As for the Rhodians, I cannot say, what one special gift singular above the rest, he bestowed upon them: so liberally minded was he to-ward and his hand ever open to give them of all sorts whatsoever they needed or required. Now, this magnificence in honoring the Gods, what it was (if there were nothing else) the Temple of Jupiter Olympicus begun by him in Athens (so answerable every way to the Majesty of that great God, that the like to it is not to be found again in the whole world) may testify sufficiently. Moreover, he beautified Delos with godly sea-enigmes, and with a great number of statues and images. Likewise he promised to edify at Antiochus, a large Temple in the honor of Jupiter Capitolinus, not only arched above-head with a golden embowed roof, but feated all over the wall sides with plates of gold; besides many other things in divers places, which by reason that he reigned but a very short time, he could not finish and perform. In magnificence also of plays, publick shews, and pageants of every sort, he over-went all the Kings his progenitors before him, as well in regard of Grecian actors and gameliers, whereof he had many about him, as of the rest who were acquainted with the fashions of his own country. He represented the fight of sword-players at the sharp with unrebated swords, after the cuturge of the Romans; with greater terror and fear at first than pleasure and delight of men, who were not used to behold such fights: but afterwards by often exhibiting the same in such manner, as sometime they drew blood one of another, yeas, and otherwheres gave over to, but fought to the uttermost, even to death, he made it a familiar exercise & a pleasant spectacle to the eye; and thereby set an edge upon the courage of many yong gillants, and emboldned them to embrace chivalry and follow feats of arms. So as in process of time, he that was wont at the beginning to send as far as Rome for these entertainers, and to hire them for great wages and reward, now with his own * * L Cornelia Scipio (had the jurisdiction) over foreigners, To M. Attalus the Prector, the government of Sardinia by lot was fallen, but he was enjoined to pass over into Confœt with the new legion which the Comils had enrolled, confuting of 5000 foot and 300 horse. And during the time that he should be employed there in the wars, Cornelia had commissio to continue in his charge and place of command, within Sardinia. Unto Cn. Servilius Capo for low Spain & P. Furius Philius for the higher, were assigned 3000 Roman footmen and an 150 horse; but of Latin allies, 5000 of the one and 500 of the other. N As for L. Claudius, he was appointed to Sicily without any supply at all. Moreover, the Comils had commandment to enrol two legions besides, with the full number as well of foot as horse and to charge the Latin allies, with the setting out and maintenance of a 10000 footmen & 600 horse. This levy and taking of musters, the Comils went through with in more difficulties, by reason of a great mortality, which beginning the year before with a murrain of kite & oxen, turned this year into pestilential epidemic diseases of men. Look who fell sick once, lightly they died before the feventh day: and those that overslipped and escaped that crisis, lay long sick by it, and commonly of the quartan ague. The most that went of this malady were slaves, whose breaths carkasses lay ordinarily along every street unburied: and more than that, * men were not able to inter to much as the dead bodies of free persons they died to thick; in such fort, as they purified and rooted = above ground: for neither hungry dog nor greedy gripe, would once touch them. And for certain it was known and noted, that neither all that year nor in the former, during the mortality of men and beast, there was not a vulere or gripe any where to be seen, Divers Prelats and Priests of State dropt away of this plague, and namely, Cn. Servilius Capo a Bishop, the father of the Prector: Tit. Sempronius Longus, the Ioh of Thes one of the December, for sacred rites and divine service; P. 

* Lithium in funiciu.
of the parish-priests, and M. Semp, Tuddaturna Bishop. These were substituted Bishops in place of the dead, to wit, C. Sulpiius Gallus in Head of Tuddaturna. * For Augurs were subordinaTed, T. Petrinius Catus Sempronianus in the room of Greekus. Q. Adus Paimitor P. Adus, Decemvirs over holy rites were elected, C. Semp, Longus and C. Scribonius, named Carus, supplied the want of the grand superintendent aforesaid. Still the petition was; whereupon the Senat ordained, That the Decemvirs should have recourse to the books of Sthlar by whole order and direction, publish supplications held for one day long: and after a devout manner, the people conceived and made a solemn vow in the common place, according to that form of words which Q. Martinus Philippus did indeed and prompt ed unto them to this effect: That if this madly and pestilential disease, were removed out of the territory of Rome they would for two days spare a solemnize a feast go in procession and pour out their prayers with all devotion. In the Veientian country a man child was born with two heads: and another at Sinus ; but with one hand, At Oxumum a maid child came into the world with teeth in the head and over the Temple of Saturns (standing in the market place of Rome) there was seen in the sky a bow till bent all the day long. If the air were clear and the weather fair: and at one time there shone out three limbs. Also in one night, there evidently appeared many flaming lights and fire drakes shooting along in the air. The men of Liburnian and Core affirmed plainly. That within their Town they saw a Serpent with a red mane and eye, and the flame marked all over with yellow spots like gold: and it was held for certain that in the territory of Capua an ox spake.

Now were the Embassadors returned out of Africa by the * Nones of Jure, those I mean who went to Carthage, after they had been with King, and spake with him. But better & more certain intelligence they had by this King than from the Carthaginians themselves as touching the affairs that had pass'd in Carthage. Howbeit much they reported upon their suffered knowledge. that Carmines did come in from King Persenum and had audience in the Senat secretly by night within the Temple of Apollo. Also both the King informed flatly, and the Carthaginians themselves but faintly denied that Embassadors likewise had been sent from Carthage into Macedon. Whereupon the Senat was of advice and resolved to dispatch their Embassadors also into Macedon. And the three were sent, to wit C. Lucius M. Valerius M. f. f. s. and Sex. D. Pat. During this time, Persenum by occasion that certain Dolopians accused him not, and of some matters in controversy and difference referred the audience and decision to the Romans, and reined the arbiterment of the King led forth an army against them, and reduced the whole nation under his obedience and jurisdiction. From thence he pass'd over the Oetcean mountains, and upon certain religious motions arising in his mind he went up to Delphi for to visit the Oracle. Being thus on a sudden seen in the very heart and midst of Greece he tur'd a terrior not only into the cities next adjoining, but also the bent of this tumultuous alarm was blown as far as to K. Eumenes. After he had staid at Delphi, not above 3 days he return'd into his own realm by the way of Phthiotos, Achaea and Thrace through which there was no journey, but he addrest either Embassadors or wrote his letters, praying them to bear no longer in mind the enemies which had been between them and his father; for almag, as they were not to suffer and deadly but that they might well enough, yea, and ought to end and die with him; as far as himself; if he saw no more or him in the word to empeach them for entertaining a faithful amity with him. But above all others he fought means to be reconciled to the Achæans, and to return into grace and favor with them. This nation alone of all Greece together with the City of Athens, were grown into those terms of delight and maitre against the Macedonians, that they debarg'd them from once letting foot within their confines. And hereupon it came that when certain slaves fled out of Athens, they retir'd into Macedon for refuge, and there remained: and because the Achæans had forbidden the Macedonians to come within their liberties they durst not likewise for their parts enter into the matches and frontiers of his Kingdom to recover their bondmen. Which when Perseus perceived he cau't all those fugitive slaves to apprehended, and he dispatch'd his letters into the Achæans, wherein he wrote, That he would right courteously tend back their slaves home again although they were run away from them unto him; adventuring and advising them to beware and look well unto it, that there were no more any such escapes and runnings away of their bond servants hereafter. When these letters were read by Menarchus there Pretor, who long before came to favor and to wind himself into grace with the King most of them that were present judged the letters to have been written right graciously and with great government and moderation, but principally those persons, who beyond their hope were to recover and receive their slaves whom they had lost. But Callicrates one of them who were fully perswaded, that the safety of their whole estate depend'd upon the loyal obserwance and inviolable maintenance of the accord contract'd with the Romans, spake thus or to this effect following: * It may seem to come hereof, that matters of Athens that we are in question at this present of a small matter and of mean importance: but I for my part am of opinion, that we are not now in hand to treat but have already debated, and after a fort conclud'd, one of the greatest affairs and of most consequence that we know. For we who have in terred the KK. of Macedon and the Macedonians to come within our borders, and have de creed that this edict may stand firm and irrevocable, and that for this intent especially, Because we would admit neither Embassadors nor messengers from the KK. for fear of enterprize.
The one and fortieith Book of T.Livius.

Of them, the hearts of some among us might be solicited and tempted to novelty and alteration in us; yea, and more than that (God send us good sack) approve and applaud his Oration. And whereas the very wild beasts refuse (for the most part) the meat which is laid for a bait to deceive and kist them, yea, and have the wit to shun and avoid the same wise, blind beetles that we are, suffer our selves to be caught and fed with the vain appearance and colorable flower of a little kindness, and for hope to recover some poor slaves (a matter of small worth & reckoning) suffer our own freedom to be undermined, and in danger of subversion. For who hath not, that the overtaking is made, and the way laid open for entrance into confederacy with the Romans, wherein tendeth out weal and welfare?

Unless some man on adventure will make a question, whether the Romans most levy wars again. I

Perfens! & no doubt there now after Philip is dead which in his life time was expected and by his death only interrupted? Two sons, ye know full well, K. Philip had, Demetrius and Perfens. For nobleness of parentage by the mothers side, or virtue, or wit, for the love and affection of the Macedonians, Demetrius far surpasse his brother. But for that the father interred ever & meant, that whether of his two sons hated the Romans, so the Romans should have the crown left him for recompence he caused Demetrius to be murdered, for no other crime in the world that could be laid to his charge, save only that he was entred into amity with the Romans: but Perfens he made the king, whom he knew that the people of Rome did, more worthy to suffer punishment then to inherit a Kingdom. And this Perfens, what other thing hath he done else after his fathers decease but made preparation for war; First & foremost, he procured the Baffianians to K. the terror of all the world for to invade. Darannum he if they had settled there, Grecia should have had more trouble some neighbors of them than Asia hath of the Galatians. And although he was dispointed of this hope yet he gave not over to design and plot for war; nay, if we will speak the truth, he hath already begun the war. Delphi hath he subdued by force & arms. & could not abide to hear that the determination of certain provinces which were debataba and matters should be referred to the award of the people of Rome. I thence having passed over the mountain O, that all upon a sudden he might shew himself in the very centre o, Grecia, he ascended up to Delphi. And to what end, think ye hath he taken this divertiour voyage and unaccustomd expedition? After this he made his progress all over Telfs; And what if he appointed and hurt none of them all, whom he hated in his heart? I fear me much the more this manner of dealing and that it is a bait to catch them wischal. Then forfooth, he kinded his letters unto us, with a goodly show of a present, and will eth us to think ete how to prevent from henceforth, that we never had need again of the like bounty of his. What is that, but to amend and repeal that edict of ours wherein the Macedonians are debarred from setting foot with in in P. lorneseus; and to bring about, that we may have againe the Kings Embassadors to come unto us, that we may entertain mutual hospitality between their Princes and ours? And anon after, see the Macedonian armies, yea, and the King also in person to crow from Delphi,(for a small arm of the Sea sixth between Delphi) and afterwards, that we and combine with the Macedonians, when they shall take arms against the Romans? As for me, this is mine advice; to make no new ordinance, but to let all alone in their order, as they now stand until such time as we are come to some certain termiss whether we have cause to be afraid, or fear only our own shadows: If the league shall continue firm and sure between the Romans & the Macedonians then may we have enter course of friendship, of commerce and traffick with them. But for this present to think & consider hereof in my simple judgment, is a nice and tick point & besides, out of faction untimely, and some what with the sonest. When he had thus said, Arco brother to Xenarchus the Pretor discoursed in this manner following: "Callicrates (argued he) hath caul'd me and all us besides, who are of contrary opinion to him, to find the more difficulty in speaking our minds to the cause in question. For whiles in maintenance of the association which we have with the Romans, he faith that it is disturb'd and troubled, (albeit there be no man about either to disturb or trouble it) he hath wrought cunningly and contrived, that whosoever cauler to gainfay him may be thought to oppose and set himself adgainst the Romans. In the first place, as if he had been a man, not conversing here among us but one comefrom the Senate of Kome or some inward secretary and of the privy counsel to the KK, he knoweth fortooth and uttereth all that in great secrecy hath been done. Nay, he foretellith like a wise man what would have enu'd, in case Philip had lived longer; & namelie, how it came about that Perfens thus inherited the crown; what the Macedonian designs are, and what the Romans intend to do. But who we know neither for what cause nor in what manner Demetrius came by his death nor yet what Philip meant to have done if he had lived still, must accomoda- dat & frame our comunication to those occurrences which have oftyn paied in the view of the world. We take knowledge, that Perfens, after he was invested in his throne and crowned King report ed to the Roman Embassadors; and we know ill why he was intimated by the people of Rome with the style of (King Perfens). We hear besides that Roman Embassadors came to the King, and were by him well received and graciously entertained. If I have any judgment, thele be all signs of peace and not of war, neither can the Romans be offens'd, as we followed them when they bare arms so we follow them now likewise as the authors of peace. And verily I see no reason why we alone of all other Greeks, shold make to mortal and inexpressible war against the
the realm of Macedonia, What is it because we are so near unto the Macedonians, and by that
vicinity exposed to all dangers from thence? or that we are the weakest of all the reft, and like to
the Doliopites, whom Persians of late hath subdued? Nay! 1 wis, it is far otherwise and clean con-
trary. Sure enough we are for any harm they can do us; in regard either of our own forces (which
the Gods of their goodnes have vouchsafed us) or of the distance of place (far remote). But
yet care we be as much subject as the Thessalians and AEtolians. Say we are no more credit and
authority among the Romans (albeit we have been always their associates and friends) than the
AEtolians be, who were their open enemies but the other day: Then, what right, what priviledg
and commerce, the AEtolians, the Thessalians, the Epipots, and in one word, all Greece besides,
have and use with the Macedonians, we allo may have and hold the fame. How is it then, that we
alone like curfed and damned creatures, should thus prattle to abandon the common law of
men, and (as it were) renounce all human society, Be it that Philippus (when time was) did some-
what, and gave us hit canfe, armed as he was, and ever warring upon us, to pass this decree and
cidet against him, what hath Persians deferred? Persians (I say) the new King, a harmless Prince that
never did us injury: Nay, who is willing and lecketh by courtesies and good turns to cancel and
rate out all former quarrels and enmities of his father? why are we the only enemies that he
hath in the world? And yet, I might in full well & truly say that from the former Kings of Macedonia
we have received so great favors and benefits, that in regard thereof, we should put up and forges
the wrongs of Philippus alone (if haply he have done us any) at least a wife now after he is dead.
and his head laid, Indeed, at what time as the Roman fleet rid in the harbor of Cecora and the
Conful lay encamped with his army before Elatins, we far in counsel three days together, deba-
ing and devising, Whether we should band with the Romans or fate with Pob pi And albeit the
preent fear of the Romans before our cies, might have made us in our opinions to endine
somewhat and lean toward them: yet there was something in it doublets, that it was so long ere
we could refove and to fay, it was the ancient acquaintance and amity that we had with
the Macedonians, and the great benefits which in old time we had received from their Kings,
Why then me thinks, those left fame rewards should be of some force and efficacy to move us, if
not to be their special and best friends, yet at leat wife not to be their principal and greatest ene-
emies. Let us not, Colatera, make semblance and they of that, which we are not in band with,
and is no point of this preent question. There is no motive made of a new society: there is
no person about to draw any capitulations of a new alliance, wherein we should rashly enwrap
and entangle our selves, and be tied to any inconvenience, Only let there be a mutual commerce
between us, and an alternative intercourse of yielding and demanding, to and fro, as ap-
peartainethlet us not by interdicting and forbidding them to enter and traffick within our coun-
dry, debar our selves likewise from all negotiation and dealing with them in their Kingdoms: that
by this means our felves may have no place of retreat and refuge to flie unto, And what preju-
dice is this to the Roman condecracy? Whorefore make we thus of a small thing and evident, to
great a mater and fuplicious? Wherefore raife we such troubles of nothing? Whorefore seek we to
draw others into jeolony and hatred with the Romans, and all this to find means of contriving &
flattering them? If there will be war, Persians (ye may more) maketh no doubt but that we alto-
gether will follow the Romans yet to long as the peace holdeth, forfeate and suspend we in some
fort our malice and hatred for the while; if ended for ever it may not be. When the fiue men
who had conreived to the Kings letters before, gave their accord now also to this propose, the
chief and principal perfon among them took great indignation and disdain that Persians shou-
ld seem to demand and obtain that by a few lines in writing, which he deemed was not worth the
sending an embayage. Whereupon the time was deferred and no decree raffe at this Seffion, Af-
terwards were Embaffadors addreffed unto them from the King, at what time as a Diet was hold-
hen in M galipolis: but the fide which was for the Romans and feared to give them occlpation of
dispersing and oiference, did they could to debar them of access and entrance into the Coun-
cel. And much about this time, by reafon of these firs the AEtolians grew enraged among them-
selves, and by dicharging their mutual fury in killing one another, had like to have brought the
flate to a final ruin and deloration. But being weary the cief, they in the end as well of the one fide
as the other lent their Embaffadors to Rome and also laboured at home to have the quarre, taken
up, and to be made friends and reconciled together. Howbeit this was crofed by a new mifehief
that came between which also rubbed the former galls and treat the old iores. For whereas cer-
tain Hypsians, exiled perrons, and being of the faction of Proxenus, were promised liberty to re-
turn home again into their country, with fale contefte all the fubtained by the emptiness one of the chief
principal men of the City: so it was, that fourorfe of them, men of mark and quality (who made
upon them as they returnd. Empelenus himself went out with the multitude) after they had
been friendly received with courteous greetings, falfitations, and fhaking of hands, had no
soon entered within the gate of the City, but they were maffacrect notwithstanding they pleaded
the faithful promife of protection and called the Gods to witness, but all in vain. But this occafion
the civil war between them waxed much hotter than before and turned in the end to a light fire: Now there arrived C. Flavius, L. Claudius Pulcher, G. Memmius, M. Popilius and L. Cau-
tius, as fent from the Senate of Rome. Before these commissionnes, the Embaffadors from both fides
appeared at Delphi and debated the matter with great earnefnes and vehemency, where Pro-
xenus seemed to have leavened his hand as well in right of the caufe, as through his eloquent tongue.

Ggg 3

Proxenus

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Proc. (1 st.) who, within few days after, drank a cup of poison of his wives tempering, whereof he died: & his condemned, therefore, departed into exile. The like madness haunted the Candiots & did lade them with intolerable affliction. But upon the coming of Q. M. mutus the Lieutenant General, who was sent accompanied with a fleet of ten sail, to appease their debates, they fell to some terms of peace and attestation. There had been at the also before six months but afterwards the war flamed out much more terrible, the Lyr. gen. likewise at the same time, were infected & plagued with war by the Rhodians: But my meaning is not that either it is any part of my purpose to delineate the wars of foreign nations, nor to discourse of the circumstances how to proceed for enough I have to do, & more than I can; discharge to write the acts only of the people of Rome.

The Celtiberians in Spain, who being tamed by force of arms, had submitted to C. Gracchus remained quiet all the while: M. Taurus the Pretor continued there in government. But immediately on the arrival of A. Claudius they revolted and began to flow themselves in open action of rebellion by giving a sudden assault upon the Roman camp. It was about the break of day, when the sentinel upon the rampart and corpus de guard about the gates might discover enemies coming a great way and so they gave the alarm. A. Claudius having put out the signal of battle, in few words exhorted his soldiers to fight and play the men for the truth at the gates: the Celtiberians made head and opposed their forces as they used to forth. At first the skirmish was equal on both parts: for that reason of the frights of the pikestaff, all the Romans could not fight: but after that one had put forward another, and followed still space, they were all at length gotten without the trench: so as they were able now to display their battalions & to confound their enemies from one point of their battalio to the other where with before they were unknown; and then they made to fortify a fully upon them, that the Celtiberians were not able to endure their violence. For before the second hour of the day, they were discomfited and 15,000 of them either died in the place or yielded their bodies prisoners: 3,5 military enemies they lost and were turned out of the camp the same day; and here is an end of that: For as many as escaped the conflict get them home to their own towns & quietly afterwards bare the yoke of subjection.

That year were elected centurions, Q. Fulvius Flaccus & A. Postumius Albinius: who made a review of Senators and chse new. For President of the Senate they elected M. Emilius Lepidus the Archbishop. Nine they put out of the Senate-house: The principal persons noted and disgraced were there, M. Cor. M. A. i onix, who two years before had been Pretor in Spain, L. Cor. Scipio: Pretor for the time being, and L. I. b. J ustice of the common pleas, as well among citizens as aliens; and L. Fulvius, who was whole brother to the Centor himself: & as V. Ansia reporteth equal in degree of calling and his fellow every way, The Consuls also after they had made their vows within the Capitol went forth to their Provinces. The one of them, (to wit, M. Emilius) had in charge given him by the Senate to appease the sedition of the Padoans in Venice, who as their Embassadors made report, by factious siding and part-taking, were all on a side with civil war.

The Embassadors who were gone into Bithynia for to pacify the like troubles, brought word back, that it was not possible to bridge and restrain the furious rage of that nation. But the coming of the Consul made all whole among the Padoans and cured the malady: who having nothing else to do in the province returned to Rome.

Those Centors were the first that caused the streets of Rome to be paved with hard flint and M pebble stone within the City and the high ways and cauayes without to be raised with gravel: & the ines thereof to be well banked and kept in repair; also bridges to be made in divers places: a scaffold besides for the Ediles and Pretors to behold the games & plays. Moreover the barriers in the race, from whence the horses begin to run and the Oxales to mark and count the number of courses; * * Over and besides the goes beyond; * * the iron gates and cages; * * * and at the feasts in the mount Albane for the Consuls. They took order besides all this for the paving with flint of the cliff or cleft from the Capitol and from the gallery or porch before the temple of Sken lux looking toward the Capitol, unto the place called Senculenum; and the court Heslia over it, Also the merchants Hall or burse without the gate Terrensipor they paved with stone, and fenced it about with strong flanks and posts of wood. The gallery also Emilius they caused to be repaired: and made an ascent by stairs from the Tibre to the burse or merchants Hall aforesaid. Without the same place also, they paved with pebble stone the gallery or working place into the Acuto; * of the Temple of Venus. The same Centors bargained for the making of walls about Calatia and Ostyam: and having made sale of some publick edifices there, they employed the money raised thereof in making of shops & flats round about both the market places. The one of them that is to say, M. Fulvius, (for B. Plataeis said plainly, that unless it were by virtue either of an act of the Senate, or grant of the people of Rome,) he would put forth no works to be made with dispensence of their money) agreed upon a price for the building of a Temple to Jupiter at Placentia; & for the making a conduit for water to be conveyed to Pollentia and at Pannonia for a way to be paved and Simonis. * * * In the colonies he caused also a fink or vault be made to carry away all filthiness into the river: also the market place to be enclosed with publick-galleries and stop stands three stately halls called Tesi, with quarenfoors or four through-faces, and as many fountains; For these works one of the Consuls disbursed the money, and bargained with the Publicans and underakers, who in regard the inhabitants of those colonies above named gave him great thanks. These Centors were likewise severe and precise in exercising their office for the redressing and reforming of mens manners: for many Gentlemen had their horses of service taken from them, which were allowed them by the City.
The two and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the two and fortieth Book.

The two and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

After that App. Claudius was returned out of Spain to Rome, the Senate ordained, that he should enter the City with the pomp of an Oration, and now approached the time for the election of new Consuls. Much ado there was and hard hold at this assembly, by reason of the multitude of competitors: but in the end, L. Poppaeus Albinus and M. Popilius Laenas, were elected Consuls:

A little before the years end, there was a solemn procession holden one whole day for the happy abatement of the affairs in Spain, under the conduct and good fortune of Appius Claudius the Proconsul; and twenty head of great beasts were killed in sacrifice. And the morrow after they went in another procession with supplications, at the Temples of Ceres, Liber, and Libera; for that there was reported from the Sabines country, a mighty earthquake, which over-turned many houses.

But that App. Claudius was returned out of Spain to Rome, the Senate ordained, that he should enter the City with the pomp of an Oration, and now approached the time for the election of new Consuls. Much ado there was and hard hold at this assembly, by reason of the multitude of competitors: but in the end, L. Poppaeus Albinus and M. Popilius Laenas, were elected Consuls:

B which done, the Pretors also were created, to wit, Ca. Fabius Beneo, M. Marcius, C. Cicero, M. Fur. Cossipes, A. Attillius Serranus, & C. Cluvius Saxonais, theie three last rehearsed, the second time, this business and solemnity finished. Ap. Claudius Cesai enting with Ovait pomp into the City for his victory of the Celtiberians, brought into the common treasury 10000 pounds weight of silver, and 5000 of gold, Ca. Cornelius was consecrated the Flamin of Jupiter.

The same year there was set up a painted Table in the Temple of the goddess Diana, with this inscription. Under the conduct and happy government of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, Consul, the legions and army of the people of Rome, subdued Sardinia, in which Province, there were slain and taken prisoners 80000 enemies, which Gracchus (after he had managed the affairs of State most fortunately, delivered many captives out of bondage, and recovered the tributes and cornhomets to the Common-weal.) brought home with him his army safe and sound, charged with an exceeding rich booty, and returned the City of Rome, in a second triumph. In memorial of which exploit, he caused this table to be set up as a present in the honour of Jupiter.

Now this table contained the portraitures of the Island Sardinia, and the picture also and exemplification of sundry battles. Moreover, in this year were represented to the people certain pastimes and shews of wondrous players; whereof some were small and of no account; but one above the rest, exhibited by T. Flaminus, surpass'd, and this he did in honour of his father deceased; with a date of fables among the people, a great public feast besides, and Theatrical players for four days together.

But the principal matter in this festival solemnity was this, That in three days space there fought at utterance with unbated swords, three hundred and fourteen champions.

The two and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

After that L. Poppaeus Albinus and M. Popilius Laenas had the place of Lord chief justice within the City, and C. Cluvius Saxenais the jurisdiction between

The two and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

The two and fortieth Book of T. Livius.
between citizens and loritaires. Unto Co. Fatini Butto fell the higher Spain, to M. Martinus the lower, M. Firmi Cypser was to govern Sicily, and C. Cicerini Sardinia. Before that these Magistrates took their journey, the Senate was of advice that L. Pothamius the Consul should go into Compan for to limit out the City-lords, apart from the grooms of private persons: for that was well and known, that particular men having out their bounds and encroaching by little and little upon the Commons, in process of time had a great part of it in their own possession. This Col, was angry and offended with the Franchises, for that upon a time when he went thither amongst them (in quality then of a private person) to offer sacrifice in the temple of Fortune, they hid him no honor neither in public nor private. Whence, upon his departure now from Rome, he addressed his letters before him to Transfers, that the chief Magistrate should come and meet him upon the way, provide him lodging at their Cities charges, and at his departure from thence to see that these were an impudent thing and beats of want ready for him. Now before this man Consult the Temples of Rome had never been hagrateable to their allies, nor put them to cost for anything whatsoever: and therefore allowed they were from the City their munies, let out they were with tents and pavilions, and all other necessity and provision for the wars, to the end that they should not lay upon the allies any such burden. Private lodging they had in friends houses, which they entertained courteously & liberally with reciprocal hospitality. For at Rome likewise their houses were open to receive their hosts of theirs, with whom they were wont before to have kind usage, and who had bid them welcome, in like manner Embassadors (if they were sent by chance to any place of a suddain) imposed upon the towns & cities through which they were to pass, some impudent horse only to farther expense were no allies present to any Roman Magistrates. This revenge of the Conslit for a discourtesy offered, (due & just though it were, yet not to have been exerted, during his magistracy) and the silence of the Princes (proceeding either of too much modesty or over-great fear) gave occasion to the magistrates ever since to take it for a privilege and custom to do the imitable, yearly to charge their allies with more grievous impositions every day than other in the same kind, as it the precedent example had been approved.

In the beginning of this year, the Embassadors that had been sent into Eceinia and Macedonia, made report, that they might not come to the speech of K. Perren, for that some said he was absent others that he was sick, and the one as false, as the other was untrue: howbeit, they might evidently perceive and see, that preparation was made for wars, and that he would delay no longer. But enter into arms, in like sort they related, that in Eceinia the civil dissension and sedition grew daily more and more, neither could the captains of these factions differ be represented and held in awe by their countenance and authority.

As the City of Rome was amused upon the continual expence of the Macedonian war, before any enterprise thereof begun, thought good it was and necessary, that order shoulfd be taken for the collection of prodigisms and the pacification of the Gods by way of humble prayers, such as were represented and delivered unto them out of the fatal books of Sibyl, Forst Lacteum were set, as the common voice went, certain烧ews and reembanies of a mighty great navy. Item, At Priene there grew black wood out of the earth. Also in the Velentine territory, near a Town called Kinum, it rained stones. Moreover, all the country Pomptum was overfull with tokens of Lousis and within the Land of Gallia, there were seen certain flies to leap from under the fearfulness of earth, that were turned with the plow as it took fitch and made purchase, For these tigers and fearful flights, the foresaid books were looked into and perused, and out of them the Senators declared and pronounced both unto what Gods sacrifice should be offered, and what beasts were to be slain thereupon, moreover, that the one supplication should be holden, as a propitiatory for these prodigious tokens, as also the other, which before had been vowed for the health of the people, should now be performed, and holyseips kept therefore. So the sacrifices were accomplished according to the order and form set down in writing by the Decemvirs.

The very same year was the Church of firme Icone uncovered, upon this occasion: Q. Feltoni Floricos the Consul was building ofconste to Fortuna equipher, which he had vowed during the wars against the Cельtiberos, when he was Lord Prefet in Spain. His desire and earnest endeavor was to strain himself, that there might not be in Rome a temple of more state and magnificence than this. And leapfing that it would be a great beautie and comfitant unto it, in case the roof were rocked with tiles of marble, he went into the Bruntis country, & there he was so bold with the Church above fayd of firo Lactiun, as to unite the one half thereof, making full account, that so much would serve for to cover that temple which he was a building. Boats and Barges he had readie for to receive and carry away the laid tiles or plates, without being imputed nor controlled for this acte by the allies, whom he held in awe and directed by his Consular authority. Now after the Consul was returned to Rome, those marble plates were decoated out of the forested vessels and crucified to the temple, and albeit no wordes were made item whence they came, were not considered it could not be. And thereupon arose much much muttering in the Senate, and from all parts thereof they called him upon the Consul, to have the matter put to question and debated of. The Consul was sent for, who was no sooner entered into the Senate but both all in general & also every one in particular had a fing at him, and much more fiercely approached him to his face in these terms That he could not be content to stuff and violate the most holy and stately Church in these parts, which neither Tyrrhen nor Annibel ever offered violence unto: unless he uncovered it all also in foul
A foul sort, and in manner laid it ruinat, the lantern thereof was taken away and gone the roof of bare and naked exposed and open to rain and soul weather, and thereby a subject to rots that he being chosen Centurio for to reform the manners of others; to whom it appertained by his office to see that the Temples were close and cover; to call upon them, that all public places be kept windright and water-right and in sufficient repair that he (lay) of all others should range over the Cities of allies & confederate states pulling down their Temples as he goeth & uncovering the roofs of the edified edifices and in demolishing the Churches of the immortal Gods; commit that, which if he did but prachlie upon the private holies of allies, might seem an unworthy & a great indignity; and finally, by rearing one Temple with the ruin of another, oblige the people of Rome with the very guilt of his own crime; as it (1 wis) the immortal Gods were not the fame in all places, but that we must honor and adorn some of them with the spoil of others. Now as it was apparent (before the matter was put to the centre of the Senate) which way the LL, inclined in opinion: So immediately upon the proposing thereof, they all opined and gave one temenose, That order should be taken with the publicans of the City works, for the carrying back again of the same chatties to the former Temple, and that certain propitiatory sacrifices should be offered for the pacification of Ianu. As for all ceremonies required toward the divine service aforesaid, they were with all complements performed accordingly: but the farmers who had undertaken at a price to recarry to reary thoselites, brought word that they had landed them in the chamber and there left them, because they might not meet with any workman who could deifie with all the skill and cunning he had; how to betower them as they were laid and touched before.

B If those Pretors who were gone into their Provinces, M. Fabius as he was in his journey toward his high Spain died at Maffiles by the way, & the defeat upon intelligence given thereunto by the Maffilian Embassadors, the Senate ordained that P. Furius and Co. Scipio, whom to succeed others were to be lest should call losses between themselves, whether of them should continue still in the place of the former Temple, and that certain propitiatory sacrifices should be offered for the pacification of Ianu. 

The same year, by order of that good part of the Ligurians, and Gauls territory won by conquest lay void and was not as yet in the tenure and occupation of any man there piaffed in the Act of the Senat, that it should be divided by the poll. So, A. Auleius the Libic inmate of the City of Rome, by a decree granted out of the Senat, created ten Deem vicators or commissioners for that purpose, to wit, M. C. Lepidas, C. Affinius, T. Eutates Parrus, C. Cornelius, C. Cornelius, C. Scipio, Q. and L. both named Apuleius, M. Cæcius, C. S. Hostius, and C. Manculus. To every Roman citizen they let out ten acres spects: and to the Latin allies three.

About the same time that those affairs piaffed at Rome there arrived thither Embassadors out of Etruria about their own civil discord and editions. Likewise there came others from Hiff in reporting what was a doing in Mocacina. For Perwent (calling now in his mind how to compiles that war which during his fathers levi he deviled and thought upon) gerrared out to draw and win into him not only all the nations but the cities of Greece, by sending his embassies among them, & promising liberally more than he performed. Howbeit the hearts of the most part were inclined to him and favored his designs, yet, and much more affectionat than to K. Eumenes not withstanding his defections, and of the most of the principal personages were obliged unto Eusebus, and in fee they were with him, in regard of many countries and glorious faults received at his hands, & that he carried himself in his own realm that the cities with whom he were obiect unto him, were not willing to change their condition with any of the free states whatsoever. Whereupon contrarily the were bent, that Perpent after his fathers decease, killed his wife with his own hands and likewise trebetly murdered Appius, whose minitry and service in former time he had used in taking away the life of his brother Demestor for which cause he lived in exile: he made another his philop made search after him for to have him punished accordingly: and (lay) he was murdered after he had sent upon his fathers death, and procured him to come unto him, with great promises to recompen them highly for the execution of the forfald fact, Yet as infamous as he was with these furnila-meal murders, and for no good part and worthy otherwise commendable he was commonly better regarded of the States of the country than King Eumenes a Prince of kind and good to his kinsfolk joit just and righteous to his subjects in bounteous and perpetue to all men; whether it were that they, pitied sorely and with the fame and mercy of the Eudionis King's defiled the rising of this new Kingdom, or that they were deferr'd of no cities and relations or allay that they wished and had a defete that he should make head against the Romans.

Now were not the Etrurians only together by the ears among themselves by reason they were dived to deep in debt but the Theasilians also and this problem madely as it were by catching and infection was spread as far as Perrebuebit, But after that the Senat was advertised that the Theasilians had taken arms, they sent App. Claudius Embassador to see and appease these troublesome who having rebuked and chosified the Captains of both sides, eased and thinned off a great part of the debt which grew burdensome and grievous by excessive nuyry, and that with content of the most of the creditors who had thus overcharged their debters he parted the piment of the due debt and principal by even portions for certain years. The trouble in the Carse of Perrebuebit likewise was reduced into good parts of quietness by the self-same Appius, and after the same order. And at the very same instant Murellius visited the Etrurians, and took knowlledge at D. tibi of their troubles and apprehensions which proceeded from very hostile hearts and minds, enemy-like, were purffed with
with civil war. And when he saw that they contended and strove much to surpass one another in hath courtes and audacious: he would by his decree neither charge nor discharge the one party more than the other: but he required them indifferent on both sides to ablaze from war, to make an end of discord and dissension, and bury all that was past in perpetual oblivion. Whereupon they were reconciled: and this their attonement was ratified with the assurance of pledges interchangeably given: and accorded it was, they should meet at Corinthus, there to betake their hostages. From Delphi and that general dies of Aetolia, Macedonist crossed the Seas into Pegophymenin, where he had appointed and published a solemn assembly and council of the Achaeans. Wherein he highly praised and commended the whole nation, for observing to fidelity their old decree, whereby they disbanded and excluded the Macedonian Kings out of their confines he declared evidently and preferred to the view of all the world, what malice and hatred the Romans bare to Persia, and that it might break out the sooner into open wars. King Lumnines came to Rome, and brought with him a note or abstract of all the preparations for the war, which with diligent search and inquiry in particulars, he had gathered.

Much about the same time the five Embassadors sent unto K. Persia for to see into the affairs of Macedonia, were commanded to take a voyage as far as Alexandria to renew the old amity with King Ptolemaeus. The names of them were these, C. Valerius, C. Luscius, Cercio, Q. Licinius Sales, M. Cornelius Mamvrdus, and M. Caelius Dentor. And even then or not much after, there came Embassadors from King Antiochus: and the chief and principal person among them, one Apollonius was admitted to come into the Senate, where he exalted the King his master for many good and just reasons in that he had not sent his tribute made payment so soon as he ought by the day appointed: but now (he said) that he had brought it all, to the end that the King should be to them beholden for nothing but the relief of time only. And besides, that they were come with a present of certain place of gold weighing 300 pounds, That the King his petition was, That the society and friendship which had been contracted between his father and them, might be renewed also with him: promising that if the people of Rome would impose any thing upon him to be done, which were to be laid upon a good and faithful ally, he would not fail in his devise to perform all offices whatsoever. For why the Senate had so well delivered of him, at what time as he journeyed in Rome, and such country, he found among the flour of the Roman yong Gentleman, that of all degrees and sorts of men he was reputed and used more like a King indeed, than an hostage for the time. These Embassadors received a gracious answer: and withal, A. Attilius L the Praetor of the City was enjoined to renew the treaty with Antiochus, which had been concluded with his father. As for the tribute the treasurers of the City received it: and the Cenfors took all the golden vessels aforesaid, who had the charge to believe the same in what Temples they thought good, Unto the chief Embassador was sent a present in money, amounting to the sum of one 1000000 drachms: who also was allowed an house to lodge in at his pleasure of free-cost: and all his charges were defrayed by the City, during the time that he made abode in Italy. The Embassadors who had been in Syria, gave this report of him, That he was a man in great favour and highly honoured with the King: and besides, singularly well affected to the people of Rome. Now concerning the affairs of the provinces for that year, thus much as followeth.

C. Cicerin the Praetor fought in ranged battle with the enemies in Corfin, wherein 7000 of the Thessalians were slain: and 1700 and better taken prisoners. In that conflict the Praetor had vowed to build the Chappel of Juno Moneta. After this was peace granted to the Corinthians at their own suit and seeking but they were compelled to pay to hundred thousand weight of wax, Cicerin having thus subdued Corfin, passed from thence over into Sardinia. A field also was fought in Liguria, within the territory of the Statelles, near the Town Corfinus: for thus assembled a great army of the Ligurians. At first upon the arrival of M. Popilius the Consul they kept close within the walls: but afterwards seeing the Romans at the point to give assault and to lay battery to the walls, they issued forth of the gates and embattalied themselves. The Consul for his part forsook not to come to hand-fight, the only thing he fought for in threatening to give battle. The conflict continued above 3 hours, and the hope of victory hung in equal balance: N which when the Cof. perceived, namely how the Ligurian ensigns removed not and gave no ground: he commanded his Cavaly to mount on horsteback, and to charge with all their force and violence upon their enemies in three several places: many of the horstmenn pierced quite through the midst of the battall, and paused so far, that they charged the enemies upon the back as they fought. Whereupon the Ligurians were much terrified and began to flee from all parts: very few retired back into the City, by reason that the horstmenn made head against them that way most: besides, many of the Ligurians were left dead in the place: such was their resolute pertinacity in fight: killed also they were everywhere as they fled. Ten thousand (by report) fell upon the edge of the sword, above seven hundred taken prisoners in one place or other, and 82 military ensigns were carried away. And yet was not this victory without effusion of Roman blood: for there died of them not so few as three thousand soldiers, by reason that the form of both sides fought so manfully in the forefront, and while they would not give ground one to the other, were slain down and slain without mercy. After this battall, the Ligurians rallied themselves into one place, out of all parts where they were scattered in the rout: and finding that more of their men were left than left behind (for in all they were not above ten thousand) they yielded simply without any composition: howbeit in good hope they were, that the Consul
A 

Conful would not deal worse by them nor in a more rigorous manner than other Generals before him. But he disarmed them all, took their Town, sold their bodies & all that they had, and sent letters to the Senat of these exploits of his. Which when A. Arrius, the Pretor had read in the Senat, (for the other Conful Pofulumus was absent, by occasion that he was employed in the survey and visiting of the Lands in Campania) they thought it a very hard and cruel conte. For the Statelists, who only of all the Liguans had not borne arms against the Romans, who were then affailed first, when as they began not of their own accord to make war, who also put themselves into the protection of the Romans, should be thus rigorously treated. Thus, throughly membed and confounded in most cruel manner; that so many thousands of frank condition, innocent persons, and imploring the mercy of the Romans, should be thus hold out right. {A most dangerous example, B that never hereafter any one will venture to admit himself again:} and finally, that they should be dilated and carried away into all parts, to live in slavery under them, who having sometimes proclivcly enemies of the Romans, now enjoy peace and repose. In regard whereof, there passed an act or act of the Senat that M. Popillius the Conul should pay back the price unto the buyers, and restore to the Liguans their former liberty, to take order also that their goods (as much as possibly might be recovered) should be remit unto them: also that amours should be made in that nation with all speed possible, and that the Conul so soon as he had restituted the Liguans (upon their submission) in their former estate, should depart out of the Province: and as much as the honour of victory consisted not in exercising cruelty upon the poor and afflicted, but in vanquishing the obstinate. But the Conul, as he bare himself proud and true against the Liguans, so)

C threw as great forwardness and disobedience to the Senat. And having sent away the legions to winter in Pyra, he returned to Rome, carrying a fell and angry storm against the LL. and as spiteful and malicious a mind to the Pretor: where immediately he assembled the Senat in the Temple of Belona, and rated up the Pretor in broad and gross terms. For that he, whole part he had been to have moved the Senat for thanksgiving to the immortal Gods, in regard of the happy achievement of the wars, in deed thereof passed an act of the Senat against him and in favor of the enemies. for to put him by his victory and to give it away from him to the Liguans: and finally, being no better than a Pretor, would have had the Conul yielded in manner up into their hands. Whereupon he said that he would be bold as let a snuf on his head: and withal, he required the LL. of the Senat to command and ordain, That the act devised against him might be D revered; and to give order, that the proceedings which in his ableness they ought to have decreed (upon his letters sent of his good success) might now be holden; in consideration first of the honour due to the immortal Gods, and then respectively in some measure for his own defeat. But after he was checked by some of the Senators to his face, and that in no milder terms than he had been rebuked in his absence, he went his wiles into his Province again, and obtained neither the one nor the other.

The other Conul Pofulumus having spent the whole summer in surveying the Lands only, and never so much as seen his own Province, returned to Rome against the general assembly for election, and created Conuls C. Popillius L. a. a. Consequently were Pretors elected, to wit, C. Luctius Caius, M. Lucius Pansa, S. Lucretius, Sp. Claudius, Cn. Sicius, and C. Memmius, the second E time. In that year was holden a review of the City and the number taken of citizens, (when as Q. Fulvius Flaccus and L. Pofulumus Albins were Centors:) wherein were found and enrolled of Roman citizens 269015. The number was somewhat the less by reason that L. Pofulumus the Conul had proclaimed in a public audience, That no person of those Latin allies, who were to return into their own Cities (by virtue of an edict made when C. Curiones was Conul) should be enrolled into the subsidy book at Rome, but every man in his several City. This Centorship was administered with concord and unity, yea and to the good and profit of the common weal. What Senators forever deplored from their place and dignity, and so many Gentlemen of Rome as took their Hores from them, they made them all no better than contributions to pay all sort and lot, yea, and displaced them out of their tribes. And look whomsoever the one of them noted F with disgrace and ignominy, he was not relieved nor allowed again by the other. This Fulvius dedicated the Temple of Fortuna Equestris, now six years after he had vowed the same in a fatal which he fought with the Celtiberians, at what time as he was Pro-conul in Spain, likewise he exhibited the flage-plates for four days together, and one day in the cirque or thief-place. Corn. Licinius (a Decemvir for the holy rites and sacrifices) that year died; in whole room was substituted A. Pofulumus Albins. There were such mighty blasts and clouds as it were of locusts, brought suddenly at once by a wind from the Sea into Apulia, that with their swarms they overspread all the fields far and near. For the riddance of which no one vermine consuming the fruits of the earth, Cn. Sicius, Pretor elect, was sent with his full commission of command into Apulia, who assembled a mighty number of people for to gather them up, and employed much G time thereabout.

In the beginning of the year ensuing, wherein C. Popillius and P. Aelius were Conuls, the remnant of the deoctes which arose the year before, was set on foot again. The LL. of the Senat would have had the matter proposed & debated again as touching the Liguans, and the ordinance of the Senat in that behalf renewed. But, as Aelius the one Conul put up a blithere, to Popillius the other was an earnest inter, & befought both his colleague & also the Senat in the behalf of his brother; may, he proceeded so far, that he gave the house to understand, in case they went about any such decree
degree prejudicial unto him, he would cross and revoke the fame by which countenance of his he
disinherited his colleague but the LL were offended much more and stormed against both the
Comilus, yes, and persisted still in their enterprise. And therefore when it was debated in coun cil
as concerning the Provinces, albeit the Cott, made means to be sent into Macedon (because the
war of Perseus was no near at hand) yet Leguria was allotted to both of them; for the LL, professed
and said, That they would not pass a decree for the government of Macedon, unless the cale of Pe-
pillus were p. enforced, and an act thereof entered. Afterwards, when they demanded a warrant
to enrol new armies, or at least-wise to levy a supply for making up the old, both the one motion
and the other was denied. The Pretors also, who required to have a supplement with them into
Spain, had a day and name, M. Junius into the hishe province, and P. Lucettus into the father.
As for C. Lucinius Crassius, to him there fell by lot the jurisdiction within the City over citizens, and I
to Cn. Semius, that other over forrasiers, C. Memmius was allotted to Sicily, and Cn. Claudia to
Sardinia. The Comilus for these causes being highly offended and angry with the Senate, called the
Latinefeasts and holydays to be published against the very first day that possibly they might, with an
any affairs touching the State, but only that which directly pertained to their government.

Valerius Antias writeth, that in these Comilus's year, Attalus the brother of K. Eumenes came in
embassage to Rome, to inform criminous matter against Perseus, and to give the particulars of the
preparation that he made for war. But the Annals of many other writers (more worthy of credit)
than he deliver unto us, that K. Eumenes preferred himself in proper person: where he was re-
ceived with such honor, as the people of Rome thought not only meet & agreeable for his defects, K
but alfo fit and favorable to their own favours and benefits, which they had in ample manner con-
ored and in great number heaped upon him. And then he had audience given him in the Senate,
where he shewed the cause of his coming to Rome what it was, namely, "(besides a foreign en-
emy, that he had to fee those gods and men by whole grace favour he enjoyed to good estate, as
better he durst not with) because he gladly would advertise the Senate by word of mouth, to
prevent and withdraw the designs of Perseus, And beginning his plea with the platforms and
enterpries of Philip he recounted withial how it coll his son Demetrius his life, for that he
foid against the war with the Romans: moreover, how he had caufed the whole nation of the
Baffarimans to quit their own country, where they were born and bred, to the end that by their
aid he might pass over into Italy: but whereas (as he) these matters he projected and cast in his
head his time was come, and strefted he was by death: but he left his Kingdom to him, whom
he knew to be the most spiritful enemy that the Romans had. And therefore Perseus having re-
ceived this war (as a man would) by way of inheritance left him by his father even toget-
ther with the crown and scepter, from the very fift day of his reign, both sought else but enter-
tain, foster, and promote the fame by all the means and devices that possibly he can. Mighty and
purftant he is besides in number of yong, lucky, and able men for service, who during the time of
long peace have sprung up and multiplied exceedingly. In wealth and riches a great potentate he
is, and besides in his flourishing years and the best time of his age, which as it is accompanied
with the very strength and vigor of his body, so his spirit and mind is inspired and hardened with
skillfull experience and long practive of martial feats. For from his very infancy mused hath he
been in the field and camp, conversing ordinarily within the royal tent and pavilion of his fa-
thould, acquainted with the wars, not only waged against neighbour nations, but also against the
Romans; and that which more is, emploied by him father in many and sundry expeditions and
executions of service. But since that he smiled, and the Kingdom, and swayed the regal scept-
er in his own hand, he hath exploited & accomplished many things with marvellous felicity and
success, which his father Philip before him could never compass and effect, notwithstanding he
tried and did claim all means as well open for easier secret fraud, To augment this greatness of his,
he hath purchased already that authority and reputation in the world, which others hardly in
continuance of long time, and by many favors and ample benefits attain unto: and namely,
throughout the States of Greece and Africa, all men revere his majesty. For what good turns,
for what pleasures done, for what bounty of his they should thus do and honour him to much,
neither fee I, nor can I try for certainty whether it happen by a special gift and fortune that
what he hath of his own or that (which I am my self afraid to speak) it be the deep malice and hatred
which he hath conceived again the Romans, which is the cause that he is of that countenance
and of graces among them, Nay, with the very Kings and Princes of other nations he is high-
ly esteemed and of palling authority. The daughter of Seleucus he hath taken to wife, without
any fault of his own but being eminently wood and required thereunto. And to Philip he hath
given his own filler in marriage, after much seeking and impatient trity. These two weddings
were solemnized with the exceeding joy and incomparable presence of infinite embassagers:
and who should be present to celebrate the Amities and complements, yes and give those promises in
marriage, but the nobleft and most renowned States that were? The Balthian nation had been
much solicited by Philip yet could never be induced to draw or pen any covenants of accord
and amity with him: but now there is to be seen a league engrossed, yes, and engraved in three
several conspicuous places, the one in Thes, a second at Sideryms, within a most holy face, and
renowned Temple, and the third at Delphi. What should I speak of the general Council of the
Achæans? wherein, had not the design been dasthed by some there in place, who intimated and
alledged
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a. alluded hard the soignory and empire of the Romans, it would have gone very hard, but that he should have set forth even within Achaia. But contrariwise I assure you may due and deferred honors (unto whom it is hard to say, whether they be more bounden and obliged for private pleasures or publick benefits) are either forstent through retcheless dilute and negligence, or else annulled and abolished of willfull malice and hostile hatred. As for the Eotarians, who knew not, that in his civil broils, and seditions they fought to Perseus for to relieve and secure, or, not to the Romans? Being thus upheld with societies and amities, he hath provided such furniture of his own, and made that preparation for war at home, as he needs none from abroad. Of himself he is thirty thousand strong in foot & 5000 in horse. For ten years he is flored with corn forstore, &c. for that kind of purveyance he may spare his own territories, and also forbear his enemies. As for money in ready coin, he hath such abundance, that over and above the forces

b. of natural Macedonians, he wasteth 10000 mercenary foulidiers, and hath where with to make pay for as many years besides the yearly cumbones & profits that arise out of their Kings mines. Now for armour, he hath gathered together into his arsenals and armories, sufficient to furnish three such armies. What should I speak of the youth and serviceable men of war? Set the case that Macedon failed him and were not able to find enough; all Thracia is subject unto him, from whence he may serve his turn as out of his ever running mountain and living spring. The rest of his speeche he knitt up with an exhortation in this manner. I relate not these things (say he) my L. of Rome, as blown abroad and vented by headlese heartes and doublefull rumors; neither have I been ready to beleev them, as a man deiduous that such cunomous imputationsshould be verified upon my enemy, but as undoubted and certain reports upon my own knowledge, as if I had been sent by you of special purpose to be spicke and declared that and no more, which I have seen with mine eyes and not other wise. Neither would I have left mine own realm wherein (by your means and goodnesse) in glorious and magnificent State it was warm enough, for to fail, over to large a sea as I have done and to carry vain tales and untruths to you, thereby to crack my credit with you for ever hereafter. But I tell you these eyes of mine have seen the most renowned and noblest Cities of Asia and Greece discovering more and more from day to day, what they intend and what their meaning is: who if they let alone and permitted to run on as they begin, would be engaged to far, as they might not possibly return again & save themselves by any repentence. Behold I have Perseus (say he) how he containeth not within the realm of Macedon, but one while leizeth upon this by force of arms, another while ganneth and geteth by that favour and good will, which with violence he could never have conquered. I perceived and considered weall how unequal the match and condition is, whereas he upon prepareth war, and you again perform to him security of peace. Although in my conceit, and to say as I could see into it, he made no more any preparation thereof, but was already upon action and execution. For he chaled Abyrapolis, a confederate prince, and friend of yours. to his, of his kingdom. And Arteaus the Illyrian, another of your associates and allies, he killed outright, because he found that he had written some letters unto you. As for Eversa & Callisthenes, both Thebans, & two principal States of that City, for no other reason, but because in a Parliament of the Boeotians, they had spoken their mind against him too frankly, and avowed that they would relate unto you what things had passed, he caused to be murdered. The Bizantines he scourged against the order taken in the accord: upon Daelonia he levied war: Thessaly and Doris both he invaded and overran with his army, to the end, that in some intelliing and civil war, by the help of most parts he might allitate and plague the better. He fluffled all together, and made a very confusion of the State in Thessaly and Perrheia, upon the hope and cancelling all bonds and crossing out all debt books; that thus by a power and multitude of bankrupts, such as were over-deeply engaged, and whom he had obliged and bound to himself, he might deprede and apprehite the great men and principal personages. Having wrought these practices uncontrolled, whereas you still looking on and suffering all, be leaving you to let him do with Greece what he list, making full account, that no man will put him on arms and make head against him, before he passed over into Italy. Now that this may be to you, say, how this can stand with credit, see you to that and be advised. For my self, I assure you, I thought it mere shame and very villany, that Perseus your enemy should enter into Italy to make war upon you, before that your friend and ally, came to give your warning for to take heed and stand upon your guard. Now since I have in this manner performed my devoir, done that office which I was bound upon necessity, and in some measure acquit my self and discharged my bounden duty and obligation of fidelity, whatsoever remaineth behind for me, do but to be your headsmen to all the gods, & goddesses, &c. vouchsafe you that grace, that you may provide for your own Commonwealth, and also for your friends and allies, who depend wholly upon you? In this last speech he came nearer unto the LE of the Senator. But for the present no man might know any thing, but only that the K. had been in the Senate, so long were they at, & kept the council-houle cloe shut with leere &c. But after the war was brought to an end, then came an houre, both what the K. spake, and what answer was returned to him again.

Some few days after, the Senator let to give audience unto the Embassy of the King Perseus; but having their minds and ears both, poisossed with ore of fire by King Ennomos, all the defence that the Embassadors made, and all the earnest they used, was rejected. Besides, the threatenings used by Harparate (the principal person of the embassy) moved their minds and exasperated their tempers. For he said, that indeed the K. desire & endeavours was to be credited and beleived in,
Apology and defence, that he neither had said nor done any thing tending to hostility; as mary, H. 
In case he perceived and saw that they came upon him thus and would needs pick quarrels and give occasion of war, he would stand upon his guard, and defend himself with a resolution and va-liant courage. For the hazard of the field was common, and the issue of war uncertain. Now, all the Cities of Greece and Asia both, would rather then their lives have known what the Em-bassadors of Persia, and what Emmeras had done in the Senate; for in regard of his coming, most of the states (supposing very that he would flir coasts and make some work had lent their Embassadors to Rome, pretending colourably other matters in falsehood, but indeed to listen after news: and among the rest, was the Embassage of the Rhodians, and the chief thereof was one Satyrus, who made no question nor doubts, but that Emmeras had done their errand, and put their City and Persia together in all their criminal matters laid to his charge. And therefore he made all the means that possibly he could by the mediation of patrons, friends, and acquaintance, to de-bate this matter with King Emmeras before the body of the Senate; when which he found, his tongue walked at large, and over both his ears, and in a short time round with the King, in broad invective and insinuating terms; namely, that he had solicited and stirred up the nation of the Lycians against the Rhodians, and was an heavier friend unto Aghanen Antiokhos had been. Which speech of his as it was plentiful enough and pleasing to the States of Asia (for they likewise by this time inclined to attack and favor Persia) it was not univcrsally altogether and odious to the Senate, and not unpleasant to themselves and their City. But contrariwise, this banding and conspiracy against Emmeras, was him the more grace and favor among the Romans; so as they did all they honour they could, gave him more rich and costly presents, and endowed him with a curul chair of estate, and a luffe of earls, both of ivory.

After these embassages had their dispatch and were dismissed, Harpalus returned into Macedonia in all speed and bulk possible, relating unto the King, bow he had left the Romans not preparing as yet for war; but to cast out with him and to highly offended, that he appeared evidently would not be his case they began. And Persia again for his part besides that he looked for go other, was well enough pleased therewith, presuming upon the favor and strength of his forces, but above all he mulcted Emmeras more: with whom a whole he laid the first foundation of the war: for he informed one Evander a Cadet and captain under him of certain auxiliary foot-soldiers, and three Macedonians besides (whole service and ministry he had used in the like fears) to murder the King. He gave them letters addressed to one Praxean hoste of his, a jolly dame in L. Delphu, and with greater credit and wealth among them. For affair he was, that Emmeras minded them might of the King, as had been some communication, enterd into the narrow path aforesaid, with that, the knives that lay in wait behind, rose up and rolled down two huge stones, whereof the one smote the King upon the head, the other stroke his shoulder. And very all the rest of his friends and followers, seeing him fall with the blow, fled some way, some one another; only Pamordus behind all, fearlessly protect and guard the King. The murderous villains might have fetched a flor's worthabouts about the wall, and soon run to the King to make fare work; and dis-patch him quiter, for they supposing they had done the deed already, fled to the pitch of the mount Parunis, and made such haste, that when one of the company hindered and stayed their running, because he dragged behind and could not keep pace and follow them hard at heels through the steep and blind ways, they made no more ado but killed him out-right, for fear lest if he was taken, he should betray and delate the whole plot. The body of the King lay along on the ground and first his friends came running about him then his guard and household servants. When they saw him up, they found them altered with the vilest and altogether fentele in a trance however, by some heart remaining, and the beating of his heart, they perceived there was some life but little or none they had that he could escape at a live. Some there were of his guards and officers about him that made point after these murderers by their tracks: and when they had held on their chases as far as unto the crest of Paranis, weeping themselves to no purpose, they gave over and returned as were as they went. The Macedonians as they had begun an a.-

O
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A person to come unto him, that the tumor ran into Asia, how he was dead. And Attis [his brother (by your leave)] gave good car thereto, & believed the news sooner then was believing brotherly love and unity. For he entred into such talk both with his brothers wife, and also with the captain of the cattle, as if he had been the undoubted heir and allured inheritor of the crown. All this Eumenes knew full well afterwards; who albeit he purposed to distmible the nation, and to put it up at last with silence; at their first encounter and meeting together, he could not hold, but reproved and reproached his brother, for being so forward and over-hasty to court and wooe his wife. The fruit also was known to Rome, and a report there was of the death of K. Eumenes.

About the same time C. Valerius was returned out of Greece, who had been sent thither as Embas-adiator to look into the state of the country; to mark also and observe the plots and proceedings of Persia. He reported all thingsutable and agreeable to the intelligence given by King Eumenes, and withall, brought with him from Delphi same Prose, in whole house those villainous traitors were lodged and barbouried: also one L. Ramnius Brandus, who informed moreover and gave evidence as followeth. This Ramnius was one of the principal citizens of Brundisium, and used to hog and entertain in his house, not only of the Roman captains when they came to town, but also the Embassadors of foreign nations, such as were of greatest mark, and principally those that were sent from any Kings. By these means, acquainted he grew with Persia, albeit he never had seen one another's face. And being invited by the King his letters, wherein he was promised great hope of some nearer and inward friendship upon others; and consequently of great presents thence, he made a journey unto him. Within a short time he was wound into very familiar acquaintance with the King, and drawn into private conference and discourse of sects,

C farther, I saw, then himself was willing of it. For the King dealt with him, and committed him with infant praisers and large beholds of rich rewards, that forasmuch as the Roman captains and Embassadors used to take his house for their Inne, he would cause as many of them as he writ for, to be poisoned. Now forth that he knew it was a right difficult and dangerous matter to come by such a potion and compass this project, especially if many were party to him: and besides, the event uncertain, either in the effect of the drug it fell to be strong, quick and forcible enough to do the fea; or in the secret working thereof, lest it should be found and spied. He would therefore put into his hands such a potion, as neither in the giving, nor after it was given, might be known by any sign whatsoever. Ramnius fearing lest if he refused & denied, he should be brought to make away and make experiment of the potion promised to him, did accept of it, and departed, but return to Brundisium he would not before he had spoken with C. Valerius the Embassador, who then sojourned (as he heard say) about Chalced. First unto him he revealed this plot, and by his commandment came along with him to Rome: where being brought into the Senat, after audience given, he told abroad in every point all that had passed. This new matter, over and besides those which Eumenes had reported, was the cause that Pericles was the sooner taken for an enemy, and so declared; the rather because they saw him not only about to make open war of a princely and royall mind, but also to practice and execute pri- vate all kind of iniquity, by way of covert brigandsage, thewic health, and secret poison. The managing of this war was put off and referred to the new Coni's howbeit for the present ordained it was, that Co. Cincius the Pretor who had the jurisdiction between citizens and strangers, should levy and enroll soldiers who being conducted to Brundisium should with all convenient speed commit to fe, and fall over to Apollonia in Epirus, for to take upon the maritime Cities; to the end that the Coni unto whom the Province of Macedon should be allotted, might arrive there with his vessels in safety, and let his forces on land with ease.

Eumenes, after he had been kept a long while at Agrig, during the time of his hard and dan- gerous cure, so soon as ever he might go safely abroad, went to Persiana; where, over and besides the old hatred fixt in his breast, being pricked also with this fresh bleeding villany practised by Persia, he prepared war with all his power to the utter ext. and further repaired unto him Embassadors from Rome, to tell their joy for his elevation and escape out of to near and great a danger.

F When the Macedonian war was delayed and put off for one year, and the rest of the Pretors gone already into their provinces, M. Junius and Sp. Lucretius (unto whom befell the government of Spain) after that they had importuned and we ried the Senat, in lying so long for one thing, obtained at the length a commission for a supply of soldiers to make up the army; by virtue whereof they enrolled 3000 foot, and 500 horse for the legions; and levied 5000 foot and three hundred horse for the army of the allies. These forces were transported into Spain with the new Pretors.

The same year, after that a great part of the Campain territory, which privat persons here and there held in occupation without regard of lawful title & tenure, was (upon diligent survey made by Pobulumis the Comital) recovered again for the public use of the City of Rome; M. Lucre- tius the Tribune of the Com. preferred a law, that the Centors should let out to farm the Campain, lands to tenants for yearly tent. A thing that had not been done for many years after the winning of Capua, namely, that particular men should be so greedy as to encroach thus beyond their bounds upon the common walk.

The Macedonian war being now concluded, but not as yet published and proclaimed, whilest the Senat was in doubtful expectation what K.K. would friend them, & who would side with Perseus.
there came to Rome Embassadors from Armenia, bringing with them the Kings son, a very H
child. The speech they made was to this purpose, that the King their master had sent his son to
Rome, that he might have his education at the end that being there brought up, might from his infant-
tude be acquainted with their fashions, and converse with the people of Rome. His suit and request to
them was, that they would vouchsafe unto him not only the ordinary entertainment and pro-
tection that private persons afford to their guests, but also to take the charge of publick tuition,
and as it were the guardianship of him. This embassage of the King was well taken of the Senate &
pleased them highly. Whereupon they ordained, that C. Licinius the Pretor should set out a man-
ipation house with all the furniture, wherein the young prince and his train might keep their refiance.
The Thracian Embassadors like wise preferred themselves before the Senate, to debate their own con-
trroversies in their bearing, and withall defined their friendship and amity. They obtained their
lent, and besides there was sent unto them by way of present, the sum of 2000 L. besides a peace.
Glad were the LL. of the Senate that these States were received into their society, by reason
Thracia lyeth hard on the back side of Macedon: but to the end that they might have perfect in-
telligence and notice how all things went in Asia and the Ilands, they lent thither C. Claudius Nero,
and M. Decimus in embassage: whom they conmanded also to visit Crete and Rhodes; and
withall, both to renew the amity, and also spie and observe whether the hearts of those allies had
been follicted and tempted by Carthage.

As the City was thus in doubfull suspense and expectation of the event of this new war, be-
held in a tempest that rove in the night, a certain column or pillar, garnished and set out with the
beak-heads of war ships (which had been created in the Capitol during the first punich war by
M. Aemilius the Consul, who had for his companion in government Serg. Falcinus) washy a
clap of thunder and lightning rent and cloven from the very base to the chapier. This was taken
for a prodigious token, and report thereof was made to the Senate. The LL. gave order, that the
Aruspices should be conferred with about it, and their advice taken: likewise they commanded the
Decemviris to look into their books of Aibyla. The Decemvirs for their part declared, that the City
should be purged and hallowed, publick supplications and prayers made to the gods, and greater
battles killed for sacrifice, as well at Rome in the Capitol, as in Campan nea the promon-
itory of Mnesus. Also that with all convenient speed, there should be plazes solemnly exhibited for
ten days together, in the houses of most gracious Jupiter. All this was done with diligence
accordingly: but the Aruspices forecasted, made answer out of their learning, that this prodigious
L. pretended good and signified the advancement of their own territories: together with the declu-
ning of their enemies: for that those beak heads which the storm overthrew, had been the spoils
of ships won from the enemies. There hapned other occurrences besides to enforce the terousul
religion & devotion of men: for reported it was, how at Saturnia within the town it rained blood
during three days together. Item, at Calata an a sacrifice was held with three feet; and a bull together
with five kine were Strucken stark dead with one thunderbolt and flash of lightning: last of all, at Ox-
ium there was a thaw of very earth and nothing else. In regard of these wonders also, sacrifices
were celebrated, supplications made, and one day kept holyday and all stop-windows shut.

Yet were not the Conuls departed into their provinces, because they neither would obey and
condescend unto the Senate in proposing the matter as touching Pepil[ius at the council table]; and
the LL. were as resolut for their parts to let no decrees paile, before that were done. The fright
and heart-burning they bare against M. Pepil[ius], grew the more by occasion of his own letters,
wherein he wrote and gave them to understand, that being Proconsul, he had on a second time
sought with the Statellats in Liguria, and put ten thousand of them in the war, by reason of which
hard courses and extravagancies of war, the other nations like wise of the Ligurians were entited
into arms, At which news not only Pepil[ius was blamed behind his back of making war against all law
and equity upon them that had yelded, and thereby provoking those who were before quiet, to
go out, and put themselves in action of rebellion: but the Conuls also were check't to their faces
in the Senate, because they let not forward to their charge and government. M. Martius Sermo
and Quintus Marcius Scipio, two Tribunes of the Commons being the LL. of the Senate thus
drawing all in a line, took heart unto them, and both menaced the Conuls to fine them, unless they
made more haste unto their province; and also recited in the Senate a law which they had drawn
and framed, and were upon the point to promulge, as touching the foraid Ligurians who had
submitted. The tenor whereof ran in this form. That what person soever of Statellae had yelded
himself and was not restored to liberty and freedom before the calends of Sextillii next ensuing,
the Senate upon their oath should ordain some special commission to make in quisition by whose fault
they were, and, ifoe one be in villanage and punish the party accordingly. Then by authority and appro-

The foraid law proposed by the Martii the commons with a generall consent by their voices

granted
A question in the Senate, Who, they would have it upon their inquiry according to the form of the said law, And the LL. ordained himself to be the inquisitor. Then at length and not for the Conuls put themselves in their way toward their province, and received the charge of the army from M. Poppilius. This Poppilius durst not yet return to Rome, for fear he should be called in question and put to his answer before that Pretor and supreme judge, who had required the advice of the Senat as touching that enquêt framed and drawn of purpose against him: knowing full well how the Senat was not well affected to him, and the people much more frivolously bent and set against him. But the Tribunes of the Commons thought they would prevent and meet with this fishling of his and abasing himself, by intimidation of another act and law, provided in that behalf, namely, that if he entered not into the City of Rome before the * Iles of November inclosed.

Duly following, it should be lawful for C. Licinius to proceed in judgment, and give sentence against him in his absence. This cord towed and haled him to Rome with a witness: and when he was returned and entred into the Senat, they were upon his top, and gave him such a welcome thither, as satisfied their displeasure and hard conceit of him. After he had been well baited and flenken among them, an act of Senat was entred in this wise, that to many of the Ligurians as had not been enemies, after the time that Q. Fulvius and L. Manlius were Conuls, those the Pretors, C. Licinius and Cn. Scribonius, should restore and establish in their former state of freedom, and that the Conuls C. Poppilius should let them out lands to occupy and possesse beyond the Po. By virtue of this arrest, many 200 were set free and enfranchised, who being transported over the river Po, had land assigned unto them accordingly. Now M. Poppilius upon the law Maria (promulged by the two Marii: Tribunes of the Com.) answered for himself judicially twice before C. Licinius. At the third time, the Pretor overcome with a respective grace and favore to the Cot. abuent; and the carnell prayers of the whole name and honie of the Poppili, adjourned the defendant to make appearance into the court upon the * Iles of March on which day the new magistrats were to enter into their offices: and this he did, because himself by that time should be a private person again & therefore not to sit upon the bench as judge to hear pleas and to determine. Thus the aforesaid act as touching the Ligurians, finely shifted and cunningly avoided, came to just nothing.

At that time the Carthaginian Embassadors were at Rome, with Guliffe, the son of Mafanius; between whom hard hold and much debating was in the Senat. The Carthaginians complained, that over and besides the lands (about which there had been sent commissions from D. Rome, before time, to view the place and to enquire into the cause) Mafanius within the last two years and by force and arms possesed himsself of more then three hundred and ten towns and cities within the Carthaginian dominion and territory, and an exa matter was it for him to do, who made reckoning of nothing, nor had regard of any person, whereas the Carthaginians were too tyed and obliged by their capitulations to the good-seeing, that they held their peace for, inhibited they were to bear arms without their own countrey. And albeit they knew assuredly, that they should war within their own confines, if they disserie the Numidians of those piece, yet feared they that one express article as touching the associators of the people of Rome. Howbeit, the Carthaginian could no longer endure this pride, cruelty, and avarice. Sent therefore they were unto the Senat as humble orators that it might please them to grant one of those three requestts: to win, that either they might debate with indifferent audience before them (being allies to both alike) as touching the right of the one and the other: or that they would permit the Carthaginians to defend themselves by just and lawful arms, against unjust and ungodly force: or else finally (it partial favour swayed more with them then the truth of the cause) to let down at once what their pleasure was should be given away out of their own, to Mafanius. For they yet, would have some gage of their hand, and know what they gave; whereas be himself had no stay, nor would ever see to make an end; the unstable was his lust and appetite. But in case they might obain none of themle ves points, and that there could be found any fault or trepialts of theirs, commiteven since the peace granted unto them by Siprius then, that they rather then any other would chuse them. For rather they had to live in feruitude under the fegony of Romans with latery, then enjoy such a liberty as should be expost to the injuries of Mafanius. And better it were for them to perish and die once for all, then to live and languish under the yoke of a mortal ennem and bloody butcher. At which words the tears trickled down their cheeks, and down they fell at their feet. Lying thus prostrate upon the ground, as they moved pity and compassion to themselves, so they proceeded delightfull and clement against the King. Then thought good it was to demand of Guliffe, what he had to answer as touching those matters? Or else (if he had no rather himself) to declare before, for what cause and upon what occasion he was come to Rome. Guliffe made answer, that neither it was exis for him to deal in those points, whereof he had no committion from his father: nor for his father to give him any such charge, considering that the Carthaginians, flenwed not unto him of what business they would treat; nor yet made him so much as privy of their coming to Rome. This only was known, that there was a close council holden for certain nights, by the principal States of Carthage within the Temple of Æneas, from whence Embassadors were dispatchd to Rome with hidden messages. And this was the cause that his father had sent him to Rome, to deceav the Senat not to give credit to the flenderous accusations that should be preferred against him by those that were common enemies as well to them as him; who hated him for no other cause but...
for that he had continued to constant in his fealty and allegiance to the people of Rome. Tho Sc. K
not of having heard what they could say of both sides, Latin consuls as touching the demands of rethe Carthaginians: and at length commanded this answer to be returned, how their advice and pleasure was, that Gulsia should presently depart and go into Numidia, and give his father to understand from them, that with all speed he send his Embassadors to the Senat, as concerning the complaints which the Carthaginians had made of him: also to give intimation and knowledge unto the Carthaginians, that they repair like wise thither to debate their controversies & differences between them. And if it lay in their power to effect ought for the honor of Masanias, they would be as willing to do it hereafter, as they had been ready heretofore. Mary, to minister justice for favour and affection, that they would not do it in any wise. Willing they were, that every man should know and hold his own, and keep him within compasse; neither mix'd they to set out new limits, but to observe the old bounds. Indeed they had granted to the Carthaginians, after they were conquered, both towns to inhabit, and territories to possesse; not to this end; but in time of peace they should pluck that away by wrong and outrage, which during the wars they could not take from them by martial law and force of arms. Thus was the young prince, together with the Carthaginians, dismission. Princes were given both to the one and the other, according to the order, and other courtesies of hospitallity were friendly observed.

Much about the same time Cn. Servilus Capio, App. Claudius Centro, and T. Aemilius Lepsius, Embassadors sent into Macedonia, for to demand amends and restitution, and withall to declare and renounce the Kings amity, returned to Rome. Who having related in order what they had seen and heard, enlamed the Senat more against Perfcns, who were strays of themselves enkindled enough. They made report, That through all the cities of Macedonia they law prepation for war in all forcible manner; that when they came to the court, for many days they could find no means of access to the speech of the King; and in the end, after they were departed from thence homeward, as being past all hope of parley with him: then and not afore, they were called back again out of their way, and so brought unto their presence; that the sum of their embassage and speech unto him was this, namely, to put him in mind of the league first contracted with Philip. And afterwards renounced with himself, since the death of his father; wherein by express words he was inhibited to bear arms without his own frontiers, and likewise desired to levy war upon any confederate allies of the people of Rome: after this, that they had recounted and laid abroad from point to point those specialties, which they themselves had lately heard King Eumenes to declare and discourse, which were all apparent truths, upon his own afflicted knowledge. Moreover, that the King held a secret council for many dayes together, with the Embassadors of the Cities of Asia: in regard of which injuries, that the Senat thought it real and equity that he should make satisfaction, yea, and restore back both to them and also to their friends, whatsoever he held contrary to right, contained in the accord. That the King hereupon at the first fell into a fit of choler and indignation, and gave them hard terms, reproaching at every other word the Romans for their covetousnes and insolency. And as to their Embassadors that came unto him one after another, he said they were but spies, to listen and see what he did or said; & no marvel, for they thought it meet that he should conform and frame himself in all his words and deeds, according to their beck and commandment. At the last, when he had in this wise discharged his choler with high words & broad speeches for a long time, that he commanded them to repair again unto him the next morrow, for that he would give them their answer in writing; and then he delivered unto them a script to this effect as followeth. First, as touching the accord & covenant concluded with my father, that is nothing to me at all. If I offended, it was not for any liking or approbation thereof, but because lying new come to the crown, and lately possest of the Kingdom, I was to bear and endure all things whatsoever. But in case they will enter into a new league with me, requital is that contracts and agreement pass first of the conditions. And if they could be content that a covenant were drawn with equal and indifferent capitulations, yet I will flee upon it and be well advised what to do for the best, as I doubt not but they likewise will have a good regard to the profit of the Commonwealth. And here with, that he haddily flung away from them, and we all began to avoid out of the palace. Whereupon we proceeded according to our commissione to abandon and draw his amity and society. At which word of ours, he (as it were, in great wrath and fury, and with a loud and shrill voice, warned us upon our own peril and hazard, to be gone out of the marches of his realm within three dayes: finally, in this matter we departed and put our selves in our journey, and found neither friendly welcome at our first coming, nor any courteous entertainment while we were there, nor yet a kind fare well at our departure. When they had once done, the Theffalians and Etolians Embassadors had audience.

The Senat, to the end that they might know out of hand, what captains and commanders the commonwealth was to employ, thought good to write unto the Coit, that the one or other of them (who first might) should repair to Rome for the creation of new magistrates. And no great matter to speak of, as concerning the lettre, was that year done by the Coit. But more expedient it was thought for the commonwealths, to suppress and appease the Ligurians, whose blood was up and chafed again against them, considering that the Macedonian war was in daily expectation.

Moreover, the Embassadors of IJta gave occasion, that Gemini also King of Illyricum was had in jealouie; who at one time both complained of him, that now twice he had waited to their
A their country: and also made report, how the Macedonian and Illyrian Kings were all one, and so great together, that with once content and common counsel they prepared to war upon the Romans: finally that the Illyrians were now at Rome in shew and semblance of embassage, but indeed and very truth, no better then spies, adrested on purpose by the morose and advice of Perennis to hearken and learn whereabout they went at Rome. The Illyrians were sent for into the Senate house, and when they had said, that they were employed in embassage from King Gentius, to answer unto those accusations which it might be the Illyrians framed against him: it was again demanded of them, how it hapned that they went not directly nor showed themselves in their fort to the magistrates, that according to the manner and custom, they might have had their lodging provided and presents given them, with the ordinary allowance of the City, meet for them during their abode, that their knowledge might have been taken as well of their coming, as also of their businesse and errand? But being taken tripping and failing in their answer, they were commanded to void out of the Council chamber. For thought it was not meet, to give them their dispatch as Embassadors, since they made no means to present themselves into the Senate: but rather they were of advice, to dispatch Embassadors of their own to the King, to signify unto him, of which his associates had complained unto the Senate, how he had burnt their villages within their territories: yes, and to tell you it plainly, that it was not well done of him, that he could not forbear but do wrong to his own allies. In this embassage were sent, A. Terentius Varro, C. Petronius, and C. Cicero.

Likewise these Embassadors whose commission was visit the associat Kings, returned out of Asia, and reported that in the said Afa they had communication with Enemmus in Syria with Abutus, and in Aria with Polonatus: who all of them had been follow'd by underly embassadors of Perennis, howbeit they perfir'd firm and fall in their professed falsity, and promised to perform whatsoever the people of Rome would command them. Also that they went to the confederates, whom they found true and foil, and enough, excepting the Rhodians only, whom they perceived to be altering, and wavering, as altogether infected & poisoned with the counsel of Perennis.

Now were the Rhodian Embassadors come to answer these things which they knew were commonly bruited abroad touching their City: howbeit the Senate was not of mind to give them audience, before the new Consuls entered into their office. But they were all of advice to delay no longer the preparation for war. C. Licinius the Pretor had in charge, out of the old African provinces which were laid by the docks and harbours, to repairs any as might serve at sea; to dig also and prepare a fleet of 50 sail. But if he could not come to make up that full number, then to write unto his colleague C. Memmius in Sicily, for to repair, call and trim those ships which were in Sicily, that with all speed possible they might be sent to Brundisium. The said Pretor C. Licinius was commanded to enroll of Roman citizens and those, libertins, such as bondmen born, had been enchanced for mariners and slavers, as many as might serve 25 ships: and Cn. Licinius had commission to levy as many of Latine allies for the like number of ships: into the Pretor was enjoined to charge the Latine allies with 600 foot, and 400 horse. A. Antonius Serranus, who had been Pretor the year before, was chosen to receive these forces at Brundisium, and to conduct them over into Macedonia: and Cn. Scribonius the Pretor was appointed to have the army in readiness for so to be transported. As for C. Licinius the Pretor, he by authority from the Senate, wrote to C. Popilius the Consul that he should command the second legion, which had been longest employed in Liguria, and consisted of the most experienced soldiers, together with four thousand footmen and two hundred horse of the Latine allies, to be ready at Brundisium upon the 1st Ides of February. With this fleet of ships and forces of soldiers; Cn. Scribonius was ordered to keep Macedonia, until one were appointed to succeed him: and for this purpose his charge of command was continued for a year longer. All these directions of the Senate were put in execution with great diligence and expedition. Eighty and forty Quinqueremes were sent off out of their docks: and L. Peraeus Licinius was ordained to conduct them to Brundisium: the other 13 were sent out of Sicily. Three Embassadors were dispatched into Apulia and Cataniiya to wit, Sex. Digidinius, T. Iunctinius and L. Consilius, for to buy corn to serve the fleet and the army.

Now when all things were provided and in readines, C. Scribonius the Pretor departed from the City in his warlike coat of arms, and arrived at Brundisium. About the end of the year, C. Popilius the Consul returned to Rome, somewhat later then the Senate had ordained; who was commanded to take the first time, and withall speed to create new magistrates, considering that to great a war approached to near. And therefore when the Consul concluded in the temple of Belus as touching his exploits in Liguria, the LL of the Senat were nothing well pleased to hear him: but in steadther, they muttered every where, and asked him oftentimes, Why he had not restored to liberty those Ligurians, who were oppressed through the wicked proceedings of his father? The election of the Consuls was helden upon the twelfth day before the Calends of March according to the act that went out: wherein were created Conulius, Pub. Licinius Graecus, and Cn. Consilius Longinus. The morrow following, the Pretors were elected, to wit, Cnus Salpianus Gaibal, L. Farma Phoelus, L. Camillus Divis, C. Luctintius Gallus, C. Cnanius Rufinus, and L. Villius Annalis. To these Pretors the provinces were alligned in this manner: that two of them should sit as LL chief justices in Rome for civil jurisdiction: three other to have the government of Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia: for as the first only should remain not allotted to any places, for to be employed wherefore the Senat would think good and fit: that the Consuls elect
were commanded by the Senate, upon the solemn day when they were to enter into their magi- 
frasy, after they had sacrificed greater beasts, as it appertained, to pray in this form, that the 
gods would vouchsafe the war which the people of Rome intended now to enter 
well and come to happy issue. The same day the Senate decreed, that C. Poppus the Consul should 
set out plate for ten days together in the honor of Jun. Opt. Max. and the offerings should be 
made at all the shrines and altars, it to be commonwealth continued for ten years in the same good 
estate as now it stood. And as the Senate ordained, the Consul vowed into the Capitol, that 
the said plights should be exhibited, offerings were presented of as great value as it pleased them to set 
down. This vow was pronounced by the Consul in the presence of no fewer than 90 Sena-
tors, and according to that form of words which Lepidus, the high-priest or sovereign Bishop 
indited. That year died certain Prelates of State, to wit, L. Aemilius Pappus, one of the Decem-
virs or superintendents over the holy rites, and Q. Fulvius Flaccus a Bishop, who the year before had 
been Censor. This man had a stillt. I forrived that news came upon him of his two sons, who then 
served in the wars of Hylcius, how the one was departed out of this life, and the other lay 
rich of a grieveous and dangerous malady. The sorrow for the one, and the fear for the other, hap-
ning to fall at one time, brake his heart and oppressed his spirits; insomuch as the next morn-
ing, when his servants entered betimes into his bed-chamber, they found him hanged by a cord, 
and strangled. It was thought abroad, that he had never been his own man, since he was Censor, 
and commonly it was spoken, Spino Lucumia in wrathful displeasure against him for spoiling 
his temple, beset him of his right wits. In the room of Aemilius, M. Valerius Maffius was 
substituted Decemvirs; and in stead of Fulvius there was elected Archbishop, Cneus Domitius K 
Archardus, who to lay the truth was very young to be made a priest.

In the year wherein P. Licinius and C. Cassius were Censors, not only the City of Rome, and 
the whole land of Italy, but all the Princes and States of Europe & Asia, were mulled respective-
ly upon the war between the Macedonians and Romans. Enemies (King of Asia) not only carried 
an old enmity with his against Philip, but also was prized forward with new delights and anges 
upon a tenth occasion, in that by the wicked practice of Persius, he had like to have been sacrific-
ed at Delphi. Praetor, King of Bithynia, was resolved not to enter into arms, but attend the is-
eue of the war. For he thought it not reason and leemly for him to take arms in the defence of the 
Romans against his wives; and this account, made, that it Persius hrapp to have the 
ary, he might soon obtain pardon at his hands by the mediation of his sister, Aristaed King L 
of the Cappadocians, and besides that he had promised aid to the Romans in his own name, 
ever since that he had linked in affinity to Emmenius, drew the same way which he went, and 
joined with him in all his counsels both of war and peace. As for Antiochus (King of Syria) his 
teeth watered, verily at the Kingdom of Egypt, as he, who, when he did well the childhood of the 
young King in his nonsense, as the weakness and negligence of his guardians: and considering 
there was some controversy about the title of Calaernia, he suspected that he should have good 
occasion to levy war, to manage all and exploit the same without emperchment, while the Romans 
were busy in the Macedonian war; howbeit as well by his own Embassadors sent unto 
the Senat, as also unto their addressed unto him, he promised itoly to be for them. Ptolome-
uis (The young King of Egypt, being no tender age, was at the disposition of others; his tutors and 
protectors, as they prepared to wage war against Antiochus for the recovery of Calaernia, so they 
promised the Romans would not to their devoir in the Macedonian war. M. Papirius (King of the 
Numidians) was altogether for the Romans; he furnished them with coin, and intende 
to his son M. Papirius with aids both of men and elephants in that service. Howbeit he the dis-
popped of his designs, as might serve his turn which way ever the world went: for the victory 
to the Romans, he ordered that his affairs should remain still in the same state; and better he 
was not to look for, because the Romans would not suffer any violence to be offered unto the 
Curtarians; but in case the Romans went down and had the overthrow (who then protected the 
Curtarians) then he made full reckoning of Antiochus to be his own. Gentius (King of Hypsi-
cum) had his demesne himself, that he was inspected of the Romans; yet he was not fully resolv-
ed which side to take unto, and it seemed he would joy to one or the other, more upon a fit as 
it took him in the head, than with any discretion or advice, C. Sergius Thracian, King of the 
O-
dryfians, took part evidently with the Macedonians. In these terms (I lay) flood the KK. as touch-
ing this present war. As for the free Cities and States besides, the common people every where 
(As always lightly it is seen) inclined to the worse part, and ran with the KK. & the Macedonians: 
but the principal persons and men of quality, a man might perceive affected diversly. Some 
grew with the Romans all upon the head, insomuch as they greatly empeared their authority in 
excessive favour to them: few of them were induced by the just and upright government of 
the Romans, but the most part were carried away with the strong concourse, that the more they em-
ployed themselves for them, the greater men they should be at home in their own Cities. Another 
part there were of the Kings flattering favorites, who being deeply drenched in debt, and despair 
of bettering their fortune (at the present rate held till) abandoned and gave themselves over to 
entertain all changes and innovations. And some there were besides, possed with a vain honor 
of their own, because Persius seemed to have more favour of the common people. A third fort 
there were (and those of the belt and wifet of all other) who if it had lain in their hands to de-
termine
they would have to be greater lord, wished to have been under the Romans rather than the King. Mary, if they might have had their liberty to be children simply of their fortune, by their good will they might not have had the one part, advanced by the deposition and subversion of the other, but that the forces and pipline of them both remaining entire and unsoiled, peace thereby might be entertained and so between them both, the state of the cities should continue in the bell, when as the one part might ever protect the weaker side from the injuries of the mightier. And those that had been thus, held them quiet and fair not a word but being fast themselves, beheld the behaviour and deportments of those that were the partakers and lovers of either side.

The Consuls that day wherein they entered their government, when they sacrificed (according to the ordinance of the Senate) with greater bequests in all the temples and chapels, wherein (for a molt part of the year) the sacred beds and couches for the gods were prepared; and thereby had prescribed by good tokens, that their prayers were acceptable to the immortal gods, made report unto the Senate, That their sacrifices were as they ought to be, as also their prayers, which they conceived as touching the war. The Bowell-prayers likewise by their learning declared, that if they went about any new enterprise, they should make speed; for why? All did prognosticate victory, triumph, and enlargement of their feigny. Whereupon the LL. of the Senate commanded the Consuls to propose to the people the first day of the general assembly of the Centuries in this manner: in the name of God, and to the welfare and happiness of the Commonwealth, whereas Puteius, the son of Philip K. of Macedon, (against the second and covenant concluded with his father first, and after his death renewed with him) hath levied war upon the allies of the people of Rome, welded their territories, feized their Cities, compelled to enter into arms against the people of Rome, and to C. that end hath provided armours, soldiers, and a fleet: unless be make satisfaction, preferable to you that war be enterprised and waged against him. This bill passed by all the suffrages of the people. There was then an act of the Senate like wise entered, that the Consuls should either agree together, or else call lots for the provinces of Italy and Macedon; and look where the lot fell to Macedon, he should perforce with fire and sword K. Perus; and all that sect and faction which took his part, unless he made satisfaction, preferable to you that war be enterprised and waged against him. This bill passed by all the suffrages of the people.

Also for the one of the Consuls in the army of the allies, the number was augmented, as besides those six hundred horsemen which Cn. Sestius had conducted already, he should of those allies transport over into Macedon, sixteen thousand footmen and eighty hundred horse. As for Italy, twelve thousand footmen of allies and six hundred horse were thought sufficient. Moreover this prerogative had the province of Macedon, that for Centurions and soldiers the Consul might enroll of the elder sort whom he thought good as many as were not above fifty years of age. In choosing of Tribunes military and colonels, the old manner was this year changed, in regard of the Macedonian war, to wit, that the Consuls (by advice and authority of the Senate) should move into the people, that the said Tribunes might not that year be elected by voices of the people, but that their elections should be referred to the judgment and determination of the Consuls and Pretors. The charge of command was thus divided among the Pretors as followeth, that Pretor whose lot fell to go whither it pleased the Senate to send, was assigned to take his journey to the fleet at Brundisium, and there to survey and revive the seas-lavours, and look how many he thought not meet for service, them to discharge; & to make up the number with chosen Libertines; and in any wise to order it so, that two thirds parts consisted of Roman natural citizens, and the other third of allies. Item, That provision of victuals for the navy and the army, should be brought out of Sicily and Sardinia. And the Pretors of those two provinces had in charge to exact a double tenth of the Sicilians and Sardinians, and this grain to be conveyed into, to Macedon for the army. Now Sicily fell to C. Caecilius Rubulus, Sardinia to L. Furius Philus, and Spain to C. Caecilius. C. Sulpicius Galba was L. chief justice for the citizens of Rome, and L. Iunius Annalis for the frangars; but C. Lucretius Callius his lot was to go where the Senate would employ him. Between the two Consuls there was some little wrangling, rather then any great debate about their province. Caesius for his part said, that he was by the right to war in Macedon without any calling of lots for the matter, for much as his colleague might not enter into lot with him, and save his oath. For he being Pretor, had sworn solemnly in a frequent assembly of the people (because he would shiff off and not go into his province) that he had occasion to celebrate sacrifices in a certain place and upon certain days, which could not be performed, as they ought, if he were at sea. And the same as I take it cannot be well done while his absence now, that he is Consul no more then whilsts he was Pretor. Howbeit, if the Senate be of opinion and judg, that more consideration is to be had to satisfie Caesius Licinius his will now in the Consulship, then regard of the oath be took before in the Pretorship, yet will I not withstanding accommodate my self to the pleasure of the Senate. The LL. were consulted with here about, who judging that it were a proud part to deny him the government of a province, unto whom the people of Rome had granted the dignity of a Consulship, commanded the Consuls to call lots. Then Macedon fell to P., Licinius, and Italy to C. Caesius. Then they put to lot, and so the conduct,
and employment of the legions: whereby the first and third were to be transported into Macedonia, the second and fourth to remain in Italy. In the meantime a choice of soldiers, the Conful went more neatly and straitly to work by far, and customably they used at other times. As for Lucius, he enrolled the elder fortis, as well for soldiers as centurions; and my there were who voluntarily entered their names, because they saw how those flourished well and grew rich, who had served either in the former Macedonian war, against Antiochus in Asia. Now when as the martial Colonels called forth the centurions by name one after another, and the principal chief, there happened to be three and twenty centurions of them, who before time had been Prunipalates, had led in the chief and belt place, and when they were cited, they called unto the Trib of the Conul, for to be relieved by their lawfull allowance. But two of that fellowship and society of Tribunes, namely, M. Fulvius Nobilior, and M. Fulvius Maccenas, referred them to the Conuls, alluding, that by right, the knowledge of these matters pertaining to those who had plenary commission to take matters, and to manage the war-affairs. But all the rest of the Tribunes avowed that they would refuse it in their own hands, and determine of that for which they were called unto as competent judges; yea, and if injurious were offered to their fellow-citizens, they would not fail but help and succour them. All this was debated in the Tribunes-court. Thither was M. Papilius, a Conul man, called to the hearing of this matter, and thither repaired the centurions and the Conul also. And when the Conul required that the case should be heard and decided in a general assembly, therefore the people was summoned to meet in publick together. In which solemn congregation M. Papilius, who had been Conul two years before, spake in behalf of the centurions to this effect. ‘These martial K.

..."
A law, nor might plead exemption and immunity by mine age, yet being I am able to shew four
foolders for one, my four sons [I say for my self alone] me thinks it were reason, O P. Lici-
nius, that I were now freed and discharged. And all this I pray you take, as spoken for the be-
hoof of my cause. Now as touching my person thus much, So long as any man who hath au-
thority to enroll foolders, shall judge me sufficient and able to bear arms, I will not go about to ex-
cuse and thiirft it. And look what place the Colonels and Marshals shall suppose me worthy
of, if, lyeth in his good will and pleasure to alligne me unto it: but to perform that no one per-
son in the whole array form me in valor, that shall be my own indecotor; like as not only
my captains, but those also who have served with me are able to tellsthe, That I ever had to car-
ried my self and performed as much. And you likewise my fellow foolders, albeit you practic
B and keep in use the privileges and benefit of appealing to the Tribunes, yet meet and reason it is,
since in your youthfull days ye never did ought in any place against the authority of the Senat
and the Conuls; ye now also in your declining age be at the disposition of the Senat and the
Conuls; yes, and to esteem all places worshipfully, wherein you shall defend and maintain the
Common weal: When that they had thus commended him, and from before the people brought him into the Senat. And there allowed by the advice and authority of the honorable house, thanked he was, and the Marshal-Colonels, in regard of his virtue, appointed him to be the principal Centurion of the Pilani in the first legion. So the rest of the Centurions recom-
nending their appeal to the Tribunes, yielded obedience in the matter and ley above said.

To the end that the Magistrates and great commanders might go more timely into their govern-
ments, the Latin feasts and holydays were published to be holden upon the Calends of June:
C Which solemnity being finished, C. Luctetius the Pretor took his journey to Brundisium, having
sent before all necessary furniture and provision for the fleet. Besides, those armies which the
Conuls levied, a commission was directed out to C. Sulpius Galla the Pretor, to enroll four
legions of Roman citizens, with the ordinary full provision of infantry and cavalry, and to elect out of the body of the Senat four Colonels to command them. Also to levy Latin allies 10000
foot, and 1200 horse, and to take order that his army should be ready to go whitheroever the Sen-
At the very same time thenceEmbassadors from King Persians. But suffer they were not
to enter into the City; considering that both the Senat had ordained, and the people celted al-
ready to make war upon their king and the Macedonians. So admitted they were into the Temple
of Bellona before the Senat, where they delivered their message in this manner: That King Per-
sians marvelled why there were armies transported over into Macedonia? And if the Senat might
be intreated to much, as to recall them home, the King would make satisfaction for the wrongs
borne unto their allies, in such sort as the Senat in their discretion would appoint. Now there was
in the Senat-houle at that time Sp. Carvillius, sent back for that very purpose out of Greece from
E Cn. Sestinius. He made report and remonstrancethow Perrhbus was driven by arms, and certain
Cities of Thessaly was with other exploitsthat King Persians had either performed, or else was in
hand to enterprise, To which challenges the Embassadors were commanded to make answere. But
after they were once to fall in their speech, saying they had no further commision then that
they had delivered already; they were willing to retire unto the King their master. C. P. Licini-
us the Conul would shortly be in Macedonia with an army, unto whom the King might address
his Embassadors, if he minded to do as he said and to make amends. As for lending any more to
Romans, there was no need nor caule, forasmuch as they would not suffer any of them to pass through
Italy, When they were dismasted with this short dispatch, C. Licinius the Conul had in charge, to
F command them to go out of Italy within 11 days, and to send Sparsus Carvillius to guard them
all the way to the sea-side until they were shipped. These occurrences passed in Rome before the
Conuls were gone into their provinces.
Now by this time Cn. Sestinius (who ere that he left his magistracy, was sent before as far as
to Brundisium to the fleet and army) having put over into Epirus 5cc00 foot and 300 horse,
was encamped before Nymphaeum in the territory of the Apollonii, From thence he sent certain
Colonels with 2000 foolders, to set the forts and cattles of the Dacifermes and Illyrians, by oc-
casion that they of their own accord made means and lent for garrisons, to the end they might be
better guarded selecte from the violence and invasion of the Macedonians bordering upon their

C colonies.

Some few days after, Q. Marcellus, A. Attius, P. and Ser. both Cornels and Lentils, together
with L. Decimus, who all had been lent in embasse into Greece, brought them toCorcyra one
thousand footmen: where they both parted between themselves their several quarters whither
they would go, and also their foolders. Decimus was sent to Generus King of the Illyrians, with
commandment, if he saw him any waies coming on and enclined to entertain mutiny with the Ro-
mans, to found him and give the assay, yea, and to draw him into the association of this war.
The two Luniulì were sent into Cophalina, from thence to traverse and cross over into Pelopheneus, and before winter to fetch about and compass the coast of the Welle-sea. Maruis, &c. &c. were assigned to visit Ephus, Eosia, and Thessalia. From thence they were enjoined to have an eye into Beatica and Emus and to sail into Pelopone examination where they appointed to meet with the Luniulì. But before that they departed from Corcyra, letters were brought from Persius, wherein he demanded what reason the Romans had either to transport any forces into Greece, or to fell upon the Cities? thought good it was to return him no answer by writing, but only by word of mouth, such as to say unto the messengers that brought the letters, That the Romans did it for the defence and safeguard of the isle towns. The Luniulì as they rode their circuit visiting the Cities and towns of Peloponeus, exhorting the States and commonalties thereof individually one as well as another, To aid the Romans in this present against Persius, with tellable courage and like fidelity as they had flown with them first in the war against Philip, and afterwards in that with Aulans; might here in their publick assemblies much muttering and grumbling thence. The Aulans (who from the very beginning of the Macedonian war had been altogether for the Romans, and during the war against Philip, enemies to the Macedonians), took it in disdain that they were repented in the same ranks with the Melissen and Eleans, and no better then they who had bulls arms against the people of Rome, or Aulans their enemies; and who but the other day, being enroiled into the commonality and counsell of the Aulans, complained that they were delivered into the victorious Aulans, as the recumenance and gurdian of their conquest. Martius and Aulius as they went up to Gitana a town of Ephus, ten miles from the sea, in a general Council held there of all the priests, had audience with great contentment of them all. Four hundred of their young and able lusty men they sent into the Oriental country to lie in garrison for defence of those Macedonians who by them were set at liberty. From thence they held on their progress into Aesopia; and after they had to joined there some few days (whiles a new Pretor was elected in the room of him that was deceased, and Lysias appointed the governor, a man known for certain to favour the Romans) they passed over into Thessaly. Thither repaired the Embassadors of the Aesopians and the banished pertons of Aesopia. The Aesopians were enjoyed to utter and declare before them what they had committed and done again the people of Rome, being invigiled and deceived by the promises of the two Kings Philip and Aulans during the wars against the one and the other; since occasion was now preferred unto them, for to make amends and save all that was amiss. For if upon their ill dements towards the people of Rome they had made trial and salted of their clemency, they might now by good deports prove their boundes another while. As for the Aesopians, they were reproved and upbraided for entering into association with Persius; and when they seemed to lay the whole fault upon Lysias a captain of one of the two factions, and certain Cities and States which being of a different opinion were drawn to the side; Say ye so? (quoth Maruis again) and that shall soon appear; for we all permit every commonality and City to answer apart and severally for themselves the bell they can.

Now was the Diet of the Thessalians held at Laphira, where, as the Thessalians took good occasion and found ample matter of thanksgiving the Romans, for the liberty which by their good owen they had obtained: so as the Roman legates had as copious an argument to render them thanks, for that first in the war with Philip, and afterwards with Aulans, they had been so mightily aided by the Thessalian nation. Thus by this mutual rehearsefull of pleasures and good turns, given and taken, the hearts of the multitude were enkindled with a fervent zeal to decree and ordain whatsoever it pleased the Romans to desire. After this council was dissolved, there came Embassadors from Laphira unto Maruis, upon a speciall alliance of the privat friendship and hospitality which had passed between his father King Philip, and the said Maruis [and his father.]. These Embassadors began the speech with a commemoration of the said familiar and inward acquaintance,requenting him to permit the K. for to have access unto him, and to commin together. Maruis answered, that he also had heard his father speak of the amity and mutual hospitality between him and K. Philip: in regard and remembrance of which near bond of familliar he was the more willing to take upon him the charge of that embassage and commission. As to the parly, he would not have deferred it all, if he might commodiously have wrought it: and now for this present he promised (so soon as he possibly could) to fend his couriers before to advertise the King, that they might come to the river Peneus, whereas the passage lieth from Oea molon over to Dum. And verily at that time, Persius was retired from Dium into the inland quarters of his resilion, and had gathered some pretty gale of hopes, in that Maruis had given out, how for love of him he had undertaken this embassacie, after none few desists they repaired to the place appointed, This King accompanied with a great train as well of his friends, as his courtiers and pensioners which guarded his person. The legates indeed were attended upon with no lesser a troop, by reason as well of many that followed them from Laphira, as also of divers embasages from the States which assembled at Laphira, and were desirous to carry home with them certain news of the iecial, which they should hear. Every man had an inward desire fettled in his heart to see the manner of the meeting of this noble K. & the high commissioners from the sovereign state and mightiell people of the whole world. Being come to the interview one of another,they stood still on either side of the river, which only parted them slander. For a while there passed entertainments between; whereas they made it strange on both parties, who should pass the river first, for the Macedonians stood somewhat upon the tosill majesty of a King; & the Romans were as respective
The two and Fourth Book of T. Livius.

The right of the Euphrates, according to the treaty, was to be handed over to the Romans, and the line of the Tigris was to be the boundary between the two empires. In return for this, the Romans promised to leave the province of Armenia to the Parthians, and to pay a yearly tribute of 50,000 drachmas. The treaty was ratified by a solemn exchange of gifts, and the ambassadors of both parties agreed to return to their respective capitals to proclaim the conclusion of peace. The treaty was signed on the 12th of March, 49 B.C., and the Romans were satisfied with the arrangement, as it removed the threat of war and secured the safety of the empire. The Parthians were also content, as it provided for their independence and ensured their security. The treaty was a great victory for Rome, as it firmly established its position as the dominant power in the East.

The two and Fourth Book of T. Livius.
The two and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

To see again hereafter, I must (forsooth) give account for the Thebans, who as it is well known, perished by shipwreck: as also for the murder of Artanus; and yet therein I am no deeper charged than thus, that the murderers of him lived in exile & were shadowed within my realm.

Now surely this hard conclusion and unreasonable condition I will not refuse to undergo, in case you also will be content to take upon you and avow all those crimes and faults, for which they stand condemned, who as banished persons have fled either to Rome or into Italy: but since both you and all other nations will disavow that, I also will be one amongst the rest. And in good faith, to speak uprightly, to what end should any man be banished from one country, if he may not find a place in another, and be permitted there to live in exile? And yet (so soon as ever I found by advertisement from you that they were within Macedonia) I for my part made diligent search until I had them, and then I commanded them to depart out of my kingdom, yea and ex- preiely forbade them for ever setting foot again within my dominions. And thus much verily concerning the criminal matters objected unto me as a defendant pleading at the bar. Now let us argue and debate the reit, enforced and laid against me in quality of a King, namely, which concern and touch the accord contracted between me and you. For if the words ran in this fort and are thus written in the foresaid covenants of accord, That I may not be (ferved to defend my felt and my realm, no, not if any enemy of mine levy war against me; then I must confess indeed, that the league I have broken, in that I stood upon my garrison and defendence by force of arms against Amphipolis, an affiliate of the people of Rome. But if it were lawfull for me to do by warrant of the accord and allowed also by the law of nations, by force to repel force; what should I do next, what could I else have done I pray you? When Amphipolis had laid waste to the frontiers of my kingdom even as far as to Amphipolis, led into captivity many persons free-born, carried away a mighty number of slaves, and driven before him many thousand head of cattell; should I have taken still and suffered him until he had come armed to Pella even unto my royal palace? But some man may haply say, You did well indeed and justly, in making head and putting him by force of arms, mary, vanquished he should not have been neither ought he to have suffered those calamities which follow men vanquished. Why if I had endured the fortune thereof, provoked as I was to war, how can he justly complain of tasting the like, being himself the cause and stil motive of all? I will not tie the same manner of defence (O Romans) to this, that by force of arms I have repelled the Dolopians: for if I have not done by them according to their demerits, yet I am sure I have dealt by the verity of the right I have over them being as they are of mine own kingdom, under my obedience, and made subjects to my father even by a decree of my own drawing. And yet were I to render a reason of my proceedings against them, I say, not unto you nor unto my allies, but even to those who like not of any cruel command so much as over bondslaves: can I be thought to have exercised more rigor against them, than equity and reason would bear? For, Euphrana, whom I deputed governor over them, they killed in such fort, that death is too good for them, and the leal punishment of all others that they have defiled. And as I marched forward in my projects from thence to visit the Cities of Larissis, Antson & Pilion; I ascended up to Dolphi there for to facrifice: to the end that I might discharge my conscience & pay those vows which I had of long time owed. Now to aggravate matter in this also against me, it is laid moreover, that I was there with my army, and intended (no doubt) for to feir Cities into my hands, and put garrisons into fortresses; for which at this present I complain of you. Call the States and Cities of Greece together to a general assembly; through which I passed. Let any one man come forth & make complaint of the least harm done by any of my followers; then will I not refuse to be reputed for one who under pretense of divine facrifice, went about another thing. We went indeed garrisons to the Eotolians and Bizen tinesyea, and with the Boctians we contracted amity. But these things, in what fort & to what purpose they were done, my embassadors have not only declared, but also excuted oftentimes before your Senate; where I found some Umpires to hear and decide my cause, although not so indifferent and favourable to me, as your fell are, O Martius, my fathers old friend and familiar. For as yet Eumnea, my accuser was not come to Rome, who by false suggestions, writing at his picture every thing to the world, to make all fulplious and odious unto you about to make you believe that Greece could not possibly be restored to freedom, & enjoy the fruit of your gracious benefit, so long as the kingdom of Macedonia flood entire and upright. Well, the world you shall see, will turn about; and anon one or other will be here, to make remonstrance and prove, That to no purpose Antiochus is removed and confined beyond the mountains of Taurus, that Eumnea is become much more grievous and unspottable to all Asia than Antiochus ever was: and that your allies cannot be at rest nor live in quiet, so long as he keepeth his royal court in Pergamus, a City as it were overlookind and commanding all the north Cities bordering thereupon. Right well I know, O Q Martius, and you, Attilius, that whatsoever either you have objected against me, or I answered for my defence & purgation, is fin as the ears and actions are of the hearers: neither what I have done, nor what mind and intention I have carried in mine actions will be so much regarded, as how you take every thing either done or intended, Mine own conscience beareth me witness, that willing I have not failed; now if for want of knowledge and foresight I have been overseen and done somewhat amiss it may be corrected and amended by this present chaffiment. This I am sure, my trepsals is not incurable, neither have I committed ought that you should deem worthy to be punished, by
A "by war & force of arms. And if ye do, then surely it is for nought, that there goeth this name a
broad throughout all nations of your dexterity and gravity both, if you forsake flight occasions
which hardly are worth the complaint and the reasoning, you be ready to enter into arms of
and levy war upon your confederat Princes. Martius for that time accorded to his speech, and
moved him to address embassadors to Rome being of advice and opinion himself to try all means
to the very last point, and to let slip nothing whereas some hope of good might arise. It remained
only to be debated in council, how embassadors might pass in safety. And to this purpose, when
it was necessary for the K.K to requite a turcise of arms, albeit Martius himself was willing and de-

demanded thereof for that his drift was to nothing else by all this conference and parley yet he seemed
to make a hard matter and difficulty of it, and to do a special favour and pleasure unto Perseus
B granting his petition. The truth was, the Romans yet were not ready nor thoroughly appointed at
this present to the war; they had neither army puissant enough, nor captains sufficient, whereas
as Perseus (but that he was blinded in all his councils with a vain hope of peace) had all things
prepared and in readiness, and might then have begun to wage war, as in the bell and most op-
portunity for himself, to the worst and unprofit of all other times for his enemies.

After this parley and the abilities of war assured faithfully on both parts, the Roman Com-
missaries were appointed and resolved to go into Boeotia, where there was begun already some
trouble and commotion, by reason that certain States of the Boeotians were departed from the
society of the common Council, even since it was reported back, how the Roman Legats made
answer that it should appear and be seen, what Cities they were indeed which took a pleasur
C to have any association with the King. And first the embassadors from Ithrnes after war from
Thebes encountered them upon the way, who assured them that they were not present in that Di-
er and Council, where this association was concluded. To these embassadors no answer for this
time was made but willed they were only to give their attendance and follow them to Chalcis.

At Thebes great variance there was, which arose by occasion of another (tale and debate, in
their Iolmam assembly for the election of the Pretor of the Boeotians that part which had the re-
pulse, in revenge of that injury and dilgrace, assembled the multitude and made a decree at 1 Jars,
That the Boeotarches should not be received within their Cities: in which sort, as like banished
men they retired to Phocis from whence (for received there they were incontinent without any
stay) being called again to Thebes upon better adviement and change of mind, they made
D an ordnance. That it to the number of twelve privar perions held any conventicle or publike
meeting together, they should be condemned to exile. After this, Iphoces the new Pretor a no-
ble personage and of great puissance, by virtue of a decree adjudged them in their abinance or to
lose their lives. To Chalcis they were fled, and from thence to the Romans at Lavra they went:
where they declared that Iphoces was the cause of their association with King Perseus. Upon that
fore said difference, they grew to hot contention, yet embassadors from both parts came to the
Romans, as well the banished persons and accusers of Iphoces, as also Iphoces himself. But to
soon as the Roman Legats were come to Chalcis, the States and heads of other Cities (who every
one by a special decree of their own had renounced association with King Perseus ) joined with
the Romans: whereas they took exceeding great contentment and joy. Iphoces thought it
meet and reason that the Boeotian nation should be protected to the protection of the Ro-
mans. Whereupon arose a tumultuous fray, but that he fled into the Tribunall of the Legats to
favour himself, he had escaped narrowly from being killed by the said exiled perions, with the help
of their supports and favorites.

Also the City of Thebes which is the capital place of State within Boeotia, was in great trouble and
uprario; whiles some drew to the K.K others enclined to the Romans. Besides, there was a mul-
titude of Corinthians and Hallians gathered together to maintain the ordinance and deeree as
contacting the association with the K. But such was the resort of perillance of the principall and
chiefmen, who shoowed by the late calamities of Philip and Antocrus, how great the forces, and
how happy the fortune was of the Roman empire, that the same multitude deserted, and being
overruled, passed a new decree, to reverse and cancel the former confederacy with the King: sent
those that were the motives and periards of contrivando that amity to Ch. Lit for to satisfi
and content the Roman Legats; yes & so conclude were of advice to recommend the City to the
faithfull patronage of the said Commissioners, Martius & Atticus took great pleasure to hear the
Thebans sing this note they perswaded with them severally apart, and gave them counsell to send
embassadors to Rome for the renewing of this amity; but before all things they took order for the
reforining of the banished persons: as for the authors of the confederacy contrived with the K.
they by their own decree condemned. Having thus by this means infringed and made fruitar the
Diet of the Boeotians ( the thing which above all they most desired ) they took their journey to
Peloponnesus, together with Ser. Cornelius, whom they had sent for to Chalcis, for their takes a
Commissal was holden at Argos, where they demanded nothing elle of the Achman nation but on-
ly to furnish them with 1000 soldiers. This garrison was sent to the defence of Chalcis, until
the Roman army were transported into Greece. Martius and Atticus having thus discharged all
the affairs that they had to do in Greece in the beginning of winter returned to Rome.

Then was there sent from thence about the same time an honourable embassade to the Isles in
Asia. These Embassadors or Legats were three in number, to wit, T.Claudius, P. Pithiumus and
M. Fannius, They in their circuit and visitation exhorted all their allies to take arms against Perseus,
1112.
for the Romans. And the mightier and more wealthy any City was, the more earnestly travelled H they there; because the interior States were like to, frame and fort themselves suitable to the example and authority of the greater and superior. Now of all others the Rhodians were reputed of most import and consequence every way, for that they were able not only to favor with their countenance, but also aid and maintain with their forces this war: and by the perfusion of Her- gisius they had got together a fleet of forty sail, "This Her-gisius their soverain Magistrate W (whom they call Prytanis) had by many reasons prevail'd with the Rhodians to abandon the K hope they had by entertaining these KK, (which they had found by often experience how vain I it was) and to hold themselves to the sovietry and alliance of the Romans, the surest hold of all R others at that time in the world, as well for strength of forces as truthy assurance and fidelity, T There is intended war by them (and he) against Persia; and no doubt the Romans will require F of us the same provision and furnishing of ships and sea-forces, which they have seen in their war lately against Antiochus, and before that, against King Philip: and then you will be to seek, and F forced in great haste to provide a fleet, when it were more time it should be let out and sent G forth, unless ye begin betimes to repair and rig your ships, unless I say you in hand to furnish T the same with makers and mariners; and with so much more endears our course ye thus to do, H that by your deed and effectual employment, you may refute and disprove the false imputations J where with Emmerick hath charged you, by their remonstrances induced they were inflamed as K at the arrival of the Roman Legars aforesaid, they were able to fly unto them an armado of 40 L ships ready rigged and well appointed, that they might know and see, they looked not to be M exhorted thenceunto. And this embassage was of great moment and importance also to gain the N hearts of the States in Asia. Only Dicrinius returned to Rome without any effect of his errand O and commission, nay, he ran into an ill name and obloquy, upon insinuation that he had received P certain bribes of the Princes in Thrace.

Per'sent upon the conference and communication had with him Macedon and sent his Embassadors to Rome, to treat about the conditions of peace begun already with M. Masset: to other Embassadors also of his he gave his letters to carry to Byzantium and Rhodes: T the tenor of which letters was one and the same directed to them all: namely, That he had commu- c* nicated with the Roman Legars, but he had so placed and couched as well what he heard as what he spake, that it might seem he gave not one foot unto them but gained the better hand in that dispute & debating with them. These Embassadors added moreover, and said unto the Rhodians, L That they hoped assuredly there would be a peace, for that by the motion and advice of M Masset and Attalus were addressed embassial to Rome. Now if the Romans, say they, against N the covenants of accord proceeded to levy war, then the Rhodians were to endeavour with all M the credit and power they have, to unite the peace again but if with all their prayer and en- treaty they might not prevail, then they were to look about and labour this one point, That the O might and puissance of the whole world were not devolved into the hands of that one people. P And as this importation and concerned all the rest, to the Rhodians especially, who furnished Q other States in dignity and wealth, both which should be obnoxious and enthrall'd, if there R were regard and respect made of none but the Romans. The letters of the King and words of the Embassadors, were entertained with friendly audience, other effect they took none to change their settled minds: for now the authority of the better part began also to carry the greater sway, T but this answer was returned to them, & that by way of decree, That the Rhodians with'd peace W with all their heart: but if it should come to war, their King and Matter was neither to expect, X nor to exact anything at their hands, to disjoin the ancient amity which they held with the Romans, and which they had acquist by many and great deceits, as well in war as in peace. In their return C from Rhodes, they went to the Cities of Boeotia, and namely, to Thebes, Corona, and Habarim, N from whom it seemed a thing exerted forcibly against their will, that they were disfran- M banded from the King & clave to the Romans. The Thebans stood firm and immovable, although O they were somewhat discontented with the Romans, both for condemning their chief and prin- cipal Citizens, and also for rewarding the beneficed persons. But the Corinthians and Hilaritians N upon unbridled and feted lyeot of by kind in the Kings, lent Embassadors into Macedonia, re- soliciting a garrion for their defence against the exellent pride of the Thebans. To this embassage O the King thus answered. That a garrion he might not send, by reason of the truce made with the Romans; howbeit he advertised them to maintain and guard themselves against the injuries of the Thebans all that ever they could: but yet so, as they gave the Romans no cause to be their heavy friends, and so to proceed in rigour against them.

Masset and Attalus being come to Rome, made report of their embassie within the Capitol, M in such manner, as in nothing they gloried more, than in deluding and deceiving the K, by means of a sedition from arms, and a pretended hope of peace. For to well appointed was he and fur- nished with all provision for war, and they contrariwise so unprovided every way, that he might G easily have pleased himself of the whole O of places of opportunity and advantage, before that their army could pass over into Greece. But now having this repit and time of the truth, as the King would come nothing better prepared, so the Romans might begin the war, more fully furnished with all things convenient. Moreover, they related how they they by their coming disaffected the L general Council of the Boeotians, so as by no means any more hereafter they can be rejoyned to the Macedonians by consent and accord. The greater part of the Senate approved this service of theirs
A theirs as performed with singular discretion and dexterity: But the old Senators and those that held in remembrance the ancient manner and cultume of the Romans, said plainly, *that is all the course of that embassage they could lead Roman practice and dealing at all. Our ancients (by they were wont to war not by walt-laying and secret ambuscades, nor by skirmishes in the night, being nor yet by false semblant of running away and sudden turning their face again at unwares upon their unprovided enemies; neither sought they to glorifie themselves by subtile flights more than by true and valourable. Their use and manner was, to intimate and publish wars before they made any: yet, and to denounce and proclaim the same; otherwheres also to align and appoint the very place where they went to strike a battell, According to this plain and faithfull dealing, they detected and discouered unto K. Perusius, the Philosopher that would by pow

B son have taken away his life: by the same they delivered bound unto the Fallicians the villainous traitor that would have betrayed the children of their K. These are the Roman fallicians: (lay they) just to use the cunning calls and file shifts of the Carthaginians, nor the crafty policies of Cretians, who ever repented it more glorious and honourable by fraud to compass than by force to surprize the enemy. Indeed otherwheres for the present time, more good is done and greater matters are effected by guile and policy, than by valour and verse: but to lay a truth the courage of that enemy is for ever conquered, who is forced to confess, that he was vanquished not by cunning but by virtue, but in just and lawfull war by main strength and close fight at handy grips. Thus spake the ancients, who had no great liking to the new-founded device of these politicians, Howbeit, that side of the Senat which made more reckoning of profit than of honesty, carried it away and imposed so much, that not only the first embasie of Martius was approved, as well performed, but also himself was sent back again with certain Quinqueremes, with a mandate also & commissio to deal in the reft according as he should think to stand with the good of the Common-weal. They dispatched likewise An, Attius to lea Laevia in Thessaly: for fear left if the term of truce were expired, Perseus should send a garrison thither and hold in hand the capitall City of Thessaly. The said Attius had a warrant to receive 2000 footmen of C. Sicinius for to effectuate that enterprise, As so P. Lentulus latterly returned out of Achaia was allowed the conduct of 500 fouldiers of the Italian nation, to the end that at Thess he should endeavour to bring all Bithynia under the obedience of the Romans. When all things were set in this forwardnes, albeit they were at a point and fully resolved to make war, yet thought good it was to give audience unto the embassadors of Perseus in the Senat: who rehersed and related in manner the same reasons which were delivered by the King in the late conference and parley. Much ado they made and laboured hard, to acqaint the King of the imputation laid to his charge, for seeking the death of Eumenes; but with small probability or none at all: for the thing was too apparant. In the end they fell to prayer and intreaty: howbeit, no ear was given unto them, with any fuch mind and heart, as could be either instructed or inclined. Instead thereof, warned straitly they were to depart immediately forth of the liberties of Rome, and within thirty daies out of Italy.

C After this, P. Licinius the Co#: who was charged with the Province of Spains, had commandment given him to affign unto the army the foonest day that he could, for to meet in one certain place, C. Lucretius the Praetor who had the conduct of the fleet, took his leave of the City with forty

D Quinqueremes: for advised it was, that the reft of the ships which had been repaired, shou'd be staid at home for to be employed otherwise about the City, And the Praetor sent his brother Lucretius before with one Galeace or Quinquereme & commissio to receive of the allies that shipping which by covenant they were to find: and with them near the Island Cephalenia, to joyne with the reft of the armado with, from the Rhegiens one trig协 by, from the Locrians twain, from the Units 4. With which he coaled along Italy, and having doubled the utmost point of Colubria within the Ionian seas, he arrived at Dyrhachium: There he found 19 garrisons or galls of the Dyrhachians, 12 of the Locrians, and 4 belonging to K Cossians: which he took all with him along, making semblance that he suppos'd they were provided of purpolute for the service of the Romans: with this fleet by the third day he fell with the Ille Corbus: and so forward he made fail

E and arrived at Cephalenia, C. Lucretius the Praetor, having looed to lea from Naples, crossed the straights of Sicily, and on the fiftieth day cut over likewise to Cephalenia. Then the fleet frack anchor extending as well the arrival of the land-forces, as alfo that the bulks and vessels of carriage which were flattered upon the seas from the reft of their company, might overtake them.

It hapned about this time that Pub. Licinius the Co#: having conceiv'd and solemnly made his vows within the Capitol, departed in his coat of arms from the City. A solemnity at all times velely this is, done with much dignity and majesty; but especialy with exceeding great plesure and consentment of the beholders; when the Co#: is accompanied with as lately trained at his first setting forth, to encounter some great and famous enemy, renowned as well for virtue as quality and fortune; for at such a time men assemble and gather together, not only in regard of duty to acquit themselves of their devoir, but also upon a desire they have of the very thew and sight pretended unto their eyes; namely, to see their captain to whose conduct and counsell they have committed the managing and defence of the Common-weal. Moreover, they took occasion thereby to think of the hazard of war, how adventurous is the event, and how doubtfull the issue of battell in the field. They call to mind the adventurous course of good fortune and bad; and namely, how by the blind ignorance or the unadvised rashnes of leaders, many toils and overthrowes have hapned; and contrariwise by politick wisdom and hardy courage, great matters have been effected; and
happy victories achieved. And what mortall man is he that knoweth of what mind and carriage good or bad, how fortunate or unlucky the Cois, whom they send forth to war: whether he be like to be seen again, in triumphal wite with his victorious army mounting up the Capitol unto those gods, of whom now he taketh his leave: or shall give occasion to the enemies in the same manner to rejoice? As for Perseus the K, (against whom this expedition and journey is taken) his Prince is, highly renowned both by the Macedonian nation (to famous for feats of arms,) and by his father Philip who among other fortunat achievements of his, was ennobled by his war against the Romans; Moreover, the very name of Perseus himself (since time that first the diadem was set upon his head) was in every man's mouth, and no talk continually but of him and the expectation of this war. With thee is such as contignations (I say) a mighty number of men of all sorts and degrees attended and accompanied the Cois, at his departure. With him were two Colonels or knight-marshals above the rest, who had been Cois, namely, C.Claudius and Q.Antius: also three brave and lusty young gallants, to wit, P.Lecanum and the two Mutilus, both named AEceides, the one to "M.Madame" and the other to L.Madame. The Cois thus accompanied, first went to Brundisium to the army, and from thence paffeled to the seas of Nympheas, and encamped in the territory of Apollonia.

Perseus some few daies before, upon the return of his embassadors from Rome, who had clean put him out of all hope of peace, held a council: wherein for a good while the matter was debated with great variety ofunday opinions. Some were of mind, that in case the Romans enjoyed them either to yield a tribute, or to enforce some of their lands; yea, if they imploied upon them some price by way of amends and satisfaction: in brief, whatsoever else they set down and ordered to do and suffer all for to redeem their peace, and not to refuse any condition were it never so hard but to take heed and provide in any wise, that Perseus put not himself nor the realm upon the dangerous hazard of so great a jeopardy. For if he held still the main point and continued in quiet possession of his kingdom, in time and space much good might happen; by means whereof he should be able not only to look himself whole and recover his losses, but also become hereafter dread and terrible even unto those of whom now he flanched in far, but the fargest part carried with them a more courageous spirit and gave advice accordingly. For they shewed, That if Perseus parted with ought and yielded never so little, he must make account withall to quit the free-hold of his whole kingdom in so after, for it is neither money nor land (say they) that the Romans want; but this they want full, That as all things else in the world, so especially great monstichies & empires are subject to many accidents and casualties: right well they know also, how they have quelled and bruised the pride and insolence of the Carthaginians, and for to yeak their necks and hold them down, have set up a mighty King to be their neighbour and to command them; yea, and that Antiochus and all his race is removed and chased beyond the mountain TAURUS. There remaineth only now the realm of Macedony, which is both feared in a near region and also (if the fortune of the people of Rome should hap to fail) fethmeth able to give heart and courage to her kings at this day, answerable to that of their noble progenitors in former times. And therefore whiles the State fanned entire and unfoiled, Perseus ought to resolve, whether he had rather by forgoing one thing after another, strip himself in the end of all his goods and lands, & so turned clean out of his kingdom, be driven to request at the Romans and either Samos or some other such petty life, where, in quality of a privit person he may live in his royal estate and live to old age in bale contempt and needy poverty: or else, to take arms in the defence and maintenance of his roayl peace and dignity, as a Prince of valour and courage; and either abide all hazards whatsoever the fortune of the field shall plange him into; or after victory achieved deliver the whole world from the dominion and imperious

\[This M. \text{ Milan} \text{ friceth to be pliche ganttil, but that there were Madelini Giovanni, Padula, Patriarch that learned Ambanti, very well collected out of Citra in a Philip.}\]

happier, and to the honour of M. \text{ Milan}, armed AEceides, he departed accompanied with a number of his couriers-penitentiers, and some of the guard to Citium, a town of Macedonia, Himself in person, where he had perform'd a significant sacrifice (like a K. of 100 head of beasts to the honour of \text{ Milan}, namely AEceides, he departed accompanied with a number of his couriers-penitentiers, and some of the guard to Citium. To which place were gathered already all his forces, as well Macedonians as auxiliary strangers. He pitched his camp before the town and embattled all his armed men in the plain. He was as full forty thousand strong; whereof one half well-near consist of those whom they call Phalangites, and those were commanded by one \text{ Phalanges of Bervelas}. Besides, there were two choice companies (for the flower of age and strength of body)electced out of the whole number of targetiers, called \text{ Citri}, this regiment, them-
A themselves called by the name of The legion; and the same was under the conduct of Lomites and Thrasippus both Ephefians. The left of the targets, to the number of three thousand of the near, were led by Apollonius of Edessa. The partizans, those also of Ptolemaeus and Peritomena, (places subject to the Thracian,) and the Agrians, together with some inhabitants of Thracia, intermingled among them, amounted also to the number of three thousand. Didus of Pessia had led and armed them; even the man that murdered young Demetrius. There were besides two thousand Frenchmen in arms under the leading of captain Aftelopodorus. From Heraclea, down out of the Sintian country, there were three thousand Thracians, free-men born, under a leader of their own. The like number well near of Cretans followed their Commanders, Sosias of Phalara, and Syrus of Grapoli; all Lacedemonians had the charge of five hundred horse, but a smaller company they were of divers nations. This Lacedemonian was said to have been the blood royal, a bannish person, condemned in a frequent assembly and Council of the Achaeans, for certain letters which he sent to Persus, and were intercepted. The Eotians and Boeotians, who in all made not above five hundred, were conducted by Lysias an Achaeus. Their auxiliaries or aid-foudiers of so many states and nations mixed and blended together, were first upon the number of 20,000 armed men. As for the Cavalry, he had levied out of all Macedonians 5000 horse or thereabout. Coryb King of the Odyrians, the son of Semeles, was thither come with 1000 chosen men of arms and almost as many foemen. In him the whole army arose to the number of 30,000 horse and 5000 horemen. And this was held for certain, that the like army was never raised by any King of Macedon, unless it were that again, with which Alexander the Great passed over into Asia. In twenty years now arms were come and gone, since time that peace was granted unto Philip at his own suit and request: during which space between, Macedonians being left and quietened, had brought forth a goodly fry of youths, a great part whereof were of the Thracian age to bear arms; and by the continual skirmishes which they maintained with the Thracians, their neighbours, were rather whetted than weakened and more enter'd than ever they were before, and, in one word, lived ever in practice of martial feats; whereby it came to pass, that all things were prov'd and tried in readiness for the war, which Philip left, and Persus afterwards projected to wage against the Romans.

This army fitted and advanced, little, but no matter of a full march as to a present battle, but only for this that they would not be leasen to have flood still in their arms: and thus armed as the fouldiers were, Persus called them to an audience, intending to make an Oration unto them. Being mounted up to his Tribunall, he stood there with two soldiers about him, one of every hand, whereof the elder (named Philip) he adopted to be his child, whereas indeed by nature he was his brother, but the younger (whom they called Alexander) was his own natural son. Then and there he exhorted his fouldiers to fight manfully and laid before them what wrongs and injuries the people of Rome had done both to his father and also to himself. As for my father (said he) forced he was by all kind of indignities to enter into arms and begin war again; but the very preparation thereof, was suddenly surpris'd and strikken with death. To my father's time were embassadors from them sent to treat of peace, and armed fouldiers also for to seize upon the Cities of Greece. Afterwards by a deceitful show of a parley under colours of reconciliation, peace making we were born in hand and drawn out a whole winter to the end that they might gain time to prepare for war. And now is the Cof coming with two Roman legions, having either of them some 3000 horse besides, and with a proportionable number (and that is the most) of allies as well foot as horse, and say that the KK both Eumenes and Merypius joyn with their aid-forces, yet can they not amount above the number of 7000. Now that we have heard what the strength is of the enemies regard and compare your own army, namely, how but both in number, as also in goodness and quality of fouldiers, you surpass them; being your selves from your childhood and infancy warriors trained in practice of arms and warlike wrou'the, frame, hardened in to many battel's where as they be new & raw fouldiers taken up in battle, and enrolled now the first time against this present service. As for the auxiliaries of the Romans, what are they but Lydians, Phrygians, and Numidians? but we to let against them have to aide us Thracians and Gauls the most courageous nations under heaven. For harness and weapons they have no other than such as every poor fouldier is able to provide for himself: but the Macedonians are furnished out of the King's royal armory and arsenal with such armures of proof, as my father in many years caused to be made with great care & to his no small expense. The Romans are far from their provisions and the fame exposed to all the calamities of the seas: but we besides, the revenues and fluxes out of the mines of metal, have laid by both coin and corn sufficient to serve for ten years. The Macedonians have store and plenty i'great abundance of all things necessaries, & be provided as well by the gracious favour of the gods, as the careful diligence of a King. It remaineth now that ye, army that mind and courage with you which your noble progenitors bare before you tho'he I say, who after they had conquer'd & subdued all Europe past into Asia, by force of arms made way & discovered that part of the world that was never heard of before, and gave nor yet over to wing'd still and make more conquests, until they were barred by the red seas & could find no more land to conquer. But now believe me, fortune hath denounced a trial by war, not for the paraschel of the utmost bounds & marches of India but for our re- hold and possession of our inheritance even of Macedon. These Romans when they warred against my father, pretended a goodly title & made a glorious show to the world, is though they would
I shall deliver Greece, and establish it in freedom; but now in open and plain terms they show their infomuch to the Roman feignory, nor any nation renowned for martial prowess, permitted to bear arms and have weapon in hand. For, these things and no less, forced shall be to part with, and deliver up these proud Latins, together with King and kingdom, in case ye refuse war; and to do whatsoever they will command you. All the while that he delivered this speech, there might be heard secret exclamations of enemies, sufficiently testifying the general afeit of them all: but at these last words they lift up their voices and cried out aloud for anger and indignation, menacing the enemy part for courage and resolution, exhorting the King to be of good cheer and take a good heart; in so much as he was constrained to give over, and make an end of his Oration: only he commanded them to be ready for the remove, & to put themselves in the journey and take the enemy: for by this time advertised he was that the Romans were dislodged from Nymphæum. After this assembly was dissolved, he gave audience to the embassages from the States of Macedonia: for, some were to make promises and offer both of money & grain to maintain this war, every one according to their ability. Thanked they were each one, and released all of that charge, with this answer that the Kings provision was sufficient. Only he commanded them to find wains and carts for carriages of the pieces of war, the engines of battery, the darts, quarrels and other things, whereof of a mighty deal he had provided; and in sum, all the infrinements & furniture of war. Then he set forward with his whole army marching toward Eordea, and near unto the lake which they call Bogarites, he encamped. The next morrow he advanced to Elymen upon the river Halimauros. After this, having passed over the mountains named Camillus through a straight and narrow path, he descended to those that inhabit Axios, Pythous, and Deltae, which quarter is called Tripolis. These three towns had some while in suspense, by reason that they had given their hostages to the Latiifians: but in the end overcome with the fear presented before their eyes, were content to yield themselves into his hands. Periued and gracious words to this people making this account that the Periabetians would do the like: & in very deed he entered upon the City (which surrendered at his first arrival) without any doubt or flaw at all made by the inhabitants within. As for the town Cyrene, he assailed to batter it, and the first day he was repelled in a sharp skirmish at the very gates made by the townsmen that put on arms, drew to an head, and made resistance. But the morrow after, when he had assailed the City with all his forces, they submitted all to his mercy before night. The inhabitants of the next town to it Mylae, presuming upon their fortifications, and flanding upon this, That their City was impregnable, were so proud and lofty, that they could not be contented to shut the gates only against the King, but most rudely and malapertly dared not to call out reproachful taunts and gibing terms against his own person and the Macedonians. Which manner of dealing as it envenomed the enemies and edged them the rather to enforce and follow the assault, so it kindled themselves the more (upon despair of all pardon & mercy) to maintain and make good their place & stand more resolutely in their own defence. Whereupon for three dais together the town was assailed by one part, and defended by the other with mighty courage right valiantly. The Macedonians were so many in number, that by turns they relieved the assault without any difficulty and entered one in the place of another. But the townsmen who overmorrow day and night guarded the walls, without any change & new supply, were not only overcharged with many wounds, but also wearied and enfeebled with continual travel and want of sleep. The fourth day, when the intrenchment being once planted the scaling ladders were reared against the walls in every quarter and the gate assailed with greater force and violence than before, the inhabitants being driven from the curtain and battlements rannt all to the gate, and made a sudden fall upon the enemies: which proceeding more upon inconsiderate and blind anger, than any true and apprised confidence of their own strength, caused them (few in number and wearied) to be discomfited & put to flight by the enemies fresh and in heart, who entered pell-mell with them into the said gate standing wide open. Thus was this City taken and ravished. The bodies also of the free-born persons, as many as remained after the bloody execution, were sold in market. Periues after he had rated,ained, and burned a great part of the town, dislodged and departed from thence to Phollanum, and the next day following went onward and marched to Cyrene. But being advertised that the Massimius, Rufus and Hippisius the Praetor of Thessaly were entered still with a garrison, he paused beside the the town and never made offer of any assault. But he surprized Elatiad and Gomcui, by reason that the townsmen were bruken with exceeding fear upon his sudden arrival. These two towns are situat upon the very straight which leadeth to Tempe, but Gomnus especially. And therefore he left it guarded with a strong garrison both of foot and horse, as also fortified with a treble trench and rampier. Himself in person went onward still to Securium, minding there to attend the coming of the enemy: and withall he commanded his army to forrage and purvey corn everywhere all over the territory of the enemies lying under him. For Securium is fastened upon the head of an hill toward the very foot of the mountain Offa, having upon the south side the plain champain of Thessaly under it, but behind on the back Macedonia and Magnesia. Over and above these commodities, the place is very healthful and plentiful of all good things, watered also with many quick and running springs round about. The Roman Consul having his army on foot about that time marching toward Thessaly, at the first found good way and ready poslage through Epirus: but afterwards, when he was passed over into Athamanian, he met with a rough country & rugged soil, & in manner unsuceptible;
The two and fortieth Book of T.Livius.

A

A so as with exceeding great difficulty and by short journeys he had much ado to reach unto Gomphi. And if at that time, whilst his men and horses were encumbered and taintd, the king had made head in barret arranged, taking the vantage of time and place against him, leading as he did an host composed but of rude and untrained novices, the Romans themselves cannot deny, but it would have gone very hard with them, and a great overthrow they must needs have received in that conflict. But when they were come once to Gomphi without any skirmish, besides the joy which they conceived, for that they had escaped and overcome that dangerous passage, they began also to complain of their enemies, for that they knew not their own good, and were to ignorant of the opportunity which they had. The Council after he had duly sacrificed (as it appertained) and distributed the allowance of corn among his soldiers, in joined there for few days for the rest and repose both of man and beast; where, hearing that the Macedonian ranged and over-run the country of Thessaly, waiting and impaling the territory of the Roman allies, he led his soldiers now sufficiently refreshed unto Larissa. And having marched from there; within in three miles of Trigipus (which they call Seir) he pitched his tents, and lodged upon the river Peric.  

At the same time Eumenes arrived by sea at Chalced together with two of his brethren, Attalus and Athenodorus leaving at Pergamus a third brother Philotas for the defense of his realm. From thence, accompanied with Attalus and a power of four thousand foot and a thousand horse. he came to the Council, and left at Chalced two thousand footmen commanded by Athenodorus. Thither also repaired other aids which went to the Romans from all the States of Greece, but most of C the particulars were small as now they grew out of remembrance. The Apollonians sent 3 hundred horsemen, and a hundred horsemen. From the Athenians there came a Cornet of horsemen, even the whole Cavalry that the said nation could make. Likewise all the Cavalry of the Thessalians which exceeded not the number of three hundred that served in the Roman camp & quartered apart. The Achaian sent one thousand men of their youth armed for the most part after the Candiot manner. And much about this time C. Lucertius also the Praetor, who had the conduct of the ships that anchored in the road of Cephalonia after he had given charge to M. Lucertius his brother, to make sail with his fleet beyond the Cape of Malea, & so to pass to Chalced, himself went aboard unto a trireme gally, & sailed toward the gulf of Corinth to be seized first of the country of Bontia, and to prevent all matters there. He made way but slowly, because of the inconstancy and weakness of his body. M. Lucertius being arrived at Colurus, and advertised that P. Lentulus against the City of Halicarnassus, sent a messenger commanding him in the name of the Praetor to raise the siege and dislodge from thence. The lieutenant notwithstanding he had sent into that service with the help of the youth of that part of Bontia who took part with the Romans retired from before the walls. The relieving of this siege gave occasion of a new enterprise; for inconstently M. Lucertius befieg'd and invested Halicarnassus with his own forces. to the number of 10,000 fighting men together with 2000 foighbours from K. Eumenes whereof Athenodorus had the charge: and as they were now upon the point to give an assault, the Praetor came in unto them from Creusa. And very near to that time there arrived also at Chalced certain ships from the allies, namely, two Quinquereme galleys of Carthage, two trireme galleys from Heraclea Pontica, four from Chalcedon as many from Samos, and five quadrirreme galleys of Rhodos. All these vessels the Praetor sent back again to the allies, and caised them of that charge because there was no service to be performed in any place, Q. Martius also came by sea to Chalced, after he had won Halicarnassus, and assailed Larissa called Crenus.

This was the State of Bontia, when Perseus (as it hath been said before) lay encamped at Sperronei; who after he had from every coast thereabouts got together all the grain that he could come by, sent certain companies to give the wafe unto the territory of the Phoceans supposing that Romans might be surprized, when they should be drawn far from their own camp to the succouring of their disafficted auxiliaries. But becausing that they flirred never the more for that tumult: he dealt among his foighbours all the prey but only of men and women: now the booty stood most upon cattle where with they made good cheer. After this but near about one and the same time, the Col. & K. Perseus both debated in their counsell, how and where they should begin the war. The K. had taken great heart and courage by occasion that the enemy inflicted him to make such havoc, and do his pleasure in the Phocean territory. And therefore his resolution was to march directly against the Roman camp without giving more time and making any further delay. The Romans likewise for their parts were of opinion that all forswaking would greatly prejudice their reputation among the confederates, who took it exceedingly to the heart, that they had not succoured the Phoceans. As they fare consulting what to do. (now Eumenes and Attalus both were present at this Council) there came a messenger in post haste with news that the enemy approached near at hand with a mighty army: Whereupon the Council brake up, and presently the signal was given to arm. And advised it was in the mean while, that there should go forth 100 horse, and as many darters and foot out of King Eumenes his companies. Perseus about the fourth hour of the day, being come within a mile and somewhat more that of the Roman legiuer, commanded the enclips of the footmen to stand. Himself in person with the men of arms and light armed foighbours advanced forward, and so together with King Cessus and the Captains of the other auxiliaries, they two marched before. Now when they were within half a mile from the camp, they might discover the horsemens of their enemies. Two Cornets they were, most
most part Gauls, under the conduct of Cafignatus; besides the loose and light armed forlorn 
hope, to the number well-near of a hundred and fifty, and those were partly Myians and partly 
Cretensians. Hereupon the King made a stand, not knowing well the number of the enemies: and 
a non out of the regiment that he had with him he drew two wings of Thracian horse, and as many 
Macedonians: likewise two Cohorts of Cretensian, and as many Thracian footmen. Hereupon 
enlisted a skirmish: but forasmuch as they were marched even in number, and no foot could run in 
to rescue from the one part or the other, it ended like wise in doubtful balance of victory. Of 
Ennenus his part there died about thirty: in which number Cafignatus the Commander of the 
Gauls was slain. So for that time Perseus retired his forces to Speriaum: but the next morrow the 
King marched with them again to the false-fame place, and much about the foresaid hour. Certain 
carts and wains laden with water followed after: and by reason that for a dozen miles space, all 
the way was watertles, and full of dult withall, hardly becalm (as it should seem) they had been 
for very drought and thirst in case they had been charged and put to skirmish, at the time when 
they were first in fight. But considering that the Romans kept quiet, yea, and had reduced their 
corps de guard within their rampier, Perseus likewise retired with his forces into his camp. This 
did the enemies for certain days together, hoping ever that the Roman cavalry would charge 
upon the tail of the rearguard in their retreat: and when by that occasion the skirmish was once 
begun and that they had trained and drawn them far from their camp then they might with ease 
whereover they were, turn upon them and make head, having the odds of them unto horsemen 
and light armed footmen. But the King seeing this would not spied, encamped nearer the morning 
by the break of day, after he had embattled his infantry in the usual place, he led all his cavalry 
and light-armed men toward the camp of his enemies. The Romans seeing a greater dust raised 
by more in number, and the same nearer than ordinary it had been, were mightily afraid within their 
camp. But at the first they would hardly believe the messenger that brought the news: for that 
continual all the former days the enemy used not to be seen until the fourth hour of the day, 
and now the sun was but newly risen. Howbeit, afterward (I say) when about their gates there 
were thicker alarms given, and more and more running from thence, and that now there was no 
doubt at all of the matter, there grew an exceeding trouble & hurlyburly, The Marshalls, Colonels, 
Captains and Centurions, betook themselves into the quarter about the Praetors pavilion: and 
the fouldeurs ran every man to his own tent. Perseus had embattled his men leis than half a mile 
from the rampier about a little hill which they call Calicenus. King Cotys had the charge of the 
left wing, with adiole of his own nation, The ranks of the cavalry marshalled suddenly one from the 
other by reason that the light armed fouldeurs were bellowed between. In the right wing 
were placed the Macedonian horsemen, and the Cretensian likewise intermingled among them, 
Milon of Berreheled their light armed fouldeurs: but Mavus of Antigonia commanded the horsem 
men; and the whole regiment of that part. Next to those wings the Cavalry of K. Perseus was ar 
 ranged together with the select aid-fouldeurs of many and handy nations: and the same were 
conducted by Patrocles of Antigonia, and Didas the governor of Pannya. In the midst of all was 
the King himself: having about him a band called Agema and certain cornets of horsemen named 
[The sacred wing]. Before him he placed the slingers and darters, who both together amounted 
to the number of 400 and over them he appointed for to be their leader one son of Thetbookos, 
and Thetbookos the Dolopian. In this manner as is before said, flood the Kings for embattled; 
The cavalry put their infantry in order of battell, sent out their cavalry like the with the light 
armes companies, who were set in array before the camp. C. Lucinianus Castrum the Conuls brother 
had the leading of the right point, with all the Italian horsemens and the footmen lightly apointed 
temmingled among them, M. Valerius Lazius in the left, commanded the horsemens of the 
greek assiociate, together with the light armed fouldeurs of the same nation. Q. Mutilus conducted 
the battellen in the midw with certain extraordinary chieft men of arms. Before their Guiders, 
200 horsemen of the Gauls flood in ordinance: and of the auxiliaries of K. Ennenus, 200 Cyri 
ians and 400 Thelbian horce. Not far from thence were ranged, somewhat above the left point 
King Ennenus himself and his brother Atlas, with all their power were planted behind, even 
between the rewarde and the trench. Thus flood both battels much after this manner arranged 
and having of either side a like strength in manner of horsemens and light-armoure, they en 
countred and charged one another; and then the conflict was begun by the forlorn hope of looke 
that wax to wit, the slingers and darters that went before, and first of all others the Thracians, faring 
like wild and savage beasts, who had been long pent up within some gates and cages, with a 
mighty cry advanced toward and ran upon the Italian horsemen in the right wing, to the end that 
they might trouble and amaze them; being otherwise a nation fastless, as well by nature as for 
long experience and pracie of war. * 

* The footmen with their swords affixed to cut off the heads of their pikes; and one whiles they sought their horses, and another whiles they ran them into their flanks. Perseus rode into the midst of the battell, and at the first shock forced the Gekke to turn side and give way: and when the enemy pressed moreover hard upon 
them behind, beheld, the Thelbian horsemens who were placed in the rearward for succour, and 
stood somewhat apart and severed from the left wing, who at first were beholders only of the 
fight (as keeping without the danger of the charge) afterwards stood them in very good stead e 
even as they were at the point to go down & have the worse. For as they retired leisurely without 
breaking
breaking their ranks, after that they once joyed with the aids of Eumenes, they both yielded the opportunity to their allies who were disbanded in the rout, to retire in safety within their ranks: and also eloping their own advantage, when the enemies pursued not so thick in troops, they ventured to put themselves forward beyond, and to hold many of those their allies whom they encountered and received in their flight. Neither durst the Kings men, being now also disarrayed and dispersed here and there in following the chase, come to hand-fight and joye battell with those, continuing so well in order as they did, and marching firm and strong together; whereas the matter had been dispatched and the war brought to a small end, in case the King who won the better in horse-fight had never to little come in with help and succour, For as been enraged by their foul-diers to fight, there came in place very fitly and in pulling good time: the Thracians, which Hippocrates and Leonidas (because they would not be behindhand in this hardy enterprise) brought of their own accord in great haste to soon as ever they heard of the winning hand of the Cavalry. And whiles the K. waved in doubtful suspense between hope and fear of this so great a adventure, Evander the Cretian, whole Piety and love of peace had longed in the wait awaited for Eumenes at Delphi, perceiving that main battell marching heavily armed under their enigmes ran into the King and earnestly adverte'd him to take heed, lest that bymarrying too much and bearing himself over-confident of this good speed of his, he brought not unduly the main chance of all his estate, into a needful and unnecessary hazard. For if (quoth he) you can content with the happy fortune of this fair day and so roll, either you shall have the means to make an honourable peace, or else (if you had rather profecute the war) to win exceeding many allies to bear arms with you in the field; who, no doubt, will follow the train of your good fortune. To this way flood the Kings mind ever and thither he soon inclin'd. Therefore having commended Evander for his good advice, he commanded the enigmes to retire, and the footmen to return into the camp; likewise to found the retreat unto the Guidons of the men of arms. In this battell 200 Roman horsemen that day lost their lives and no fewer than 2000 footmen, and near upon 200 of the Cavalry were taken prisoners. Of the Kings side, there died not pass 200 horsemen and forty of the Cary.
The two and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

hand affail their camp, which we might have forced and won this day, but that they took them [1] to their heels and fled. But if they will come to a field and try the quarrel by the swords point, [2] look ye for no other issue of the conflict with footmen, than was before of the other with horsesmen. These words, both the horsemens (who bare upon their own shoulders the spoils of their enemies lying plain before their eyes in open view) heard with great pleasure and contentment, as meaning the hope of the future speed by the fortune pallied: and also the footmen enflamed now with the glory of others (and namely, those that were of the Macedonian Phalans) with all with their hearts to have the like occasion offered unto them, wherein they might not only shew their valorant service before the K., but also win semblable glory of their enemies. Thus the assembly was dissolved, and the morrow after the King marched forward and encamped upon Mosphlon, which is an hill situated in the mid way between Tempe and Larissan. The Romans removed their camp into a place of more security, howbeit not far from the bank of Penus. Thither repaired M. Jaferus the Numidian, with 1000 horse and as many foot, besides 22 Elephants. Now as K. Perseus during those days, sat in Council what course to take as touching the main conduct of his affairs. When his courage was now well abated and not so lofty for his late victory, some of his friends were so hardy as to advise him to use this good fortune of his for the obtaining and compassing of some honorable peace, rather than upon a vain hope to carry his head aloft, and engage himself and his whole state into some hazard & jeopardy, out of which he should not be able to recover and retire into safety. For to keep a mean and moderation in prosperity, and not over-confidently to trust upon the present flattering fortune, is the part (they say) of a wise man indeed and truly happy. And therefore the noble course is, to lend certain men of purpose unto the K. for to renew the league upon the same conditions, with which your father Philip had accepted peace heretofore of T. Quintus the conqueror. For neither (they say) can the war be taken up with greater honour and reputation, than after so memorable a battle; nor ever will there be presented more firm and assured hope of a peace to continue for ever, than upon this occasion, which will work and mollify the Romans as a man would have them, to come on and assent to any accord considering they are well tamed with the inferiority of this battell. But in case the Romans upon an inbred peevishness and engrained pettiness of theirs, should not hear reason but refuse an indifferent end, then both God and man shall be witnesses, as well of the moderation of Perseus, as of their pride & insolent broodwardens. The K. was willing enough to give ear to this, and indeed never misliked such discourses; and therefore the advice was approved by the Select of the most part: whereupon embassadors were sent to the K. & in a frequent Council assembled, had audience given. Peace they demanded, and promised that Perseus should pay unto the Romans as great a tribute as Philip had covenanted for; and likewise quit the same Cities, coasts, and territories, which Philip had given up and surrender'd. To this effect (the embassadors who being retired aside, the Romans debated in Council, and in the end: Roman constancy imported and had the upper hand: for in those days the manner and use was, in time of adversity to bear all out and set a good countenance, but in prosperity to hold an even hand and to use good government. So agreed it was to return this answer, That peace might be granted with this condition. That K. Perseus should permit full and free power to the Senat of Rome, for to dispose both of his person and the kingdom of Macedonia at their good pleasure. When the Embassadors had made relation hereof; this content resolution and invincible perseverance of the Romans made them wonder again, as being not acquainted with their manners and fashions: and most of them forbid to make mention any more of peace, saying, That the Romans would be glad shorty to seek for that of their own accord, which now at this present they loathed & rejected when it was offered. But Perseus mightily feared, that this arrogant spirit of theirs, proceeded from the confidence they had in their own forces; insomuch as he gave over to it, and aspired to tempt the Col. if it haply by augmenting the sum of money, he might buy peace at any price & reckoning whatsoever. But seeing nothing to come down nor to alter one jot from the first answer: in despair now of all peace, he returned to Sycurium from whence he came, purposing once again to try the hazard of the field. Now the fame of this late fight of cavalry was flown over all Greece, and did disorder the minds and affections of men: for not only they that took part with the Macedonians rejoiced to hear this news; but also very many of them who were obliged and beholden unto the Romans for benefits and favours received at their hands; and likewise who had tasted of their violence and proud government. And this they did for no other reason at all, but only upon a foolish and perverse affection like to that whereby the common people ordinarily is carried away in the beholding of disport and trial of matters, even to favour even the weaker and him that taketh the spoil.

At the same time Lucullus the Praetor had with most forcible means assaulted the City of Harptinae in Boeotia, and all the besieged defendants within were relieved by no private aid, but only the youth of the Corinthians (who at the beginning of the siege, centred the City) nor hoped for any to come: yet they hold out and made resistance with courage of heart more than with strength of hand; for they inflicted many times and filled upon the fabrics and engines of the enemy; and when the ram approached hard to the wall, they fell thereupon a mighty weight and counterpoise of lead and so depressed and drove it down to the ground. And if haply the enemies who ran with the ram against the wall avoided the device of theirs, laid battery, and shook it in some other place; the townsmen within, raised presently with great speed another more, piling
A piling up hastily the stones one upon another, which they found lying among the very ruins of the breaches. The Consul seeing this manner of service by way of ordnance and battery, to become slow and tedious, commanded to divide ladders amongst every company, and purposed to invest the City round about with the Ecladus: supposing that the number which he had would be sufficient to exploit this enterprise, because on that side whereas the Town is enclosed with a marth, it was bootless (or rather impossible) to assault it. Himself in person preferred 2000 elect soldiers before that part, whereas two turrets, and all the wall between was beaten down and overthrown to the end that in the very instant, whilst he assailed to enter at the breaches the townsmen should run all thither to repulse him, and in the mean while the walls void of defenders might in some part or other be scaled and won. But they within besifird themselw estantly to give him the repulse. For having piled in the very open breaches a mighty number of ladders made of drie vine cuttings and such small brush, they flood ready with flaming firebrands and burning links, threatening ever and anon to kindle the flame and set all on fire, to the end being defended from the enemy by the means of fire between, they might have time to oppose an inner countermove against them. But by mithanc this device and enterprise of theirs was emplaced. For there poured down on a suddain such a mighty shower of rain that the fire would not easily take fire, and what was set a burning it soon was quenned again. By which means not only the paffage was made open between the smoking ladders drawn apart one from another here and there, but whilsts they all intended wholly the defence of that one place, the walls were taken at one instant by ladders reared up against many and launge parts thereof. In the first heat upon the winning of the City, old and young, such as chanced to come in their way, without any respect at all of age were put to the sword, The armed soldiers fled into the Castle, and the next day being past hope to make good the place, they yielded and were all fold under the gurand in portico, to them that would bid met, to the number of 2500 men, or very near. The ornaments and beauties of the City as statues, images painted tables and pictures, and whatsoever was found in the piggale to bear a better price, was carried to shipboard, and the Town it self felled from the very foundations and laid even with the ground. From thence the army was conducted to Thebes which being won without any resistance he put into the hands of the banished persons and those that took part and fided with the Romans but those of the contrary faction, such as favoured the King and the Macedonians, he sold by whole families in open market to the best chapsen, Having performed these exploits in Thebes, he retired himself to the Sea side to his ships.

Whilest these affairs paffed thus in Bacons, Persia, lodged for certain daries in camp at Scurium. Where being advertised, that the Romans made great hast to in the corn newly reaped down, and to carry it from all parts of the fieldes into the leauers, and that every soldier before his tent cut and shred off the eare as they lay bound in sheaves, to the end they might thresh and drive out the cleaner corn, by which occasion they had made great heaps of straw thorough all parts of the camp, he supposing it was an easy matter to set all their tents and pavilions on fire. Wherupon he commanded to provide torches, links and balls made of tow bemaded with pitch and tar, thes provided and furnished he set out at midnight, that by the dawning of the day, he might put this device in execution without being defrayed before. But all came to nothing for the forbes mort coe de guard although they were surprized with this suddain coming, by their trouble and allight awakened and railed all the rest, and immediately the alarm was given; so at one instant the fouldiers were ready and well appointed at the gates, and upon the rampier bent and prret for to defend the camp. Persia likewise insontently turned about with his enigns, putting his farriage and carriage before, and then commanded the infantry to march after himself with the cavalry and light-armors (tased behind to fortify and guard the rearward, supposing, as he felt out indeed) that the enemies would make after to charge upon the tail of the march. His light armed soldiers had some short skirmishing especially with the forlorne hoopse and loose avant-courriers; but the horse and footmen both, retired without any imprisonment into the camp. Thus when all the corn was cut down about those quarters, the Romans dislodged and removed into the territory of Cyzicon, which as yet was not endamigged. Whilest they lay encamped in feerity and mitruring nothing (because the enemies were so far off, and by reason that the way between Scurium and Cyzicon was so difficult for want of water) they held all on a sudden. In early in the morning by day light, the Kings cavalry and light armed souldiers shewed themselves upon the hills that overlooked them from above, and put them into great trouble. Departed they were from Scurium at noon the day before, and had left the infantry behind about the break of day upon the plain next therto. For a while he flood upon those said hills, hoping that the Romans might be trained forth to an horse-flight. But receiving them not to fist at all, he sent one on horseback to command the footmen to retire again to Scurium, and himself in person followed. The Roman horsemen made after a pretty distance off if happy they could spie any advantage in one place of other to charge upon them, disbanded and stragling about. But when they saw that in their dismarch they kept close together following their guidons and keeping their ranks, they also returned into the camp. After this, the King wary of making to long journeys dislodged and removed to Megipus. The Romans for their part likewise having moven down all the corn of Cranier, passed into the territory of Phellaeum. The King having intelligence by a renegade revolt, that the Romans were staggered all over the fields and reaping the landing corn without any guard of armed men, made a roade with 1000 horse & 2000 Cандians & Thracians: who
who marching with as great haft as possibly they could, set upon the Romans at unawares all on. H provided; where he took a thousand carts or thereabouts, together with their teams, most of them laden, and upon 600 men besides. The guard and convoy of this booty into the camp he committed to the charge of 300 Cretcians. Himelf having calld his cavalry dispersed here and there busy in execution, and reunited with the rest of the footmen led them to the next corps de guard or garrifion of the enemies, supposing that with little ado they might be surprised and vanquifhed.

L. Pompeius a Colonel had the command of them, who seeing his foaldiers affrighted with this sudden coming of the enemies retired with them to an hill near at hand, for to defend himself by the vantoge and strength of the place, considering that otherwise in number and forces he was too weak. Whereafter he had call his men into a ring, for toward against the shot of arrows and darts by a roof and fence of targets couched close together over their heads: Perfun having envi

ioned the hill round about with armed men, commanded home to mount up and affay to win the place onall parts; it possibly they could and then to fight close hand to hand: others he charged to lane their darts and flout their shafts thick at them a tar off. The Romans were beftet with a double fear; for neither could they maintain skirmifh and fight close together because of thofe who laboured to climb the hill: and fay they had broke any ranks with excufions and outries upon them, yet were they expofed and lay open to the shot of arrows and darts. Mift hurt they had by certain weapons called Cithrefphendone flinging darts.] A new kind of dart this was and lately de/d in the time of this very war, it had a sharp head of iron the length of two hands breadth, and the fame fell in a steel which was halfe ditto long, and about the thickness of a man's finger: for to flie direct and frighte, three teathers it had about it in a man of a flafe: the fling from the middle part had two cords of an unequallize: now when as the flinger lwung it about, as it lay even poifed in the greater capacity of the leather thong our flw the dart and was driven with violence like a bullet. Many of the foaldiers being very more wounded as well with this weapon as all other forts of fhot so as now for weariens they were scarce able to bear their own armour: the King was earnefly in hand with them to yield and labour, affuring them upon his faithful word their lives, yea and otherwhiles promised them rewards and recompences, but there was not a man whole heart enclosed once thither. Now as they ftood thus firm and refolute to die there fhone upon them a little comfort and some hope of evafion by and by all their expectation. For certain of the foragers and corn piurators, who happen'd to flie for refuge to the camp brought word unto the Conful, that the fcorp de guard afford was befeigned round, whereupon being mov'd with the jeardome where in no man seeing fuch a number (for about 900 they were, and all citizens of Rome) he went forth of the camp with the cavalry and light armed foaldiers, and unto them joyned certain new victoies of the Numidians as well home as together with the Elephants: and gave commandement to the marial Colonels, that the figns of the regions should follow after. Himelf in perfon march'd before toward the hill aforefaid taking with him a certain number of skirmifhers, for tofenthrench the light armed auxiliaries. Emnumes, Attalus, and Megacefaro the King of the Numidians flanked the Conful, on either aide. When as the befeigned Romans had a fight once of the Eon's ensigns of their friends and fellows, they took comfort and courage again upon their former eftimate deparl. Perfun, who had purpofed in the falt place not to spend any long time in laying siege to this corps de guard but to content himfelf with the forturn in Cecil which at a venture happen'd, in that he had taken and thain some of the forraggers: secondly (when he was in fome fort entred into that fition) to depart (whiles he had means thereof) without any damage received, as knowing that he had no strength, to speak of, about him; yet pufled up and carried as it were above the ground with the concett of his late good hand, both fain in perfon to attend the enemies coming and alfo went out all hift for the [Macedonian] Phalans. Which coming later than the prefent nothing required (albeit in great heat thay hurried) it fell out fo, that they were to encounter (troubled and diforderd as they were in running) their enemies that were well appointed and provided at hand. And the Conul, who had prevented them profently welcomed them with battle. As at the first the Maclonian made refistance but afterwards being in no repect equal unto the enemies, after they had loft three hundred footmen with four of the moft foreward and brail horfemen out of that corner which they call Serta (amongwhom Antiochus also their leader died) they endeavoured to retire and be gone. But the way by which they were to pafs, was more troublesome to speak of, than the skirmifh and battle itfell. The Phalans being lent unto by a messenger in half, and confecuted as hastily encountered al front in a certain fireight a troop of prisoners, and likewise the wagons charged with corn. Who being lath at to give way, threw upon all a great trouble as well of the one part as the other; whiles no man took heed how to march in order: but the armed foaldiers call down and overthrew the heaps of forrage and baggage, for otherwise there could no way be made: and the draught-befts being pricked and proyok'd forward; raged and made fow fport in the prem and throng. Hardly and with much ado were they defigng and rid of this confined and diforderd company of captives, when they met with the King his company and the horfemen difmiffed. In which place, the noise which they made crying unto the Phalans. Back again Ba. again made a fhout among them as if there had been something ready to fall upon their heads; in fuch a fireight as if their enemies diftive have enter'd into the firit and purfued farther after them, no doubt they had received a great overthow, but the Conul commeting himfelf with a mean good hand in that he had reduced and recovered his corps de guard from the
A the hill, retired with his forces into the camp. Some write that there was a great battle fought that day, and how 8000 enemies were slain, and among them Spepert and Antipater, two of the Kings Captains. Also that there were taken prisoners about 3400: and military enmities 27 carried away. Neither was the victory easily gotten but cost blood, for not so few as 4300 were slain of the Conful his army, and five guidons of the left wing lost. This journey recomforted the Romans, but danced and quaked Perseus in such a fort, as after he had laid a few days at Mayodion, especially about entering the bodies of his dead soldiers, and left a sufficient garrision at Conus, he retired his army into Macedon, leaving also at Philone, one of his own captains named Timobentus, with some small forces, whom he commanded to stay the Magnesians and the borderers adorning.

When he came to Perus, he dismissed his army out of the field, and went them to their wintering harbors, but himself together with King Cogas went to Thessalonia.

Thither news came, that Atelius a petty King of the Thracians, and Coroagnus a captain under King Eumenes, had invaded the marches of Cogas, and were masters of the country which they call Marone. And therefore supposing that he must needs discharge Cogas to look to the defense of his own realm, he bestowed rich presents upon him at his departure; and gave him 300 talents for six months wages of his cavalry, whereas at the beginning he purposed to be at the charge of a whole years pay.

The Conful after he heard that Perseus was gone, approached with his army near to Cogas, and there lodged: if haply he might force and gain that also, Situat it was over against Tempe, at the very mouth and gullet of the fountains and is the very frontier Town yelding both a most affured defence and strengt to all Macedon, and also a commodious passage for the Macedonians to enter into Thessaly, and being a place impeachable, as well for the natural fire thereof, as the strong garrision therein planted, he gave over the enterprise. So turning and bending his way into Perraebus, after he had forced Malaoa at the first assault and put into the ravine: and received Tribulis with the rest of Perraebus, yeelded by composition, he returned to Larissas. And then having sent Eumenes and Artabas home into their own country, and bestowed Metauges and the Nymphs in divers Cities of Thessaal neath at hand, to remain there for the winter time, and distributed part of his forces throughout all Thessaly, in such fort, that not only they had all commodious wintering, but also served in stead of garrisons to the Cities, Q. Mucius his Lieutenant he lent with a regiment of 2000 men to guard Ambraecia and keep it in obedience. All the confederaies of the Greek Cities, save only the Achaenians he licent to depart. With one part of his army he went into Thessaly to Philae, where he rated down to the ground Peileum abandoned of the inhabitants. But Antro on he won with the good will of the Townsmen. Then afterward he approached before Larissas with his forces. The City was left desolate, for all the people were retired into the fortres, the which he besiged and assauled: and filled the Kings garrision of Macedonians quit the place of whom the Townsmen being taken and left to themselves, submitted immediately. Ther he stood in doubt whether he should affay Demetrius first, or have an eye and look into the troubles and state of Bastia. For the men of Thebes being grievously molested and annoyed by those of Corone, had sent for him into Bastia: at whose prayers, thither he conducted his army; and besides, Bastia was a country more commodious to winter in than Magnesia.

The three and fortieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the three and fortieth Book

Florus Pretor were judicially condemned, for demaning themselves with cruelty and rascis in the administration of their Provinces. P. Licinius Crassus the Proconsul, ro by force many Cities in Greece, and cruely rifted them. For which rigour of his, the captures whom he had taken under the garland and in open market, were by an order directed out of the Senate, restored afterward to their former estate. The Admirals of the Roman fleets committed many outrages and enormities against their allies. Besides, there are contained in this book, the prosperous affairs of King Perseus in Thessaly; after he had vanquished the Dardanians and subdued Lyctium, whereof Gentius was King. The troubles which began in Spain by means of Oloonicus, were appeased by his death: M. Emilius Lepidus, was by the Confort created president of the Senate.

The three and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

The same summer, wherein the Romans won the victory with horse-fight in Thessaly, the Lieutenant being sent into Lynonius from the Conful, compelled by force and arms two rich Towns to yeeld; unto which nevertheless he gave all their goods again, to the end that by an opinion of this Clemency, he might win the hearts of the inhabitators of
Carrus, that strong City. But when he law that he could not conftrain them to render, no more than not to let them by force; because his soldiers should not seem to have been wearied for noth-thing in the besieging of two Towns, he fell to riife and ramfack that, which before he left untouched.

The other Conmi C. Caffius neither performed any memorable exploit in Cant, which was his Province by lot; and having endeavoured to conduct his legions through Illyrio into M. tral-ly, all his deignments came to no effect at all. That the Conmi was entered upon this journey, the Senats was certified by the Embassadors of the Aquilians who complained that their colony newly erected was feeble, and not as yet well secured among those fierce nations of Indians and Parians; and withal they made suit, that the Senat would provide and take order, that the said colony might be fortified, and when the question was put unto them. Whether they would be conent that commission should be directed unto C. Caffius in that behalf? they answered, 'That the said Caffius, having assembled his army at the Remes into Aquilia, was destined through Sclaven into Macedonia.' This affair was thought incredible, and every man appalled; since, that he had been gone to levy war upon the Carrians happy of the Illyrians. The Aquilians were able to reply no further, nor affirm more upon their knowledge than this. That allowance of corn was made for the soldiers to serve thirty-days, and that gods were fought and brought about, who knew the waies out of Italy into Macedonia. Hereat the senate (ye may be sure) took great fruit and was highly displeased, that the Conmi should be so hardly as prelimin to leave his own province first pass into that which belonged to another, and to lead his army an unknown and new way, and the same dangerous, through strange and distant countries, thereby to open passage as it were, for so many nations to come into Italy. Whereupon in a frequent assembly of the Senat, there passed a decree, 'That C. Sulpicius the Pretor should admit three Embassadors out of the body of the Senat, to depose out of the City that present day, to make all the half they possibly could to overtake the Conmi wheresoever he was, and to give him warning to levy no war against any nation without direct warrant from the Senat. And these Embassadors went, namely, M. Cornelius Catulus, M. Ennius, and P. Martius Rust, The prefect for as touching the Conmi and the army, was the occasion that the care of securing Aquilia was deferred for that time.

After this, were the Embassadors of certain States in both Provinces of Spain admitted to come into the Senat, who complained of the provocations and pride of the Roman Officers and Governors amongst them; humbly beseeching the Senat upon their knees, Not to suffer them (being allies and confederates) to be more shamefully pill'd and spoiled than the very enemies, Amongst other indignities for which they inveighed themselves aggrieved, notorious it was, that the said Magistrates had taken bribes, ye, and used extortion in wounding money from them. Whereupon a commission was granted to L. Cornelius the Pretor (unto whom Spain by lot was fall) to ordain five judges or commissioners (and those out of the rank and degree of Senators) for every part of whom the Spaniards claimed to recover such monies; and likewise to permit the plaintiffs to take unto them what Advocats and Counsel they would. Then, after those Embassadors were called again in the Senat, this decree and act of the Senat was read unto them, and willing they were to nominate their Advocats who named four, to wit, P. Procneus Cato, P. Cornelius Billius, the son of Comis, L. Emelius Pulena the son of Marcus, and C. Sulpicius Galata. And first they took commissioners to proceed against M. Titurius, who had been Pretor in the other Province of Spain, when An. M. Titurius and M. Furini were Conmis. Twice was the case of the accused party adjourned to a farther time, but at the third session he was quit and found guiltless. There was some variance and dilfection between the Embassadors of those two Provinces. The States of this higher Spain, took for their patrons and Advocats, M. Ceare and S. Sis; he of the farther and lower Spain, made choice of L. P. Procneus and C. Sulpicius. They met in high Spain, and due to the delegate judges, P. Furini Pllus the other of the base Spain, M. Matienus, Phobhas, been L. Depty these three years pall; when Sp. P. Pulienius and Q. Metius were Conmis; but this M. Cato was two years before, during the Consulship of L. Pulienius and M. P. Pulius. Charged they were both of them with grievous matter and detentions, and a farther day granted of a final judgment; but when they were to answer judicially again, they made default, and for excuse it was alleged, that they were both out of the country; and so they departed into voluntary exile, Furini to Praetoria, and Matienus to his country. The voice went out that the patents of the plaintiffs would not suffer them to follow process still against such noble and great personages: and the hapiness hereof was more pregnant, by reason that Conulius the Pretor let this matter fall, and began to take matters and levy soldiers for the war; and to forthwith directly went into the Province, to the end that no more men shou'd be brought into question and troubled by these Spanish. By this means, all former matters pall were buried in silence and no more speech made of them, but for future time the Senat took order and provided for the Spaniards so well, that they obtained an immunity. That no Roman Magnistrate should have power and autho-rity to set the price upon any again, nor force the Spaniards to sell the Violeers at what rate he pleased to set down; also that there should be no commissioners appointed within their Towns for the gathering and receiving of the revenues and money infiny from thence. Besides, there came another embassy of a sort of people out of Spain, after a new and strange manner: for there were four hundred persons, avouching themselves the children of Roman soldiers, and Spanish women not joyed in wedlock: who appeared before the Senat and befought them,
To allow them a City to inhabit. Whereupon ordained it was, that they should enter their names and be matriculated before their Pretor L. Cænilius: and look whomsoever of them he incarcerat and made free, those he thought meet to be sent to Carteia near the Sea side, and there planted: also that those Carthagians, who were willing still to keep home and remain there, should be privileged as Coloniz and enrolled, and to enjoy besides a portion of Lands alligned unto them. This was a Latin colony, and was called the Colony of the Liberrins.

At the same time there came as Embassadors out of Aftrick, Gulassa the son of Mafariffa, and likewise the Carthaginian embassage, Gulassa first was brought into the Senate, who declared what his father had sent unto them against the Macedonian: promising withal, that if it pleased them to impose more upon him, he would be ready to perform the same in remembrance of the benefits.

Being then the people of Rome: finally, he gave the LL. of the Senate a caveat by the way to take heed that the Carthaginsians deceived them not in the end: for that resolved they were, and went in hand to prepare a great navy under pretence of sending it to the Romans against the Macedonians: which if it were on ready rigged and furnished, it was in their choice then, to make whom they would either friends or foes.

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Being entered the camp and shewing the heads aloft, they struck such a fear, that immediately the army had come forth and advanced against them; the camp might have been won: and yet even then as it was, they fled amain: and hence there were who gave their opinion, to send Em-bassadors to treat and with prizers to inter for peace. Upon the news reported hereof, many Cities submitted and were surrendered. Such as made excuse, and laid the fault upon the folly of two persons only, who had of their own accord offered themselves to be punished, obtained pardon of the Pretor. And then forthwith he went in expedition against other Cities: but finding them all ready to do whatsoever they were commanded, he passed quietly with his army through that country in peace, which but a while before was all up in arms and on a light fire, This lenity of the Pretor, which he used in taming and subduing this most fierce and proud nation without effusion of blood, was of so much more acceptable to the LL. of the Senate and the whole body of the people, as the Confl Lusius and the other Pretor Lucertius had warred in Greece with greater cruelty and avarice. As for Lucertius, the Tribuns of the Commons accused him daily in their ordinary Orations before the people for his absence: Not withstanding his excuse was allowed, that absent he was, and employed about the affairs of the State. But in those dates, so unknown were Dtings done hard by, that even at that present he was at his arm in the territory of Antonius, and busied in compelling a conduct of water out of the river Coracinato. Antonius: the charges whereof the defrauded with the money raised out of the tale of prizes taken from the enemies. Some say that he was gained to have that peace of work effected, for the sum of a hundred and 1,000 Ases, Moreover he embellished and adorned the Temple of Aedesflapius, with the painted tables found in the pillage. The envy and ill will, the obloquy also and dis honor like to grow to Lucertius, turned upon his successor Hortensius, by occasion of the Embassadors of Aderus, who in pitiful wise complained with tears before the Senate, that their Town was by Hortensius forced and ranstaked: Hence the cause of this ruin and destruction of their City was no more but this, that being enjoined by him to pay a sum of a hundred thousand Denarri, and allowance.

Of fifty thousand Modii of wheat they requested some repit of time, wherein they might addres their Embassadors, as well to Hefillus the Confl as unto Rome, concerning this imposition. For scarcely were they come unto the said Confl, but they heard how their City was forced, the principal citizens thereof beheaded, and all the rest left in port-sale under the garland. These were grievous indignities in the sight of the Senat, whereupon they passed the same ordinance in the behalf of the Aderats, that the year before had been directed in the like case as touching the Coracinians: and commanded the Pretor Q. Marini to publish the said decree before the publick assembly of the people. In like manner two Commissioners were sent, namely, C. Sempronius Blegus, and S. Julius Cefaro, to re-establish the Aderats in their freedom: who also had in charge to signify them both to the Confl Hefillus, and also to the Pretor Hortensius, That the Senate judged the hostility offered unto the Aderats injurious, and the war unlawful, and therefore that all such as were brought into servitude, should be fought out and restored again to liberty.

At the same time the representation was made unto the Senat of certain complaints against C. Caflus, who had been Confl the year before, and at that time was employed in quality of a Colenel-marshall together with A. Hefillus in Macedonia. Likewise there arrived the Embassadors of Cineilius a petty King of the Gauls. A brother of his having audience granted in the Senat made a speech, wherein he complained, that C. Caflus had given the waft to the lands and territories of the people inhabiting the Alps, who were their allies and confeders, and from thence had led away into captivity many thousand person. And much at one instant there came the Embassadors of the Carthagians, Parians and Japides with complaints against Caflus. That first he had enjoined them to furnish him with guides for to shew and direct him the best way to march with his army into Macedonia, and so departed in peace from them, as if he had meant to war alike where: but afterwards out of the midway of his journey, he returned upon them and in hostile manner overran their frontiers, robbing spoiling & burning wheresoeuer he went: and to this day they cannot devise and know the reason, wherefore the Confl should hold them for enemies and deal so cruelly by them. As well the Prince of the Gauls afofraid being absent as these Embassadors in place received this
This answer, That as touching the outrages for which they showed themselves grieved, the Senate neither knew thereof beforehand, that ever they were intended, nor yet approved of the same, since they were committed. But against all right and equity it were to condemn unheard in his own defence, and absent, such a personage as he is, namely a man who had been Consuls considering also that his employment about the C. W. is the occasion of his absence. When C. C. Cassius is once returned out of Macedonia, then if they would shew themselves and acquire him face to face, the Senate would hear the cause and take knowledge accordingly, yes and endeavour that they should be satisfied and contented. Moreover, thought good it was, that those nations should not be dispatched only with this bare answer, but that Embassadors also should be sent two unto the forefand King beyond the Alps: and other three to the people above named for to acquaint them with the resolution of the Lords of the Senate, and they gave order besides to send presents to each of the Embassadors to the value of two thousand Allies over and above, to the two Princes that were brethren, their gifts following. to wit: two chains of gold weighing after they were wrought five pound of gold: also five pieces of plate in silver, amounting to the weight of twenty pound: two bard horses with their riders and lackeys: likewise harness amour and their casocks: and livery likewise for all those of their train, as well bond as free. These were the things sent unto them. But at their own request granted it was besides, that they might for their mony buy each of them ten horses, and be allowed to transport them out of Italy. The Embassadors sent with the Gauls beyond the mountains, were C. Lucius and M. Amylius Lepidus: to the other nations C. Sicinius, P. Cornelius Blafo, and T. Memmius.

Moreover, there met together in Rome at once, the Embassadors of many States both of Greece and Asia. And first the Athenians were brought into the Senate, who related, That they had sent unto the Consul P. Licinius and the Proctor C. Lucretius, what shipping they had, and all the fighting men they were able to make: but seeing they had no use of them, they had raised a levy of a hundred thousand Medois of corn. Which albeit their land was but barren for tillage, and the very husbandmen themselves lived of forrain corn brought in unto them, yet they had made means to do accordingly, because they would not seem to want in any dutiful service: and willing they were yet, and pref to perform whatsoever they would require. The Milefians for their part said, That hitherto they had done nothing, marry they offered themselves to be ready to accomplis all that the Senate should command them toward this war. The Alabandians shewed, That they had build a Temple to the City of Rome, and ordained besides, that in the honour of that goddes there should be a solemnity of games and plains exhibited every year. Also that they had brought with them for a present, a crown of gold weighing fifty pound, to set it up in the Capitol: a gift and offering to Juno, Minerva, and withal, three hundred horsemens shields, which they were minded to befalow upon those, unto whom it pleased them to appoint and command. Their petition was, that they might be permitted to offer their present in the Capitol, and there to sacrifice. The men of Lampacons came with a golden crown weighing fourscore pound, presenting, That they had quitt and abandoned Persia, to soon as ever the Roman army was arrived in Macedonia, notwithstanding they owed allegiance unto Persia, and were homages to his father Philip before him. In which consideration as also for that they had performed their devour to their full power to the Roman Generals, they requested no other favour: to be gratified withal, but M to be received into the amity of the people of Rome: and in case there should be peace concluded with Persia, that they might be excepted and exempted in the accord, for being reduced under his obedience. The rest of the Embassadors had a gracious answer returned unto them. As for the Lampacens, order was given to Q. Manius the Proctor, to enter and enrol them in the number of allies. Every one of these Embassadors were rewarded with a present worth two thousand Allies. The Alabandians were appointed to carry back with them into Macedonia their shields aforesaid, and to deliver them unto A. Hostilius the Consul. Over and besides, the Carthaginian Embassadors out of Africa, made relation that they had brought from thence ten thousand thousand Medois of wheat, and five hundred thousand of barley, which they had on shipboard at the sea-side ready to carry the same wherefore the Senate would appoint. This benevolence of theirs was accompanied with good words, saying, they knew well that his gift and recognisance of their duty, was inferior either to their own good will, or the demerits of the people of Rome. Howbeit many times heretofore they had shewed themselves to do the part of thankful, faithful, and truly allies, in all things tending to the profit and good of both states. In like sort the Embassadors of Magnesia promised the same proportion of corn, with 1200 horses and twelve Elephants, alluring them in his name, to do whatsoever the Senate would impose and should be thought needful: and that with as free an heart as the benevolence offered of his own accord. Thanks being given both to the Carthaginians and also to the King, requested they were to transport over into Macedonia to the Consul A. Hostilius those things which they had promised. To the Embassadors were sent by way of presents, two thousand Allies apiece. The Cretenian Embassadors, related how they had sent into Macedonia such a number of Archers, as the Consul P. Licinius had imposed upon them: and when they denied not upon the question asked, that there served more Archers of theirs under Persia than with the Romans, this answer was made unto them. That if the Cretenians would well and truly and in good earnest prefer the friendship of the people of Rome before that of King Persia, the Senate of Rome likewise would give them answer as certain and assured allies: in the mean while, they should let their country men to understand,
and that it was the will and pleasure of the Senate that the Cretans should have all speed possible call home all those soldiers whom they had in any garrison of King Perseus. The Candians being divulged with this dispatch, then the Chalcidians were called in: and at the very first fight of them, it soon appeared upon what terms of necessity they were driven to send an embassage: when Micion the chief man among them, by occasion that he was lame with the gout in his leg, was brought into the Senate in a litter, in which extremity defeated as he was there was no pleading of any excuse by his infirmity, nor craving pardon, since he was to go without, when he had all done. He began by way of preamble and saying, "He had nothing left alive but his tongue, for to deplore and bewail the calamities of his country: then he went forward, and first shewed what countries and good turns the State wherein he lived had performed to the Captains of General and armies of the Romans, both of old, and also of late in the war against Perseus. After this, he declared what parts of pride covetousness, and cruelty, this, C. Lucertius a Roman Pretor had exercised upon his country-men, and afterwards what L. Hortensius practised, at that time above all others: also, how the Chalcidians were enforced to endure all calamities, were they more grievous than those which they presently suffered rather than they would yield to Perseus. And as for Lucertius and Hortensius, they knew full well, that it had been better and more for their safety to have shut their gates against them, than to receive them into their City. For such as had excluded them forth, as namely, they of Embasias, Amphipolis, Macedonia, and Euxin, remain still entire and in good estate: but with us (say they) the Temples have been robbed of all their beautiful ornaments, and utterly spoilt by these sacrilegious. C. Lucertius had carried all away by water over to Antium, and hath led away into bondage and captivity the persons free born, C. Cn. Aufidius. And these two not only counted him before the Senate, but also having drawn him perforce into the general assembly of the people, and charged him before them with many reproaches, took out prosals alike and arraigned him to make his appearance and answer judicially at a day before the people. Then Q. Mucius the Pretor, by order from the Senate, answered the Chalcidians in this manner: "Wheres ye alldege and say, That ye have well deserved of the people of Rome both heretofore and also in this present war now in hand, the Senate knoweth all that to be true, and accepteth the same thankfully in the best part, as of right they ought. As touching your grievances and complaints for the levies which C. Lucertius hath placed, and which L. Hortensius still practiceth (both Pretors of Rome) the same neither have been nor are committed and done by the will and allowance of the people of Rome. For who would not judge fo of it, that knoweth how they levered war upon King Perseus and his father Philip before him for to enchaintie Greece and set it at liberty; and not that their allies and friends should thus hardly be intreated by their Magistrates and Governors sent from hence? Write therefore they would unto L. Hortensius the Pretor, to let him understand, that the Senate is not well pleased with these pranks of his which the Chalcidians complain of. Also if any free-born persons were become thrall and bound, that with all convenient speed he should take order to leek them up and restore them again to their former freedom. Last of all, that they deemed it meet and reason, that no officer or mariner, but only the masters of ships should be lodged and entertained in your hovels. And there the contents of the letters written unto Hortensius, by commandment from the Senate. Unto the Embassadors these were gifts sent, to every one of them as came to 2000 Asles. At for Micion, he was allowed his carriage in charitors at the charges of the City, and order given that he should with all ease ride in them to Brundisium. As for C. Lucertius, when the day of appearance was come, the Tribuns commended an action against him before the people, to be done at a million of Asles. And in a general assembly and Seffion holden for this purpose, cast he was and condemned by the suffrages of all the tribes, thirty five and no fewer.

In Liguria no memorable exploit was that year performed: for neither the enemies entered into arms, nor the Conful led his legions into their country; and when he was allured of peace for that year, he discharged the soldiers of two Roman legions, within 60 days after his first coming into the Province. As for the army of the Latin allies, he brought it early into the Cities of Latium and Pisa there to winter: and then himself with the cavalry visited most of the Cities in the Province of Gaul.

In no place was there any war but in Macedonia: howbeit they had in fulfillment Genius and the King of the Illyrians, Therefore the Senate ordained to send from Brundisium eight ships ready rigged and fully manned, unto the Lieutenant C. Furnius an Ifar, who was Governor of the land with the guard and strength of two Ifean Vessels; which were put abroad and shipped 3000 soldiers, which Q. Mucius the Pretor by a warrant directed out of the Senate, enrolled in that quarter of Italy which lieth opposite to Illyricum. In like manner the Conful Hostilius sent

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Appius Claudius into Illyricum with four thousand footmen, for to defend the people in those parts: who not content with those forces of his own which he had brought with him thither, demanded here and there aids and succours of the allies, until he had put in arms eight thousand men of divers and sundry nations. And after he had made his progress through all that region he set him down and ended at Lichidum a City of the Daffacicians. Not far from thence there stood a frontier Town called Ufana, and for the most part ranged under the obedience of Perge. These were within it one thousand citizens, and a small garrison of Cretesians for their better safeguard and defence. From thence there came to Claudius secret couriers, advising him, that if he would approach nearer with his army, there would be some ready at hand to betray the Town into his hands: and worth the adventure it was (say they) and would quit for all the pains: for able it was with pilgrimage not himself and his friends only, but also all his followers. I hope of this cheat, sitting to well his covetous humour, to blinded his spirit and understanding, that he had not the lense to keep with him any one of those couriers that came unto him, nor the wifedom to demand holocausts for alacrity of his enterprise which was to be accomplished by health and fraud, nor yet the forecast to lead out fowts and Turkeys, or to much reason and mother wise to acquire their oath and bond of faithful promise. Only at the day appointed he departed from Lichidum, and within twelve miles of that City toward which he went, he encamped. Then by night at the relief of the fourth watch he removed and set forward, leaving behind him a regiment of a thousand, for the guard of the camp. As long as the City they came, deliberated in a long train, marshing nothing close, but at a distance, one from another and scattered, by reason, that in the night reason went many of them out of the way. This negligence of theirs was the more, when they saw no man approaching upon the walls: but so soon as they were approached within a dark cave, the inhabitants filled forth with noise and confusion, and together with the front of them that filled forth, a mighty noise and outcry besides arose from the walls of women howling, yelling, and ringing broken plates and bells on every hand; besides, the combined multitude of the base people and bond-slaves together, set up much hideous and difdama cries. These manifold terrified from all sides, the people of that City could not abide and stand out the first tempt and violent storm, as it were, of their fury and charges. Down went therefore and were slain more in flight than fight: and scarce 4000 men with the Lieutenant himself escaped and recovered the camp: for the longer way they had thither, the more means and opportunity had the enemy to chase and overtake a greater number of them, wearied as they were upon the way. Appius not on the day long in the camp, until he had rallied those that were dispersed in the town, which had been the only way to have saved those that were fragel in the fields, but immediately retired with the broken relics of his army after this overthrow toward Lycidium. This insolvency and such other like misfortune happening in Macedonia were made known at Rome by occasion of Sext, Digitus, and L. Colonistus, which was returned home for to celebrate a solemn sacrifice. In regard whereof the LL. of the Senate fearing to receive some greater ignominy and dishonor addressed Embassadors into Macedonia, M. Fulvius Flaccus and M. Caecinius Rubulus, to make a true report upon their knowledge how the world went there. Allo that A. Hesilius the Consul should publish the assembly for the election of Conuls, so as it might be held in the mouth of Tana: and then repair himself with all convenient speech to the City. In the mean time M. Recius the Presor had in charge, by virtue of an edict, to call home into the City all Senators from every quarter of Italy, unless such as were absent about the affairs of the state; also give them the first warning to them who now were at Rome, not to absent themselves farther than mile from the City. These things were done according to the advice of the Senate. So the grand assembly for the election of the Conuls, was held on the 28 day of August: whereof were created Conuls Q. Martius Philippus the second time and Q. Servilius Capito. Three days after the Presor also were chosen, namely, Cais Decimius, M. Claudius Marcellus, M. Spurius Gallus, C. Marius at Figulus, Sca. Cornelius Lentulus, and P. Fannius Capito. Unto these Presor elected besides the two charges within the City of civil jurisdiction, these four provinces and governments were assigned to the Senate. Spain, Sardina, Sicilia, and the admirality of the navy.

At the very end of February, the Embassadors afoaid returned out of Macedonia: who recommed the 323 the architected by Perce and the summer past, and in how great fear the allies of the people of Rome fled, after to many Cities reduced under the obedience of the King. Moreover, that the Conul his army was disturbed of men, by reason to many of them made friends to be discharged, and to further their had their pas-port and were dismissed: the fault here in, the Conul laid upon the military tribunes or Colonels, and they again upon him. The LL. of the Senate perceived well that they made but light of the shameful fell received by the inconsiderate ratheens of Claudius in saying, that there were many few soldiers left of the Italian nation, and thace for the most part taken up in war and enrolled on a fudder. The Conuls electo soon as they entered into their magistracy, were commanded to proceed unto the Senate concerning the Province of Macedonia, and to them were assigned the government of that land. This year was leap-year and the third day after the 25th of February, was the day inferred between, which hapned upon the calender of March. Within the compass of that year certain Priests to wit, L. Flaminius, and two Pontiffs, or Bishops, L. Furius Philus, and C. Livius Salinator, departed this life. The college of the Pontiffs, elected T. Marinius Terentianus in head of Furius, and Marcus Servilius in the room of Livius.
A In the beginning of the year next following, after that the new Coif, Q. Marcius and Q. Sertorius, had moved in the Senate as touching their provinces, advised it was, That with all speed possible they should either agree between themselves, or else call for the governments in Africa and in Macedon. And before that the lots determined this matter so doubtful and uncertain, to the end that nothing afterwards should be done for favour partially, thought good it was, to ordain before hand a competent and sufficient number of soldiers for the supplementation of the armies in both Provinces: namely, for Macedon 6000 footmen of Romans, and as many of Lateine allies; 500 horsemen Romans, and 300 allies: also to cast the old soldiers, so as in every Roman legion there should not be above 6000 foot and 300 horse. As for the other Confi, he was not gaged with any certain flant of Roman citizens, to be leis for the full accomplishment of his legions.

B Only this was determinably set down, That he should enrol two legions, and either of them containing 2400 foot and 200 horse: but for footmen of Latins, he had a greater number allowed than his colleague: namely, 10000 foot and 600 horse. Moreover, commandment was given to enrol four legions more, to be led forth into the field, upon what need and occasion should fall out. The Marshal-Colonels of the army the Confi might not be permitted to elect, but created they were, by the people. The allies of the Lateine nation were enjoined to set out for their sixteen thousand foot and a thousand horse. And this power was only to be in readiness at six hours warning, for to be led forth as occasion should be ordered. Their principal care was about Macedon. Ordained also it was, That for the service at Sea, there should be enrolled to serve the navy, of the Roman citizens (such as were libertins and newly enfranched) out of all parts of Italy. If by one thousand, and as many out of Sicily. And into whether of the Confi the Province of Macedon fell, he should give order for their transporting thither, to the armado wherefore it was, For Spain, there were three thousand Roman footmen and three hundred horsemen appointed to make up the decayed bands. There also, a certain number was set down for every legion, to wit, five thousand foot and three hundred and thirty horse. Moreover, that Confi whose lot was to govern in Spain, had commission to 77. of the allies four thousand footmen, and three hundred horse.

I am not ignorant, that from the same profane negligence and irreligion, whereby commonly men now adays are of belief, that the Gods portend and fore-signify nothing to come by figns and tokens; it proceedeth also, That no prodigies which happen, should any more, either be published and reported abroad, or recorded in the annals and chronicles. Howbeit, for mine own part, in writing of these acts and monuments of ancient times, I know not now but me thinks I say a mind, that is become (as it were) antique. Also, yea, and some insipid devotion ariseth in my spirit, which moveth me to account the things not unworthy to have place in my histories, which those sage fathers and most prudent personages in old time thought meet to be considered by the State, yea, and to require public expiation. Well to proceed from Amago there were two fearful fights reported that year, namely. That astonishing and blazing flame was seen in the skies, and a cow known to speak, kept and nourished at the publick charges. At Marenus much about those daies, the weal Think seemed to be on a light fire. At Riece there fell a shower that rained fones. In the fortsres at Claret the image of Apollo werp three daies and three nights continually. In the City of Rome, two sextons or keepers of the Temples made report, the one, That in the Church of Fortune there was seen by many men, crept with a mane the other. That about the chappell of Fortune, which standeth upon the Capitol hill there happed two divers and different prodigous signs, namely. That in the Chappell-yard there sprung up a palm-tree, and all one day it rained blood. Two other strange things there were, whereof there was no regard nor account made of the first, because it chanced in a private place; for T. Marcius Flaccus reported, That there grew up a palm or date-tree in his court-yard: the second because it hapned in a forest place: for spoken it was, That at Frugella in the house of M. Arrius, a lance or spear which he had bought for his son a fouldier, burned in the day time for two hours space and more yerefo, as the fire confirmed nothing thereof. In regard of these publick prodigies, the Decemvirs had recourse to the books of Sibylla: who out of them declared, That the Consi should sacrifice forty head of greater beasts, and they shewed also to what Gods, They added moreover and gave advice to hold a publick procession, and that all the Magistrats at every shrine and upon every altar of the Gods should sacrifice greater beasts, and the people wear garlands and chaplets of flowers. All things were executed accordingly, as the Decemvirs suggested and directed.

After this, the assembly was published for the chusing of Censors. In election there were for this dignity of Censorship, the very principal persons and of best note in all the City, C. Valerius Leansius, L. Porcinius Albinius, P. Marcius Scipio, C. Junius Brutus, C. Claudius Pulcher, and Trib. Sempironius Gracchus. These two last reheared the people of Rome chose for Censors. When as by occasion of the Macedonian war, a greater care was had about the taking of matters, than at other times before, the Consi found much fault with the common people, and complained unto the Senate, that the young and able men for service being called would not answer to their names, But, C. Sulpicius and M. Claudius two Tribunes of the Commons, maintained the cause against them in the behalf of the Commons, saying, That it was no hard and difficult matter for Consi to levy soldiers: many, for corrupt affectations and popular Consi, it was not so easy a thing, and namely, such as would be fure to enrol no soldiers against their wills. And to the end that the LL. of the Senate might know this to be a truth, they should see the Pretors (if the Senate were
The three and fortyeth Book of T. Livius.

The civil Pretors within the City were allowed but two Lidirs, and the provinced abroad inforain parts not above fix apiece, whereupon Pobius called a Vic- tox

* The civil Pretors within the City were allowed but two Lidirs, and the provincial abroad inforain parts not above fix apiece, whereupon Pobius called a Vctor ever the made it known, and protected in the full assembly of the people, that they would publish an act, as touching the review and estimate of every mans demeanour and hability, that besides the ordinary oath of all citizens, they should swear to these points in this form following: Act thou under six and forty years of age? then by virtue of the edict made by the Cenors C. Claudio and Tib. Sempowruni, come forth and shew thyself at the冒出 tos so often as there shall be any levy taken: and what Cenors ever shall happen to be in place, thou shall appear and be enrolled; in case thou were not a prette soldier before. Moreover, because the voice were, that many soldiers of the Macedonian legions were absent from the army, and had obtained large papsters without limitation of return, and that through the corruption and favour of the Generals, they published an edict as touching the soldiers enrolled for Macedow when P. Fieonius and C. Pollius were Con- fuls, or any time after. That as many of them as remained within theps, after they were enrolled and registred full under their hands, shoul within thirty days repair again to their colours into the province: and whoever of them were at the disposition of father or grandfater, their names should be preferred and declared before them. Semblably, they would take knowledge of their causes who were clean dismissed and called: and look whomsoever they judged to have obtained their discharge by any special grace and favour, before they had served out their full time by law, and if they thought they would command them to be enrolled soldiers again. By virtue of this edict of the Cenors as also by their letters sent out and divulged abroad in all incorporat Towns and places of resit for market and merchandize, there assembled together and came to Rome such a multitude of lively, young, and able men, that their usual and extraordinary number was chargeable and cumbersome to the City. Thus besides the former levy taken of those that were to be sent and employed in supply of the old armies, four legions more were enrolled by C. Sulpius the Preor, and within eleven days the mutters were accomplished and ended.

Then the Conuls called for their provinces. For the Pretors had their governments allotted unto them before, and the sooner, by reason of the civil causes which required their juridictions. The one over the citizens was falling to C. Sulpius, the other over访urers to C. Decimus. M. Claudio and M. Murerus obtained the regiment of Spain, C. Ferieius and C. Cornulfus the legions of Italy, to C. Martius the other of Macedow. This Martius so soon as the Latine sellots were solemnized, departed toward his province immediately. After this, upon the motion of Capo to the Senat to know their pleasure, which two legions of the new he should conduct into Gaul? the LL. ordained; That the Preors C. Sulpius and M. Claudio should give unto the Conuls, which it pleased them of those legions that they had enrolled. This he took to the heart, that he a Conuls was thus subjected to the will of the Preors; yet after the Senat was riven, he flood walking at the Tribunal of the Preors, and required them according to the order let down by the Senat to assign him his two legions. But the Preors submitted the choice thereunto to the Col, himself. This done, the Conuls took a review of the Senat and chose new Senators and M. Sempronius Lepidus was elected president of the Senat; and there were the third Senators who made choice of him consequently one after another. Seven were dispersed and deposited from their Senators dignity. Now in taking the number of the people, and in allfessing them, they compelled to return into Macedow those who were departed from the army there: and by means of this affliction, they soon knew who were able from their companies they examined them for what causes they were discharged from fouldery; and whose licence they judged not to be grounded of good and sufficient reason those forced to take the military oath again in this manner and form: According to the edict of C. Claudio and Tib. Sempowruni the Conuls, thou shalt well and truly swear, to return willingly and with all thine heart, into the province of Macedow: and this ye shall do to thy power without fraud or covin. In making the review of them that served on horseback their cenure was executed with great rigour and extremity. They took from many their horses of service: upon which occasion having given offence to the whole estate of Knights and Gentlemen of Rome, they blew the caws and kindled the fire of ill-will and heart-burning against themselves: by a certain edict of theirs besides, whereby they intimated, that none of them who in time that Q. Fulvius and Au. Pofhumius the Conuls had taken to form the revenues, fruits and profits of the City, or undertaken at a price the public works and provisions, should be so hardy as to present themselves to their service, either to be farmers or under-takers, no, nor to be partners, or have any thing to do with those that were in such negotiation, commerce and bargain. The old Publicians and farmers had oftentimes complained hereof to the Senat: but when they could obtain no comfort from them, to moderate and abate this infinite power of the Conuls, at length they met with a Tribune of the Commons, one Rutilis, to stand with them and defend their cause: a man who upon a particular and private quarrel of his own was offended and bare a grudge against the Conuls. And this was the occasion: They had commanded one of his late vaillants and enshipping retainers to pull down a wall standing in the street Sacred over against a publick edifice: pretending that the said wall was built upon the City ground. The man a private person, called unto the
A the Tribuns for their lawful help and favour: but when as none of them all but only this Rutilius would meddle in the matter and interpose their helping hand, the Centors lent to strain and take gages for to bind him to answer the cause, and before the body of the people intended an action against him, and set a grievous fine upon the head of that party aforesaid. By means lay of this debate begun upon such occasion, when as the old publicans betook themselves for sucourt to this Tribune presently there was a bill preferred and subjudi rubed with the name of the said Tribune alone, in this form. That what publick revenues and provis of the State, C. Claudius and T. Sempronius had to farm let for a rent, or what publick works and provisions they had put out to be made and purveyd at a price, the same leaves and bargains should not and had good but be cancelled, and new demies drawn and made. Also that it might be lawfull for all men indifferently
either to be farmers or undertakers of the premisses. And the said Tribune affigned a day for a general assembly and election, to have this bill to be call by the voices of the people. When the day was come, the Centors advanced and put themselves forward to dissuade and plead against the bill. So long as Gracchus spake, he was heard with patience and silence. But at Claudius, when he opened his mouth, they hisled and kept an muttering, lo as he was forced by an aites made by the Tribune to procure audience: which being made, the Tribune found himself grieved and complained, that the people there assembled were withdrawn and called away from him, to the prejudice of his authority and honour, and with that flung out of the Capitol where this assembly was holden. The next day he kept a great coil and made a toulitair: first, he interdicted the goods of Tib. Gracchus as condemned and accurd, for that in letting a fine, and bering gages of him, C. had he appeased to a Tribune, and in not obeying and condlockd to his opposition, he seemed to set light by his Tribunes authority, and prejudice his reputation. As for C. Claudius, he arrested him to answer at a day, for that he had withdrawn the assembly from him: may. he professed that he would indite both the Centors of treason or felony in the highest degree, and required of Sulpicius Prefor for the citizens, a day of aites for their judicial trial. The Centors refused not to have this matter put to an issue with all speed, and to be tried by the doom of the people. So the time to the hearing and determining of this baimous crime of majesty or treason aforesaid, was affigned the * dates immediately before and between the caland of October. Upon this, the Centors intermendly ascended into the Portico of Liberty, where after they had made sure and sealed the publick Registers and Records, shut up and locked all the offices of the Chancery, and discharged for the time the publick Clerks and prono-Notaries attending upon that Court, they proceed that they would not go in hand with any pubb kaffairs of state, before the sentence and judgment of the people were passed upon them. The day came, and Claudius first pleaded his own cause and spake for himself: and when of twelve Centors that were of Gentlemen, eight had found the Centors guilty and cast him, yea, and many other peoples of the first Classis. Then presently, the principal persons of the City in the very light of the peoples, changed their weeds, laid away their rings, and went about from one to another in humble manner, to crave the common good to be good to the Centors. But tht which most of all either laid or restored the definitive doom against him, was (by report) Tib. Gracchus himself the other Centor: for that when the commons cries from all parts, that there was no danger growing toward Gracchus, he wrote by express words, That if his colleague were condemned, he woud (without attending the people of the publick accompani him into banishment, Howbeit the defendant and accused person, was driven to this mine point and hard exigent of extremity, that he came within eight centuries of being cast and condemned. Thus when Claudius was acquit, the Tribune said he would not trouble and molest Gracchus.

This year at the earnest suit of the Aquillean Embassadors into the Senat. for to have the number of their colonies encreased: a thousand and five hundred families (by virtue of a decree granted out of the Senate) were entolled: and for the conducting of them to aquilon, were sent as Triumvirs or commissioners the three, to wit, T. Annon. Lacco, P. Decius Subkle, and C. Cor

Felimus Cethegus. The same year C. Poppius and Cn. Octavius Embassadors, who had been sent into Greece, having first read and publificated at Thera the arid ordinance of the Senate, carried it afterwards throughout all the Cities of Peloponnesus to this effect. That no person should contribute toward the war, and put into the hands of the Roman Magistrates, more than that which the Senat had let down. This put them in good hope and assurance for the future time that they should be eased of those charges and expenses, by which they were impoverished and walled, whiles every one impoused upon them some taxation or other, and never gave them repose. In the Achaean general council holden at Argos, they had audience given them and were heard in grauci-ous fort: from when, leaving this most loyal and faithful nation in agnugia: good hope of happy estate for the time to come, they passed into Aetolia. There was as yet no sedition broken out there: but all were in jealousy and suspicion one of another, and full of natural ac��inations in regard of which jars and troubles, the Embassadors only demanded hostages, and without any other end made, went directly into Acaanania. The Acarnians grained unto these Embassadors a Diet to be holden at Tyrrheum: where some debate was between the partakers of divers faction. Some principal men of the States required that there should be gatherings received into their Cities, to bridle the wilfull folly of those that enlinded to the Macedonian nation: others gainst this course, and besought the contrary, for fear lest that peaceable and
confederat Cities should be put to receive that disgrace and dishonor, which usually follow upon H
known enemies and those that are conquered by force of arms, And this requet was repated juf.
Then the Embassadors returned to Laus a unto Ambroceu the Pro-confid, for from him they were
empoited in embassage. Oliviaus he retained fill with him: but Popilius together with a 
1000 foaldiars or very near, he fent to Ambroceu, there to lodge for the winter time.

Persius in the beginning of winter durst not go forth of the frontiers of Macedon, for fear lest the
Romans would invade with violence his realm in some place or other, if they found it void
and dilfurnished. But toward the mids of December about mid-winter, when by reason of the
depth now the mountains are unpaflable and unfortifiable from out of Thessaly, thinking he had
then a fit fefon and opportunity to cut off the hopes and break the hearts of the neighbor-bor-
derers, that when he should be avettet another way and baffed in the Roman war, he might be
fecure of danger from them: confidering that from the parts of Thessaly he had peace with Cypcis,
likewise from Epirus hide (by the means of Cephons, who luddinly of late was re-tored from
the Romans:) moreover having newly vanquished the Dardanians in war; and feeing only that
quarter to infet and annoy Macedon, which regarded and athonthed Ieonian; and that those
Illyrians also were not quiet and at peace, but ready to give extrance unto the Romans: but if
he had indued and armed those Illyrians which were next unto him, then King Gentius also, who a
long time hung between in doubtful terms, might be induced & drawn wholly into society with
him: he refolved at length, and with ten thousand footmen heavily armed, whereof part were
Phalanges, and other two thousand lightly appointed and five hundred horse, he made a rode
and presented his forces before Sinope: from whence after he had provided him of corn to
serve for many days, and given order that the ordnance and engines of battery should follow afte-
rs: at the third days end he loded neet Ithaca, the head City of all that Land Penetria. But befor-
fe that he offered any affault, he lent certain of purpose to found and dilficit the afeceptions, one
while of the Captains of the garrifion, and another while of the Townmen. Now there lay within
the City, together with the manhood and youth of the Illyrians, a garrifion also of the
Romans. And when he faw that they brought no news of any peaceable dealing from thence, he be-
gan to bend his forces against them, and affaid to invent them round about, and to force the City.
And albeit both night and day without any Reid and interruption, they prefled upon the inhabit-
ants, and evermore one succeeded another: whiles terme rear'd ladders against the walls,
others threw balls of fire against the gates, yet the defendants of the City held out and endured
that furious and violent tempet: because they hoped that neither the Macedonians lying abroad
were able any long time to endure the rigor of the cold winter; nor the King on the other side
could have too much releafe and relaxation from the Roman war, as to play there and make his a-
bode. But after they perceived once the mantillets approach, and the frames of torches and fabrics
erected their perifhan was over-marched & they began to relent. For besides that in plain force
they were the weaker and not able to refet dilferted alfo they were for want of corn, neither had
they store of any other provision, as being taken on a huffian, and looking for nothing lefs than
fiege at fuch a time of the year. Therefore when they were put all hope to be able any longer to
refist. C. Avienius Scipionius and C. Afranius were fent from the Roman garrifion, to crave or Per-
sius fill that he would permit them to deparit in their arms, and to carry with them their bag M
baggage: fcondily, if they might not obtain so much, that he would but give them affurance of
life and libertie. The King was more free and liberal to promise, than fett and faithful to perform.
For after he had commanded them to go forth and carry with them all that was their own: the
free thing that he did was to difarme them and take away their weapons.

They were not foone departed out of the Town, but both the company of the Illyrians, to the number
of 500 men, and also the inhabitants of Ithaca remitted themfelves and their City. Persius when he had put a garrifion in Ithaca, led away the whole multitude of the yielded Town-
men (and thole were well-near as many in number as his own army) and transported them to
Stiturra: where, after he had fent the Romans (all besides their Captains) who were 4000 fighting
men, into fundry cities to be kept in ward, and fold the Tarentians and Illyrians he led his army
back into Pe-rifia, intending to be matter of Oranum, a Town feated otherwife commodiously,
and until that is the key and high way that openeth passagio into the country of the Labeas,
within the bounds of the King Gentius, and where he kept his royal state. As he paifed by a strong be-
grong-Town well inhabited, named Draudum can, one about him that was well acquainted with
the coasts of that country put into his head, that better it was and to no puro to win Oranum, unles he had Draudum all in his hands, as being a Town fitte more commodiously in all
respects. Whereupon he advanced forward, and took Draudum ever he prefled his army before it,
inconvenience all the inhabitants submitted and yeelded. Being mun. animated and enraged with this surrender of theirs, which they made far sooner than he hoped or looked for; after that he perceived how terrible this redoubled army of his was, all the way as he marched he brought
under his subjection eleven other Citie and strong holds, upon the like fear that they were put
into. Violence he used against very few of them: the rest yeelded willingly: wherein were taken
1500 Roman foaldiars, placed there in severall garrifions. In general hand and very good use the
Car. Avienius Scipionius in all their pathes, who evermore gave it out that there had been no qual-
ty nor rigor exercised upon them and his fellows. At length the King came before Oranum, which
could not possibly be won with a fee and full fiege. For the Town had far more youth and able
A man within it then the left, was fortified with a strong wall about it, and defended of the one side with the river called Aratus, and of the other with an exceeding high hill, and the fame of hard and difficult ascent. All these things considered, the townsmen were in good hope to be able for to make resistance. Perseus, having entrenched the town and cast a rampier round about it, began likewise to raise a terrace & mount from the upper part thereof, so that height as might sufformt and over-top the walls, But during the time that this piece of work was in hand and brought to perfection, a great number of the inhabitants within were consumed by divers and sundry adventures, whereas they skirmished out and fell in, desiring both to defend their own walls, and also to empacl the fabric and devies of their enemies. And those that remained alive, what with toilsome labour night and day, and what with many a wound, were past all service and good for nothing. So soon as the terrace and mount were laid was situated on the wall, both the Kings cohort (whom they call Nicatores) mounted up into it, and also with ladders the allay was given unto the City in many places at once. All that were above fourteen years old he put to the sword: their wives and small children he cast into prison. The rest of the booty and pillage fell to the forterers share. As he returned from thence with victors to Sitikera, he lent as Embassadors unto Genus, Mentor the Illyrian (a banished person who sojourned with him), and Antunus a capt. of Berisia. Them he brought to him, that he might declare unto Genius, what he had achieved against the Romans and Dardanians the summer past, together with the late exploits performed in that winter expedition; and withal to persuade the K. for to be heir in and with the Macedonians as. Thee Embassadors having tramvomnted the top of the hill Sevran and traversed the wilds and woods of Illyricum, which the Macedonians of purpose had laid waste and defert, to the end, that the Dardanians might have no easy passage either into Illyricum or Macedon after much pain and travel they arrived in the end at Strada. Now was K. Genius at Lippas, and thither were the Embassadors sent for, where they declared their message with gracious audaces: but they went away with an answer to no effect; namely, that he wanted no will, and his heart was good enough to war upon the Romans: but his soldiers were empty, and he lacked money especially, to go in hand and enterprize that which he desired. This answer they related unto King Perseus at Sitikera, at what time as he was most base intolling of his captives taken in Illyricum. Then forthwith the same Embassadors addressed again unto him, accompanied with Glanias one of the Kings guard and squires of his body, without any mention made of money, and that was the only means to induce the bare and needy Barbarous Prince to levy war. After this, Perseus rankened the City Asopus, and once again reduced his army into Peloponnes country, and having strengthened the forces in Scas and, in all the forces at home, he returned into Macedon.

L. Callius a Roman Lieutenant, lay in guard for the defence and rule of Illyricum, who durst not as long as King Perseus was in those quarters: but in the end after his departure, he endeavoured to recover the Scas in the Peloponnes country, but was repulsed from thence by the garrisons of the Macedonians there: and carried away nothing but many spy knock and bloody wound: & to retired with his foresse Lychnidas : from whence, some few days after he sent M. Fabrirus Pregeollum into the Peloponnes country, with a strong power, for to receive hostages of those Citieis which faithfully had perished in amity & friendship. He commanded him also to go to ward the Partins (for they likewise had covenanted to put in pledges) for that of both these nations the said hostages might be gotten without any fear and trouble. The hostages of the Peloponnes were sent to Apollonia: but those of the Partins to Dyrrhachium, which in those days was more strictly called by the Greeks Epidamnus.

App. Claudius, desirous to safe out the blemish and make amends for the dishonour received in Illyricum, let in hand to assault Thassus a port of Epyrus, having brought thither with him the Thessalians and Thelphronis (over and above the Roman armi) to the number of 6000 men: but he got nothing there but travell for his paines, by reason that the place was valiantly defended by Cleuss: left there with a strong garrioll by K. Perseus, Perseus likewise made expedition to Elymnes, left there after he had taken a solemn survey of his army about it, he conducted his power to Stratus as the sequel of the Epictis This Stratus then, was the strongest City of Illyria. Situat it is upon the bank of Ambrosa, near the river Arachthus, he advanced his therewith to not above 300 spent of them the took the fewer with him in number, by reason of the length passage and rugged waves. Being come at the third days end to far as to the mount Cirrus, from he had with much difficulty crossed over it, the now they to deep, that hardly and with much ado he could find a convenient place to encamp in. From thence he removed, more for that he could not there abide and remain, then for any intolerable way and weather he met withall in the difficult march and journey forward to with passing great travel and troubl of his beastly necessary, the second day he arrived at the temple of Jupiter called Eleusis, and there lodges. Then after he had taken an exceeding long journey, he abode at the river Arachthus, being halted thereby reason of the deep water: during which time, he made a bridgover and transported his forces; and when he was gone a daies journey onward, he encountered on the way Arachthus a principal person of the Thessalians, by whose means the city yet Stratus was to be delivered up unto him: And that day he lodged upon the frontiers of Arachthus; from whence new marow he journeyed as far as to Stratus, where having encamped near the river Arachthus, he looked that the Thessalians would run out unto him by heart at all their gates, to yeild themsevles to his protection: but in
The four and fortie/Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florius upon the four and fortie/Book.

Q

Ulfius Manlius Philippine passing? through wilde and woods, entered into Macedonu and surprized many Cities. The Rhodians sent Embassadors to Rome, there being in Rome, Persus, not left. The people of Rome would conclude peace and contrite amity with him: whereas was taken great Jear and disdain. Now when the charge of this war was committed to L. Aemius Paulus the Consul, the next year following, Paulus before the publick assembly of the people prayed unto the gods, that all insolvency and misfortune coming towards the people of Rome, might be
The four and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

In the beginning of that Spring which immediately followed the winter wherein these events happened, Q. Marius Philippus the Consul came to Brundisium with five thousand men, whom he intended to transport over the seas for the supply of his legions. And M. Popilius (one who had been Consil) and other brave gallants of noble parentage as well as himself, followed after the Consul to be martial Tribune in the Macedonian legions. Also about the same time C. Magnus Figulus the Pretor, and Admiral of the navy, repaired to Brundisium. Who weighing anchor, looked to sea from Italy together, and arrived the next day at Corbus; but the Pretor having doubled the point of Lentus, entered the gulf of Comiae leaving his vessels at Comiae jorneled likewise by land to Corbus unto the land forces, making such expedition that he crossed through the midst of Brundisium in one day. At the same time A. Hostilius lay encamped in Tresflay, near to Palepخارat. Who albeit he had performed no memorable exploit of warlike feats, yet he had reclaimed his followers from all licentious looting, where with they were corrupted, and ranged them within good order of discipline. Also by his faithful course in government, he had entertained and kept the love of the allies still, yea, and protected them from all manner of wrong and injury. Now when he was apprised of the arrival of his face, he assembled with all diligence his forces both men and horses; gathered together all armor, as well offensive as defensive; and so with a brave army well appointed, he went forth to meet the Consul upon the way. As their first encounter and meeting was honorable, and beholding as well their own reputation as the greatness of the Roman name, so for the managing of the affairs afterward [it was very expedient to the Consul Philip. For the pro consuls turning to his own army, exercised the soldiers to perform valiant service; and so when he had delivered it to the Consul, returned to Rome.] Some few days after, the Consul made an occasion in a solemn audience of all his followers. Wherein first he began with the patronage of Perius, committed upon the person of his own brother, but projected against his very father. Then he proceeded farther and declared the wicked and dastardly ways whereby he attained to the crown, also his practices of poisons, his bloody murders, he laid away for King Ennius his life by way of detestable brigandage and robbery; moreover, the injuries offered to the people of Rome, and lacking of afflictive cities against the covetous of Rome. All which dealings of his he should have onid: (quand ce) by the name of his affairs, how odious and cruel they are in the sight also of the immortal gods. For the gods are evermore favourable and gracious to piety and fidelity, the only means whereby the people of Rome is mounted to that pitch and height of felicity. Then he compared the forces of that State which already compassed the round world, with the strength of Macedonia; he let arables to armies, making remonstrances how far greater was the patience of Philip and Antiochus before; and yet was it defeated utterly by no greater power then the Romans now were able to show. Having thus enkindled and enflamed the courage of his followers by this manner of exhortation, he began to debate in council as touching the principal and main point of the whole war. And thither retired without him from Chalced, the Pretor C. Marcius; after he had taken the charge of the armado and sea-fores. Resolved it was and concluded to make no longer abide in Tresflay, and there to lose time, but presently to dilodge and remove directly into Macedonia; that the pretor also should endeavour and catch, how one and the self same time he might inter and annoy the forces of the enemies. Now after that the Pretor was dismissed from away, the Consul commanded his soldiers to bring every man with him provision for a month: and to the tenth day after he had received the conveyance of the army, he removed the camp and let forward. When he had gone a days journey, he called together the guards, and alter he had commanded them every one to declare before the Council there assembled, which way each of them intended to direct the army, he caused them to go and so the Consul was in counsel, which course to take above others... Some were of opinion to lead by the way of Pythias; others advised to pass over the Cambrian mountains, like as the year before Hostilius the Consul conducted his army; and there were those who gave advice to go nearer to the moor of Aenaria. Now therefore remained yet some part behind of the way, which lay indifferent flat and common to all those places; and therefore their contemplation of this point was put over to the time when they should encamp next to the pasting and division of the said ways. So from thence he led the army to Ferroabia, and sent him down between Aenaria and Delische, for to consult once again for all, which way to take.
The same time Perseus knowing that the enemy approached, but yet ignorant which way he meant to come, determined to beate all pasages with strong guards. Whereupon he lent ten thousand young and lusty men, and men armed, to the pitch of the Cannoabrum hill, which the inhabitants themselves call Polis from the concourse of captains, assembled. But he commanded Hippias with a power of twelve thousand Macedonians to fort the firetiges of a certain fort upon the north Africus, and called Lopatins. Himself in person accompanied with the rest of the forces, lodged his men to Dium: but after wards seeming as if he were unprovided of counsel and void of sense and understanding, he with his light horsemen made several and various ambigions among the stand, while one toward Thessalia, and others to Phila, and so backward again the same way to Dium. In this mean time the Conulit resolved fully to lead his army by that part where we said before that the army of King Philip, had sometimes nearer a place called Dium, as he thought good to lend out before four thousand armed men, for to prevent the enemies and be possessed half of the most commodious places of advantage: this regiment was commanded by M. Cleopatras and Q. Maratus, the Condelions, and incommemrantly all the rest of his army followed after. But the way was steep and difficult, through many rugged, that in two days space, they which went before, albeit they were not charged with the carriage of anything, had much ado to march fifteen miles: where they lodged, and the place which they made choice of was called the Tower Embro. From whence the morrow after they journeyed seven miles forward and feized a hill nor far from the enemies camp, where they dispatched a courier back to the Conulit to give intelligence that they were come near to the enemy, and were in a place of safety commodious also for all purposes; and withall to advise him for to make all possible speed after for to overtake them and join together. This messenger encountered with Conulit at the near Ateria, where he was greatly perplexed as well for the difficulty of the way which he was in as well as as to regard of the danger of them whom in to few number he had before, even through the midst of the enemies corps de guard. Whereupon he took a better heart to himself, and having united all his forces, encamped upon the foresaid hill where his men were held, on the side which considering the nature of the ground, was most commodious. And there they might discover within the view of eye, not only the enemies camp distant from thence a little above two miles, but also the whole country as far as to Dium and Phileas, and all the inmost coasts, by reason that the high pitch and top of the mountain yielded a prospect far and near round about. And this was it that set on fire the forebodings hearts, when they beheld the whole weight of the war, the Kings forces altogether, and the enemies country to fence with. In which spirit of circumspection, when they were encamp'd with the Conulit, and expected him to advance directly against the enemies camp, they had but one day granted them to rett after their wearisome journey. So upon the third day the Conulit leaving part of his forces to guard the camp, led the rest against the enemy. Now had Hippias been lately lent from the King to keep and guard the passage, who since the time that full he riop the Roman camp upon the hill, had prepared the minds of his men to a battle, and so encountered the army of the Conulit, and met it half way. The Romans advanced forth to fight, nimbly appointed; and the enemies like wise were highly armed, and by reason thereof molt fit and provided for to give the charge and begin a skirmish. So soon as they approached and encountered one another, presently they fell to inquiring of their darts on both sides. Many a wound was given and received of the one part as well as the other by their first charging at a man, and few of both sides were slain. Thus were their Iromarks whetted and edged against the morrow, and then had they skirmishes, and maintained fight with greater forces, and more deadly feud, if the ground would have served them to have disposed their battalions at large; for the top of the mountain was a high and steep to a sharp crest in form of a coin or whey, and hardly afforded room enough for three ranks of armed men to stand, and therefore when some few were in fight, all the rest and specially they that were heavily armed, stood as lookers on. As for the fight, arm of one part, they would run forth as the broken edges of the hill, and ever from the sides join battle with the like of the other pane, and find means to charge the enemy; and if they be one or uneven, it skill not whether. But after that more that day, no were wounded then killed, the night at length parted the day. The third day, the Roman Generall was to ferland and will not what to do; for neither could they lay any longer upon that hill, for worst of all times; and retire back from thence it was not possible,without dishonour and danger both. Moreover, if he had retired, the enemy might precede him from the upper ground with advantage. There remained therefore no other means tomed that which was the sustainably entifered, with assidulity & harry periliss in execution; a thing that otherwisethrows well in the end, as it is proceeded from wise and deliberate counsel. And verily to this hard pass and difficult turns they were come, that if the Conulit had been to deal with an enemy like to sich of the Macedonian Kings in old time, they might have received a great blow and overthrow. But K. Perseus as he coiled and ranged with his cavalry, upon the stand, near Dium (albeit for the space of 12 miles or there, he made the cries and sights of them that were in fight, neither reenforced the companies by lending fresh soldiers in place of the wearis, not howing him self in person at the battle; as thich had been a thing for shame of most importance) whereas the Roman Generall being above 60 years of age, corpulent besides soundly performed himself right lustily all military services of a valiant warrior, perilling in that to the very end most bravely, which he had begun and enterprised so boldly and
and having left Ploplins & to guard the hill top, passed over places that had no roads at all to direct them, by sending out before, certain men of purpose to scour and prepare to make a passage. As for Arialus and Milage, he commanded them both, with the auxiliary soldiers of their own nation to guard them that opened the way before. Then he putting before him in the march the horsemen with baggage, came behind with the legionary footmen in the rear guard. No tongue is able to express what a toil and painful labour they found in going down the hill, the lighter horsemen with their backs and carriages stumbled to down one with another, so much as when they had scarcely gone four miles forward, they wished in their hearts nothing more, than to return the way they came, if it had been possible. The elephants troubled the march as much in manner as the enemies could: for when they were come to a place where they could see no way, down they cast their riders and governors, laying them along on the earth, and with the horrible crying that they made, affrighted their horses especially, until such time as a device was found for their passage. They began first to make the head or entrance of the bridge at the very brow and edge of a steep downsall; this done, in the lower ground beneath, they fell all in the earth good and strong walls of wood, two by two distant one from the other traverse, while little more than the largeness of one of their beaks. Upon which rested first joined: [with ten & more] certain rafters like wall-plats 30 foot in length, and those being coated with planks crosswise in form of a bridge, had earth and mud cast thereupon. A little way off beneath it, such another bridge was made, and to a third likewise, and many more consequently according as the creasy ground was broken and uneven. Now the elephants from the firm ground entred upon the first bridge aforesaid; but before he was once as far as to the foot and end thereof, the posts above them were cut in two underneath, to the end that the bridge might fall, and in the haste reeling thereof the beasts also gently slide, as it were, and he carried therewith as far as the head of the second bridge. Thus some of them glid and kept themselves standing upright on their feet, others reeled upon their buttocks. Again, when they were come to the plain and level floor of another such bridge, by the fall of it in manner aforesaid they were driven unto a third bridge beneath it, until such time as they were come to a more plain and even valley. In this order the Romans could ride little more then seven miles that day. And the least part thereof went upright on their feet, but were fast moit with a tumbling and roll over and over with the armor and harkels about them: and thus they got forward in all kind of pain and trouble, in such a fort that he who induced them to this journey & conducted them therein, could not deny but the whole army (with a small power coming against them) might utterly have been defeated. By night they arrived at a pretty plain, but the place being enclosed on all sides, they had no space and room to view round about, whether it were dangerous or no. At length after much ado and beyond their expectation, they met with a firm piece of ground, whereas they might take sure footing; and there they were forced the morrow following to attend in the hollow valley the coming of Ploplins and the companies left with him: who also were exceedingly fore vexed and plagued with the roughness of the way, albeit the enemies troubled and affrighted them no whit at all. The third day, after they had joined their forces together, they took their way through a pale, which the inhabitants call Calipence. The fourth day they passed over a place that had no more means to direct them, then the other before; but by use and experience there were grown more skillull: and better hope they had, for that the enemy in no place appeared, but approached near to the sea. When they were once come down into the plains between Haracetus and Lebeiburis, the footmen (whereof the greater part kept the hills) pitched their tents and took up the valley, and a good part of the plain wherein the horsemen should quarter. As the King was bating himself, it is said that word came, How the enemies were near at hand: at which news he was so fearfull, that he kept out of his bathing vessel, and in haste got him out of the same, crying aloud, Th the was vanquished without drawing sword and frase given: neither will he for fear which way to turn him, taking without dry countels one of another, and commanding he knew not what, sometime this and sometime, in this perplexity he sent for Aisleidorum (one of his two especial friends) out of the place where in garrion, to go to Pella where all his money and treasure lay: and by this means opened all the avenues for the Romans to make war. Himself, after he had had in great hale bellowes and piled up in his ships, all the gilded images at Diams, to the end the enemy should make no prize of them, caufed with all speed possible to make up and to remove to Pydna; & hereby gave occasion, that the enterprize of the Conul which might have seemed rashness (in that he had engaged himself to far, that he could not possibly to retire again without leave of the enemy) proved in the end no inconsiderat and unadvised delignment. For now the Romans had the choice of two passages through which they might escape away, the one, by Tempe into Thessaly, the other into Macedonia, by the way near Diams: both which before were held by the Kings guards. So as if a resolute and fearless captain could have held out and endured but one ten days the fairest appearance both of power that approached, the Romans could never have returned into Thessaly by Tempe, nor found way for convience of provision & victuals to the place where they were. For Tempe is of it self a difficult passage, even without any force of arms to make it dangerous. And why? besides the strait gallet five miles in length, yielding a very narrow way for one beast to go charged with burden; the rocks of either hands are so steep and upright, that hardly a man is able to look down from them, but his eyes will dazzle, his brain turn, and his head be giddy withall. Moreover, the foun and moode yes, and the depth of the river Perses running dr
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really through the midst of the valley, encrusted the fear to much the more. This place is perilous in its own nature, had been bold and guarded with the Kings garrisons in four several & distant places. The one kept at the very first entrance, near to Connoii, the second at Condylus, a fort impregnable; the third about Lapathus, which also they call Charax; and the fourth was placed even upon the very avenue it lies about the midst of the valley, where it is at the fence, and which may easily be defended with ten men, if there were no more. In this manner (I say) the passage being stopped up by Tempe, as well for passage of provisions this as for return from thence, the Romans must perforce have retired again up to the same mountains from whence they were defended. But as they come down and were not discovered, to be now desired, they could not possibly have gained them again in open view, considering that the enemies had posseiled the tops of the mountains; and no doubt the difficulty thereof besides, which they had tried already, would have cost all hope of that adventure to us, being wasted thus far into this rash enterprise there remaining no means else for them, but to have passed through the midst of the enemies, at Dium, for to escape and pass into Macedon: an adventure no doubt, if the gods had not bereft the King of his right wits most difficult and dangerous unto them. For it being so, that from the foot of the mountain Olympus unto the sea, there is little above a mile space between: the one half whereof, is taken up with the mouth of the river Bephyrus, which in this place spreaddeth very broad and large; and another part of the plain, either the temple of Jupiter or the town it fell occupieth: the rest besides, being but a very small place, might have been enclosed and made fast against them with a little trench and rampier: besides such store there was of stone ready at hand, and of timber out of the forfeit, that they might either have raised a KiiHure, or framed turrets and such like fortifications in their way. But the K. {Who's spirit and understanding was blinded with uddain fear} foreseeing none of all these things, but disfacencing every fort of their garrisons, made open passage for the current of war, and fled himself to Pydna. The Conul perceiving that he had gotten great advantage and many hopes by the bloody and negligence of his enemy, dispatched a courier toward Larnaca {Or Sp. Lucertum}, willing him to leizc thosc forts into his hands about Tempe, which were abandoned by the enemy: and after he had sent Popilius before in spiall to discover all the passages about Dium, and perceived that the avenues were open in all parts, he marched forwards himself; and the second journe came to Dium; where commanded to encamp under the very temple, to the end, that no violent outrage should be committed in that holy place. Himself in proper person entered into the City, which as it was not great, so it was garnished with fair publick buildings, beautified with a number of goodly images, and paling well fortified besides: in so much as he could not well believe, that things of such importance were abandoned for nothing, but that there was some secret deceipt and treachery lurking underneath. After he had staid there one full day, to elpise and see that all coasts were clear, he diissolved and marched on; & supposing very well that he should be provided of sufficient store of grain, he advanced forward that very day to the river named Mytis. The morn after, he took possession of the City Agafla, which the inhabitants willingly resigned unto him. And to win the hearts of all other Macedonians, (contenting himself only with hostages) he promised to leave their City euer without a garrison, and to permit them to live under their own laws without payment of any tribute. Being marched onward one daies journey from thence, he pitched down his tents falk upon the river Ascurds: but feeling and finding still the farther he went from Themis, more and more want of all things, he retired back to Dium; and then all men lawfully and safely, to what freights he should be driven, in case he had been clean shut out from Themis, consider ing that it was not safe for him to remove far from thence where he was.

Perb. ut having rallied all his forces, and assembled his captains into one place, check'd and rated up the captains of the garrisons and guards thereof about the passages; but above all he rebus ked Aplepoiados & Hippas, muttering that those two had betrayed unto the Romans the portgate to Macedon, whereas indeed no man was more justly to be blamed, for that than his owne self. The Conul after he had discovered a far off from fees a fleet of Roman ships, conceived good hope that vessels were coming charged with provition of victuals (for now in his camp the death was great, and brought they were already to extrem want and dearness.) But he was advertised by them who were entred within the harbor, that the ships and fleets of burden were left behind at Magnusa: Whereupon, in being in great doubt what to do (so hard went all things with him for the present, that he had work enough to wrestle with that only difficulty, without being further encumbered with any emprachment from the enemy) behold, in happy time, letters were brought unto him from Sp. Lucertus, importing thus much; That he was master of all the forts and holds planted upon Tempe and round about Phila, where he had heard great plenty of corn and other necessaries. The Conul right joyous for these good tidings, let his army on foot from Dium to Phila, as well to strengthen the garrison there, as also to deal corn among his followers; which would have required a long time ere it could have been brought over to them at Dium.

That departure & journey of his was nothing well spoken of: for some gave out that the General retired from the enemy for very fear; because that if he had stayed there still, he should have been forc'd to a battle: others said, that he had no skill in war, neither in those occurrences, which fortunes where then turning about altered every day, offering one new thing or other; who when occasions and opportunities were present unto him, let the same slip out of his hands, which soon after might not possibly be recover'd again. And verily he had not so soon quit the possession of
Aof Diom, but he startled and awakened the enemy, and put in his head now so length to regain those matters, which had been lost before through his own default. For hearing that the Conful was departed, he returned immediately to Diom: where he repaired whatsoever had been demolished and runneth by the Romans: the battalions of the walls which were cast down he set up again in the right place; and in all parts fortified the mure and bulwarks of the City. Which done, he en-
camped five miles off on this side Enjimsus, intending that the river it self (which is very hard to be passed over) should serve instead of a rampier and trench of defence. This river runneth out of the vale from under the mountain Olympus, and in summer season is small and shallow, but in winter is twelve high and tripeth broad by reason of rain: running also with a forcible current and stream, it formeth great rocks, and among those fliny crags and cliffs maketh many whirlpools: by occasion likewise, that from thence it carrieth away with it into the sea, there are many gulfs of exceeding depth: and by reason that it hath eaten a hollow channel in the mids, the banks of each side are very high and steep upright. Persius, supposing that by the means of this river, the enemies were debared from all passage, purposed in his mind to hold off, and drive the reft of the summer in that fort.

But the Conful in the mean while sent Popilus from Phila into Heraclea with 2000 armed fighting men. This Heraclea standeth about five miles from Phila, and in the midway between Diom and Tempe, upon a rock that commanded this river, Popilus, before that he cauc'd his men to approach the walls, sent certain persons of purpose to persuade the magistrates and chief of the City, to make proof of the faithful protection and clemency of the people of Rome, rather than to trie their rigor and violence. But this motive and advice availed not, because they might discern the fires out of the kings camp neer to Enjimsus, whereupon both from the land and sea (for the fleet also being arrived anchored near the shore as well by force of arms as by fabrics and engins of battery, they began to affail the town. Moreover, certain yong and lusty Roman soldiers (making as now in war of exercise which they had practis'd in the games Circean) gat over the wall where it was lowe. The manner was in those daies (before this was prodigy came up) filling the whole circle or Shelby place with beasts set out of all countries) to devile and feke landy forts of publick lights & speculcates to be hold, & not running one course with the charter, and another on horseback, and so an end, to employ at both races the space of one full hour. Among others fears of activity exhibited, the matchers and wardens of those exercis'es and games brought into the race commonly 60 (and otherwheres more) lusty young men in arms well appointed. There training in part represented a shew and appearance of two armies encounters and encountering and charging one another, in part also the use and practice of a more gentle and elegant exercise then military profession, and coming nearer to the handling and managing of weapons after the order of sword-fencers. Thence yong gallants, after they had performed other ordinary running courses, put themselves into a four-square squadron, with the bucklers or targets close couched and joined together over their heads, in this manner: they that were formost in the front (foot bolt upright, the second rank loosed somewhat lower under the other, the third course more than they, and to the fourth until the hindmost kneeld on their lines; and by this means they resembled a pavioide rising up higher & higher, like the pent-houfe or roof of a deiceps. This done, two men well armed, fetching their ran fifty foot or thereabout backward from thence, and seeming to desie and challenge one another, mounted the foresaid pavioide, ran from the other end up to the top upon those targets to jointely united and set close, and thick together: and then while they set their countenance as though they would defend the sides and edges thereof, otherwise in the mids they seemed to performed their devoir and maintain combat one with another, as upon firm and steady ground. Like for all the world to this, was there a pavioide framed and brought close to that in the wall: and when armed men were mounted upon it, they shot upon the very ridg thereof, were as high full as the defendants which kept the walls being once beaten back and turned down, two ensigns of foildiers gat over into the City. The only difference between this pavioide and the other above described was this, that they only who stood in the front before and in the flanks, bare not their targets aloft above their own heads, because their foilders and bodies should not be naked and exposed to shot, but caried them before after the usual manner of fighting men in a battall; By which means, neither the arrows and darts discharged from the wall hurt them afrone, nor the shot that light upon their targetes took any hold, but glanced and glid down-ward from the top without doing any harm, like to rain water that floweth from the ridg of an houte, and runneth down the eves. The Conful likewise, now that Heraclea was won, advanced forwards with his army thither, pretending as though he marched toward Diom, and as if after he had chaisd and driven the King from thence, he minded to pulled forward also into Persia. But preparing now against winter, he commanded to make the wares fit and handly, for the carriage of provision out of Thessalonica, and to chaise out commodious places for garners: also to build certain houses, wherein they that brought the provision, might lie in covert and lodg commodiously. Persius in the end having taken heart again and gathered his wits together, upon that late fright which had amazd his spirits, withdrew then withall his heart, that his commandments had not been obeyed, at what time as in a tearfull fit he gave expresse charge to call the treasure into the sea at Pella, and set on fire, the armentall at Thessalonica. Andronicus being sent for to the same purpose to Thessalonica made no halt to execute his will, but rilled out the time for the torch, leaving the King
some respite to repent, as it fell out indeed. Nicias was not provident and well advised at Pella, in throwing away some part of the mony which he there found: howbeit he thought his fault such, as might in some sort be remedied and amended, for that all the said treasure in manner was recovered by the means of certain dyvers that fished for it under water, and fetched it up from the bottom of the sea. But the King himself was so ashamed of this foolish feat, that in a melancholy he commanded thofe poor dyvers to be secretly murdered, yes, and afterwards Andromius and Nicias also: the end that no pention should remain alive that was privy to that foolish commandment of his.

Amids these affairs, C. Maruus having looked to sea from Heraclea, and with his fleet failed to Thegulonos, landed his armed outliers in divers places of the shore, and made war in the territoty all about: and when they made fallace out of the City and charged upon him, after some fortunate skirmishes, he chased them back and beat them within the walls. So as at length he terrified the town itself: but not only they who ranged up and down here and there, unadvisedly approached the walls, were wounded with that discharged out of instruments of all sorts, planted upon the walls: but thofe also who were in the ships, were butt with fumes, weighed and levelling from engines a far off. Upon which occasion he commanded his outliers to retire a shipboard, and leaving the fiege of Thegulonos, they sailed from thence to Endia, a City fiftten miles off, situate in a fertile soil侏against Pydna. Where: when they had spoiled the territory lying to that City, they coasted along the shore and arrived at Antigonia. Where, being fet a land, fift they spoiled the country in every quarter, and brought good fcore of prizes to their ships: but afterwards, as they fligated out of order and disband, the Macedonians, as well footmen as horfe, ran upon them, and chased them as they fled pace to the sea side; in which rout they flew about 500 and took as many prisoners. And nothing else provoked the courage of the Romans (in regard as well of utter despair otherwife to save themselves, as of the indignity it fell, both to hazard their honour, but only the extreme necessity wherein they flioud, having no means to recover their ships in safety. Whereupon they turned head, and renewed the fight upon the very sea land. They also who were a shipboard, lircourced and helped them, in which conflict, two hundred Macedonians loft their lives, and as many were taken prisoners. From Antigonia the fleet weighed anchor, & made head toward the territory of Pella, where the outliers were yet on shore to poffy the country. The territory appertained to the confines of the Caffandrians, the most fruitful tract of land parts which they had coasted and failled by. There, King Lcnmec, being departed from Ennea with twenty war ships met with them, & likewise five other covert ships were sent from King Ptnias. The Pctor seeing this good ensaye and addition of his forces, took a better heart unto him, even to besiege Caffandra. This City was built by King Caffander, in the very height & guilte which joineth the territory of Pella with the rest of the Macedonian country, enclosed of one side with the Tornonian sea, and on the other with the Macedonian. For there lyeth a bank or shelf like a tongue into the sea, upon which the City standeth and beareth unto the deep, no ledge in compafs or quantity then is the mountain Arbo. It butteth full against Magnesia, with two promontories of one small height: of which the greater is called Pejaldus, the lefe Canastrum. This town they began to affay in two divers parts. The Roman (Pctor) drew his fortifications to a place called Shia, opposing certain strong fortes for to debarr and shuf the way from the Macedonian sea to the Tornonian. On the other side there is an entrench or arm of the sea, from which quarter Enmores gave the assaite. The most troublesome torrent that the Romans found, was in damming and filling up the trench, which Perusin had cast against them a little before. And as the Perusin acquired where the earth was belowed which was thrown out of the trench stored, because he could not keep there any where of which were fliowed unto him certain vaults and arches with which he builded a new wall, not built to the thickness of the old, but with perpnd work, and had none course of brick and no more. Whereupon he resolved to pierce through the said wall, and to make way into the City. The which he thought to execute and perform without being discovered, in case he teased the wall in another quarter, and by making a shout and alarm there, with drew all the defendants of the City to the guard of that one place. There lay in generall Caffandra (being a sufficient number of serviceable yong men of the City) eight hundred Agrians, and two thousand Penetins of Seleucia, fought from thence by Pleurastis; and both their names are hardy warriors. While these defecled the walls manfully, and the Romans endeavoured withall their might to mount over, the thin walls of the vaults and arches storied were wrought and digged through in the turning of an hand, and gave entrance into the City: Now of they who took it, had been armed (as they were but pioners) the town had been taken at that instant. But when as the pioners heard news that the said work was finishd, they laddinly let up a cheerfull shout for joy, being ready some in one place and some in another to ruffle into the City: The enemies at the first wondered what the meaning should be of that sudden cry, but the captains of the garrison, Pydna and Philippes Proceed being once advertised that the town lay open, propounding hereunto confident the vantage, who could hit prevent the other and give the charge, fellcred forth with a strong band of Agrians and Illians: and whiles the Romans ralled themselves some from this place, and others from that, and were called together for to enter the City with banner dispayed, they let upon them unready as they were, and not ranged in any good order: put them to flight and chased them as far as to the trench, where they overthrew them one another by heaps; 60 or very were there killed; and
A and in manner whom they could reach between the wall & the trench were hole hurt. The Pre, thus
over taken in his own enterprise, was not to bally to project any new design; neither did Eumenes
any better, at least at one time he assaulted the City both by land and sea. Whereupon they recor-
ded both, so fit strong guards, for to impeach the passage of all garrisons out of Macedonia thither
and (since open forces took no better effect) to assail the walls with fabrics & engines, as they were
built in preparation there where, they had ten thousand of the Kings, sent from Macedonia with cer-
tain selected auxiliary Gauls. Then when they perceived their enemies ships riding at anchor nigh
in single range one after another, as close as possibly they could to the shore in the dark night, and
so entered the City. The brute that went of this new succes and garrison, forced as well the Rom-
ans as the King to give over the siege; so fetching a compasse about the promontory, they

B arrived before Trisone. When by the then began to lie against it after they perceived once that
there was a valiant company there to defend it, they abandoned their enterprise without effect,
& failed to Demetrius. Being approached another, and seeing the wall full of armed men, they
passed by and anchored as follows: 'To sit there while they may, before they could put the terri-
ory, to set upon Demetrius. Meanwhile, they could also, because he would not fight doing nothing in the enemies
countrie, sent M. Popilius with five thousand soldiers to give the alarm to the City of Melibe.
Seated it is at the foot of the mountain Offa, on that side which looketh to Thessaly, and very fit ly
for the purpose commandment Demetrius. The first assault of the enemies put the inhabitants of
the place in great affright; but after they had recovered their spirits danted with so unexpected
fear, they ran in arms to the gates, and up to the walls, where they doubt ed and suspected any
place like to give entrance, and incontinently cut off all hope from the enemies, that it could pos-
entially be forced at the first assault. Whereupon they prepared to lay siege unto it, & began to make
fabrics and engines to batter the walls. Persius having intelligence, that in one in that both Melibe
was beleaguered by the Conul, and also that the fleet anchored before Selinus, to the intent
that from thence he might go in hand to assault Demetrius: sent Eumenes one of his captains,
with a regiment of two thousand soldiers to Melibe; with this charge and direction:
That if he could raise the siege from Melibe, and force the Romans to depart, he should forthwith
secretly to Demetrius, & put himself within the town, before the Romans could remove from
Idas and advance before the City. The inhabitants of Melibe discovering him with his forces all at
once upon the higher places, quit their fabrics and engines in fearful flight, and set them all on fire;
and thus that departed from before Melibe. Eumenes having levied the siege from the one City,
forthwith led his army to Demetrius. And then the citizens assured themselves, that they should
be able not only to defend the City against the siege, but also to save their territories from wall
and spoil; and to make the Corsairs of the northerners disperse Southwards there and there, without
drawing blood of their enemies. Howbeit the Pretor and the King took notice of the walls, and
viewed the situation of the town, if it were possible they could elope any one place which they
were like to force, either with battery of engines or force of arms. The voice went, that by the means
of Cyrus the Cretmean, and Antiochus governor of Demetrius, there was a treaty of peace and
amity between Philae and Eumenes. But howsoever it was, this is certain, both Eumenes and the
Pretor departed from Demetrius. As for Eumenes, he failed to the Conul, and testified unto him the
joy that he conceived for his safe and prosperous entrance into Macedon, and from hence
returned to Pergamus into his own realm. But Marcus Furgus the Pretor, when he had sent
part of his fleet into the harbor of Seleucia there to winter, with the rest of his ships went to O-
reum in Russia; supposing it a commodious City, from whence victuals and all provision might
be sent to the armies that abide either in Macedonia or Thrace. As touching Eumenes, it is
plainly authors have written diversely. If a man should go by Valerius Antias and believe him, he reports,
that neither the Pretor had any help from him, but that he had not been there at all; but
with the ships which he had by his letters; no took his leave of the Conul in good terms with favour,
at what time as he was to depart into Asia, as being highly displeased, that he was not permitted to
quarter with him in one £. The same campion so much as he could not possibly be entreated by him,
to leave behind that Cavaus of Gaul which he had brought thither with him. As for Antixus his
brother, bereavement still with the Conul (as Valerius faith) and continued ignere and fastful un-
to him without any change or alteration; yet and performed right good service in all that war,
During the these in Macedon, there came Embassadours from beyond the Alps to Rome (sent
from a petty K. of the Gauls Balaur he had to name) ; but of what image he was sentenced (its not
recorded) promised and to the Macedonian war. Thanked they were from the Senat, and
presents were sent unto them to win a chain of gold weighing two pound, certain golden cup of
four pound weight, a brave clothe and barbed, and an hispanian armor. After these
Gauls were gone out of place, the Embassadours of Pamphylia brought with them into the Senat
a golden crown, valued at 20000 Philip peaces of gold; their request was, that they might
be permitted to set up the said present and anation in the chappel of two thousand Ailes. Then the Embassadours of King Pra-
flus, and soon after, others from the Rhodians had audience; who of one and the same argument
discouraged diversely, for both tended to one thing, namely, a treaty for recon$('#ent of peace bet-
then the Rom. & K. Persius, Pra#sus seemed to instead rather then to demand: protellling to the
had ever to that day flood with the Romans in that war; and willingly would send them full. 11

to the very end thereof: but since that there came Embassadors unto him from Persia, and
dealt with him to make an end of the war between him and the Romans, and for that he pro-
mitted them to be a mediator and intercessor for him to the Romans; therefore his request
unto them was, (if they could so find in theirs hearts) to fmit their anger, &c. so they should use
him in any service, as one that would acknowledge himself beholden unto them, for a favor, in
effecting this atonement and reconciliation. In this manner (say) make the K. his Embassadors.

But the Rhodians contrived, with a proud humour of theirs, reckoned up a beardless of their
demets towards the people of Rome, attributing the greater part (believe me) of the victory of
K. Antiochus to themselves: moreover they added and laid, that when the Macedonians and
Romans were at peace, they began to enter into league and amity with K. Persia; which they,
had interrupted and did continued against their will; not upon any defect or occasion given of
his part, but only because it pleased the Romans to draw them into the afcociation of the war.

Three days now already [say they] have we felt the heart of this war and lived by the fchio: by
reason that the seas are flut up from us, and our land is decaysed and distrefled for need and
want, having lost our collage and coutons tlling from the seas, which we are not able to en-
dure any longer, have addressed Embassadors to Persia into Macedoiny to intiis me unto them,
that the Rhodians would and pleasure was, that he should grow to a composition and beat at
peace with the Romans. Our selves also are sent to Rome to declare the fame: and likewise to
convene, that whatsoever shall impeach and hinder this course tending to pacification, the
Rhodians will consider of them accordingly & bethink how they are to proceed against them.

I am verily perswaded, that there is no man at this day, who can hear or read this, but his hi-
mack will nie threaten with indignation: guefe then thereby how the LL. of the Senat of Rome
were excited and touched as then, at the hearing thereof; Claudius mine author tells, that there
was no answer at all given unto them. Only an arcc or decre of the Senate was read before them,
importing much, that by order from the people of Rome, the Carians & Lyctians were made
free: and presently, were letters dispatched to both nations to signify to much flat unto them.Which
when the principal persons of the embassage once heard, even he, whose big and brave words a
little before, the whole Senate-house was hardly able to contain, tell down flat before them in
a twon and extaie. Other Historians write, that this answer was returred, 4 That the people of
Rome at the very beginning of this war, knew assuredly (by intelligence given from persons of
right good credit) how the Rhodians had secretly complotted with Persia against the state of
Rome: and if there had been some doubt thereof before, yet the words of the Embassadors ere-
white delivered, made all clear and put it flat peradventure: and no marvell, since that for the
most part it falleth out, that such cautious practices, howsoever at the first they are covertly &
cleanly carried, yet one time or other are bewsied and discovered. Let the Rhodians lend their
messengers over the world and scape not; let them make themselves judges to determine of
war and peace at their pleasure; as for the Romans they will take arms in hand, and lay them
down again at the will and appointment of the gods in heaven. We are well holpen up now in
 deed, if we must have the gods no more to be witnesses of our accords, but the Rhodians for
footh. And mull the Romans (I would not else) be ruled by them, and withdraw their forces
out of Macedoiny? They will consider and advise themselves how to proceed against us! How M
shall we do then? What the Rhodians will see to, we mayly they perhaps themselves know:
but the people of Rome (that is certain) well consider indeed and resolve after that Persia is
vanquish'd; which they hope will not be long frill to recom pense and require every City and
state according as they have deferved in the service of this war. As hars this answer was yet, we
lay them a reward to the Embassadors, to every one of them two cuia, but none would they receive.

And this, were the letters read of Q. Martius the Consul, containing thus much, namely,
how he had paused over the firearms of the forrest, and was come into Macedoiny, where he had
provision of viuables which the Pretor had given order for out of other places to serve for won-
ters and besides, had taken up of the Epirots twentie thousand Modii of wheate and ten thousand
of barley, for which corn they should make money ready at Rome to content their Embassadors.

Also that they must lend from Rome certain riches and other apparel; and need he had besides
of 500 horse or other carbuncle especially of Nymphafor in those parts he had no plenty of any thing.
Hereupon an all was granted out of the Senat, That all these things should be done according to
the tenor of the Consil his letters. So C. Sulpitius the Pretor bargain'd for the transporting over
into Macedoiny 600 side caicton's and 3000 short coats or jackets, together with horses for
be dispoised and distributed at the discretion of the Consil: and besides paid the Embassadors of
the Epirots good money for their grain. He brought also into the Senat Oneimius the son of
Pytho, a noble perfomage of Macedoiny. This man was evermore of counsel with the K. per-
swaying him to peace: and admonished him as his father Philip before him offered an order even to the
time of death to read over twice a day from point to point the instruiment of the accord & cove-
nents between him and the Romans; to he also would take up that good counsel: and pradice
the fame, if not continually yet at leastwise many a time and often. But when he could by no
means lett him nor set his mind from war, he began at first to withdraw and assent himself,
alleging for his excuse one while this occasion, and other whiles that, because he would not be present at the debating of those matters which he approv'd not: and in the end perceiving
A that he was had in some jealousie, & otherwhiles charged to be a traitor, he changed his allegiance revolted to the Rom, and serverd the Consul in right good head This Oneifimus being brought into the Senat house, related all these premisses: Whereupon the Senat ordained, that he should be enrolled formally in the number of allies: also, that he should be provided of a lodging, and his ordinary expences for the time allowed at the Cities charge. Moreover, two acres of land in the territory of Tarentum, which was conficcat to the people of Rom, should be let out for him; and a meafurage in Tarentum bought for his habitation. To see all this performed, C. Decimus the Pretor had in charge.

The Centors upon the 13th of December, took a survey of the number of citizens and an entailment of their goods, more freightly then before time. Many were unknit, and had their B horses taken from them, and P. Rustus among the rest, who when he was Tribune of the Com- had been their accailer and called them to violently to reckoning; degraded he was besides and displicated out of his own tribe, & made no better than a very labourer in the Cities works. Whereas the one moiety of the Cities renewes and profits for that year, was let by and showed unto them by the treasurers (according to an ordinance of the Senat) Tab. S وميًار قصص out of the mony assign- ed unto him, purchased the house of P. Africianus on the back side of the old Caru near the image of Fortune; the shops also where in they fold wooll, and the other adjoineth thereunto, all to the use of the City. He cailed likewise the Rarely palace to be built, which afterwards was called Semppona Basilica.

Now was the yeer come about and well neer at an end, when by reason of the great care prin- cipally about the Macedonian war, men began to talk, whom they were to create for Consuls agaunt the next yeer, to achieve and end the said war? Whereupon there passed a decree of the Senat, that Cn. Servilius with all speed possible, should make halt to Rome for to hold a general assem- bly of election. This decree Sulpicius, the Pretor within few daies after read to the Coj to the end that he should repair home into the City before the day prefixed. Whereupon both the Coj, halted; & the said election was also furnishd by the day appointed. COff, there were created L. Emilius Pansius the second time (even 14 yeers after his former Conflitutio) with C. Livius Crassus. The day following were the Pretors also chosen, to wit, Cn. Batinus Sambuliis, L. Anicius Gal- luc, Cn. Ottavius, P. Flaminus Balbus, Mar. Eubinius Helius, and C. Papius Carbo. The carefull regard of the Macedonian war caufed every thing to be done with greater expedition. And therefore it was thought meet, that these new elect magistrates should cast lots out of hand for their provinces, that it might be known to whether Coj Macedon, and to which Pretor the conduct of the navy should fall; that thereupon they might presently consider and provide for all things requisite to the war, & require the advice of the Senat where as required. O named it was when the Coj eneterd into their office, to solemnize the Latine festival holidays as soone as they might conveniently, without offence of the gods and breach of any religious order: that the Comul whole fell to go into Macedon, were not detemned behind upon any occaion. After these ordinances, Italy and Macedon, were nominated for the provinces of the two Coj: and for the Pretors, the two civil jurisdictions within the City of Rome, the navy, Spain, Sicily and Saratine. In fine, Macedon fell to Emilius the Consul, and Italy to Livius. Of Pretors, Cn. Batinus was had chief justice of the plese of citizens, and L. Anicius of allies. And in the Senat thought good to send the navy any whither, Cn. Ottavius had the the charge thereof as Laddimari. P. Flaminus was appointed by lat L. Deputy of Spain, M. Eubinius of Sicily, and C. Papius of Saratine.

All men ill saw, that L. Emilius intended not to go coldly about the managing of that war; both for that he was not an ordinary man, but singular above all other, and also because that night and daie he mused and studied upon nothing else, but that which was requisite and pertinent thereunto. The first thing of all where he went in hand was this; a requent to the Senat for to dispauch certain elagant commissioers into Macedon, to visit the armes there and the armado; to make true report upon their certain knowledge, what was needful to be done for the tipp of the forces as well by land as sea: also to lie in eipiall & entailment as much as possible they could there Kipower; moreover, what quarter of the province were taken by our men, and which of the enemies kept; whether the Romans lay encamped still within the forrest, or if they were pasted beyond the freights and come into the even ground; who continued truly allies, who were suspefted, who hung in double doubts, as whole faith depended upon fortune: who seemed to be professed enemies: how great the provisions were of victuals from whence they were conveyed by land or what places transported by water; & Jlly, what exploits had been done the summer past both by land and sea: supposing, that for a light given and certain intelligence delivered of theie things, they might be more directed in the calling and laying of future plans & engagements, So the Senat granted out a commision to Cn. Servilius the Coj, for to send the delegates into Mac- edon, such as L. Emilius thought good of. Whereupon within two daies after, Cn. Decimi- us Lepidus and A. Livius Nero, took their journey as legats and commissioers. News came in the latter end of this yeer, that it rained stones twice, namely in the territory of Rome, and like wise about Veii: and therefore a novendial sacrafice was celebrated. This yeer there di- ed certain priests, namely, Pub. Quinctius Tarsus, a flamen of Mars, and M. Claudius Macellus Decemvir, in whole room was substituted Cn. Ottavius. And now noted it was, that the mag- nificence and port of the people of Rome encreased, for that in the playes called Comices ex- hibited by Publulus Cornelius Scipio Nasica, and Publulus Lepidus Ediles Curiae, thirtofore and:
The four and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

3 wild beasts out of Afric with 40 bears, & elephants, were baited to make sport to the people.

When L. Aemilius Paulus and P. Licinius entered their Consulship upon the fifteenth of March, which was the beginning of the year following, the LL of the Senate were in great expectation, and especially what the Consul would propose unto them as touching the Macedon war, which was his proper province. But Paulus said that he had nothing to propose and put to counsel, seeing that the Delegates aforesaid were not returned. And at Erundium (quoth he) they now are, having twice in their voyage upon the sea been driven back by tempest and cast upon Diophaimum. But so soon as I am once advertised and have perfect knowledge of those things that first are to be known, I will then consult; and that will be within few days. Now to the end that nothing may hay and hinder his journey, he told them, that the even before the Ides of April, was appointed for the solemnity of the Latin festival holidy. And after festivity duly performed [upon the Albane hill] the Senator should no sooner obtain, but he and Ca. Ollaurs would set forth and put themselves on their way. As for C. Licinius his colleague, his charge should be in his absence to provide and lend all things requisite and needful for this war. Mean while (quoth he) the embassies of foreign nations may have audience given. So when he had sacrificed as the matter was, before they took in hand the great affairs of State, the Embassadors of Alexandria, from King Ptolomeus and queen Cleopatra, were called in. Glad they were in poor array, the hair of their head long, their beards side and overgrown: and carrying in their hands branches of the Olive-tree, they entered into the Senate, and fell crowding and prostrating on the floor. Their habit and apparel was not so simple and meek, their look and countenance not so heavy and forrowful, but their speech was more pleasant and tameable. Amicus now King of Syria, and who had sometime been hostage at Rome under a colourable pretence of honesty and equity to restore Ptolomeus the elder to his Kingdom, made hot war upon his younger brother, who then held Alexandria: and after a victory obtained in sea-fight near Pelopion he made a bridge of bits of work upon the river Nilus, over which he transported his army, & now laid siege to Alexandria; to as by all likelihood he would shortly by way of conquest be lord of a multitude and wealthy Kingdom. In which respect, these Embassadors made pitiful men and grieved complaint, beseeching withal the Senator, of their aid and succour to that realm and those Kings, who were so near their friends to the king and dominion. For persuaded they were that the people of Rome had done so much for Amicus in particular, & were of that account & sumptuous with all other Kings and nations, that if they would best send their Embassadors to intimate unto them just such matters, that the Senate was not well pleased with wagging war upon a confederate King, he would presently raise his siege, depart from before the walls of Alexandria, and withdraw his army clean away into Syria. But if they pressed the time long and delayed thus to do, then they should Ptolomeus and Cleopatra within a while be driven out of their realm, and forced to come to Rome with some themetfull part of dominion to the people of Rome, in that they had not yet their helping hand in that extreme danger of all their fortunes, The LL of the Senate moved with compassion at the prayers of their, Alexandrians, sent incontinent C. Popolus Lencas, C. Decimus, and A. Hofidius as embassadors to determine and make an end of the war between those two Princes. In commission they had left to go unto Ptolomeus, and then to Antiochus, and to let them both understand, that unless they sued and gave over arms, they would take him neither for friend nor confederate, whom it was long of that the war was not given over. So their three together with the Alexandrian Embassadors, took their leave within three days & departed. Then the forsaid Delegates returns from out of Macedon, the last day of the festival games to Monerva called Quinquana, and not before they were welcome; but followed for they were, had it not been even then when they came, the Consuls would immediately have called the Senator together. But the matter after the Senator was, whose commissioners had audience given. Report they made ful, that with more danger then pitiful ending, the army entered into Macedon, ny over those pales and forts, where was no way nor pass at all, Item, that the King kept the country of Persia, into which the Roman armie was now advanced, and were to necro encamped one to the other, that nothing but the river Elisseus between kept them asunder; that neither the K. made offer of battle nor the Roman, were of sufficient force to challenge & force him to fight; moreover the winter had overtaken them (a time unseasonable for warlike exploits) that the horse were mazed and nourished in unfortunes, notwithstanding they had victuals to serve their men longer then six days; also, that by report the Macedonians were thirty thousand strong. Were it so that Ap. Claudius had a good and sufficient power about Seleucia, he might be able to trouble the K. and put him to his trysts in a battle; but now both Apusus and the garrison with them, are themselves in extreme jeopardy, unlesse with speed either a complete armie be sent thither, or else they draw from hence where they are, into Macedon. Over and besides they related, how from the camp they went towards the fleet, where they heard say, that some of the fastening men and marines were dead of tickets, others, and namely, those of Sicily above the rest, were gone home again to their own houses, in much as there were not men enow to serve the ships, & those that remained, had neither their wages paid & mony to put in their purses, no victualls & appurtenances to hang on their backs. As for Eumenes & his fleet, they (like ships driven to a coast by force of wind and weather, without any other eend or canonicall) were come and gone again; & it seemed the mind of that K. was not yet settled and resolved. But as they reported all of Eumenes suspiciously & in doubtful terms, so they assured them of the singular fidelity & constancy of Artabas his
his brother. When the Legates had spoken, this said:

L. Althcr. Let us debate now in council, what is to be done as concerning the last war. So the Senate ordained, that for eight legion, the Commanders and the people should elect an equal number of senatorial Tribunes; or Colonels, the one as many as the other; and that none should be created, and advanced to that place for that year; but such as had borne some honourable dignity then, out of all those Tribunes this elected, that L. Lucius should make choice of those two legions which were to go into Macedonia, of whom he would himself: also, that after the solemnity of the Lent elections performed, L. Althcr. the Consul, and C. Scordia the Praetor and Admiral of the fleet, should depart into their Provinces.

A third was joyed in commotion with them: to wit, L. Anicetus the Praetor, and chief justice for strangers. And ordained it was, that he should pass into Libya about Lycia, for to succede.

The charge of taking munifers was put upon C. Licinius the Consul. He had commandment to enroll even thousand (foot) Citizens of Rome, and two thousand horsemen and to charge the Latin allies with half of seven thousand footmen, and four hundred horse. Also to send letters unto Cn. Servilius, who governed the Province of Gaul, to enroll his hundred men of arms. This army he had commandment to fend with all convenient speed to his College into Macedonia. So as in that Province there should not be above two legions, and the time tall and compleat, containing six thousand foot, and three hundred horse apiece. As for the incalfe, as well of the Cavalry as Infantry, they should be disposed and bestowed in frivily garrisons. And all such as were unmeet for service, were to be called and sent away. Moreover, the allies were put out and find 5000 foot, and 800 horse, And those were to serve in garrison under Anicetus, over and above those legions, which he was commanded to lead into Macedonia, consisting of 5000 foot, and 500 horsemen either of them. Also for the navy were enrolled 3000 mariners and rowers. Licinius the Consul was appointed to defend and keep in obedience his Province with two legions, and to take besides of allies, ten thousand foot, and six hundred horse.

After these ordinances of the Senate were accomplished, L. Althcr. the Consul, were forth of the Senate house into the common place before the assembling of the people; where he made a speech unto them in this wise following: 'Me thinks I perceive and see, my good friends and Citizens, of Rome, that ye have thrown more apparent tokens of joy and gratulation in my behalf. For the Province of Macedin is given to my lot; and neither at the time that I was declared and familiarized, nor at the time that I was appointed, to that place. And I was entered into government; & for no other reason in the world, but upon the opinion which you have conceived, that the Macedonian war, which hath so long continued, may be brought by my means to such an end as becometh the great & and majority of the people of Rome. And in mine own mind I have good hope, that as the gods in favor have directed this fortitude, so they will be present and propitious unto me in performing the service, in these matters. I say, I am but carried partly with conceit and partly with hope. But this one thing I am assured of; yes and I dare affirm and promulc on my own head, that I will endeavour my life and employ all that is in me, that this your good opinion of me may not be in vain conceived. As for all things necessary and requisite to this war, both the Senate hath ordained; & also, that they have thought good I should depart immediately (for which my oath is well pleased and contented,) neither in me there shall be any delay.) My colleague C. Licinius, a singular man, and of great valour, will provide with as great care and diligence, as if himself had the full conduct of this war. For the effecting whereof, I see that whatever I shall write either to the Senate, or to you, ye believe for true: as for running rumours which have no certain author, give no ear and believe thereto; neither feed them with your foolish credulity. For now and adays verily, anything that I have observed to fall our ordinarily in this war, there is no man more fateth to little by the common brutes that are blinded abroad, but his spirit and courage may be thereby qualified and danted. In all meetings now past and at every board, (I would not ellyeye them have them, that in their table talk will lead your armies into Macedonia; that know where they are to lodge and encamp; what commodious places are to be seized and kept with garrisons: at what time and through which paths the entry must be made into Macedonia; where the Garnerers and flour houses for corn should be built and set; which way by land and sea both, the provisions of victuals ought to be brought; when the time of peace is to encounter and fight with the enemy, and when to sit still and retire. Neither are they content to set down and pronounce, what is to be done for the better: but if ought hap to be managed otherwise than they have judged expedient, they are to bold as to control the Col, and ready to comment and proceed against them judicially. There are few hindrances, I may tell you, to warriors & men of action. For all men have not the gift of resolution and constancy to neglect the speech and talk of men, as sometimes Fabric had, who chose rather to have his authority & command diminished and impaired by the folly and vanity of LED people, than with their favourable applauce and good opinion to manage his affairs but unwortdily. Yet take me not, if I were a man that would have no capa is to be admonished and advised by others; may come off, of this judgment I am. That he who worketh all by himself, & followeth only his own head is self-willed and proud, and nothing able & wise, What is then to be done? First in mine opinion. Generals and Commanders of armies are to be instructed by discreet and prudent men; by such as are skilful by profession in feats of arms and military science; by those also that by long practice are thoroughly experienced: may more than that, they are to be taught and counseled by them, that are usually present and constant in the execution of affairs, who daily see the advantage of members.
The fourth and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

... consider the proceeding of the enemies, and observe the opportunities of times: those (144) who as passengers in one ship are partakers of the same danger. If there be any man therefore, who is verily persuaded of himself, that he is able to direct me, and give me any counsel (in the conduct of this war which I have in charge) for the good of the common-wealth, let him come forth, and not deny his helping hand to the public welfare, and go along with me into Macedonia. Furnish him I shall, with ship, with horse, with tent-room, with common-money, and all things necessary for his voyage. If any be loath so to do, and had rather sit warm at home preferring the ease and repose of the City before the travel and pain of warfare, let him not here on the land take upon him to play the pilot and steersman at sea. Matter shall find enough within the City to talk of and seek no farther: let him hold him there & keep his babble and prattle to himself: know he (whosoever he is) that we will content our selves with our own counsel about us in the camp. And this occasion ended, and the Latine festivals solemnized the day before the ca.

lends of March, together with the sacrifices duly celebrated upon the Alban mount: the Cof, and the Praetor Co., Oiius, departed incontinently into Macedonia. It is recorded in the Chronicles that the Cof was honored with a greater consequence that accompanied him than any had been known: and that men preferred in manner formally, the end of the Macedonian war: how the Cof should have a speedy return, and obtain a brave and glorious triumph.

During these occurrences in Italy, Perseus who (became he was to be at the charges of disbursing money) never thought of, to go through with that which before he had begun, namely, to adjoin unto him Gentius King of the Illyrians: so soon as he perceived that the Romans were entered thestraights, and the war come now to this extremity of hazard: thought good now to make that fire and put it off no longer. Whereas therefore he had coveted & promised by his Em- bassador Hippas three hundred talents of silver, with condition also, that for security hostages should be put in of both parties interchangeably: he sent Pantaucus one of his most truly friends to dispatch and make an end of this affair. This Pantaucus met the Illyrian King at Medeo in the Country of Liberens: where he both took an oath of the King, and also received his hostages, Gentius likewise sent his embassador, named Olympio to demand the immbable oath of Perseus, and require hostages accordingly: with him were certain persons sent of purposé to receive the money, who also by the advice of the said. Pantaucus were to go into embassage with the Macedonians to Rhodes: and the men hereto appointed were Parmenio and Mocrenus. They had in charge and commission after the oath taken after hostages & money received, to go to Rhodes, & not before. Good hope they conceived that the Rhodians might be solicited and induced to take arms against the Romans, by using the name of these two KK, at once: and this account they made, if this State which carried the renown and honour above all others for sea-service, would once combine and band with them they should leave the Romans no hope at all, either on land or sea. When these Illyrians arrived, Perseus departed with all his Cavalry from before the height Enopus where he was encamped; and encountered them near Dinum, There were all the complements performed according to the covenants, in the sight and midst of the Cavalry, whom the King, of purpouse would needs have to be present at this accord of association made between him and K. Gentius, supposing that it would comfort & encourage them the more. So the hostages were given and taken in the presence of them all. They also who were to receive the money were sent to Pella M where the King's treasure lay: and those that should go to Rhodes with the Illyrian embassadors had commandment to embark at Thessalonica. Now was Metrodorus there, lately come from Rhodes who affur'd them by the means of Dion & Polyarthus, two principal persons of that City that the Rhodians were pret and ready to war. Whereupon the said Metrodorus was appointed the chief in this embassage of Macedonians and Illyrians together. At the same time likewise was addressed and imparted both unto Eunomus & also unto Antiochus such advice and counsel in common, as the present condition wherein their affairs stood, might minifter & afford argument name-ly. That a free City and a K. were two; by nature enemies that possibly could not fort together: That the people of Rome went in hand with them severally one after another: & that was a greater indignity & unsupported: the force of KK to overthrow the state of KK. For (o) by the aid of Attalus they had brought his father Philip to marry the help likewise of Eunomus, & partly also of his father Philip, Antiochus was defeated; and even now against himself both Eunomus and Perseus were in arms, the kingdom of Macedonia was once subdued, have at Africa next: which the Romans have in some part seized already for their own under a colour of encompassing Cities, & forcing them free: & then they will not leave until they have Syria too. For now is Perseus preferred in honour before Eunomus & Antiochus; for all his conquest is chaited & debared out of Egypt, which ought to have been the recompense of the war by him enteredp & achieved. In these regards Persus advertised each of them to consider & provide therefore either to force the Romans to make peace with him, or else to hold them for the common enemies of all KK, in case they perfified still in so unjust a war. The commision that the embassadors had to Antiochus was apter & open: but unto Eunomus an embassador was sent under a pretence of ransoming certain captives but professed there were under hand more secret complotts which caused Eunomus even then to be impeached & odious unto the Romans, & charged afterward with more grievous matters, although unjust. For he was reputed little better than a traitor & a professed enemy to their state, whereas indeed both he & Perseus trove who could compass, surprize & overtake one another better in fraud & avarice. Now there was one Cypas a Cretefis-
A manward & most secret friend to Eumenes: this man had communed first at Amphipolis with one Chrysus a countriman of his, who served under Perseus in the wars; and afterwards at Demetrias conferred with another named Mecrenataello with a certain third person called Antigonus Brill captains to K. Perseus even under the very walls of the forefald City, Oe iser and beside, Epirus who at this time was sent, had before time been employed in two severall embasses to the same Eumenes. These secret communications and embasses were badly spoken of; but no man knew what between this two KK, Howbeit, the case stood: Eumenes as he had no mind not intention to war upon Perseus, so he was not desirous in his heart that he should have the victory of the Romans: not so much for the old enmity which had been between both their fathers; as for the hateful quarrels kindled among themselves. For this concurrence & emul-

B lation there was between these two Princes, that Eumenes could never abide to see Perseus to purchase so great wealth & so much honour, as he must needs acquire by the conquest of the Romans: he saw moreover, that Perseus from the first beginning of this war fought by all means possible for peace, & the nearer he was to danger & damage, aimed thereafter at every day more than others employing his whole study & care about nothing else. He perceived also that among the Romans, because the war grew to be longer than they hoped and looked for, as well their captains as the Senate were not enough content and very desirous to see an end of so troublesome, hurtfull, and difficult a war. Knowing thus as he did, the mind and will of both parties he enkindled & framed to that which of it itself as he thought might fall out, where the stronger was weakest and the weaker in fear: and therein desired he to shew his double diligence, thereby to win a thank & pur-

C hase favour of both parties. For he entered into bargain with Perseus for a sum of money, one while not to aid the Romans either by land or sea: another whiles to be a means for peace and to treat with the Romans thereof, and not to meddle at all in the war; but to find him the capitulation (I say) for 1500 talents; making semblance and shew, that for the assurance both of the one and the other ready he was not only to swear, but also to put in good and sufficient hostages, Perseus was the willingest man in the world to let in hand with this, as being driven therto by the extent of fear: and presently without delay dealt with him as touching the hostages which were to be received: and in fine concluded it, that they should upon their delivery and receipt be sent into Cret. But when they came to talk of the money aforesaid, he haffed and found, that that; and to lay a truth either of these two sums (between Princes of so great name and honour), was but a bare and dishonest consideration: a thing, much unfitting (I wis) the giver, and most the receiver.

Perseus very for his part, in hope to purchase peace with the Romans, was willing enough to be at the expense of so much money: may he said that he would make payment thereof when the thing was done and accomplished: & in the mean time lay it up safe for that purpose within the temple of Samothrace, Eumenes again considering that the said island was an appurtenance to the dominion of Perseus could not see but that it was alfo for it to lie there and in Pelis and therefore was content to have part thereof in hand. Thus between them there was nothing but lying in the wind of the vantage, which could over reach the other: & what was gained in the end but infamy and discredit? As for Perseus, he not only let fall this design and lost this opportunity: and that by his ignorance only) when by the means of Eumenes he might have had either his money

fire enough, or peace for it (which indeed he should have bought it cost him the one half of his kingdom) and being once received into grace & favour of the people of Rome he might have defamed and brought into obloquy and danger his concurrent, by charging him to have received a piece of money for a bribe, and so juilily have set the Romans upon his top: but also the association with King Grues which now was at the point of a contract, was negled; as ye and a mighty army of Gauls spread at that time all over, and presented unto him, was even then recharged and discharged by this pinching and taxing of his money. For there came and offered their service ten thousand horsemen, and as many foot, and those so well practiced and so good of count

manship that they should be able to hold out & keep pace with horses ye, and run by their sides: such (I say) when the riders were unhorsed and fell, could vault & mount on the empty horse backs ready to fight in their turns. These had bargained to have or pay every horseman ten Philip pieces (of gold) paid down aforesaid, and a horseman five and their Captains thousand, Perseus departed from his league lying near the river Enipeus, and with the one half of his own forces met there coming upon the way, and caused proclamation to be made in all towns and villages near the high wais, To make ready and bring abroad their provision of victuals, and see that there were plenty of corn, of wine, and castel. Himself brought with him horses and trappinges, and fine fouldiers caufcoks to be left as prelents upon the chief of them, with some little sprinkling of gold to deal among a few of them, sippoaling that all the rest besides of common fouldiers, might be drawn on and retained with bare hope. Thus he came to the City of Ahtamass, and encamped upon the bank of the river Axios. But the army of these Galatians were lodged about

Delphi, in the country of Maeceas, and refled there excepting the paimen of the money aforesaid, according to covenant. But Perseus sent unto them Antigonus one of his gallants and coun-

ters, to will and command the multitude of the army to dislodge and remove to Pthrion, a place so called in Porrion, and a good fort of their chief to repair unto him. Now were they three

fore and fifteen miles from the river Axios and the Kains camp. And when Antigonus had de-

liyed unto them this mandat as he had in charge, and added besides, with what care and dilige

tence the King had laid his provisons by the way of all things in great plenty for the army, and

Mmm 2
with what gifts of apparel, silver, and horses, he purposed to receive and entertain their Captains at their first coming unto him: as for that (say they) we shall take knowledge thereof when we are in presence personally: but now for this time, we demand, Whether ye have brought with you in ready coin according to bargain, that gold which is to be paid to the soldiers, as well horse as foot? And when he could make no answer thereunto, but was set a-splume; then the said Claudius their Prince, Go your waies then (eq, he) and tell your King and Matter, that the Gauls unless they may receive the gold, and hostages besides for their security, will not sit one foot forward. Relation being made hereof unto the K., he called his Council: and when it was soon seen what they all would advise him to do, himself, who could skill better to keep his money together, than hold the royal estate of his kingdom, began to enter into a diuourse of a dishonour, and savage nature of these Gauls: making a remonstrance, how he had experience by the calamities and losse of many before him, that dangerous it was to receive so great a multitude of them. That the Gauls forsook the woods of those places which laid nearer to them, to open the road for himself and his forces. And after they had given the waies unto those parts of Thessaly which lay near to their parts, they returned back again to the river Ister, which power of men it had past the strait of Persia into the Thesalians against the Romans (although Perseus had not stirred at all, but fitten still at Epirus) might not only have spoiled and laid bare the territory all about, and empeached the Romans for expecting any victuals there, but also destroyed the towns utterly, while Perseus held the Romans play at Enipeus, that they could not relieve and succour the Cities of their allies and confederates Nay, the very Romans should have enough to do to look unto themselves, considering, that there was no carrying for them, after that Thessaly was lost, which nourished and maintained their army: and past forward they could not possibly, having the Macedonian camp to assist them, but Perseus by that deed, as he confirmed the hearts of the Romans, so quelled not a little the courage of the Macedonians, who depended upon the hope and expectation of their aid by the same miserable pinching of his he strangled also the heart of K. Gentius from him. For when as at Pidias he had paid 500 talents unto those that were sent of purpose from Gentius to receive the same, well content he was that they should deal up that money. Afterwards he sent unto Pontus ten talents, and commanded him to deliver the same to the K. in person: as for the rest signed up with the seal of the Illyrians, he commanded his own men who had the convoy thereof, going in with it to take small journeys, and when they were come to the utmost frontiers of Macedonia, there to ret and attend the messenger from him, Gentius, after he had received as earnest that small portion of the whole sum foresaid, being called upon continually by Pontus and set on to provoke the Romans by some hotly or other, made no more ado, but committed to prince M. Persicinus and L. Petrius, who chanced at that time to come unto him in embassage. Which when Perseus back heard, he had enough, and thought well that Gentius had done that, whereby of necessity he must be forced to wage war with the Romans; and thereupon sent out presently to call thole back who had the carriage of the foresaid talents; as if he had studied and sought for nothing more, than to reserve as great a booty as possibly he could. for the Romans to enjoy, after that they had vanquished and subdued him, Erigon returned likewise from Enipeus, and will not what had been contrived secretely between them. That their treaty was about certain captives, they themselves had given forth abroad, and likewise Eunienes advertised the Consilium to much, for avoiding of all suspicion.

Perseus after the return of Erigon from Eunienes was much dismayed and cast down. Whereupon, he sent Antonius & Calidippe (admirals of his navy) to Tendos with forty pinnaces into which number five Gallions were adjoyned: who from that coast dispersing themselves all about the Islands Cydades, might wait and guard the lighters and hodies charged with corn, as they failed to Macedonia. These ships were put to sea at Caffandreus, and first they fell with the havenis that lie under the foot of the mountain Athos, and from thence passed to Tendos with pleasure in calm seas: where finding certain Rhodian open ships riding in the harbour, they spake courteously to Eunienes their admiral, and let them alone without any hurt at all done unto them. But afterwards upon knowledge, that they hulks of theirs on another side were put up and pent in by the war-ships of K. Eunienes (which rid in the mouth of the haven, and were commanded by Dioction) he turned about in all haste & dispersd the enemies ships with a sudden terror that he put them in, & sent the said hulks & vessels of burden into Macedonia, with a convoy of ten bigantines to wait them over, with this charge. That after they had conducted them past all danger into place of safety, they should return again to Tendos. After nine days they retired toward the fleet anchoring then.
A in the rode of Sigenn. From whence they crost over to Subata, an Island lying between Elege and Achar, it being, that the morrow after the fleet was arrived at Subata, it, a, and thirty ships which they call Hippagesa (serving for the transporting of horses) which came from Elege, having aboard certain hortemen of Gaul, and their horses, made head toward Phenick cape or promontory of the Chians, from whence they might cut over into Macedonia. And these were sent from Eumenus to Attala. Antenor being advertised by a signal given him from a watch-tower, that those ships were discovered under sail in the open sea, looke from Subata; and between the cape of Ephryeas and Chios, where the sea is most narrow, he encountered them. The admirals of K. Eumenus thought nothing les, than that any fleet of Macedonians were abroad in those seas; but imagined one while they were Romans, otherwheres, that it was Attalus or some sent back from Attalus.

B who from out of the Roman camp were falling toward Peganeum. But as they approached nearer, they took knowledge by the form and fashion of their pinnaes, that were, by their haly rowing also and making head full against them, they were not of all doubt that their enemies were at hand. Then they were mightily afraid, as having no hope to resist and withstand them, considering the ships were unwieldy and unhandsome, and the Gauls besides could hardly brooke the very lea without any other trouble. Some of them therefore, who were near to the land laved themselves by swimming to Ephryeas others set up their sails, and being cut upon the Island Chios, fortook their horses, and ran as fast as they could for refuge to the City. But the banks discharged their armed soldiers nearer to the City in a more commodious place for landing, where the Macedonians overtook the Gauls and slew them: some in the way as they fled others before the very gate of the City, being kept out and excluded from thence: for the Chians not knowing either who fled or who pursued, had shut their gates upon them. Nine hundred 'Gallegroes very near, lott their lives and were hewn in pieces, and too taken alive. As for the horses, part perished in the lea after the ships were split and broken, and the Macedonians hauget and cut the strings of their gimbrels of as many of them as they found upon the shore. Twenty of the best and fairest horses, together with the pinnaces, Antenor commanded that those ten ships which he had sent before, should transport to Thessalonica, and return again with all speed to the fleet for that he would expect their coming at Phoina. The fleet laid ab out three days under the City side, but afterwards went forward to Phoina; and when the ten pinnaes aforesaid were returned sooner than they looked for, they set sail in the Aegean sea for Delos.

D In this while the Roman Embassadors, C. Popilion, C. Decimius, and C. Hostius, departed from Charias, and arrived with three Quinqueremes gaines at Delos, where they found forty Macedonian pinnaes, and five roall Quinqueremes galleasses of K. Eumenus. The holines of the Temple and Island wherein it stood afforded security to them all, so as there was no hurt done nor violence offered from one to another. And therefore, as well Romans as Macedonians, and besides the sailors and mariners of K. Eumenus conveyed together, intermingled one with another in the Temple, and the religious devotion of the place yielded them true and honest of holy, 

Antenor the admiral of K. Perseus, when he was advertised from the watch and sentinell, that certain ships of burden were seen far off in the sea, set sail & made after them himself with part of his pinnaes, and part of them he bellowed in wait among the Cyclades, and saving those that directed their course toward Macedonia, he either drowned or spoiled them all. Popilion did the best he could and Eumenus with his ships likewise, to save some; but the Macedonians, who failed by night with two or three pinnaes at the most deceived them and were not discovered.

Much about this time the Macedonian and Ilyrian Embassadors came together to Rhodos, who carried the greatest authority and credit with the Rhodians, by reason not only of the coming of their brigants, which failed to and for ranging over the Aegean sea and among the Cyclades, but also by the conjuncton and association of the two K. Perseus and Gentius, together with a suitor that ran of the Gauls, who were coming with a great number, as well of horse as foot. And now both Dios and Palaemon, who took part with Perseus took more courage and heart unto them by whom means there was not only a gracious answer returned to the Kings, but also pronounced openly, that it was by their authority they would make an end of the war: in regard whereof, the Kings also for their parts were to be disposed and well willing to accept of peace.

Now was it the prime of the spring, when as the new generals were arrived into their Provinces: C. Aemilius the Col. into Macedonia; Q. Asinius to the navy at Orybaeum, and Aemilius into Illyri- cum, whose commiion was to levy war against Gentius. This Gentius was the son of Plemaius, K. of the Illyrians, and Eurides was his mother: two brethren he had, to wit, Potter of the whole blood by father and mother both, and Caraventius only by the mothers side. This half brother he left suspected, by reason of his base parentage from the father; but as for Potter he murdered, together with two especial friends of his Etrurian and Epicadus (brave men of action) to the end that he might reign in more safety and secrecy. The voice goeth that he carried anonious eye to that brother of his, for that he had espoused Erinis the daughter of Honymus the Prince of the Dardanians: as if by this marriage he meant to make himself strong and compine with the Dardanian nation: and the more likelihood this carried with it after he married the damoell. Indeed, when he had made away Potter, and rid himself of the fear that he might have of his brother, he began to molest and oppress his own natural subjects: and as he was by nature given to violence, so that indisposition of his he set on fire with untemperat drinking of wine. But as we saide before, being moved and incited to war against the Romans, he assembled all his forces together.
unto Lissus, to the number of 15,000 armed men, and sent his brother from thence with 1000 foot and 50 horse against the Cevian, for to subdue that nation either by force or fear, whiles himself led his army five miles against the City Baffania from Lissus. Now were the Baffians confederat allies of the Romans: and therefore when they were first solicited by messengers to yield, they resolved rather to endure a siege than do so. As for Corvantineus he was peaceably and friendly received at his first coming into Durium, a town of the Cevians: but Corvantineus another City, made the gates fast against him: and as he gave the waite to the territory about it, certain of his oudiardsragging here and there, were by the peasants and villagers killed, who came forth and made head against them.

And now by this time Appius Claudius having taken him, over and above his own army, the auxiliaries of the Baffians, Apolloniats, and Dyrrachians, diloggod out of the place where he had wintered, and encamped near the river Geeniun. For hearing of the alliance made betwixt Perusius and Gentius, and incendi befor the outrage committed upon the Roman embassadors, whom Gentius put in prifon, he resolved certainly to war upon him, Ancius the Praetor being at that time at Apollonia, and adverified in what terms the affairs loft in Illyrium, dispatched letters before hand to Appius, willing him to attend at Geeniun for his coming: and to within three days after came himself to the camp there: and to those aids which he had of his own he took with him two thousand foot, and two hundred hotte, drawn out of the youth and flower of the Partins. Of the Infantry Epicus had the conduet, and Agathus commanded the Cavairy. With this power he prepared to go into Illyrium, principally for to levy the siege before Baffania: but this design projected by him, was empechd by a bruit that was blown of certain pinasses which waited and spoiled the seas-coasts. A fleet they were together of eighty sail, sent from Gentius by the instigation of Pantamut, to forrage the territories of Apollonia and Dyrrachium. Then the fleet

Which being surrendred, they submitted all, and yielded themselves. And so conveniently other Cities of that country one after another did the semblable: and the inclination & disposition of men minds that way, was much ferter forward by the Clemency and justice of the Roman Praetor which he used toward all. Then they marched to Scodra, the capital place and fea-town of the war: not only for that Gentius had feizd upon it for his own, as the chief strength and forrest of all his realm, but also because it was the strongest piece of all the Labecats nation, and very difficult for access. Enclosed it is with two rivers: to wit, Claafola which runnel through the East side of the City, and Barbaana on the W. Wole, arising out of the marke Labecats. Their tow rivers joyn in one, and are dischared together into the great river Osmundus: which springing from the mount Scodrus, and encreesed fil with the confluence of many other waters and rivulets, falleth at length into the Adriaticke Sea. This Scodrus is the highest hill by odds of all other in those quarter: 0n the east it hath Dardania under it, on the South Macedony, and Illyrium on the West. Albeit, this town was strongly built, by the natural site of the place, and defended by the whole nation of the Illyrians and the King himself in person: yet the Roman Praetor (encouraged with the good success he had at the first, and supposing the fortune of the total war would beanswerable to so happy beginnings, and that a firm and victorious issue would serve him in much stead and prevale) approched the walls of the town with his army ready mustered, and deployed his banners against it. Now if they had shut their gates, and defended their walls and turrets over the gates, with armed guards bestowed accordingly, sorely they had repelled the Romans from the walls, and defeated them of their enterprise clean but they issu'd forth of the gate, and in the plain and even ground gave battell with more animosity and courage than they maintained it with persistance. For being discomfited and driven back, and in the chace hunted by heaps together as they fled, after 200 & above were slain in the very straight entrance of the gate, they put the rett within in such a fright, that Gentius incontinent sent unto the Praetor as Observers, Teniens and Bellus the principal persons of that nation to treat and interest for a fusae of arms, that in the mean while he might debate in counsell and be advized as touching the main estate of his affairs. And when for this purpose he had obtained a grant for three days, and the Romans lay encamp'd from the City halfa mile; Gentius took a barge, and sailing along the river Barana, fell'd into the lake or meer of the Labecats, as if he had fought some secret by-place to constel in. But as it appeare after wards, he was moved upon a certain vain hope of his brother Corvantineus his coming, who was said to be near at hand accompanied with many thousands of fighting men, whom he had levied and brought out of that quarter into which he was sent But when this rumour was over blown & vanish'd to nothing, down the river he went again with the stream the third day after in the same vessel to Scodrus and sent couriers before him to the Praetor, requiring leave to parley & commune with him: which being granted, he entred into the camp. First, he began his speech with acclaming and condemning his own folly: in the end his last revenge was to pour out prayers and theft tears: and so humbling himself at the feet, he submitted to his devotion. The Praetor at the first had him take a good heart unto him and be of good cheer, and invited him to supper: and so he returned to his own people into the City, where he was honorably feastcd that day by the Praetor. But afterwards he was delivered to the guard and keeping of C. Coffinus, a marciall Colonell: and thus receiv'd he of K. Perfeus only ten talents (a mean reward and hardly sufficient to content a simple word-plaier) to engage himself into a world of danger; and being a K, as he was, to fall into this extreme calamity and misery. Ancius having entred upon Scodrus, first before all other things, took order that
A that the two Embassadors foresaid, Petrus and Perpenio should be sought out and brought unto him: whom after he had restored to their pristine estate and reputation, he sent Perpenio presently to apprehend the friends and kinsfolk of the King: who took his way directly to Medea, City of the Labeans, and brought with him into the camp: at Scenida Elenus the Kings wife, with her two Servitors and Pleumani, together with Caradonius the K. his brother. Thus Antioch having ended the Illyrian war within the compasse of thirty daisies, sent Perpenio to Rome with tidings of this victory; and within few daisies Egestis himself after him together with his mother, his wife and children, his brother, and other UI. of the Illyrians. This was the only war achieved and brought to an end, before they heard at Rome that it was begun.

During the management of these affairs, Perpenio also was in great fear and affliction, by reason of the coming of L. Emelius a new Consul (who as the voice went marched against him with great menaces) together with Octavius the Praetor. Neither was he less terrified with the Roman navy and the danger of the sea-coasts. Emelius and Athenaeus had the keeping and command of the galleys with a small garrison of two thousand targettiers. Thither he sent Captain Andreae also, with commandment to encamp close to the very harbor where the ships lay in rode. Unto Emelius he sent one thousand horsemen under the leading of Antigonus, to guard the sea-coasts, to the end that in what part forever they heard the enemies ships were arrived, they might incontinent advance to the succour of the peacans and country people. Five thousand Macedonians were likewise sent to lie in garrison at Pythium and Petra, under the command of Hystias, Theogenes and Midon. After these were departed, he went in hand to fortifie the bank of the river Emelius: because it was passage of the very channell on dry foot. And to the end that all the multitude should be employed hereabout, the very women were compelled out of the towns adjoining, to bring virtuals into the camp. The soldiers were commanded from out of the woods near by.

Finally, the water-bearers in leather bits or botte's, were commanded to follow him to the sea, which was a quarter of a mile off: and thereupon they flood to dig pits, some in one place, and some in another, a pretty distance aunder. The exceeding height all about him in good hope (and the rather because they sent out from them no rivers to be seen in open view,) that they contained within them some hidden springs, the veins whereof draining into the sea, were intermingled with the sea-water. They had scarcely sunk through the uppermost course of land above, when they might see small sources to boil up, as the first troubled, but after ward they began to yield fier and clear water in great abundance: by a speciall gift (as it were) of the gods above. And even this Occurrent also enriched the name and reputation of the Captain with his soldiers. Then after he had commanded his men to make ready their armour, himself with the martiall Tribunes and the principalfor most ranks, marched to recognise and view the paffages, and to see where the armed men might defend with ease, and where they might with least trouble mount up the bank on the farther side. When he had taken a sufficient survey hereof, he foresaw & gave direction aforehand, for all things to be done in the army in good order without trouble and tumultuous noise, even at the very back and commandment of their leaders. For when a armies be affected in pronounct to sit and sit still, it is apparent that every man is not within the hearing: and to recommence under the general and commandment of others, is some more of their own head to that which was commanded: and others do least again for it: and also were affrighted from all parts disannoint, and by this means the enemies know sooner whereabout the army go, than many of themselves. Therefore to avoid this confusion, he ordained that every martall Colone should give a secret watch-word to the principal Centurion of the legion, and round him in his ear what he would have done: then he and to forth every one should deliver unto each Centurion as he is next in rank and place, what was to be executed: whether it was that the commandment was to be carried from the front of the army to the tail, or from the rearward behind to the vanguard before. He brought up a new order and custome, forbidding the watchmen to carry with them any targets to their lenticles: for the that watchman was not out to fight, whereby he he needed any armure, but to keep watch: that when he descried the enemies coming, he might retire himself, and raise others to take arms. Item, he ordained that the helmettiers or armature should stand upon their feet, having their shields upright before them: and when they were weary, to lean and bear upon their javelins, and setting their head upon the edge of their shields to take a nap and sleep: to the end that their glittering armure might be discovered a far off the enemy, whereas himself could not see in front him. The manner also of warding in the day time, and of the corpor de guard he altered clean. For whereas they were wont to stand all the day long armed, and the horsemen holding their horses bridled; it fell out to that in summer daies when ordinarily the sun is extrem and torching hot, both horse and man became weary and languisht again with abiding so many hours in the heat, and ostrometimes the enemies beingfresh, although they were but few in number set upon them and put them to trouble and hazard enough. He therefore commanded that the morning guard should break up at noon, and others infornced in their places for to ward in the afternoon. By this means the enemy fresh and in heart could never take them weary and to charge upon them. When he had pronounced in a publike assembly gathered together that his will was, that their orders should be observed accordingly he delivered unto them a speech, much resembling the former Oration which he used before to the people within the City of Rome. Namely, 'That the Generall of an army ought only to oversee and provide for all that is meet to be done, sometimne by himself, otherwhiles with those whom he hath joyed
The four and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

*affiliates unto him, as for such as are not called to be of his counsell, they ought neither in pub-
like not in privai to shoot their bolts and give their advice. Three things indeed, the souldier
was to care and provide for, namely, to have a body most strong and nimble withall, his armor
and weapons decent and fit; and thirdly, a spirit prompt and ready at all times to execute any
commandment on a sudden. For all things else he ought to know that the gods immortal and
his General will take care: forasmuch, as in that army wherein the souldiers, the Consuls and
their commander, suffer themselves to be carried away with rumbrous and bruits of the common
fort, it is not possible for any thing to go well forward & come to good effect. For his own part
(according to the duty and devoir of a captain General) he would endeavour and provide to
give them the occasion and opportunity of brave exploits: as for them, they were not to enquire
after any future thing, but as soon as the signal is given, then every man to perform the service
of a doughty souldier and valiant warrior. After these good precepts and instructions, he dismissed
the assembly: and the old souldiers themselves concluded commonly in plain terms, that they
had taken forth a leon that day as young and raw novices, 
and learned in military profession that which they never knew before: neither knew they only by thee and such like words, with what content and general liking they heard the Cofhis speech, but also ratified the same by pre-

tent deed and visible effect. For immediately, you should not have seen over all the camp one man
 idle and doing nothing: some left to whet and sharpen their swords: others furnished their head-
b{e{s,}figs and bowers: some foamed their shields and bucklers: others their cutaees and cost-
less: some fitted and buckled their barrets to their bodies, and tried how they could belter
their limbs and rule their joynts under it: some shook their pikes and struck their javelins: others
branded their swords and lookt that they were sharp at point: So as a man might easily per-
cieve by them, that upon the first occasion pretend of encounter with the enemy, they would
enter into confflct, either to achieve a brave victory, or to die an honourable battle.

Perfect also aon the other side, perceiving that upon the arrival of the Conful and the beginning
of the ipring together, the Roman camp was crowned and raug again with their flitting and ruffling
of armour, as if there had been some new war towards: that they were dislodged from Pyjilae
and encamped upon the bank just over against him: and that now their leader and commander
rode up and down to view and behold his fortifications and works, to spie (no doubt) some way
or other for passage 

* * * * * This encouraged the Romans 
hearts, and danted not a little the Macedonians and their King. At the first, Perfect endeav-
voured to intercept secretly, and stop the burst and fame thereof, by sending out certain of purpoe
to Parmacon (as he came from thence) to forbid him in any wise to approach the camp. But by
this time were certain children been brought by their own parents among the Illyrian hostages:
and look how much more carful order was taken to conceal all, so much the sooner was every
thing set abroad and blured out by the prattle and babbie of the Kings servitors attending about
his person.

About the same time the Rhodian Embassadors came into the Rhodian camp, with the very
same charge and commissio as touching peace, which at Rome had (as the LL. of the Senat in ex-
ceeding heat & cholera, but far worse and hence there they in the council of the camp, & with gree-
ter and & more content. And therefore when some advis'd, that they should be thrust out by head and
shoulders without any answer at all: the Cof pronounced, that he would shape them an answer
after fifteen dies, and not before. Mean while let it might appear what a gally reckoning was
made of these Rhodian peace-makers who came about a pacification: he began instead thereof
to debate in Concall as concerning the means and manner of making war. Some were of opinion
and principally the elders and ancients) to give the allaut, and for to remove or bring all the munitions and defences
planted upon the bank of the river Empres; for that the Macedonians were never able to resist
it, they came upon them hastily and charged them by thick troops: for why? no longer ago (say
they) than the year before, disstrib'd they had been of so many holds both higher and bettur forti-
fied, and the same holdsen with strong garrisons, Others were of mind, that Octavius the Admiral
should with the fleet sail to Thesaly and lay wasting the maritime coasts, to cut off & weary
the kings forces to the end, that upon another war shewed from behind at their backs the K.
might be withdraw and trained about to defend the heart of his realm, and therefore by force in some
fore to open and lay naked the Passage over the river Empres. And Octavius himself was of this judg-
ment, that the bank as wellby the natural site thereof, as for the forces made upon it by mans
hand, was imperfect and not to be gained: & besides the engines planted every where thereupon,
he heard say, that the enemies had the flight and skill to discharge all kind of shot far better and
shout much more deadly: but the invention of the General Eumenes was wholly bent another way:
after he had dissolv'd the assembly of his Concall, he called unto him the M. hans of the
Perrhebians namely Schaus and Menapho (men of approved fidelity and wildom) and of them in
general were encounterd. What kind of passages there were over into Perrhebia? when they an-
swered. That the waies were nothing difficult and dangerous. but only that they were kept and
beef by the Kings guards:he conceived some hope that if he affield them by night with a valiant
compaon, and took them suddently at unawares before they looked for him, he might chase those
{garrisons from their holds: for darts, arrows, and all other shot, served to little or no purpose in
the dark: when a man cannot see his mark at offe before him: but close sword-fight, hand to
hand pell mell, was it that must do the deed: wherein the Roman souldier had no fellow, Minding
therefore
A therefore to use those two as guides, he sent for Ofatius the Prefect: and when he had declared unto him the effect of his desigment, he commanded him to sail with his fleet to Heraclea: and to have with him vessels baked and dried to serve a thousand soldiers ten days. Himself sent out P. Scipio Naevius and Q. Fabius Maximus his own son, with five thousand select soldiers to Hendae, as if they were to be embarked (for to wait the maritime coast of Macedon, lying far within the country, according as it had been before debated in Council: ) secretly under hand; they were given to wit, that there were stands and vehicles in the fleet prepared for them, to the end that nothing should stay their expedition. Then the guides, who were to conduct them in their way, had commandment, so to call their gills and journeys that by three of the clock in the morning the third day, they might affay Pydna. Himself in his own person the next morrow, 

B with intent to amuse the K and keep him from all regard of other enterprises, early by the break of day began to skirmish with the enemies guards in the very mouth of the channel and place of the current. The light armour and formest hopes as well of the one side as the other, maintained the fight: for it was not possible for soldiery heavily armed at all parts, to skirmish in the channel, so uneven as it was. The defect from the banks on either hand to the sea laid chanell, contained somewhat less than three hundred paces, or little better than a quarter of a mile; and the space of the channel between hollowed and eaten with the current, in some places more, in others less, took up little above a mile. In this middle plot was the skirmish maintained within the view and eye of the K. of one side, who looked upon them from the ramper of the camp; and of the Consul of the other, who beheld them standing with his legions. The Kings auxiliaries lightly armed, 

C fought with terror far off, being unarm'd in their darts and other shot. The Romans were more firm and steady, yet and better defended with their rend bucklers or Ligurian shields. About noon the tide the Consul commanded to find the third best man of his men; and so for that day the fray was parted not without much bloodshed on both sides. The next morrow by running they fell to it again, and fought not much more by reason that their blood was up, and their Romains sharpened the day before: but the Romans received hurt not only by them with whom they entraps in fight, but much more also from a number of those who flood in turrents and petry hones crept here and there; who discharged at them all kind of darts and shot, but hurted themess all the same, and when they approached once near to the bank where the enemies were, their bulletts leveled out of engines, commanded and reacht them that were outmost and farthest off. 

D The Consul having left that day more men by many than before, called them to retire somewhat later than the former day. The third day he forbore to fight, but turned aside toward the nearer quarter of the camp, as if he minded to lay passage by an arm of the river that bounded to the sea. Persuading before his eyes

Now was the season of the year past, but read in Summer, and near unto the hour of noon heat. In the day, so they journeyed in a way full of duft, when the inn was exceeding hot; and even now they began to feel thirst and wantiney already, but it seemed evidently, that when high noon was come indeed, they would be more troubled with the one and other. Whereupon Antonius resolved, not to prevent his men thus tormented and afflicted unto the enemies all refresh and in heart: howbeit, so sharp fery they were on both sides and so eager on fights that the Consul had 

E as much need by some cunning cast or other to deceive and beguile his own men, as to divine his enemies. Before they were all embattled and set in array, he was earnest with the marshall Tribunes, and called upon them to make haste and put them in order: himself rode about from rank to rank, by his comfortable words encouraged and incensed the hearts of his foildiers to fight. At the first they were all very busy and called for the signal of battale; but after wards: as the heat of the weather encreased, to their visages seemed les vigorous, and their voices more hoarse, and dull: say, some of them flood leaming on their targets, and rested themselves bearting upon their javelins. Then he made open shew of his meaning, and in plain terms commanded the foremost companies in the vanguard to measure out the forefoot of the camp, and to lay down their baggage: which when the foildiers perceived, some of them there were who rejoicd 

F penly, for that he had not forced them to fight: so weastly as they were with travelling: and during that most Coraching and burning heat. About the General flood his lieutenants with the captains of strangars, and Attalus himself among the rest. All of them allowed and thought well of the matter, all the while they thought no other but that the Consul would very fight: for he had not so much as made them acquainted with this delay and lingering of his. But then seeing the cause altered and the purpose changed, all the rest held their peace: only Naevius of them all was so hardy and bold as to tell the Consul his mind and admonish him to take heed; that he suffered not the enemy by avoiding fight, to slip and escape out of their hands, like as he had mocked and beguiled other Generals before him: for he feared much, lest he would dilodge: and depart in the night: and so they should be driven to pursuie him with exceeding great travel and danger in to the inland middle parts of Macedon: so as the army should be put to wander up and down about through the blind lanes and over the narrow strights of the Macedonian mountains; like as it happt to other Captains before him. And therefore he counselled him in good sense, while he had the enemy within the open plain field, to charge upon him and not to lose the opportunity of a goodly victory now present. The Consul, nothing at all offended with this frank advertisement of so noble a young gentleman, said no more but thus unto him: "The day hath been (Naevius) when I carried that spirit with one which you do at this present and the time that was."
time will come when you will be of that mind, of which I am now. Taught I am by experience H
of many adventures and initiatives in war, to know, when it is good time to fight, and when it is
better to forbear and stand still. For this present needlets is is and booles (hasting as we do now)
arranged in order of battle) to tell you what motives they be, that induce me to think it better
to be quiet and not to stir this day: another time demand the reasons thereof: and let content
I advise you, with the authority and credit of an old warrior and experienced Captain. The
young man was blank and said not a word: persevered he was doubliers, that the Col, some
impediments to lay the battle, which to himself appeared not, Paulus, when he perceived that the
camp was let and quartered out, & the carriages belowed accordingly, drew first out of the teure
guard the Principis then afterwards the Principis, whereas the Hostis or pikes kept their standing
full in the vanguard (if haply the enemies should offer battle:) at the last he withdrew them al
so, beginning first at the right point, taking by little and little the soldiers from every enenige one
after another. By this means were the footmen had away without any stumble and tumult, and the
horiemen together with the light armours opposed against the enemy in the front and head of the
main battel before the enemies: neither was the Cavallry called back from these stations where
in they were placed, until the forefront of the rampier and trench was fully limied. The K, like
wife, who without any reftfull of battel had stood ready that day to fight, consented himself
with this that he knew the day thereof was occasioned by the enemy, led his companies back into his
camp. After the Romans were encamped and well fortifed, C. Sulpius Galca, martiall Colonel
of the second legion, who had been Praetor the year before, by permission of the Consil called the
fouldiers to a general audience, and before them all declared and pronounced, that the next night
following there would be seen an eclipse of the moon, from the second hour of the night until
the fourth; and this he did, because no man should wonder theareat, as if it were a prodigies ro
ken. Also he made demonstration unto them, that it might be well fore-known and fore-told,
because it as a thing coming at certain times by the ordinary course of nature. For like as they
nothing marveled at the rising and going down both of sun and moon at seft hours, nor to see the
moon sometimes shine bright out at the full otherswhiles in the waing, giving light only with the
small stirps of her horns: even so they ought not to make a wonder and miraculous marst of it,
that thee should be dark when her body is hidden by the Shadow of the earth. Thus the moon
was eclipsed at the hour before prognoticated overniglht before the:even of the Nones of Sep
ember: by occasion where of, the Roman fouldiers hold Callic as a deeply learned sage, and a di-
L
vine Philosopher: but contrariwise, the Macedonians were troubled with the fight thereof; as an
heavie prodigy, pertending and prafing the ruin of that realm and the utter deftruction of the
whole nation. And surely the holling and yelling which they made in their camp all the while,
until the moon recovered her full light again, was a very prognotication and predicaror of the
leets. The morrow after both the armies were to hall, as and greedy of fight, that both K, and Col,
were blamed by some of their own fouldiers, for that they went out of the field the day before,
and Warwick not battel, As for the K, he had his estate and defense ready not only because the ene
my retired the fight first, in open view of all men: and so rettled his forces into his camp, but also
in that he had pitch and rangd his ensigns in such a place: unto which the Macedonian battel,
called Phalare, could not advance: considering that with the smallest disadvantage of the ground,
there is no use at all thereof. The Col, for his part, as the day before he seemed to have prearante
and left the opportunity of a combat, yes, and to have given the enemy advantage to depart in the
night-leson (as he had said) to now also be trilled out on the time making semblance of facti
cile, whereas the sigall of battel at the point of day was put forth for the fouldiers to enter into the
field. Well at the last, when the farrace was duly performed, about the third hont of the day,
he assembled his Counsell about him: where, some there were that thought he prolonged the time
on for purposes, with his difficure and unfeasible situations, and spent that opportunit
ity, which should be employed better in fight and execution of some worthy exploit. Hoewer,
other some speeches which, the Col, made an Oration unto his fouldiers in this wise, "Pub Nahe
(qd, he a right valiant young gentleman, of all those that advised to give battle yesterday, was
the only man that uttered his mind, and acquainted me with his counsell; yet afterwards, even
he held his peace, and kept silence, in such a way, as he seemed to change his opinion, and to be of
my mind in the end." Some others there be that have taken a general course by themselves, and
thought it better to slip at their General behind his back than to admonish him to his face.
For me, I will not think much nor make it dainty, to render a reason both to you, O PJN,
and to them also who have thought the same that you did (altho' they carried it more secretly)
why I made such stay and deferred battel, For, so far off, and 1 by repelling on our yesterdays
reports, that I am of this belief, as how that means and politic alone missed the whole ar
my. And because none of you may think that I have taken up in a pitch; and hold that opinion
of mine without just cause, let him consider & dispute together with me (if he think so good)
what advantages the enemies had, & how many things made us, first and formost how
far they furnis us in number, assured I am that none of you either was ignorant before, or
could chuse but observe and mark yesterday, seeing their army how it was thrilled and throng
left behind to guard the carriage, we yet we at last the most towards the keeping of
our baggage. But suppose we had been all there together. How then think we, I pray you,that

As we have not enough of it, even out of this very camp wherein we have reeled one whole night, to go either this day or to morrow at the farthest, with the leave and power of the gods into the field, if you shall to think good? Skillett it not indeed, and is it all one, to bid a loundier take arms, whom neither the travel of this dayes journey, nor toll of laborious work hath tainted and wearied, but is at quiet, yea andireth within his tent & so to bring him forth into the field for a battel lusty and strong, full of bodily vigour of heart: or to outer and expose unto the enemy who is hearty and breth, who hath taken his rest and ease, & hath brought with him to a fight, his strength entire and whole not foiled or spent upon any occasion: to pretend, I say, unto such an enemy, a loundier tried with long journey upon the way, wearied with carrying carrying his burden all molten to sweat and dropping therewith, his throat torched for thirst, his face and eyes full of dust, and all his body arrayed against the noon-him, now tell me, by the eye to the gods, what is he that being in this so good a plight, were he the vertest bearand coward otherwise in another country could not fold and beat out of the field the hardiest & most valiant man that is? Moreover, what should I say how material & important this also was that our enemies had marshalled their battalions with great leisure after long time of rest: that they had repaired and refreshed their own strength, & flood ranged every man orderly in his own rank, whereas we were at one instant both hastily to embattel and set our men in array,yea, and also to fall to skirmish bell melt without all order? But may some men say, True it is, our battel indeed we should have had much out of square and shimbled in great confusion: yet our camp was well fortified; we had forecastl and provided for good watering, the pallege thereof was good.

C & so be reason of strong guards placed every way: & all coasts were cleared about us by our espials. Nay, I wis, but contrariwise, nothing (to say truly) was ours, but the bare & naked plain field where we were to fight. Your ancelors in times past, efceem ed a camp fortified with rampiers and trenches, as good as a port and harbor of lurking, for an army against all chances and misfortunes whatsoever: from then to high forth, & thither to retire for safety, after they had been toiled and beaten with the tempest of a battel. And therefore when it was emplaced round about with good defences, they had a care also to erect & strengthen it with strong guards for a much as he that hath lost his camp is turned out of it is ever holde for vanquished, norwithstanding he won the day & had the better in the field. The hold of a camp iereth for a place of retreat to the conqueror: & refuge to the conquered. How many armies could

D I reckon whilshaving iped but badly in the battel, were driven to take their leisters yet after wards leeing their time, and trying their vantage otherwhiles failed forth & in the turning of an hand replied and dillcomet the enemy, for all his former victory? This test and retreat of foildiers in time of war, remembeleth as a man would say, another native country of theirs: the rampier setteth instead of walls the tent and pavilion is to every loundier his house and home, & And should we have fought indeed like vagabonds without any place of mansion wherunto we might betake our selves after victor? But against these difficulties and empeachment of giving of battel, this one thing is objected: How and if the enemy (say home) had gone his winces last night between what a foul deal of trouble & sorrow should we have endured again in pursuing him as far as to the heart, say, to the farthest confines of Macedon: But I for my part verily hold this

F for certain, that if he had ever meant to have flarted from hence, he would never have laid thus here as he hath done, nor brought his forces out into the field. For how much more easie was it, for him to depart & be gone when we were farther off, then now when we are ready to tread upon his heels, and go over his back? Surely he could not possibly have given us the slip but we should have been aware of his dislodging either by day or night. But, &say he had gone his waies, what could we have wished more at the gods hands; than to set upon the back part of the enemies in the open plain ground, departing in disarray disband one from another, & they abandoning their fort and strong hold, and whole camp intact more faire upon an exceeding high and steep bank of ariver, fortothrighted also with a rampier, and many a fence and turrett beside we gave the venture to affunk? Lo, what the catle were, why the battel was put off from yesterdays to this prent, For I must tell you, I am as willing my self to try the fortune of a field as any other;

and to that end became the advenues to the enemy over the river. Empus were stopped up agaist us. I have found a new way through another pass and strait, by dissolving the guards of the enemies there left; and never will I give up until I have deieted him quite, and brought this war to an end. After this occasion all kept silence partly for that many of them were wont to his opinion and partly because they feared to find fault to no purpose & to give offence, when a thing however once past cannot be recalled and amended. But that day neither, was there battell fought, for any great defrate that the Consil or King had thereto. The King wished it not, for he was now to charge his enemies, not weary of their way at the day before, nor troubled about their embatteling in such fort & hardly at the last brought into order. The Consil had no great fomack thereto, for that his camp newly pitched, was provided neither of well nor forragge brought in and laid up already: and for the pursuayce thereof, out of the villages and fields near at hand, many of the soldiers were gone abroad forth of the camp. And thus when neither of the Generals were willing thereto, mere chance and fortune (which is more powerful than all the counsel and policy of man) made means and gave occasion of a battel. There was a river not very great, near to the enemies camp, whereas both Romans and Macedoni men watered: and on either bank side certain guards kept their stations for the very security.
as well of the one part as the other. Two Cohorts there were for the Romans of Matrinanes and Pelignians, footmen; two troops or cornets besides of Simitt horsemen; all commanded by <i>Mr. Sergius Syrus</i> a lieutenant. Over and besides, another standing <i>corps de guerre</i> quartered before the camp, containing three cohorts, namely, of Firmian, Vethine, and Cretonian footmen, together with two troops of Placentine and Efferian horsemen, all conducted by lieutenant <i>Octavius</i>. Now when all was well and quiet about the river, and no tide provoked or challenged other; it fell upon that a tempest broke of the Romans about the fourth hour of the day brake from the hands of those that had the tending and keeping of such, took the river and made toward the bank of the farther side: & when three soldiers followed after crost the water a short knee-deep to catch him, the Thracians began to train the jade from the midst of the river to their bank side but after one of them was slain, the Romans recovered the beast again & retired to their own guard. Now there was a <i>litter corps de guerre</i> of 800 Thracians upon the bank which the enemies kept from whence some few at first, taking it to the heart that a countian of theirs should thus be killed becames their face, traversed very over the river in purgity of that hole had slain him; afterwards more and more, and in the end all followed after, and together with that guard led their leaders to the battell. Men were moved with a reverence of the memory of his part, as was <i>Le General</i> also with respect of the honour and glory of the man otherwise, and above all, with the regard of his age: for that being about three years old he did undergo the offices and parts of young men in the adventures of great and travel danger. That void space which was between the light targetteers, called <i>Cetoreis</i>, and the thick battallions named Phalanx, the legions took up clean, and blew within the battell of the enemies. Behind the <i>Cetoreis</i> was this legion and had at front them the Pavoiers called <i>Aglafides</i>, with repelidem or thinning shields. Those of them who had been Consul beforetime, was commanded to lead against the battell of other Pavoiers called <i>Lennafides</i> with white shields. And that was the main battell of the enemies. Against the right flank from which quarter the skirmish first began about the river, the Elephants were conducted together with a wing of confederat horsemens and from thence began the Macedonians to fly. For like as many new devices and inventions of men, vary some shew in appearance of words when they are first spoked of: but come to practice and try them once, and not to argue and dispute how they should be put in execution, they vanish away without effect and prove just nothing: even so at that time, the Elephants bare a name only in the battell, without any use or service at all. That violence of the Elephants (as it was) the Latine allies seconded immediately and forced the left flank to retire. Then the second legion was put forth and in the midst entred upon the Phalanx and put it to flight; neither was there any cable of victory more evident than this, namely, that many skirmishes there were in divers places, which at the first troubled the Phalanx, and afterwards disconcerted it. True it is that to abide the force thereof is impossible, so long as it keepeth close united together & putreth forth their sharp pointed pikes bent thick coupled together brieve-high: but if a man by changing the fame here and there, force them once to turn about those pikes, which for their length and heavy weight are unwieldy and hard to guide, they soon are intangled and catch one within another unto a verso: but in case it fall out so that there be any tumult made either allank or behind, then there enueth a general trouble and commotion of all, as if they all at once came tumbling down; like as it hapned then, when as against the Romans, who sbateil them by troops in sundry parts, they were driven to break their Battalione into many places, as it were, and so to make head & affront the enemy. But the Romans espied where there was a breach made and lane left between, and there they would intrude and wind in with their ranks and files: who, if they had runnopen the front of the Phalanx closed ranged together with their whole battallion, they had encompassed and entangled themselves within their pikes: which in the beginning of the conflict hapned to the Peligns, as they undefinedly dealt with the targetteers called <i>Cetoreis</i>, and had never been able toiffin that battallion thick and couched together. But as there was a cruel slaughter committed upon the companies of the infantry in every place five only those that flung away their weapons and fled: so the oudiers of the Cavalry departed in manner late and found out of the conflict. The <i>K</i> himself was the first man that fled: and now by this time was escaped beyond <i>Pelins</i> and with his cornets of horsemens which they call <i>Sacred made hallo to Pela</i>. Anon after followed <i>Confident</i> and the Cavalry of the Odrysians consequent, other troops and companies of Macedonian horsemens departed and kept their arrais unbroke; for that the Phalanx or battallion of the footmen between which kept the conquerors occupied in execution, put them quite out of remembrance to pursuit the men of arms. A long time continued the massacre of this Phalanx afront, afflack & behind. In the end, they who escaped the hands of the enemies & fled without weapons to the sea; some took the water and stretching forth their hands to them that were aboard in the ships, most humbly besought them for to save their lives: and when they saw the small pinnaces and cockpit making space on all hands toward them from the ships they imagining that their coming was to catch them for their prisoners rather than to kill them outright, waded farther into the water, yes, and some swam forward: but when they saw they were by them of the boats salin in all hostile manner like enemies, as many as could, swam back again to land: where they met with a thouer mischief, and were worse plagued than before: for the Elephants (driven by their governors to the shore) trode them under foot and crushed their guts out. All men generally agreed in this point. That never at any one field, were so many Macedonians defeated and killed by the Romans: for 2600 men were
were there slain, and to the number of 6000 (who fled to Pydna out of the battle) came alive into the enemies hands: 5000 besides were taken prisoners, as they fled scattering and disbanded here and there. Of the victors, there died not above an hundred, and the more part by far of Pergamians; but a greater number somewhat were hurt and wounded. And if the battle had begun sooner, that the winners might have had day enough to follow the chace upon their enemies, all their forces had been utterly defeated and daunted by the sword: but now the night coming upon them, as it covered and shadowed the enemies that fled, so it caused the Romans not to be so hastily and forward in pursuit; considering they were not acquainted with the coasts of the country. Perfect fled to the forest; Porsena by the post rode away with a great number of horsemen and his royal train about him. So soon as he was entred the forest where the way divided into Funyrdy and divers parts, seeing that the night approached, he turned out of the high beaten way with very few of his most loyal and faithful friends. The horsemen being thus abandoned and lost, defir'd of their leader, first some one way and some another home into their own cities; certain of them (but very few) recovered Pella before Porsena himself; because they rode a direct and ready way. The K. was much troubled and vexed until midnight almost, what to fear and what with difficulty to find out the way. When he was come to Pella, Enlalus the Governor thereof, and the kings pages, were ready attendant at the court to wait upon him and do him service: but contrary-wise, of all those friends who escaped safe out of the battle and chanced by variable adventures to come into Pella, there would not one come at him; notwithstanding they were often-times sent for. Three only bare him company in that flight of his, to wit, Eumander of Crete, Neoptolemus of Argos, and Archidamus the Aitolian. Fearing therefore left they who relish'd to come unto him, would soon after enthrone some greater matter against him; with those three he fled still forward, about the fourth watch of the night. After him there followed upon 500 Cretensians, Toward Amphipolis he went; but he departed in the night from Pella, making all the halt he could to pass over the river Axios before day-light, supposing that the Romans would give over the chace there, by reason of the difficult and dangerous road.

The Consul being returned into the camp with victory, (because he should not have the fruition of sincere and perfect joy) was greatly disquieted and troubled about his younger son, and that was P. Scipio, surnamed also afterwards Africanus, because he raised the City of Carthage: the natural son he was of the Consul Publius, and the adopted nephew or grand-child of Africanus: he was at that time 17 years of age, and (which augmented the sorrow of the father) whilsts he followed in chace the enemies upon the spur, was carried by the preb a contrary way, in such fort, as it was late ere he returned: and then the Consul having recovered his again safe and found, felt the joy of a greater victory, and not before.

When the burnt and news of this battle was arrived at Amphipolis, and that the dames and wives of the City ran flocking into the Temple of Diana, whom they call Theapodos, to beseech and call for her aid, Dileomus the chief Governor of the City, hearing the Thracians (who were 2000 in garrison) left in that tumult and garboils they would spoil and rife the City, most hastily informed a fellow on per observation in guise and shew of a letter-carrier, and received from him letters in the midsts of the market-place: wherein it was written. That the Roman fleet was arrived in Euboea, and that the territories all about were pitifully walled by them; and therefore the rulers and captains of Ematdia requested his help to send a garrison to succour them against their foragers. When he had read these counterfeit letters, he exhorted the Thracians to undertake this expedition and to go into Ematdia for to guard the coasts thereof: giving them to understand, that considering the Romans were loollly fringeing and scattered about the fields and villages, they might make a foul havoc and slaughter of them, and besides rife and bring away with them a great booty: with all, he forges not to elevate much as he could, the fame of the forfald unhappy field fought, saying, That if all had been true, there would have been messengers coming thick one after another upon their flight, to bring fresh tidings still therof, Under this pretence he sent away the Thracians; and so soon as he law they were pass'd over the river Strymon, insensibly he flung the G. gates. The third day after the battle fought came Perfect to Amphipolis, and from thence he sent Orators to Panaus with an herald of peace. Mean-while Hypias, Midon, and Pantaclus the Kings principal friends, went themselves to the Consul, and intende'd unto the Romans Berrises, whether they had retir'd and fled immediately out of the field. Other Cities also bracken with fear one after another, prepared to do the like.

* The Consul, after he had sent to Rome with tidings and letters of this victory, Q. Fabius his own son, together with L. Lentulus and Q. Mertellus, gave the spoil of the enemies army thus lying deserted, unto his footmen: but the horsemen he allowed the booty of all the territory round about, with condition, that they should not be absent from the camp more than two nights. Then, he removed nearer unto the sea and lodg'd about Pydna, first Berrises (as is beforeold) yeelded; then Thessalonica and Pelion and consequently, all Macedonia while-teen within two days was surrendred. But the Pydneans who were next unto him, as yet were beholding with sending their embassadors: the reason was, for that the confud confuion cloudier of many nations, and the disorder'd multitude of those that fled out of the field, and were all met there together, hinder'd the counsel and content of the whole City: so as the gates were not only took but also mur'd up. Now were Midon and Pantaclus sent to part under the walls with holo, who lay there with a garrison: by whose means the whole troop and multitude of armed men was sent away, the City rendred up and the pillar given to the fouldiers.
The five and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

The five and fortieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the five and fortieth Book.

Percius was taken prisoner by Psmylus Paulus in Samothracia, when Antiochus, King of Syria besieg'd Ptolomæus and Cleopatra, King and Queen of Egypt, Embassadors were sent from the Senate of Rome, willing Antiochus to give over, and besiege no more an effeclive King unto them: but when
The five and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

When he made answer to this, their message delivered, that he would consider better what he had to do, Popilius one of the said Embassy's with his rood that he had in his hand drew a circle about the king, and charged him to give him another answer before he went out of that circle: by which under-though, and blush behavior, he forced Antiochus to lay away arms and forsook war. Divers Embassadors of States and Kings came with congratulation, and were admitted into the Senate. As for that of the Rhodian besiegers in the late war they stood out and took part against the Roman: it was excluded. The morrow after, when it was debated in council about making war upon the Rhodians, the Embassadors pleaded the cause of their country in the Senate: So, they neither had a friendly dispatch and forswore, as allied sovranets yet were bent away as preferred enemies. Macedonia was now reduced into the form of a Province, Amylius Paulus triumphed, notwithstanding the conduct of his own soldiers, disconsolat for that they were pinched & curs'd short in the pillage: & although Ser, Sulpius Galba interpret'd himself & gain'd it, He led before his chariot Perucus with his three sons. And that the joy of this triumph of his should not be entire and accomplished, but that it was with the death of his two sons: the one died before, the other after the fighting. The Court took a review of the City, in which were a seal'd and enrolled in their fabulous books 312,005 citizens. Brutius King of Bithynia repaired to Rome, he rejoys with the Senate in their behalf for the victory and conquest of Macedon, where he commended unto the Senate his son Nicomedes. This he misdain'd King, made all of slattery, pam'd himself the un-franchised vafl'd of the people of Rome.

Quintus Fabius, L. Lentulus, and Q. Metellus, the messengers of the late victory, albeit they made all the haste that possibly they could, made speedily to Rome, yet found the joy thereof to have prevented them: for the fourth day after the battle fought with the King, even as the plays and games were exhibited in the New-place, there was heard fuddainly at first, a confounding humming noise, which spread over all the companies of the spectators, That a field was fought in Macedonia and Persia vanquished: afterwards arose a more clear and evident voice, which grew at length to a open shout and clapping of hands, as if certain news had been brought of the said victory. The magistrates wondered great, and made search after the author of this suddain gladness; but none would be found: and then view it pass'd away as the momentary joy of some vain and uncertain occurrence; howbeit a joyful preface of some good luck fell'd in men's hearts and remained behind, But after that was confirmed by the true report and relation of Fabius, Lentulus, and Metellus, which they made at their coming, all men rejoice as well at the fore-going of their minds, as for the victory itself. This joyous conceit of this assembly in the New-place, is reported otherwise, and carrieth with it no less probability and likelihood of truth, in this manner: Upon the 22 of September (which was the second day of the solemnity of Romans games) as the Consul was going up to the lifts for to set out the running of the chariots, a post by report (who said he was come out of Macedonia) presented letters unto him, which where deck'd with lawrel. The Consul then so soon as he had set foot on foot the race, presently mounted up into his own chariot: and as he rode through the New-place toward the common affairs, he shewed unto the people the said laurel letters: which being once seen, the people presently forgetting all their sports and games ran out into the mids of the circle & thither the Consul, assembling the Senators unto whom when he had read the letters, by the advice and assurance of the L. E, even before the publick frages and affidaffs, he publish'd the contents therof to all the people in this manner, That L. Amylius his colleague had fought a new field with K. Persius. That the army of the Macedonians was discomfited and put to flight, That the King himself was fled with some few of his train, and that all the Cities of Macedonia were subdued and brought under the subjection of the people of Rome. Th[e] tidings were no sooner heard, but there arose a shout with exceeding great applause, so much as many men there left the fight of these divers, and carried these joyful news home to their wives and children. This was the thirteenth day after the battle given in Macedonia, The morrow after the Senate assembled in Curia (11 l, 151) and ordained it was that public proceedings should be solemniz'd: an Act also pass'd, that the Consul Amylius should dismis all those that had taken the military oath, excepting only the 150,000 soldiers and mariners, and as for the discharging of those fouldiers, agreed it was, that it should be moved in the Council-chamber, when the Lieutenants were arrived and come from L. Amylius the Consul: for they had dispatch'd a courier with letters before them. Now these messengers aforesaid enter'd the City the 25th of September: about the second hour of the day, and drew after them a mighty train of those who encountered them upon the way wherefover they went, accompanied them to Rome: and so directly went to the market-place and tribunal seat. In forlorned that the Senators sat then in the ordinary Curia, or Council-house, and thither the Consul brought the Embassadors, where they were received and held to long only as they might declare these points. How great the Kings forces were, as well in foot as horse: how many thousand were slain: how many taken prisoners: what small loss of Roman soldiers that great defeat of enemies collo: how few they were in number that the King fled with: that it was supposed he would pass into Some: that he was in readiness to make way after them in chief: and that it was not possible for him to escape either by Land or Sea. And then anon they were brought forth before the general assembly of the people, where

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tem made relation of the same. And then the joy was renewed upon proclamation made by the Consul, That all the facted temples and churches should be let open: and that every man should depart out of the assembly to render thanks unto the Gods: in such sort, that all the temples of the Gods throughout the whole City were replenished with mighty multitudes and congregations of men only, but also of women. Then the Senate met again in the ordinary Curia, and ordain’d that publick processions and thanksgiving should be made for five days together in all Churches and Chappells and at every Altar for the happy and fortunate issue of L. Emilius, and that greater head of beasts should be killed for sacrifice. Also that the ships which had ready rigged and well appointed in the river Tyberis for to be sent into Macedonia, in case it had to fail out, that the King had been able to have refit, should be retired and drawn to land, and to laid up dry in their docks and arsenals: also that the mariners should be called, after the receipt of a whole years pay, I and together with all those who had sworn to serve the Consul, should have their consig and passport to be gone, 

And, "he, that all the founders of Carthage, Blundisham, about the Adriatic sea, or in the territory of the Larnats (for in all these there was an army set in readiness, wherewith C. Licinius if need required should have succour’d his colleague) should have their discharge. All processions were published in the still assembly of the people, to begin * from the tenth day of October, and to hold on five days after.

Out of Illyricum, all two lieutenants of messengers, to wit, L. Lucinius Nerone and P. Decius, brought word that the army of the Illyrians was defeated: that King Geminus was taken prisoner, & that all Illyricum was reduced under the obedience of the people of Rome. For whics exploits achieved by the leading and conduct of L. Amendus the Pretor, they declared a solemn procession to be holden for three days, like as also the Latinfeal & holy- days were observed by the Consul for to be holden the * ninth, tenth, and eleventh days of November. Some have recorded, that the Rhodian Embassadors had not yet their dispatch, nor were sent away, but after the news of this victory, were called into the town in many and of such foritn, insolence and pride of their own, And then Agrippa the principal person of them spake in this manner, “That the Romans had sent them to death in securely, and that was necessary, and of that foritn, insolence and pride of their own."

And the Senate made answer again, “That the Rhodians had sent that embassy not regarding the good and profit of Greece, nor yet for any care they had of the expenses defrayed by the Romans but only in love and favor of King Perseus. For if they had been respective unto them (as they would make semblance and have the world to think) should they have addressed their Embassadors when as Perseus invaded Thessaly with an army, & for two years space perficated and plagued the cities of Greece, bejeging some, & frighten’ others with menaces of war yet all that while, nor a word with the Rhodians as touching peace. But after that they heard once that the Romans were mounted over the frontiers and passed through into Macedonia, that King Perseus was shut up and enclosed sure enough for starting any way, then and not before, they could send M an embassage for no other reason in the world but to rid and deliver Perseus out of that imminent danger which threatened him so near hand. With which answer the Embass, were sent away, about the very same time M. Marcellus being departed out of his government in the province of Spain, after he had forced and won Marcidona a renowned and famous City in those parts, brought home with him and bestowed in the publick treasury ten pound weight of gold, and about a million of Selleres in silver coin."

Paulus Emilius the Consul lying encamped (as is beforeaid) near Syra in the Odomandian territory, when he saw the letters from King Perseus brought unto him by three Embassadors of base condition, went (by report) himself; to consider the lability of this world, and the fickle state of mankind: to see (I say) that he who ere while could not rest content with the royalty of Macedonia, N but would needs war upon the Dardanians and Illyrians and levy the aid of the Baltharmans, was now after the loss of his army, as one exiled out of his own Kingdom, driven into a small land, where, like a poor suppliant he remained in foarte, not by means of his own forces, but through the religious protection of a sanctuary & priviledged place, But when he read the supercription of the letter with this title, King Perseus to the Consul Paulus, greating, he could no more pity him, for thinking of his blockish folly, in that he had no sense and feeling of the calamity and misery wherein he stood. And therefore albeit the contents of the letter otherwise were praisers of demis and abject, as little favored of a princely mind, yet was that embassage dismissed without answer and without letters. Perseus soon perceived what title it was that he must lay down and forget now that he was vanquished: whereupon he addres’d other letters in quality of a private person without any other addition at all: and by those he craved, so obtained he likewise, that certain agents should be sent unto him, with whom he might parley and comminie as touching the state and condition of his present fortune. So three delegat Embassadors were sent unto him, namely, P. Lentulus, A. Polibium Albinus and A. Antonius. But nothing was effected in this agency of Embassage; whiles Perseus stuck hard and labour’d all he could to hold still and keep the royal name of King, and Paulus endeavoured contrary wise, that he should submit himself and all that he had
A to the protection and clemency of the people of Rome. During these debates and affairs between them, the fleet of Cr. Otho was arrived at Samothrace, who also presenting before their eyes fearful objects of terror, went about to force him as well by threats and menaces, as to win him by hope of fair integrity and good usage to yield and submit; and herein he found some help by means of an occurring, either happen'd by chance and meer adventure, or contrived by mans desire of Set purpose. L. Artius a noble young Gentleman, perceiving that the people of the Samothracians, who met in a general assembly, requed of the Magis tos that he might be permitted to make a short speech unto the people. Good leave he had, and then he began in this wise: "My masters and friends of Samothracia, I would gladly know, whether it be a false table or a true tale which we have heard, That this is a sacred land, and the soil thereof holy and altogether inviolable? When they all accorded in one consent, that the land was as holy and sacred as it was reported: How is it then (eq. he) that a murtherer hath violated and polluted it with the blood of King Eumenes? And considering that in all preambles and prefaces of sacred and divine service promised, they are commanded precisely to avoit from the ministreries thereof, who have not pure and innocent hands; will you suffer in deed your most sacred sanctuaries and devout tabernacles to be tainted with the bloody body of a thief and fallen? Nothing was a rite report and common built in every City of Greece, That K. Eumenes had like to have been murdered at Delphi by Eunander, the Samothracians, besides that they law their whole land and the said Temple to be in the power and possession of the Romans, took these reproofs and reproaches to touch them neer, and not without just cause: whereupon they lent Theodas, the sovereign magistrate (whom they call Cither K. Junto King Perfens: giving him to understand, That Eunander the Cretencian was charged with murder: also that by usage and tradition from their ancestors, they had full power and authority to proceed by order of law, against all those that were present and eddited for entrenching within the liberties and sacred prefiged of the Temple, with unclean and impure hands. Now if Eunander stand upon his innocency, and know that he is as clear and guileless of the capital crime laid to his charge; let him come to his anwer and plead his cause for his own defence, and shall be heard: but if he dare not hazard the just trial of the same, retire he and depart, that he pollute not the Temple; let him shift for himself and escape away. Perfens called forth Eunander unto him, willing him in no case to try the process of justice; for neither would his cause justify him, nor any favour bear him out. He much feared withall, left being call and condemned, he would bewray Perfens himself and appeal him for the former and author of that so horrible a fact: and no way then but one, even with patience and resolution to take his death. Eunander gained nought in outward appearance, but pretending in words, that he had rather dye by a cup of poison than upon the swords point, fought no mans means to live and be gone. The King upon severall occasion of this, fearing lest the Samothracians would discharge their anger upon him, as if he hade wrought his own evil, and out of due punishment, commanded Eunander to be made away and killed. After which murder committed thus rashly without al adviment, he be thought himself, and considered, that he should be touched deeply with the same frowt of guilt that Eunander was noted withal, namely, that as Eumenes was by Eunander wounded at Delphi, so Eunander by him was murdered and polluted with mans blood: and who but he the cause and contriver thereof? But the blame of this foul act of his, was by the corruption of Theodas quite ascribed another way: and he for a sum of money bare the people in hand, that Eunander was his own hangman. But Perfens by this lawful and delectable act, committed upon the person of the only friend whom he had alive, (to well approved and tryed by him in many adventures, and now berated for his labour by him, whom un to the refractory, was by a traitor estranged the hearts and affections of all men from him; so as now every man ranged with the Romans, Thus abandoned as he was and left to himself, they forced him to cast about and devise how to escape and be gone. Whereupon he called unto him Oreador the Cretencian, a man that knew well the coasts of Thrace (because he had negociated and traded in those parts) and with him he dealt to embark him in some small vessel and condene him into Cery. Now there was a certain bay under a promontory of Truce, whereina pinnace found in readiness; thither after fun-setting were all things brought for necessary use: and monst withal, as closely as could be conveyed. The King himself at midnight accompanied with three persons (for no more were privy to this his flight) went out at a postern or back door of the house, into a garden near his bed-chamber, and so with much ado having clambered over a wall, passed to the water side. Now was Oreador already loode from the foresaid creek, for so soon as the money was once brought thither into the vessel, he lashed into the deep and set his course for Cery. Perfens, after that the bark was not to be found in the bay, walked and wandred a good while along the strand: and fearing at last the day-light approaching (yet not so hardy as to adventure back again to his lodging) lurked behind in one side of the temple close into a blind corner and nook thereof. Among the Macedonians they called those the Kings pages, who were the Princes and noble mens sons chosen to serve and wait upon the person of the King. That company yet followed after the K. In his flight and as hard as the world went, departed not from him until such time as by the commandment of Cr. Otho, the public cry pronounced with a loud voice, That the Kings pages and all other Macedonians besides in Samothrace, if they would turn to the Romans, should enjoy with safety of life their estate entire, their liberty free, and all that even they either had about them, or was left in Macedon At which proclamation. Nunn; on e.
once published, they all immediately revolted to the Romans, and entered their names with C. Publ. lumen, a martial colonel. Likewise Ion of Thessalonica, delivered into the hands of Octavius the young infants of the King, and not one of them was left with Perses, but Philip his eldest son: and then he yeilded both himself and that Ion into the hands of Octavius, crying out upon fortune, and blaming the Gods in whole Temple they were, for that he received no aid and succour from them, notwithstanding he humbly craved and besought the same. Then commandment was given, that he should be embarked in the admiral ship: and thither also was brought aboard all the money that remained, and then forthwith with the fleet retired to Amphipolis: from whence Octavius sent the King to the camp unto the confil, but first he had dispatched his letters to give him knowledge, that he was sure enough under his hand, and that he was at the point to be brought unto him. Paulus, repeating this as a second victory, (so it was no less indeed to be esteemed) I presently upon the receipt of the message, killed beasts for sacrifice: and when he had called his counsel about him, and read the letters of the Pretor before them, he sent Q. Elimi Theris to meet the K. upon the way, and commanded the rest in good frequency to remain in his capital pavilion, and give attendance upon him. Never was there seen before, to great a multitude to run out or to feen solemn fight or pageant. In their fathers days King Syphax was taken prisoner and brought into the Roman camp, who bef데d that there was no comparison between him and Perses, either in regard of his own name or the renown of his nation, was then also but an unnecessary as it were to the Punk war, like as Cannus now to the Macedonian. Perses was the very head of this war, neither was it the fame of his father and grandfate only (whom he nearly touch'd in birth and blood) that made him renowned, but the repugnent glory of Philip and Alexander, K. of the Great, who brought the sovereign empire and monarchy of the whole world to the Macedonian nation. Well, Perses entered the camp arrayed in a black cloath, without any of his own train to accompany him, who partaking his misery, might cause more compassion to behold of him. The influence of the people was so great who went about him to see him that for the very prece he could not march forward, until such time as the conflent his fergeants and freedmen to void the thronging of the multitude, and make way for him to go to the conflent his pavilion. The conflent arose, and (giving commandment to the rest for to fillly advanced forward a little, and rought out his hand to the King as he entered into the pavilion, and when he bowed and debaup him self to his very feet, he took him up again and would not suffer him once to touch his knees, but led him into the tent and caufed him to sit down right over against those whom he called other to concile. The firft question that he demanded of him was this: What wrong had afflicted the hands of the people of Rome that he should be constrained to encamp and bide in the war against them with so malicious a mind as he did, and to reduce himself and his whole state and Kingdom, in such extremity of danger? And when every man attended what answer he would make, he flied a good while without utterance of one word, casting his eyes withly upward, and shedding tears withal, "Then take this our final answer: If you had been young (eq. he) when you came to the crown, I would verify for your part many of the lies, that you should be ignorant as yet to know how important it was, to have the people of Rome either for a friend or an enemy: but now, since you both had your hands in that war which your father and you were against us and could not chuse but remember the peace afterwards made with him, and which we observed most faithfully, What policy was it for you to entertain war rather than peace, with them, whose whole you had tried in war and whose fidelity you had found in peace? Whens he would yet make no answcr at all either to question or accusation, the confil went on and faid: Well, however these things are thus fain out and come to passe, be it through the error and folly of man by adventure of fortune and hard hap, or fatal necessity of the defections, be of good cheer yet, and take a mans heart unto you: the gracious clemency and mercy of the people of Rome, well known and proved in the misfortunes of many Princes and States, aloud unto you not only hope but certain assurance of safety. Thus much spake he to Perses in the Greek tongue: then, turning to his own affiduus and company about him, he directed his speech to them in Latin as followeth. A notable example and rare miracle you fee (eq. he) of the changeable variety of this world: to you I speak especially, my masters here that are free and youthful gallants in the heat of your yong blood. And therefore let no man in time of his prosperity, carry himself proud and violent against another, nor yet confidently to trust upon the present state wherein he is, for who knoweth what may hap yet before midnight? But him alone I hold for a man of valour indeed, whose heart neither the gentle gale of that flattering and flattering world is able to life aloft nor yet the flattering garbs of crowning fortune call down or dash upon the rocks. After the confil was riten and departed, he committed the charge and custody of keeping the King to Quintus Flines, But after that day Perses was not only invited courteously to fip with the confil, but refpeited also in all kind of honor, as possibly might be done unto him in that state and condition of his. After this the army was divided here and there into garrisons for the winter time. The greatest part thereof was received into Ampipolis, and the other cities near adjoyning entertained the reft. This was the end of the war between Perses and the Romans, which had endured four years one after another continually: and here an end withal of the most flourishing Kingdom of the greatest part of Europe and of all Asia. Perses was counted the twentieth King after Coroons, who was the first that reigned there, This Perses began his reign that year wherein Q. Fabius and
A and L. Matius were Consulls. In the time of M. Junius and A. Matius Consulls of Rome, the Senator entitled and honoured him with the name of King, and eleven years his reign continued. The name of these Macedonians was very obscure and bale, until the days of Philip the fon of Amyntas. From that time and by his means he began to grow and wax great, howbeit, contained it was within the compass and precincts of Europe, comprehending all Greece, and part of Thrace and Illyricum. Afterwards it spread into Asia, and in thirteen years space, during the reign of Alexander, it subdued and brought under subjection, first all those parts whereunto the empire of the Persians extended, which was an infinite dominion in circuit: afterwards it reached to Arkhes and Indus, even to the end of the earth bounding and confining all about upon the red sea. At that time the monarchy and name of the Macedonians the greatest in the whole world, but upon the death of Alexander, distracted it was and divided into many and sundry Kingdoms. And whilst each one endeavoured and strove by force to draw unto him more and more plenitude, they dismembered and rent the whole; & so from the highest top & pitch of prosperity, brought it down to a most base and low condition, after it had continued in good effate a hundred and fifty years.

When the bruit of the Romans victory was blazed and blown as far as to Asia, Antenor who with a fleet of ships and pinnaces rode in the harbour of Phasis, failed from thence to Cassandra, C. Popilius, who was in D. Cesar to guard and watch those ships which were bound for Macedonia, after he heard say that the war in Macedonia was brought to an end, and the enemies vessels removed out of their rode, dismissed all for his part the Athenian ships intending to go forward in his voyage for Egypt, to accomplish that embassage which he had taken in hand: to the end that he might encounter Antiochus before he approached the walls of Alexandria. As these Embassadors coasted along the river of Asia, and were arrived at Loryma (a port somewhat more than twenty miles distant from Rhodes, and situate just over against the city) the principal States of Rhodians, met him in the way (for now by this time was the fame of this victory blown far) requesting him to seat fall their ships and there to land: for that it concerned their city much in fame and reputation, yea, and was expedient for their good and safety, that they should be acquainted with all that either had been done or was now in hand at Rhodes, so to make report thereof to Rome upon their own knowledge, and not as things were voiced by the common bruit. They refused a long time, but in the end they were so importuned, that content they were to sail a little farther, and spend some in all time for to gratify and benefit a city affection unto them. When they were come to Rhodes, the fame principal citizens aforesaid urged them instantly with much prayer and entreaty to come into their general assembly of the people. The arrival of those Embassadors rather augmented than empaired the fear of the city. For Popilius made application there in open audience of all which had been done or spoken (founding any way to hostility) either in particular or in general by them, during the late war. And being as he was a grim man, rough and fierce by nature, he aggrandised all that he spake, with his four vantage and sharp language, like an accuser at the bar: infomuch as they might well conjecture and guess, how the whole body of the Senate would affect them, by the bitterness of one only Senator, who otherwise for himself had no occasion of particular ill will and malice against the city. But the speech of Decimus was more temperate, who said, that the blame of those imputations for the most part which were objected by Popilius was not to be laid upon the people, but upon a few persons, who had collud'd and stirred the multitude: for those having their tongue at hire, and using to speak for gain, had made decrees full of flattery to please the King, and sent such embassages, as the Rhodians at all times were no less ashamed than repented of. All which praefices of theirs would fall upon their heads who were faulty in case the people had the government and rule in their own hands. Audience he had with great affect and applause: not more for elevating the fault and trespass of the common people, than for laying the weight upon those that were the authors culpable. And therefore when the chiefmen among them made answer to the Romans, their words, who went about to excuse and flave in some so far as they could the articles objected by Popilius, were not so well taken as their speech which accorded to Decimus, in delivering the guilty persons and offenders to be punished according to their demerits. Whereupon there passed presently a decree, That all those who might be convicted of any deed done or word spoken in favour of Perseus against the Romans, should be condemned and have sentence to lose their heads. Some of those persons were departed out of the city upon the coming of the Romans, others laid violent hands upon themselves. These Embassadors or delegates having sojourned no longer than five days at Rhodes, departed and made sail for Alexandria. And notwithstanding their absence, the execution of judicial proceeding was not less hotly followed at Rhodes, according to the decree made in their presence. For the moderation and gentle carriage of Decimus was the very cause that they persisted resolute, and gave not over untill they had gone through with it, and dispatched all.

Whereas these affairs were thus managed, Antiochus after he had affaid in vain to force the walls of Alexandria, was departed from before the city, & having possessed himself of all Egypt besides, and left the elder Ptolemaus at Memphis, (for while he beheld he pretended by his own forces to reconquer the Kingdom, so the end that soon after the conquest obtained, he might set upon him like) withdrew his army away into Sinis. Ptolemaus for his part was nothing ignorant of his desigment and intention, making full account, that while he kept his younger brother affrighted with the fear of siege, by the help of his sister he might be received into Alexandria: considering withal, that his brothers friends were not opposed against him, first he sent unto his sister, after-
afterwards to his brother and his friends, and never gave over to write and send, before he had concluded and established a peace with them, The thing that made him suspect Antiochus was this, for that when he had made over all the rest of Egypt into him, he left yet a strong garrison behind at Philippi: and well he knew, that he held still the frontier Towns as the very keys of Egypt, to the end that he might with an army enter and invade again, whenever he would. And thus he conceived of it, that this would be the issue of the civil and domestical war between brethren, That the victor wearied with war, should not be able to make head against Antiochus. These things wily foretold and seen by the elder brother, were received with silent of the young and those that were affiant about him: and the sifter between flood in very good head, not by her good advice and counsel only, but also by her effectual prayers. And therefore by a general accord of all, a peace was concluded, and the elder Ptolemy received into Alexandria, without any gain lying or resistance at all so much as of the very multitude; notwithstanding that during the war they were much decayed and weakened (not only by the siege, but also after it was raised and the army gone from Alexandria) for want of all things, by reason that no provisions were brought thither from out of Egypt. Now, where as Antiochus should have taken great contentment and rejoiced much for this, in case he had brought his forces into Egypt to restore Ptolemy into his own estate (which was the goodly pretence and colourable shew that he made to all the States of Asia and Greece, when he received their embassages and sent forth his letters to all parts) so it fell out, that he was so highly offended and displeased hereof, that he went in hand and prepared to make war now against them both much more eagerly and with greater malice than before against one alone. Freely he gathered and sent out his navy at sea to Cyprus himself in person at the beginning of the spring minding to invade Egypt, marched forward with his army as far as into Calab-Syrus. The Embassadors of Ptolemy encountered him in his journey about Rhodocleamon, and gave him thanks in behalf of their K. and mather, for that by his means he had recovered the inheritance of his fathers Kingdom: requiring withal to maintain that benefit and good deed of his, to declare rather by word of mouth what he would have done, than by deal in word and force of arms, and not of a friend and ally to become a mortal enemy. His answer was, that he would neither call back his fleet nor withdraw his army upon any condition, unless he quit unto his life as well the whole Isle of Cyprus, as the City Ptolemy, together with the territory about the mouth of Nile, called Ptolemaicus. And there with he let him down a day, before which he expedited to receive his answer as touching the accomplishment of the said conditions. After the day prefixed for the truce was past, as they fell in the mouth of Nile near Pelusium the fleets along the deltes of Arabus yeilded, Then being received of them that inhabit about Memphis, and the rest of the Egyptians partly with favor and good will and partly for fear and constraint, by small journies he departed toward Alexandria. When he was passed over the river at Leontia a place about 4 miles distant from Alexandria the Roman Embassadors met him upon the way. After greetings and salutations at their first coming, he put forth his right hand to Popilius: but he delivered him a scroll written, and willed him before he did any thing else to read that script. After he had read the writing through he answered that he would devise with his friends and consider what was best to be done, But Popilius according to his ordinary blunt manner of speech which he had by nature made a rule, spake to the King with the rod that he had in his hand, speake to him, says he, as a friend, and advise you such a thing as may report to the Senate, before you pass the compass of this circle. The King answered this for sake and violent a commandment, after he had fasted and paudent a while: I will be contented to do whatsoever the Senate shall ordain. Then and not before. Popilius gave the King his hand as to a friend and ally. Afterwards when Antiochus was departed out of Egypt, by the day prefixed, the said Embassiers or delegates having by their authority established council alo inter the two brethren (who as yet were not thoroughly agreed) some of them failed to Cyprus, and from thence they sent away the fleet of Antiochus, which already had given an overthrow in battle to the Egyptian ships. This was a noble embassage and much renowned among those nations, for that thereby Egypt was undoubtedly taken from Antiochus, who was as good as poxelled thereof already, and the inheritance of the King restored against the rage of Ptolemy.

Of the two Confils that year, like as the one was famous in his place by this notable victory, so the other was little or nothing spoken of, by reason he had not matter of any great exploit to be employed in. And first of all when he was assigned a certain day for the legions to meet, he entered into the temple without the lucky approbation of the augurs. And when the Augurs were moved and their advice required therein, they declared that there was no error committed in the appointment of the said day. In his voyage for France he kept his land leguer for the summer time about the mountains Scenim and Popigus near the plains called Maito. And afterwards he sore about the plaines with the allies of the Latinnation. For the Roman legions, because the day was not rightly appointed for the assembly of the forces at the Roder-sons remained behind at Rome. Also the Pretors, save only C. Popilius Camillus with whom the Senatus in a fall went forth into their Provinces: and him the LL. of the Senate had ordained to attend upon his civil jurisdiction at Rome between citizens and forainers, Popilius likewise that embassage which was sent to Antiochus returned to Rome: where he made relation that the controversies between the two Kings were decided, the army of Antiochus retired out of Egypt into Syria. After this came the Embass, also of the Kings themselves, Thoife of Antiochus made report that the King their matter
A matter esteemed more of the peace approved by the Senate, than of any victory whatsoever; and obeyed the orders set down by the Roman Emassadors, no less than the very messengers coming with commands directly from the Gods: and finally they testified their own contentment, and wished them good joy of their victory obtained, saying that the King himself would have been with all his power at the achieving thereof, if in case he had been joined to perform any service.

The Emassadors of Ptolemy in the name jointly of their King and of Cleopatra, rendered thanks unto them, acknowledging themselves more bound & beholden to the Senate and people of Rome, than to their own parents, yea & more than to the immortal Gods: for their good means they were first delivered from the most lamentable miseries of a siege, and had recovered their father’s Kingdom, which they were at the point of losing forever. The Senate returned this answer to them:

Gain, That whereas Antoine had been ruled by the Emassadors, therein he did well and as it seemed him, and in doing he highly contented and pleased the Senate and people of Rome. Again, if Ptolemy and Cleopatra the King and Queen of Egypt, had found any goodness and commodity by them, the Senate was very glad and rejoiced therein, and would endeavor and work it so, that they might be persuaded that the greatest assistance and safeguard of their realm resided at all times most in the faithful protection of the people of Rome. This said, the Pretexts of Pappus had in charge to see that presents and gifts were sent to these Emassadors according to the ancient custom. Then were letters brought out of Macedonia to redouble the joy of the victory, importing that Ptolemy was fute enough in the hands of the Conuls.

When those Emassadors were dismissed and gone, much debate and argument there was betwixt the Emassadors of the Pisans and Lunicnes. They of Pisa complained that they were detained and driven out of their territory by the Roman colonists: contrary wise those of Luni plainly averred that the Land in controversy had been set out and assigned for them by the Tribunals. The Senate hereupon sent five men as commissioners to make inquisition into the limits of the said territory and to determine accordingly, and there were Q. Fabius Buteo, P. Cornelius Blasio, T. Serponius Mylactus, L. Nebius Balbus, and C. Apulius Saturninus. There came likewise a solemn embaillage sent in common from Empuries, Astihas, and Alboxus; all three brethren to notify the joy and contentment which they took for the Roman victory. Moreover, L. M. G. the treasurer was ready at Putetoli to receive and welcome Magotha the son of K. Mafianes, as he should disembark and set on land: for he was of purpose with money to meet him upon the way, to conduct him also and bring him to Rome at the cities charge. He was no sooner come, but immediately audience was given him in the Senate. This young Prince spoke in such sort, as the things which of them selves were acceptable enough indeed, he graced and made more worthy of acceptance by his good words. He rehearsed what forces of foot and horse both, how many Elephants, what quantity of corn for that four years space (during the war) his father had sent over into Macedonia. But two things there were for which he was displeased and could not chuse but blush the one, that the Senate by their Embass had made requite unto him, and not commanded rather to furnish them with necessaries for the war the other, that they had sent them many to pay for their corn, For Mafianes was not forgetful, but bare well in mind that he held his Kingdom as first consecrated for him, afterwards augmented and simplified many waies unto him by the people of Rome: and for his own part he could content himself with the use and occupation thereof, as a tenant in fee-farm: acknowledging the propriety and possession thereof to be in them who as Lords of the fee possessed them therein. Good reason therefore and meet it was that they also should be bold with their own, to take and not to ask, to have and not to crave, much less then to buy the commodities & fruits issuing out of the lands by them demised given & granted. As for Mafianes sufficed he was, and moreover would rest contented with that overplus with the people of Rome might leave and spare for him. Thus much (saith he) I had in charge and commission from my fathers own mouth, when I departed and took my leave of him: but afterwards certain bold men riding post overtook me, to let me understand that Macedon was subdued, and to charge me, that after I had signified our joy in your behalf I should shew unto the Senate that my father took such contentment therein, that he would gladly come to Rome, to offer sacrifice and render thanks to Sup. op. Max. in the Capitol: which to do he requested leave of the Senate, for it might stand with their good liking, and be no trouble unto them. The Prince received this answer from the Senate That his father Mafianes did as becommended a good man and thankful person for doing giving such a grace and honor over & above, to benefit of duty required, moreover, that the people of Rome acknowledged how they had received great help at his hands in the Punic war by his valiant and loyal service, as well as he obtained his Kingdom through the favour of the people of Rome, and afterwards according to equity and justice had both himself and his family right worshiply in all sorts of devoirs and duties during the wars of three Kings one after another. Neither was it any marvel at all that he rejoiced at the victory of the people of Rome, because a King who had engaged, hazard'd and entangled all his own fortunes and the whole estate of his Kingdom with the Roman affairs. As for rending thanks to the Gods for the victory of the people of Rome, let him do that himself in his own house at home: for it should suffice, that his son for him performed that duty at Rome. That and his father both had sufficiently for their parts testified their joy. As for Mafianes in proper person to leave his realm and depart over of Africk, over and besides that it was in no wise profitable to himself, the Senate deemed it not expedient for the weal-publick of the people of Rome. Mysus further-more excused, that
that Hannus the son of Amicitius should be sent hostage in place of another Carthaginian (whose name is not known) but the Senate answered, that they thought it not meet to demand hostages at the pleasure of Masinissa. The treasurer was commanded by order from the Senate to buy certain prefents for to betow upon this song Prince, namely, as much plate as might arise out of an hundred pound weight of silver: also to accompany him as far as Puteolani, to defray all his charges during his stay within Italy; and to hire two ships for to transport and conduct him & his princely train into Africk. To all his retinue as well bond as free there was allowance made of apparel.

Not long after, there were letters brought as concerning Masinissa the second son of Masinissa; who after that Paulinus had vanquished Perenus, was sent home by the said Paulinus into Africk with his Canvass; but as he failed, was driven (luck as he was) upon Brundisium with three ships only, for that the rest of the fleet was dispersed in the Adriatic Sea. Stertinius the treasurer was sent to him at Brundisium, with the like gifts as were betowen upon his brother at Rome, and a charge to give his lodging.

By virtue of an act granted out of the Senate, the Libertins (i.e., the sons of freed men) were enrolled into the four tribes of the City, all save those who had a son above five years old; with especial commandment, That when they were to be enrolled at the review next ensuing, their goods also should be valued, and they accordingly entered into the libellous books: namely, That as many of them as possessed any manor or manors in the country, elected better worth than 30000 Sesterces, should be enrolled and addressed. This ordinance being thus observed, Claudius denied flatly, that the Centor had authority to take from any particular person, and much less from a whole family and degree of men, the right and liberty of enrollments, without the warrant and ordinance of the people: for say, that he has power to cast a man out of his tribe, (which is nothing but to command him to charge his tribe) it followed not then, that he may dispose of and dispulce him out of all the 35 tribes, which is as much as to strike him out of the number of citizens, and deprive him quite of his freedom and career; and is not (I say) to limit and fix down in what rank shall be enrolled, but to exclude him full and wholly out of all enrolment. This dispute and debate passed between them; until at last they grew to this point, that of the four City tribes, they should cast lots openly in the Hall and Clouter of Libertins for one tribe, in which all they should be registred and comprized, who had been villains sometimes and were even bidden. Now this lot fell to the tribe Excedunca. Then Titus Gracianus pronounced, That ordained it was to come in all the Liberrinis. Great honour and reputation with the Senate gained the Centors by this act: Sempronius likewise was much thanks therefore, because he had persisted constantly in that good enterprise so well commenced: and Claudius went not without his due thanks, for that he was no hindrance to this proceeding. In this review and survey taken by the Centors, more Senators were removed and put out of the concel, yea, and more Gentlemen commanded to sell their horses offere, than by other Centors in former time. And all those by both of them joyntly were not only displaced out of their tribes, and made no better than Exerita (i.e., to lose their voice) but also to pay all taxes whatsoever to the utmost, and look who was noted and disgraced by the one, had no relief nor hope to recover his credit and place by the other. Now when the six Centors demanded, That according to a custom and order, they might be allowed a year's space and two months to look into the reparations of the publick edifices, that they were maintained wind-tight and water-tight: as also to see whether they who had undertaken to finish certain works at a price, had performed their bargain accordingly: Con, Tremelicus a Tribune interpreted himself and denied this demand, for anger that he was not chosen and taken into the Senate. The same year C. C. c. cerin dedicated a chappel in the Albane mons, which he had vowed five years before. Also that year was L. Pothinianus Allinus enrolled a Flamine of Mars. The Consuls Q. Eldius and M. Aenius proposed in the Senate, as touching the government of their Provinces: and the LL. ordained, That Spain should be divided again into two Provinces, which had been united in one during the Macedonian war: also that the same L. Paulinus and L. Aenius should defend and keep in obedience as before, Macedony and Illyricum, until such time as they by the advice of certain deputed commissioners, had both compoised all matters and affairs as ordered and troubled by the wars; and also reformed the estate of that realm, by inducning it into a new form. The Provinces assigned unto the Consills were Peste and Gaul, and they had the command of two legions of footmen, and four hundred horsequemen apace. The Prerors had their lots for governement as followeth: The civil jurisdiction over citizens fell to Q. Caiffius, and over strangers to M. Juvenius Tavet; Titus Claudius Nero was L. of Sicily, Cn. Fulvius of the hither Spain; and C. Licinius Nero of the farther: last of all, L. Manlius Torquatus was appointed to the government of Sardinia: but into his province he could not go, by occasion that he was detained at home by virtue of an act of the Senate, to make inquisition into certain rebellions and capital affairs. After this consultation there was in the Senate as touching the prodigies which were reported. The chappel of the Penates (protectors of the City) in Velia was set on fire, and lightning also in the Town Minervum, two gates and a good part of the wall fell the like harm. At Angiinlin it had rained earth, and in Locuvia there appeared in the sky a burning flame. Moreover, M. Volcrinus a citizen of Rome gave knowledge, that in Cadurca within the public territory of that City, for the space of three days and two nights together, blood gushed out in his chimney hearth where he kept fire: and for this strange thing above all the rest, the Deificuts were commanded to have recourse into the books of Sibyls: who pro-
A proclaimed a publick supplication of the people for one day, and sacrificed fifty goats in the common market place of the City. Also in regard of the other prodigies a supplication was held another day, and men did their devotions as ever altar of the Gods: greater beasts were killed for sacrifices, and the City was solemnly cleansed and purged. This done, as touching the honor of the immortal Gods, the Senate ordained, that inasmuch as the two Kings Parthorum and Armenia their enemies were overcome, and now at the devotion of the people of Rome, together with Macedonia and Illyricum, Consuls and Prefects should give order for as great oblations to be offered unto the Gods at every throne and altar, as had been herebefore (when App. Claudius and M. Sempronius were Consuls) for the defeat of King Antiochus. Then they ordained certain deacons, by whose advice L. Pallus and L. Anicius the two Generals, might set all affairs in order, namely, ten into Macedonia, and five into Illyricum. For Macedonia were nominated A. Pollio, Zenoius Lifecus and C. Claudius, (who both had been Centurors) C. Licinius Crassus, late companion to Pallus in the Consulship, and who at that pretence had the government of Gaul continued him. To these deacons above-mentioned, men of Consular dignity all by their calling, were adjoin'd in comminution Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Ser. Cornelius Sulla, L. Munius, C. Antistius Laberio, T. Numistius Taurgentinus, and Aulus Terentius Varo. For Illyricum were thefe named, P. Ennius Light, one that had been Consul, C. Ciceretius and Cn. Babinus Tampilus, (this Babinus had been Prefect, but the former year, and Ciceretius many years past) P. Terentius TCornovius, and P. Marcius. Then the Consuls being advertised by the LL. of the Senate, (that inasmuch as one of them must succeed C. Licinius in Gaul, who was nominated one of the deacons) they shou'd part their Province between them either by accord and agreement, or by lot make choice of the fortune of the lottery. So Py. fell to M. Junius (but before he went into his province, he had in charge to bring into the Senate, those embassies which from all parts were come to Rome for to declare their joy in the behalfe of the people of Rome) and Gaul to Q. Elatus.

Albeit such personages were lent, as by whose sage counsel good hope there was, that the chief commanders of the Roman armies would ease no degree unbecomming either the clemency of Majesty of the people of Rome, yet debated it was in the Senate about the sum and principal points of all their counsels and designs; to the end that the said Legats might carry unto the Generals all things plotted already and begun to their hands at home in the City. In the first place ordained it was, that the Macedonians and Illyrians might remain free and enjoy their liberties, that all nations of the earth might see, that the drift of the Roman armies and forces was not to bring free states into servitude, but contrary wise to reduce those that were in bondage to liberty, to the end that those nations which now enjoyed freedom, might be secured under their safeguard and protection both of surety and of perpetuity, and such as lived in subjection under the Kings, might both for the present time find their government more mild and righteous, than the Kings have of the people of Rome; and also, if it fortuned hereafter, that there should be war between the people of Rome and their Kings, they might be assured, that if the issue of those wars would bring victory to the Romans, and procure liberty to themselves. Also agreed it was, that there should be no more farming out of the metal mines in Macedonia, albeit they yeilded a great revenue; not yet of publick lands and possessions in the country: for possible it was not that these matters should be practis'd and followed without publicans and where those intermediate &c. have ought to do, then it must needs follow, that either the publick right and prerogative of the State be annulled, or the liberty of allies come to nothing. Neither were the Macedonians themselves able to exercise the same: for look where the ministers and managers of any thing see a bootie presented before their eyes, there, occasions of sedition and contention will never be wanting. Moreover, it was concluded, that there should be no common and general council of the whole nation, for fear lest at any time the few vulgar people having by the Senate liberty granted unto them tending into a good and wholesome moderation and equality of the State, should abuse the same and draw it to a mischievous and pestilent licentiousness. But they thought it good policy to divide Macedonia into four quarters and counties, that each one might have their several council; likewise in F you may behold with good reason and equity, that they should pay the one moiety of that tribute which they were wont to yield unto their KK. Similable comminution and like directions they had for Illyricum. As for all other matters, referred they were to the discretion of the Generals and the Delegates commissioners, who might be better able to determine more certainly of particulars, according to the occurrences presented unto them in the managing of their affairs.

Among many and sundry Embassadors of Kings, nations, and states, Attius the brother of Eumenes, the noblest of all others anointed mens minds, and drew their eyes upon him; for by them who had born arms together with him in that war, welcomed he was much more hearty, and received with greater countrey than Eumenes the K. himself had come. Two occasions there were outwardly pretended, and those carrying a good shew of honesty and credit, which brought him G to Rome the one a gratulation or testimony of joy (as meet it was) for that victory wherein himself lent his helping hand: the other a complaint of French tumultuous wars and the bloody hostility of Adurna their King, by which means his brothers Kingdom was in great jeopardy. But there lay another thing hidden underneath, namely, an inward and secret hope that he conceived of honors and rewards from the Senate, which hardly he could seem to aim & reach unto, without some unkindness and violence offered to brotherly duty and affection. For some there were seen of the Romans also, who did him no good, but gave him bad counsel, drew on his appetite with fair hopes,
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hopes, and let him a longing; feeding him with those and such like conceits, That in Rome this was the opinion entertained of *Attalus* and *Eumenes*, as if the one of them were a friend last and sure to the Romans: the other an ally, found and faithful neither to the Romans nor yet to *Perseus*: and therefore held hard it were to let down and say, Whether of the twain would be more easily obtained at the Senate's hands, namely, a suit made in his own name for his preferment, or a demand of some hard course against his brothers: so bent were all men in general to grant any thing to *Attalus*; and to deny every thing to *Eumenes*, *Attalus* (as the sequel and proof shewed) was pliant to those persons whose desires reach at all that hope promissely, had not the sage admonition of one friend come between to bridle his affections, ravished and transported so as they were with the amiable aspect and fawning flattery of his own good fortune. He had about him at that time one *Sicelius, a Physician*, sent by *Eumenes* (who resteth not secure of his brothers loyalty) to Rome, of purpose for to lie in eipial and observe all that *Attalus* did and to advise him faithfully if he saw him tread awry and prattle ought against his duty and allegiance. When he came unto him he found his ears already postfixed, and his spirit tempted and solicitated beforehand: howbeit taking his times and waiting opportunities he went roundly to work and stuck to it close until he had set all up again which was at the point to run on end and fall to the ground, He allieded and laid these remonstrances before his eyes, saying, "That Kingdoms have grown mighty, some by one means, some by others: but as for theirs, being but newly erected, & grounded upon no strength of ancient foundations, it stood upright only by the mutual concord of him and his brethren:* in that one of them beareth the name and title of King, wearing the diadem and crown alone upon his head, but in effect all three brethren be KK. As for you *Attalus* (as he) who are the eldest, if your brother be a one, who is it that reprieth you for less than a King, not only for that he feeth you so mighty at this present, but also the next heir apprant, and without all doubt like shortly to reign indeed? considering the feeble body and crazy age of *Eumenes*, who hath besides no issue of children to succeed him in the royal throne? (for as yet he took no knowledge of him that reign'd afterwards.) What need then is there to use violence, and to force that which of its one accord will shortly be devolved upon you & fall into your hands? Moreover, a new tempelt and form is risen of French wars, threatening peril unto the realm, which it will be hard for you Princes to withstand, agree as well as you can in all brotherly love, unity and concord. But if to war be brought, there should arise a domestical and civil dissent between you at home, what remedy then but utter ruin and destruction? Neither shall you *Attalus* purchase any good for this, but this, shall prevent that your brother benor *Perseus*; and then be able to dissemble and disappoint you all of that neer and affluted hope you have to be K. But say, that to preserve a Kingdom for a brother, and to wrest a Kingdom from a brother, were honorable and glorious deeds both the one and the other: yet surely, of the twain, to have saved a Kingdom deferred greater commen- dation and praise, in that it forth it fowell with piety and kindness, And certainly seeing the other is a curied and dethetable part even next neighbor to particulars what *Eumenes* and don't remaineth now which needed any farther deliberation? For tell me, I beteech you it is one parcel of the Kingdom that you reach at, or shoot you at the whole? If you aim at a part only and then upon the dimmbering and distraction of your puissance, you shall be both twain much weakned and exposed to the danger of all injuries: if you would have all, what shall become of your M brother? Would you with him being your elder, to live a privet person: or to fare better in years as he is a banished man: and namely, with those infirmities of body which he carrieth about him? or would you command to take his life away and rid him out of this world at once? Now truly to say nothing of the unhappy and mischievous issue of such gracelesse and wicked brethren deliver'd unto us in fained fables you see what a goodly fair and *Perseus* is come unto, who being in the Temple of *Samothrace* was constrained lying prostrate upon the ground to prostrate himself at the feet of the enemy his conqueror, the crown and diadem which he came unjustly by, even with the unnatural murder of his own brother: as if the Gods in heaven had been there present, to require due punishment for his horrible fact. To conclude, they also themselves, who in no friendly love and affection to you, but in rancor and hatred to your brother *Eumenes*, have put th'eir designs into your head, and prick you on to execute the same even they. I say, will praise your kindness, your piety and conftancy, in case you persevere true and truly to your brother, to the very end. The and such like important pertinacities prevailed with *Attalus* and feared deeply in his mind. Therefore being admitted into the Senate, after he had wished joy unto them, and profetled his own for the late victory, he laid abroad and declared his own demerits and good service in that war, the favors also (such as they were) done by his brother, and left of all, the revolt of the Gauls lately broken out with great troubles and commotions. His petition to the Senate was, for to lend their Embassadors unto them, by whom counsenesse and authority they might be reclaimed, and to lay arms aside. Having declared this message which concerned the profit in general of the realm, he made a special suit for himself, and demanded to have *Eumenes* and *Mendes* given unto him. And thus, when he had put them besides their hope, who thought verily, that after he had accrue his brother he would have required the kingdom to be divided pecesmal & diffimulated, he departed out of the Council house, Seldom had been known at any time before any man whatsoever, King or subject to have had the like audience with so great favour and apphance of all men, as he: received and entertained he was right honourably with gifts & pre- tents of all sorts whiles he was at Rome, and with the like they accompanied him at his departure.
Among many Embassies of Asia and Greece, the Rhodian Embassadors were most marked and looked upon throughout all the City: for whereas at first they were all trim and gaudily to be seen in their white and bright apparel, as decent it was for them that would seem to congratulate for the victory (for if they had worn black or been poorly arrayed, it might have been confined, that they mourned for the misfortune and calamity of Persia) after that M. Junius the Consul brake with the LL. of the Senat (and all that while the said Embassadors stood without in the common place Comitium) to consider and advise, whether they would allow lodging, presents and give audience in the Senat unto them: they resolved and were of opinion to observe no rights but customs of hospitality with them. Then went the Consil out of the Senat unto whom when the Rhodians said that they were come to rejoice in their behalf for the late victory, and withal, to answer in the name of their City to certain crimes wherewith they were charged, replying, that they might speak before the Senat and be heard with indifference: the Consil pronounced alone unto them, That the custome indeed of the Romans was to entreat their allies and friends graciously, and among other matters of courtly and hospitality which they afforded unto them, to grant them also a day of hearing in the Senat: but the Rhodians had not demeaned themselves during the war, in such sort, as to be reckoned in the number of lovers and associates, At the hearing of these words, they called themselves all prophet on the ground, beseeching the Consil and all those that were present, not to suffer that base imputations of late unfurmed should against a nation pre-judge the Rhodians more, than their good defects of old (whereof themselves were sufficiently witnesseth) fland them in head. And presentlie after they had put on simple apparel and mourning weeds, they went about from house to house visiting the principal persons of the City, humbly beseeching them with tears, to hear their cause before they were condemned. M. Aurelius I aded the Pretor or E. chief justice for the pleases between citizens and strangers, was the only agent that provoked and incited the people against the Rhodians: nay, he had promulgated and published a bill to this effect, That war might be denounced against the Rhodians; also, that out of the Magistrates for that year they would make choice of some one to be sent as Admiral with a fleet for the managing of that war: hoping that himself should be the man. But this action and proceeding of his was crossed by M. Antonius and M. Pomponius, two Tribuns of the common. Over and besides, the Pretor, to say a truth, had broached this matter after a new and strange fashion, and to the evil example of future times, in that he preferred a bill unto the people of his own head alone, without asking the advice of the Senat, or making the Consil acquainted therewith; and that in this manner and form. Pleaseth it you, and is it your will that war be proclaimed against the Rhodians? whereas always before-time, in question of war, the Senat's advice was first taken, and then the thing was proposed unto the people. Likewise the Tribuns of the commons for their part did more than they might, and acting not warrantable by any precedent. For it was a custom and tradition observed ever of old, that no person should interpole his negative to cross any bill, before that private men in particular had their course and item granted, both to perpetuate or diffwade the same, by which means many a time it fell out, that even they who never pretended nor meant to oppose themselves, being moved and induced by the reasons of those that stood up to diffwade, and perceiving also by them the inconveniences of such a bill, would step between and interpose. D. E adad all ye, and contrary wise, such as came of purpose to cross and nip the same, being convinced by the authority and borne down by the important arguments alleged by those that enforced the said bill, would desist and forswear. Thus the Pretors and Tribuns strove much who should do everything more uneasibly than others. The Tribuns impeached and said the names of the Pretor, interfering his negative before the time, and delaying the matter until the coming of the L. General. E. Whether we have transgressed and offended ye, or no, that yet remaineth doubtful: but sure we are of this, that we suffer all punishments and shameful ignominy already that can be devised. Heretofore, when the Carthaginians were vanquished, when Philip, when Antochus was overthrown, we came to Rome: from our publick lodging provided for us at the charges of the City, we preened our selves (my LL.) into your Counsel-house, to tell you our great concernment for your conquests: from the Counsel-house we went directly to the capitol, carrying with us presents and obligations to the honor of your gods. But now we the same Rhodians are come unto your Senat, clothed in this poor habit and array, as you see, from out of a base lodging and common inn, where hardly we could have lodging for our money; being commanded in manner of enemies to make our abode without the City walls: we Rhodians (I say) whom but lately ye fenced with the grant of two Provinces, Licia and Caria, and whom ye grace with all kind of honors, and enriched with all manner of gifts and rewards. You ordain as we hear say that the Macedonians and Ilyrians should live free, notwithstanding they were in servitude before they levied war against you. Neither speak we this in envy or repine for any mans welfare and good estate. For we acknowledge therein the rare clemency of the people of Rome, and will ye then make the Rhodians of friends, enemies, who during this war did no more but as and meddle with neither part? Now surely ye Romans are the men that pretend and give out ordinarily, that your wars have good success and speed well, because they are just and righteous; neither do you glory so much in the event and issue thereof, whereby ye are revengers and conquerors, as for the beginning and first enterprises in that ye undertake them not without good cause. The beheading of Messina in Sicily by the Carthaginians, was the cause that the people of Rome reputed them enemies.
enemies, The assaulting of Athens by Philip, his intent and purpose to bring Greece into servitude, by his relieving of Aetna with men and money, caused him likewise to be holden for their enemy. Thus Antiochos brought upon his own head the Roman war, for that he being solicited by the Etruscans, your enemies came willingly out of Asia, and with a fleet sailed over to Greece, and when he had seized upon Demartrz, Choletis, and the isles of Thermopylae, went about to diplomats you of the empire. And last of all, Perseus by levying arms against your allies, by killing some of their petty kings and princes, by murdering other chief persons of sunny nations and cities, gave you full occasion to make war upon him. But what colourable cause can there be pretended of our calamity, if we needs must indite and peril? All this while I make no difference between our cities and that of Polygnotus and Dion our citizens, even those persons whom we have brought to deliver into your hand. For suppose that the cause I were all one, and that we Rhodians were all faulty and culpable alike, what might that crime be for which we are touched in this war? We favoured Perseus and that side (you will say) and ourselves, and the Rhodians have used evermore to succour their confederates. And for the better proof thereof, after the defeat of Philip and Antiochos we received at your hands right great rewards and a commission for our service. In case the fortune of Perseus had been so happy as yours is at this present (praised be the Gods for their grace and goodness & thanked be your own valour withal) we had come into Macedonia to the King upon his victory to require & demand rewards, what could we allege therefore? Might we lay that he had bin maintained by our money, or relieved with our corn, with land forces, or strength at sea? Was there any place by us kept and held with a garrison for his use, we able to tell where we fought, either under the conduct of his Captains or upon our own leading and direction? If haply he should demand in what quarters our soldiers kept, in what coast our ships lay in guard for his defence, what could we answer? Whereat we venture might plead our cause & estiue our selves in the presence of him, supposing conqueror, as we now do before you here in place. For by lending our Embassadors to and from you as well as to him about a treaty of peace, this is all the good we have got, that in deed of winning the love & favor of both parts, we incur the heavy displeasure of the one; being thus charged with crimes and wrapped in dangers. And yet my good LL. and honorable Senators of Rome, Perseus might truly object that to us, which you in no wise can, namely that we in the beginning of the war forgetting Embassadors to you making promise in our name of whatsoever was needful thereunto: also that we would be ready at all times to furnish you with ships strongly rigm with our youth well appointed like as in the wars aforesaid. That we performed not these promises of ours, you only were the let and hindrance, who (whatsoever the cause was) relined our offered service & rejected all our succours. Well then neither have we attempted ought as examples, nor failed in the duty of good friends and allies; but imprecated have we been by you for effecting that which we intended. How now? may some man say Hath there been nothing done or laid in your City (O ye Rhodians) that you with unaid or undone, & whereas the people of Rome may justly take exceptions and be offended with you for it? Undertake to justify and make good whatsoever hath been done, I will not, nor neither have I litle wit I tro; but I will the public cause of the whole state from the privit offences committed by particular persons: for no City is there under the sun, but many otherwheres have lewd and naughty citizens some or other and evermore rude and stormy multitude. I have heard say, that even amongst you here at Rome some have fought to advance and let themselves aloof by carrying favor and flattering the common people: and that the time was when the commons reigned and despoted from among you as the rule of the common-wealth and people of Rome was out of your hands, as in a very Anarchy. If such a thing as this might chance in this your City, so well qualified & ordered is it, how can any man make a wonder that among us there have been some, who (affecting and seeking for the amity and friendship of the K.) might haply corrupt and introduce our commons with their naughty counsell? And yet when all is said, they prevailed no more than that we sat still and failed in doing our devoir to you: for I will not over-pass in this place the greatest and most grievous crime of all other wherewith our City is charged during this war, and that is this. At one and the same time we sent Embass, both to you and Perseus about a peace. This deignment so unto ward and unlucky as it was, a furious and brainick orator and agent of ours (as afterwards we understand) handled as foolishly: who (as it is for certain known) framed his language in that manner, as if he had been C. Pepilus the Roman Embassador, whom ye lent to the two KK, Antiochus and Perseus, to warn them both to lay down arms & succes
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A

**suicide war. But that behaviour of his (call it what you will, either pride or folly) was no worse**
before you than it was to K. Perseus. Every City hath their conditions and qualities by them-

| selves, like as particular and several persons: and eminently it is in whole nations; some are ex-
| cellent, and cholerick, bold and audacious others again be fearful and timorous: some are given to
| wine and drunkenness, others to women and wantonness. The people of Aetna (by reports) are too
| haufy, hot, and forward to entreprize any thing even beyond their power. The Lacedemonians
| again, be as slow and backward, calling many doubts & difficulties to enter upon the very things
| which they are assured of. I cannot deny, but that all the country of Africa in general bredeth
| many a mad brain and vain spirit: and I will not say, that but our people are jolly fellows of their
| tongue and can speak big, for that we seem (among other cities and states bordering upon us)
| to excel and surpass, and that to no much in the confidence we have of our own forces, is the
| honorable regard ye have had of us, and the great testimonies and judgments ye have given out
| of us. But that foolish embassage of ours even then at the very time had punishment sufficient;
| being sent away (as it was) with heavy an answer of yours: and if we were not then disgraced
| and blamed enough, now truly this present embassage to humble and pittiful, were able to make
| full satisfaction for a more insolent embassage than it was. All pride (and arrogancy of words espe-
| cially) cholerick pertons indeed hate, wise men deride, and namely, from an inferior to his bet-
| ter; but no man ever judged it a moral sin and worthy of death: many here was all the danger,
| left haply the Rhodians might seem thereby to despise the Romans. How then be there not some
| also that cannot rule their tongue, but will be raising & uttering blasphemies words against the
| Gods; yet we never heard of any that have been therefore smitten dead with a thundr bolt.

B

**What remaineth then for us wherein we should purge and clear our selves, if we neither can be
charged in fault with hostility, and if our Embassial hath used some proud and preposterous words
more than became him, which deserve not the total ruin of our City but some sharp checks and
hard rebukes on both sides of our ears? But these (my good LL) that in your ordinary talk am-
ong your selves when ye are together, we are centred for our inward affliction only & forget
thoughts, and condemned no less than for some deed, namely, That in heart we favoured the N,
and wished him rather than you to obtain the victory; and therefore they deem us worthy to be
perfectly with fire and sword. Some there be again of you, who think verily that thus indeed
we would affect howbeit they would not have us for it to be warred upon as enemies; for that
it standeth not with the custom or law of any City in the world, That it a man with a mischief
to his enemy, he should be straightways condemned therefore to die, so long as he hath not en-
tered into any action tending thereto. And verily these men we have to thank, who free & quit
us yet from punishment, although they cleer us not of guilt; howbeit this contention we pass a-
gainst our own selves, That if it can be proved, that we were all of us so minded and defiled in
affection as we are burdened, (for content we are that all go under one heart and hand will and
deed, without distinction) then let us all be punished for it, and feel the smart. But if of the great
men and chief among us, some affected you & others the King, we require not, that for the love
of us who sided with you the Kings suppots should fare the better and escape cleare; but we re-
quest and beleech rather that for their fakes we perish not and be quit undone. And certainly,
your own selves are not worse affected and more let against them than our very City is: which
they knowing well enough, most of them either fled away, or else killed themselves: others of
them (such as we have condemned and passed judgement against) shall be at your pleasure (my
LL) to do with them what you will. All the rest of us Rhodians, as thanks we have merited none
in this war, so we have deferred as little punishment. Lay the over-deal and unsparing of our
former good deeds and demerits to this want of duty now, and let the heap of the one make up
the scant measure of the other. With three Kings of late years ye have maintained war; let not
our slacknesses and sitting still in this one, endamage and hurt us more, than our devote and em-
plomient in the other twain may seem to satisfy and counterbalance. Set Phil."
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of the fountains at home, * What all ye my masters (q.d.) and fellow citizens, what rage
and madness haunteth you; to unwrap and interest the whole City in the fault and folly of thee
* two persons? Certainly, I have often heard of men that for their country have willingly left
their lives, but to think it meet, that their country should perish for them, these are the exit
that ever were known. Why rather open we not our gates and submit our selves to that empire,
* into which the whole world besides is subject? As he spake these words, the multitude followed
him toward the gates: which when Antinous & the thearcs saw, they made no more ado, but brake
upon the first corp de guard of the enemies which they came unto, and exposing their bodies to the
swords point, were soon killed, and the Town was yielded into the hands of the Romans. Eumenes
also, upon the willful obstinacy of Prince Phisgale, had shut their gates, but after that he was
plain the Town was taken by surrender. And neither Phylae nor Horrea was spared the affult.
Having thus quieted Epirus, and bestowed his forces by garrisons in divers commodious towns
for the winter time, he returned into Illyricum: where he held a general assembly at Scodra, to
which he had summoned the principal states of the whole nation, and whither also there were ar-
nived five delegates from Rome. And there in this frequent and solemn session, he pronounced from
the tribunal, by the advice of the counsel affiant unto him. That the Senate and people of
Rome ordained the Illyrians to live free and enjoy liberty; and that himself would withdraw the
garrisons out of their towns. Forrezzes and Caffes. As for the Illices, Taulantians, Turritians in the
Dacitanians country, Rhetzons and Oldiaca: (for that whiles Gentius his fortune (food up-
right, they had ranged with the Romans) he declared them not only free, but also exempt and pri-
Cedged from all tributes. The Dacians also, for leaving Cæsareum, and passing with their arm-
ies to side with the Romans, he endowed with the like immunity. They of Scodra, Daffar, and
Selepitas, with the rest of the Illyrians, were paid the one moiety of the tribute which they had
yielded to the King. After this he divided Illyricum into three cantons: the one of them he made
of those before named: the second, all the Labaeus: and the third, of the Agronovites, Rhetzons,
Oldiaca: and those that bound and border upon them. Having set down this order in Illyricum,
he returned to Pafas, City in Epirus, there to lie for the winter time.

Whilesthesethings happened in Illyricum, Pellas before the coming of the ten Legats, sent Q.
Maximus his son (who was now lately returned from Rome) to the laccage of Eginum and A-
gest. The quarrel against Ateste was, for that they having delivered the Town once to Marinus
the Confl, and therewith of their own accord creaved the alliance of the people of Rome, revolted
notwithstanding afterwards to Persius. As for the Eginians, they had committed a late and irre-
fer piar for giving no credit to the same that was voiced of the Romans victory: they cruelly hand-
certain Roman soldiers, who were entred into their City. Moreover, he sent L. Poffius
likewise to snuff in hostile manner the City of the Eginians, for that they had perished in arms
more tillly than the other neighbour Cities. Now was it about that session of the year which men
call Autumn: in the beginning whereof, so soon as he had determined to ride a circuit and visit all
Greens round, and to see thole places whereof there went a great name, and which were more
renowned by hear-say than known by sight of eye: he left C. Sulpius Gallus for the command and
guard of the camp and posted in his progress, accompanied with no great train, And being guar-
agede hand of the one hand with his own son Scribon, and on the other, with Alcbea: the brother of King
Eumener. he passed through Thessaly toward the famous Oracle at Delphi. Where, after he had
facticed to Apollo he delined and appointed those Column & Pillars, which were begun in the
porch of that Temple, and wherupon the statues of King Persius should have been erected (for to
fulfill and bear the statues of himself with the title Victorious, He visited also the temples of Jop.
Tempos in Lebada: where, after he had seen the mouth of that peakith cave into which they use
to descend that would have the benefit of the Oracle, and know the will of the God: after sacrif-
cice also done to Jupiter and Hercules, whole temple there is to be seen he went down to Chalcis,
to behold the fifth of Euripus; and that Island which in times past was united & joined to the firm
continents by a bridge. From Chalcis he crossed over to Antia three miles distant thence, a port
noble for the rode: some time there of Agamenon fleet, consisting of a thousand sail. Being
there, he went to the Temple of Diana, where that King of Kings (Agamenon) offered his own
daughter in sacrifice upon her altar, to have a prosperous voyage for his fleet intending to fail to
Troy. After this he came to Oropus, Town of Attica, where Ambipollus the Prophet is worship-
ped as a God. There, was to be seen an ancient Temple, most pleasant to behold for the goody
Fountains and Rivers round about it. Then went he forward to Athens, a City likewise for anti-
quity of fame much spoken of, and highly renowned time out of mind: wherein were many mo-
uments also worth the seeing: namely, the citadel, the havens, the walls that reach from the City
to Pyramids, the arsenals made by great Captains and Commanders, the images of the Gods, and
of men likewise, so rare & excellent, as well for the artificial workmanship, as the matter whereof
they were made. When he had sacrificed within the City to Minerva the goddess and patroness of
the said citadel, he kept on his journey, and the next day following arrived at Corinth. A fair & beauti-
ful City this was in those days, before it was destroyed, the forretire there and the Issus were
things of especial mark, and worth the sight: for the said forrest notwithstanding it be mounted
up to an exceeding height above all, yet is it full of fountains; and the Issus by a narrow ridge
of land divideth two less neer together, the one lying East, and the other West. From thence he
went to Sestos and Arges, two noble Cities and so forward to Pergamus, nothing in wealth com-
parable
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parable to the rest yet of great name for the famous temple of AEtolium, which standeth 5 miles from the City, where at this day are but few signs and tokens of the empty places from whence the obligations have been packed away: but then a rich place it was and full of those offerings and gifts, which did not pertain to that God in remembrance and reward for those sovereign fables and wretched remedies which they there found. From thence he came to Lacedemon: a City memorable not for any magnificence of there works and buildings, but for good discipline and orders there observed. From whence passing through Megalopolis, he ascended up to Olympia; where among other things there to be seen, he beheld Jupiter as it were represented even before his eyes, where he was much moved in spirit. And therefore as if he had been to sacrifice in the capitol, he commanded a sacrifice to be prepared with more state and magnificence than ordinary. Thus having visited all Greece over without any search and enquiry made, how men either in general or particular flowed affected in the war against Persia, (because he would not trouble and disquiet the minds of the allies with any fearful occurrence) as he returned toward Demetrius, he was encountered by the way with a number of AEtolians all clad in double & mourning array. And when he wondered and asked what the matter might be, he was given to understand that 350 of their principal men of name, were by Lenaeus and Tlepmon slain; who with the help of certain Roman soldiers sent from the Governor, had before their Senate that the reds were driven into exile: and the goods as well of those who were murdered, as also of the banished perions, were now possessed by their accusers. He commanded them to attend upon him at Amphipolis, and when himself had commanded & conterred at Demetrius with Cr. Olibrunus, after he once heard that the ten legs had paased the seas, he left aside all other affairs, and went directly to Amphipolis there to meet with them. To which place when Perseus came to meet him, for he having over-large liberty of poison, was come from Amphipolis & that was a daies journey off from his place, he the wed good counterance and gave him good and gracious words, but after he was receiv'd to the camp at Amphipolis, he sharply chid and rebuk'd, as men lay, Conspirators, first for suffering Perseus to range so long and so far off from him, and after the prince; secondly, for giving his soldiers false liberty and to pluck the titles from off the walls and houses of the City to cut the places of their winter harbour and therewith he commanded that the tiles should be carried thither again where they had them, and the houses to be repaired as sufficiently as before. As for Perseus and his elder son Philp, he delivered unto A. Paphburnus to be kept in safe custody: but his daughter and younger son, he sent for to Amphipolis from Samothrace and used them all courteously and kind entertainment as possibly he could. When the day was come, on which he appointed that the principal burgesses of every City should repair to Amphipolis: and that all the Kings letters and writings in what place ever to be read, should be wrote up & represented there together with all his money; he let him down upon the tribunal seat together with the ten legs from Rome, and the whole multitude of the Macedonians were gathered round about him. Albeit they had been not used to subjection under the King yet this new Tribunal carried with it a form and show of a terrible government, namely, when they saw the tiptops & highness to keep the doors and places of entry, the public crier and the sergeant: strange matters all unto their eyes and ears & whereunto they had not been accustomed, able to strike a terror to allies much more then to conquered enemies. After silence made by the crier, Polybus pronounced in the Latin tongue what the Scenat pleasure was to be done, and what himself with the advice of his Concellor & assistant about him that he had thought upon and set down: all which points Cr. Olibrunus the Pretor (or he was in place) interpreted and related again in the Greek language. Improbly they ordained the Lacedemonians to be free, to have and enjoy the same Cities and territories, to use and exercise their own Laws to create yearly Magnifies, and to pay half of that tribute to the people of Rome: which they used to pay unto their Kings. Item, to divide Macedonia into 4 quarters: The one, and that the principal for to contain all the country between the 2 rivers Strymon and Nestus; to which part there should be laid the tract on the farther side of the river Nestus Eastward (where Persius held Towns, Cities and Islands: excepting Axios, Mrenus, and Abdon; also beyond Strymus Westward, all the Bilisitque territory together with Heraclea, which they call Syntica. For the second, all those parts which on the East side the river Strymon enclosed except Syntica, Heraclea, and the Bisaltes: also on the West, whatsoever is bounded with the river Axios, together with the Peoniants lying to it, which inhabit upon the river Axios Eastward. The third quarter was that, which Axios from the east and Peneus the river from the west do compass and to the north-side is limited with the mountain Bona, and to this portion was ceded the tract of Pomia, which coasteth along the river Axios toward the west: Edfessalo & Berbae were annexed there. The fourth was beyond the mountain Bona, confining on the one side upon Illyricum, and on the other upon Epirus. The head cities of every quarter where they should hold their sessions and consults, he appointed these: For the first Amphipolis: The Galatae for the second: in the third Pella, & Pelagonia in the fourth. To these places he ordained that they should then sessions and consults and hold the assemblies of each quarter thither the money to be brought there and the magistrates to be created, Item, he declared and pronounced that it should not be lawful for any person to contract marriage, neither to have commerce & traffic together in buying or selling of lands or tenements without the limits of their own division, Item, that in their mines they should no more dig for tin and gold: but for Iron and brass they had permission, And those that had the profit thereof were to pay the one half of the old rent, which they were wont to yeeld and grant unto the King, Item, he forbade...
A had them to use any more forrain fall brought from out of other parts, when the Dardanians put in their claim for Paonia, for that it had sometime been their appurtenance and also confined upon their country; he pronounced freedom to all those who had been subjects to S. Perseus. But afterwards, when they could not obtain Paonia, he granted unto them the commodity of the traffic for fat; and he charged the inhabitants of the said country to carry it to Stobi in Paonia, and he fet them down a certain price. In he debarr them from selling any ship-timber themselves; and from suffering any others. Unto those countries which bordered upon the Barbarians (and except the third quarter all the rest confined upon them) he granted that they might keep armed garrisons upon their frontiers and marches. These Acts and ordinances thus published the first day of the session, wrought diversly in the minds of men. Freedom granted beyond their expectation, and

the easement in the yearly tribute, comforted their spirits and made them look up. But by the interruption of the commerce & traffic one region with another, they seemed like creatures dismembered and prickled aunder joint-meal; so as having need one of another, yet they had no mutual & reciprocal use and intercourse. In so much as the Macedonians themselves knew full little how big and large Macedonia was, and how commodiously it was divided, so as each part was sufficient in itself without the help of others. The first region contained the Bifalke who inhabit beyond the river Nefum and about Smyron, the most valiant men of all the rest: besides, it hath many proper commodities by itself, as well fruits of the earth as mines of metals, together with the opportunity and commodious situation of Amphipolis, which as a frontier-barriopeth all avenues on the eait side into Macedonia. The second quarter hath in it two most famous and frequented cities, Thessalonica and Chizipolis, and Pallens, a fertile and fruitful land. Besides, the maritime commodities which the havens at Torone and the head of Abydos (and it they call the port or rode of Euboea) yeeld; to say nothing of other bays lying handomely, some toward the land Enos, others toward Hellepont. The third contry contains the famous cities Edessa, Beroea and Phila, the warlike nation of the Vcteis, and many Gauls and Illyrians besides who there inhabit, notable men all of action & execution. The fourth region is peopleed with the Eordians, Linceans, and Pelagonians; unto whom, the provinces Attana, Sympholia, and Elimiote are adjoined. All this quarter is cold, rough and hard to dwell in. The nature of the inhabitants is likewise suitabe to the soil: & the fiercer they be by reason of the barbarous nations their neighbours, who one whole find them occupied with war, and otherwheres mingle their rites and fashions with theirs in time of peace.

B When Macedonia was thus divided and each part distinguished by their severall times & commodities, he appointed a general review to be made and enrolment of all the Macedonians: having declared unto them before, that he purpose to give laws unto them.

This done, the Etolians were cited and called next: and in the whole course of the commission as touching them and their affairs, more inquisition there was, who favoured the Romans, and who afflicted the King than of any that either had done or suffered wrong. The murderers were found unguily and aboved and the banishment of the exiled was as much avowed, as their destitute justified who were massacred: A Babus only was convicted and condemned, for that he had sent Roman foouldiers to execute the said butchery. This issue of the Etolians caus'd puffed up the spirits of all those who had sided with the Romans, through all the nations and cities of Greece, in such sort as they grew to a pride intolerable: but contrarywise put down & abased under their fea, as many as were suspected any wayes to have ca'd a favor and born good will to the King. The principal states-men of their cities were of three sort two of them were skillful in the art of foothing, & either by submitting and subjecting under the Roman Empire, or Winding within the favor and friendship of the KK, grew infinitely rich and mighty themselves in privit, with the publick oppression and undoing of their country; the third between, being a mean, and was cros to the othersmen that lived for the defence of their liberties and maintenance of laws, who as they were more dearly beloved of their neighbours at home, so were less gracious and of credit with strangers abroad. The favorit's and uppots only of the Romans, were advanced by their propriety: they alone far in place of government, they were employed in all embassages, and none but they, Thee being there present in great number coming out of Pelopponese, Beatia, and from other frequent assemblies of Greece, filled the heads of the ten delegats and high commissioners; buzzing into their ears, that not they alone who openly were seen in their bravery and vanity of spirit, vanit themselves for the hoists and friends of King Perseus, but many more besides under-hand rook part with him and favoured his proceedings: as for the rest (under a colour of maintaining liberty) praished in all their connells and compleated against the Romans what they could: and never would the Greek Nations abide long in their allegiance, unless the hearts of that side were taken down and broken: and their authority only cherished, confirmed, and strengthened, who regarded nothing else but the empire and sovereignty of the Romans. When these had informed and preferred divers by name: fenc for they were by the letters mifive of the General, out of

C

Aetia, Accarnania, Epirus, and Beatia, to give their attendance and follow him to Rome, there to answer the caufe. But into Aetia two of the high Commissioner were fent. namely, C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius, who personally should summon them by vertue of their edict. And this was done for two consideratons: the one, because they thought verily that the Achaians were more confident and courages, and therefore would not obey the summons by letters, and per-adventure also. Calvilli and other the informers and acculers who made prementment of their names, should be in some danger of their lives: the other caus why they would be present
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to give them summons was this, that amongst the Kings records and rolls they had found the let-
ters of the principal State-men of other nations: but of the Achæans there appeared no writing at
all under their hands, and therefore the imputations charged upon them, were nothing evident.

After the Etolians were dismissed, the nation of the Achæans was cited and called into
place: as for them, there was no change nor alteration: only Lacedaemon was exempt from doing ser-
vice to the high court and general assembly of the Achæans. As they followed the inquisition
still farther and farther, making enquiry who either in publick or private had taken part with the
King, they extended their condemnation as far as into Aetias, and sent Lacedaemon and the city of
Athena, in the Ille Lesbo, to translate the inhabitants thereof to Methymna: the pretence
was, for that they had given harbor to their haven to the provisions of Antiochus the Kings Admi-
ral, at what time as he hove and ranged about Lesbos with his pinasses. Two there were that I
loot their headsmen of quality and great worth, to wit, Andronicus the Etonian of Andoni-
cus, for that he followed his father and bare arms against the people of Rome: and Nicer a The-
ban, by whose advice and persuasion they had contracted a league with Perseus.

After this enquet of foreign canties interpolated and coming between the assembly of the Macedoni-
ans was called again: wherein as touching the state of Macedonia, pronounced and published it
was, That there should be certain Senators chosen, whom they called Synodiki, by whom counsel the
common-weal should be managed and governed. After this, were the names read of the principal
Macedonians, whom he appointed (together with their children as many as were above fifteen
years of age) to go before into Italy, This at first was thought to be an hard and cruel course, but
an it appeared to the multitude of the Macedonians that it was all done for their liberty. For
nominated there were, the Kings friends and gallants of his court, the commanders of armies the
Admirals of the fleets and the Captains of the garrisons who were wont to lev. the King baily,
but to over-rule others proudly and imperiously: some exceeding rich and wealthy others spend-
ing above the proportion of their revenues and living; all faring at their table, and arrayed in
apparel as KK, not one caring with him the civil mind of a good citizen, not one that could
abide to hear of laws or of equality. All thefe therefore who had been employed in any ministry
or service about the King even in the alo who had been used in the least embassages that were had
commandment to depart out of Macedonia and to go into Italy: and look who obeyed not this
edict, were threatened with death. Unto Macedonia he gave laws, with such diligent care and good
regard, as if he had reckoned them not for enemies vanquished, but for allies of good defer: ich
laws (I say) as the very præfide and trial of long time (the only corrector of all statutes) was not
able upon that occasion, to check and control.

After these tedious affairs were finished, he exhibited with great furniture and preparation, a
solemnity of games and diptop at Amphipolis, which long before he had intended, and for the in-
timation whereof he had both sent out his messengers to the States of Asia and to the KK, and al-
so himself in his circuit and visitation of the Greek Cities, had given warning to the great men
and principal citizens. And thither repaired out of all parts of the world, a number of cunning,
dextrous, and artificial actors, that made profefion of such plaies and pallimes: besides a fort of
wretellers, champions, and brave horites of the best kind & breed. Also divers embassages with
their beasts for sacrifices, and whatsoever else was usually done of course, at the great and solemn
gamings in Greece. Thus it came to pass, that men admired not only his magnificence, but his wives
also in exhibiting these shews and fights wherein the Romans at that time were altogether
rude and ignorant. Moreover, he feast and banketted the Embass in the same summptuous manfe
and respective consideration. And this(by report) was an epiphany and common thing of his,
That none could make feasts and let forth plaies better than he who had the skill to win a field.
Having represented these solemnities of all sorts and bestowed all the brazen shields on shipboard;
alio other armor and weapons of this kind, he piled upon a mighty heap: and after his prayers
made to Mars, Mercury, dame Lut and other Gods and Goddesses into whom of right and duty
apportioned to consecrate and dedicate the ipoils of enemies himself the General with his own
hands put under a burning torch, and kind the fire. and after him all the martial-colonels flan-
ding round about cast every man his fire-brand, and for all a burning. This was a thing noted in
that great assembly of Europe & Asia where there was such a confluence of people from all parts,
as well to testify their joy in his behalf as to see the shews and diptop: in that meeting, I say, of
so great armies of sea-servitors and land-soldiers, there was that plenty of all things and demand
of vixuhs, that Amphiboli the General, of that exceeding store and abundance, gave much away
freely to private persons to cities and nations, not for their present use, but also to carry home
with them into their countries. And this multitude there assembled took not more pleasure either
in beholding the stage-plaies acted, or seeing men prudent feats of bodily strength and activity, or
the running of horses in the race, as in viewing the Macedonian boot and pillage laid all abroad
to be seen; namely, of Statues, and painted tables, of rich cloth of taffey, of vessels in gold, in
ver, in copper, and ivory made so curiously wrought in that teoil plac and city of Pella, not only
to serve for a present view and no more (like those that the Kings Palace of * Alexandrias was reple-
nified with) but also for continual and everlasting use. These were all embarked, and committed
to the charge of Cu. Obliasius to be transporte to Rome. Punish after he had given the Embas-
dors a gracious and courteous farewell, passed over the River Strymon, and lodged within a mile
of Amphiboli. From thence he disdolged and journeyed until he came on the fifth day as far as
Pella.
A Pelus. And palling by the City, he abode two daies at a place which they call Spelunca, and then he sent P. Nasiem, and Q. Maximus his own for with part of the forces in an expedition, to give the wall unto those Illyrians, who had luccoured Perseus in his wars, but hecommanded them to meet him at Oriens. Himself marching toward Epirus, at the fifteenth remore arrived at Paffaron. Not far from thence lay Ammia encamp'd : unto whom he dispatched his letters, to the end that he should not be troubled at those designs which were to be put in execution signifying therein, that the Senat granted to the army the pillage of all the Cities of Epirus, which had revolted unto Perseus: which done, he tuborned certain Centurions, and sent them into all the Towns with instructions, to give out that his coming was to withdraw all the garrisons from thence, with an intent that the Epirots should enjoy their freedom as well as the Macedonians.

B So to be hummouned out of every City ten of the chief to repair unto him. And when he had charged & commanded them to bring abroad into the market place all the gold and silver which they had, he sent out certain cohorts and companies of fouldiers to every of the said Cities: they who were assigned for the places farther remote went before them which were appointed to the nearer; and this was ordered so, that upon the same day they should enter into them all at once. Now the Colonels and Centurions had their errand, delivered them what to do. In the morning twice all the gold and silver was brought forth together accordingly, and that at the fourth hour of the day a signal was given to the fouldiers to fall to the attack, and the Cities, Wherein they found the great store of plate that every horizan had made for his part 400 Denari, and the toomter 200 apiece, and a hundred and fifty thousand poles were led away into captivity. Then the walls were razed of the said Cities thus spoil'd, and those were to the number of seventieth. All the booty and prizes were fold, and out of that mafs of money were the fouldiers paid. From thence Paulus went down to the Sea side, unto Oriens, But the fouldiers minds were nothing to well satisfied, as he supposed they had been, for discontented mighty they were and angry, that they had no share at all in the Kings pillage and storehouse, as if they had made no war in Macedonia. At Oriens he found those forces which he had sent under the command of S. Nasiem and Maximus his son; there he equipped his whole army, and sailed over into Italy, in like manner a few daies after, Arrided, when the feffion and general meeting of the other Epirots and Acarnians was ended, having given commandment, that their principal persons should follow him into Italy (the knowledge and deciding of whole caues he reserved and referred thither) himself attended the ships which the army had used in Macedonia, and passed over likewise into Italy.

D At what time these affairs were thus managed in Macedonia and Epirus, the Embassadors who had been sent with Attalus to end the war between the Galls and King Eumenes arriv'd at Asia. A faire safe of arms for the winter time, was agreed upon between both parties, during which cessation the Galls departed home, and Eumenes was retir'd to Pergamus there to winter, where also he lay grievously sick. The spring was no sooner come, but the Galls began to flee and look abroad; but by that time they were come as far as the Synada, Eumenes had assembled his forces from all parts to Sardis. There at Synada, the Romans parleyd with Scheltemius the General of the Galls. Attalus also went with them; but thought good it was not, that he should enter within the Galls camp, for fear of stirring caues in heat of argument, and raising cholera of the one side or other. So P. Licinius commen'ded with the Duke of the Galls aforaid: and when he had done, he brought word back, that the more he was entreated, the worse he was and left straftable: no more as much as it might be supposed, that the words of the Roman Embassadors were of powerfull and effectual with Antiochus and Ptolomeus (two mighty and puissant Kings) as to make peace to presently between them, since they prevailed so little or nothing at all among the Galls.

To return again to Rome. First, the two captive Kings, Perseus and Geminus were sent thither, and committed there to ward they and their children after them, the multitude besides of prisoners, then confederately those Macedonians, as also the other chief peers of Greece, who were warn'd to repair unto Rome. For not they only were hummouned to make appearance there, who had been seen present in place, but also all those were sent for by letters missive peremptorily, who were but reported to have been with the Kings. Then Paulus himself a few daies after embarked in a ship of the Kings, a Galeae of a mighty bigness, making way with fifteen banks and rows of oars to a side, and the same set out and adorned with the Macedonian spoils, not only of brave gorgeous armoure, but also of rich hangings, ruffle & cloth of gold out of the Kings wardrobe, came up the Tyber against the stream: where great numbers of people went forth to meet him, and filled the banks on both sides of the river. Some few daies after Antiochus and Othoitus arrived also with their fleet. And to all three, by an act of the Senat was triumph granted, Q. Caflus the Precitor had commandment to deal with the Tribunes of the Commons by warrant from the Senat, that they should prefer a bill unto the common people, that those three should be in full communion of command and government that day when they were to ride triumphant into the City, See, how mean things escape the touch of envy, but the highest commonly are met with. No doubt was made at all of the triumph of Antiochus, nor yet of Othoitus. But Paulus, with whom even they themselves would have been ashamed to compare, could not avoid the backbiting of flanderous & malicious tongues. His fouldiers according to the ancient discipline of war, he had held hard to their service. And to them he had given a donative indeed out of the booty, but more ingrally & with a lighter hand than they hoped for, from out of so great wealth and riches of the Kings; and yet in good faith to lay a truth, full well he knew that if he had satisfied their greedy demands, and dealt.
still amongst them till they had cried Hœ, he should have left himself just nothing to have brought H into the common treasury. So that all this Macedonian army gave a shew by this time, as if they had but cold devotion to their General, either to appear, or to give their voices for the setting forward of the bill aforesaid, as touching his triumph and plenary power of command, when the day of assembly should come. Over and besides, Ser. Sulpisius Galba, who had been a martial Colonel in the second legion in Macedon, and in private enmity with the General; both himself and person was in hand with him, and by the foddiers alofhis own legion conciliated and fuborned on the reit to appear in sufficient number, there for to give their turrages against him, and check the bill saying, "That as he was an impetuous and Lordly commander, so he was as miserable a pinch, a peny withal, and a good deed it were to deny his grace and to crols the law proposed for his triumph, & for to be revenge of him throughly: for no doubt the commons of the City would I go that way that they should fee the foddiers to lead before. He could not forfith (say they) to give money among their foddiers liberally: well, he shall fairly know, that his foddiers yet can give him honour: but never let him look for the fruit of favor and grace, where he hath deterved none. These words set them ago, and when Trib. Sempronius a Tribune of the Commons read over and published the foresaid bill in the Capitol, and that by permission of law any private person might have spoken thereof, and no man came forth, as being a matter whereof no double question to be made: then Ser. Sulpisius Galba suddenly kept forth, and required of the Tribune, That (forasmuch as it was to far forth days, as being the eight hour thereof, so that he had not time enough to declare and flew at large, what allegations he had why they should not grant L. Asinius a triumph) they would adjourn the assembly to the next day, and betimes in the morning let the matter on foot again: for that he had need of a whole day and no less, to plead that cause to the full as he should do. But when the Tribune willed him again to speak his mind that day, if he had ought to say, he made a speech, and with his long oration held the court until it was within night: putting them in mind and alluding, "How precisely and rigorously he had exacted at their hands all military duties: how he had imposed upon the foddiers more painful and dangerous labour than need was: but contrary-wife in dealing rewards and bestowing honourable recompenses for good service, he was over-straight-laced & too short in every point and verily foddiersy and warfare it is continued still under such Captains, will be more hard, trai-vellome and rough to foddiers and warriors: but when al is done and victory obtained, rewarded it shall be with bare poverty and neglect of honour. Certainly, the Macedonians are in better cafe yet than the Roman foddiers, But it they would be present in great frequency the next morrow to deny and revoke this bill, then these tith and mighty men shall know full well, That all liceth not in the hands of the Captain and Commander, but that the foddiers also can do what the foddiers animated and induced with these serious words, reforted the day following in to great multitudes, and pelted the whole Capitol so full, as none but they could come in to give their voice. The fifth tribes that were called in, clearly called the grace: which when the principal and chief men of the City law they ran all into the Capitol with open mouth crying out upon this indignity offered, That L. Paulus a conqueror in so great and dangerous a war, should be deprived of his due triumph; and the grand Commanders and Generals of the field were now subj ected and enthralled to the commons, which gave a voice to their foddiers. In this one thing (say they) have we too too much faulted, such hath been our favour and partiality, and foolishly have we been to displease any: but what will become of us in the end if foddiers once may come to be Lords and matters, and thus to row over their Generals? And every man raised and cried out upon G iba. In the end after this garbilo was appeased, M. Serrius who sometime had been Conful and great master of the horse under the Dictator, requized the tribunes that they would begin all in annulling that which was pass, and give him leave withal to make a speech before the people. The Tribunes went aside to consult of this matter and in fine, over-ruled with the authority and comtenance of the nobles and peers of the City, began to treat afore and go in hand with all matters anew, making it known openly that they would recall back those fifth foddiers, in case M. Serrius and other privit men who were willing to utter their mind to the cause had once spoken. Then said Servilius as followeth. "Matters and friends, citizens here of Rome: it and by nothing else it might be judged, how singular & how excellent a Commander L. Emilius was in the field, this only (if there were no more) may suffice, that having in his camp such seditious and light headed persons for his foddiers, and an adversary of his own among them, so noble of birth, so rash of action, and withal so arrogant and self-conceited, ready to indire and fite up, so multitude to commotion, yet troubled he never was with any mutiny at all in his whole army. The fame severity it was in government & condud, that held them in awe and good order, which now at this present they hate & detest, And so long as they were managed by ancient discipline, so did not quench nor give offence. As for Servilius Galba if (like a new barrister, who is to flow the firit proof, & to give the aflay and handle of his eloquence) he would have made choice of L. Paulus to begin withal and accuse him at the bar, he should not yet have hindered his triumph which (if there were nothing else to diffuade and draw him back) the Senate had judged to be just & due; but the morrow after his triumph (when he had been him a privat man again) he might have given presentment of his name, & by order of law minified interrogatories unto him and forthent proces: or rather he might have fiad a little longer, namely, until himself had been a Magistrat in place, and then have gone roundly to work, referred him upon an action
to answer at a day, and so accused him judicially before the people. This should L.X. my lion have had his triumph for reward and recompence of his well doing in that nobly & valiantly he had conducted this war: this likewise he should have suffered condign punishment, if he had committed ought unworthy either of his ancient glory or this new honor. But will you have the truth? when he could find no matter of crime to reproach him with, he bought by waives and indirect means to detract his well deserved praise. He demanded yesterday, one full day to accuse L.Paulus: and * four hours, even all the day that was left he spent in making an invective against him. What prisoner was there ever brought to the bar so culpable and iniquitous but all the faults of his whole life might be ripped up, deciphered, and painted forth in to many hours space? But what objected he all that while, that L.Paulus if he were to fame his defence, would will to deny? O! that some man would procure me here for the while two allegories and contests, the one of Roman soldiers employed lately in Macedonia the other more pure and uncorrupt of the twelve, namely, of citizens founder in judgement, void of all favor & clear from hatred. And the people of Rome I would have to be the judge. First, let Paulus be accused in the grand assembly & court of these citizens. Tell me O S. Galba, what would you say against him before those Quirites of Rome. For there you should have been cut off and lost all this discourse & special part of your oration, carrying theses terms, You looked too strictly & precisely to the corps designed in their dispositions: you held the soldiers too hard to their watch and ward the fetensines were neerly and narrowly looked unto: & you were over curious about going the rounds & relieving the watch in the night: for about the works and fabrick, you put the soldiers to more toiling & mole- sting than heretofore: whereas, my L. General, their inverior, over-seer, and task-master, rode all about to exact the utmost with all extremity; in one & the same day when you had the army on foot, presently from a journey you led them forth to battle; when the victory was got, you would not suffer the soldier to breathe and take repos; but caused him to march immediately & to follow the enemy in chace, whereas the booty to be parted & shar'd out might have enriched your self: yet will you carry the Kings treasur in show of triumph & then lay it up in the chamber of the city. As their be shrewd matters, like sharp goals to prick those soldiers & get them on, who think they have not scope enough to serve their disflaut looses, or too small allowance to content their covetous appetits: so, with the people of Rome they would have nothing at all prevailing: who if they should not call to mind examples & stories of old, which they have heard their fathers talk of, namely, what overthrows have been received through the indulgence and popularity of Generals; and contrary wise what victories have been acquired by their severe discipline and government: yet at last wise they cannot chuse but remember what odds & difference there was in the late Punick war between M. Minuus General of the hoste, & Q. Fabius Max. his Dictator. And therefore since the accuser might know all this, the defense of Paulus in this behalf was altogether needles & unnecessary. Let us go now to the other audience and assembly of the Macedonian soldiers. But now me thinks, I must not call you Quirites any more but soldiers: if haply there be to much grace in you, as that this name yet may cause you to blush, & be abashed for very shame of the world, to offer abuse unto your General, and vary for mine own part, I find a great change in my self, & am otherwise affected in my mind, now that I seem to speak unto an army of soldiers, that here whiles I was, when my Oration was accommodate and framed to the commons of a City. Now soldiers, what say you to the matter? Is there any one at Rome, but Perseus again that would not have a triumph over the Macedonians? are you not ready to pull such a one in pieces with those very hands, wherewith you vanquished the Macedonians? He, whosoever he is, that impeacheth you for entering into the City in triumph, trust me truly, would have denied of your victory if it had bin in his power. Lo, how foully are ye deceived, (soldiers) and far out of the way, if ye think that the triumph is the honor only of the General, and not of the soldiers likewise and consequently of the whole people of Rome. This is not Paulus his case alone. Many others likewise have been, who when they could not obtain a triumph at the hands of the Senats, triumphed nevertheless upon the Albine mountain. As impossible it is for any man to bereave L. Paulus of the honor due for the finishing of the Macedonian war, as it was to disappoint C. Lucilius of his glory for ending the first Punick war. P. Cornelius for the second or others besides who after them triumphed. It is not a triumph that can make L. Paulus better or worse, either the greater captain or the left. Herein consisteth the credit, renown & reputation of the soldiers and of all the people of Rome more than his: for fear left they be reputed & noted either for envious & malicious, else unthankful for their belt members & noble citizens, & therein seem to imitate the people of Athens, who ever more perfecte and humane with envy their belt men that live amongst them. Your eyes and all others when time was faulted this waives enough I wish in the person of Camillus, whom they offered abuse unto, before the City by his means was recovered out of the Gauls hands. Much you were to blame your selves here & overmuch too in P. Africannus. That in Literature, his manion, house and habitation (who was the conqueror of Africa) should be thundered: that in Literatures (if I say) the epulochire of P. Africannus should be seen. Let us blush for very shame that L.Paulus, as he is equal to them in glory and honor, should like wise go with them and have his part of your hard and wrong dealing. The first thing that ye do then, let he this: Out with this spot & stain of any which ye have caught so reprehens in regard of other nations, so hurtful to your selves. For who will ever hereafter with to be like Africannus who will endeavor to
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Ibeifite, beaHs, neither praiies men alone; and the Eprius like wise and the Cathaginians: even to nei ther M. Curtius alone, nor P. Cornelius, but the Romans also have triumphed. True it is, and I must needs say, that the foul diers have a proper interest and part by themselves, in that they alone (dight with branches and chaplets of laurel, and every one bravely to be seen and adorned with the gifts that have been gi ven them) did round Triumphi: Triumphi: and as they pass along the City sing and chant the praises of themselves and of their Captain-Generals. And if it fortune at any time that the foul diers be not brought home out of the province to the triumph, they grumble & are discontented: yet not withstanding, absent though they be, they think it is their due: and long as their General and leader triumpheth, they triumph also; because the victory was achieved by the strength of their arms. Good fouliiers, it is a man should ask you, for what intent you were recon ducted into Italy? and whereto so soon as the service was performed and the war brought to an end, ye had not presently your congy of discharget, moreover to what purpose ye came by companies and squadrons under your enigns and colors: for what cause ye stay and remain here, and go not every man his waite to his home? what answer would ye make elles, but, That ye would be seen in triumph? And to say a truth since ye have won the victor ye are conquerors, I cannot blame you nay, ye ought to deire for to be seen and seen again. It is not long since we triumphed over Philip (this mans father) and over Autosius likewise: and reigned both they did as KK, when the triumph was: and shall there be no solemnity of triumph over Per fix, taken prisoner, and brought captive with his children into the City? L. Paulus standing hence as a private person, one amongst the company of ownded citizens seeing L. Anicius and Cr.Olca vus arrayed sumptuously in cloth of gold, and in their rich purple robes and mantles of edific, mounting up the Capitol in their triumphant chariots, should ask them the question and say in this manner: Tell me, O Lucius Anicius and you Cr. Olivius, judge ye in your own conceit that you are more worthy or a triumph than if they would no doubt come down each one out of his chariot and yeild him their place yes, and for very shame deliver up all their enigns and or naments unto him. And you Quitties, had you rather see Centurion than Per fix led in triumph? would you with indeed to triumph for an accidental appendix only of the war, rather than for the main subsittance of the war? Shall the legions coming out of Scipio's, and the mariners at sea, enter the City crowned with laurel garlands; and the legions out of Macedon, being denied their own triumph stand still and behold others too triumph? Moreover, what shall become of that rich booty? what shall be done with the spoils of that great and wealthy victory? where shall be bellowed and laid up so many thousand coslets and armors plucked from the bodies of enemies slain: shall they be lent back again into Macedon? Tho you costly images of gold, of mar ble, of every thing soe goodly fair pictures: those precious clothes and hangings of purple, scarlet, and taffeta: those mighty quantity of gold and silver brought into vesseis chafed and engraved: that huge masts of the Romans' ships: the great and coin, what shall we do with it? What shall it be carried all by night as well goods into the publick treasury and City Chamber? The goldleaf fight on all the rest, what shall you to it? A most noble & puifant King is taken prisoner, where shall be shewed the people of Rome his conqueror? What running what concourse there was of people to see K. Syphax captive (& yet he was hur a necessary to the m哽c war) most of us do well remem ber, Shall K. Per fix then, a prisoner and captive: shall Philip and Alexander his forefathers of great name be hidden and kept from the sight and eyes of the City? And there were no more but L. Aurelius himself: twice Consil, the conqueror & subduer of Greece all men would desire to see him enter the City in his triumphant chariot, we created him Co, for this intend that he should finish, and determin this war, which to your disonor and great shame had hung for the space of 4 years. To him then who (at what time as the war of that province fell unto him) and when he departed on his voyage from Rome had all our hearts to desire victory and triumph shall we now deny triumph when he hath the victory? And verily in so doing, we shall not only defend men but rob the gods also of their honor; for due it is to the very gods also and not to men alone. Have not your ancestors ever used to enterprise all great affairs in the name of the gods first & therein also to end laf? The Co for Per fix when he is to take his journey into his province to levy war, with his Lictors before him clad in their coslets of arms is ever wont to make, his solemn vows in the Capitol: after he hath acquit himself of his charge and obtained victory, when he is the triumphe, he transferreth in pomp the rich presents of the people of Rome to well deservd and offereth them to the same gods in the said Capitol, unto whom there first he pronou nced his vows, and the beasts for sacrifice going before the pomp of triumph, are not the least part of this solemnity: that it may appear how the General in his return is mindful of the gods, &rendeth thanks unto them for the happy managing of the affairs of Commonwel. As for these beasts for sacrifice which he hath appointed to be fowed in the pomp of triumph, say them: neither makes it matter whole hand dot is done one & one another, but those sacred viands of the Senat, which are not to be eaten in any priv houe, nor in publick place unhallowed, "bec
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A "but only in the Capitol; and there, not for the pleasure of men, but of Gods and men together, will ye trouble and impeach at the suggestion of Servius Galba? Shall the gates be shut against the triumph of L. P. shall P. win the King of the Macedonians, with his children and the multitude besides of captives, with the spoils of the Macedonians, be left behind at the river side? shall L. P. go directly from the city gate home to his house as a private person, like one that hath been abroad in the country to see his farm and is newly returned? But then Centurion and thou, lictor, begar, I advise thee, to the ordinance which the Senates hath decreed as touching the general P. rather than to the vain speech of Servius Galba: be honest to this I say the world, rather than he. As for him, he hath learned nought else but to prate and talk, and that to the depraving of others full maliciously. I tell thee thou hast Wolfe mine enemies, even upon the defence given twenty times and three; done I have my devoir, and from them all that were in combat with me, I never failed but carried away their spoils. I bear the marks about me of many a wound, and the honorable scars thereof to be seen, all of them in the breast and for part of my body. At which word, they say, he bared his naked skin, and related what in what battle he had received this or that wound. Now as he showed these scars, and chanced to discover some parts that better I was, and more honorably had been unseen, and therewith, a burst or swelling of a rupture that he had in his groin, whereof some of them that stood next unto him took up laughter, then (ed, he even this that you have eplied hereof make much game as, I caught with a strain, riding continually as I did, and never from my horseback day nor night: and no more ashamed I am and displeased with my self for that intemperance, than for their fear which you here see; since that it never was any impediment unto me in performing my service to the Common-wealth either in civil affairs of the world, or in warfare abroad. Well, I am old servitor, have been constant here to shew unto young men and raw houdiers, my body, many a time and often hacked, pierced and flashed with the sword. Let Galba now lay bare that whole skin of his own to tickle and affright. Now my masters, you that are Tribunes, call the tribes again to the scrutiny, and take their voices. As for me [down I will, and go after the Ioudiers hand at heels, Know I will which is the sole good and unthinkful companions that had rather he footed up and slurred in the wars by mutinous persons, than lie under the martial discipline of their General.]

Vol. xiii. Antias reporteth, That the sum of all the gold and silver taken in pillage and carried in the pomp of this triumph, amounted to the worth of 150 millions of sesterces. Which was, no doubt, as much greater by the proportion of the number of wars, and the pothes both of gold and silver by the fame author set down in general sums. And as some have recorded, the other spent in the war next before, or else scattered and laid in his flight when he made it to Som- thines, as much again as that came to. And the more wonder it was, that to mighty a mass of money had been gathered and heaped up within thirty years after the war between P. and the Romans, raised part out of the spoils, and in omm. of his metal mines, and part out of other profits and tributes. Thus P. very bare of money, and P. contrary-wise exceeding rich, began to make war with the Romans. Last of all, P. himself rode in his chariot, carrying a great port and majesty with both for his comely and comfitable body and also for his reverent old age. After his chariot, among other honorable personages rode his two sons, Q. Maximus and P. Scipio. Then followed the horsemens by troops, and the footmen by their cohorts and companies, every one keeping their ranks full decently. The footmen had given them a hundred Sesterces apiece, the Centurions double, and the horsemens triple so much. And it is thought, that he meant by this to give the footmen almost as much as the horse, and to set the footmen in comparison. In case they either had not denied his honour by their votes, or in token of thankfulness, they had done willingly and cheerfully crowned, what is true, which received was pronounced and related to them. And not P. alone (as he was through the enemies City in chains before the triumphant chariot of the conqueror) but also P. himself the conqueror glittering gloriously in his cloth of gold and costly purple, was a mirror to the word in those few dates, of the triumphs and mortal state of mankind. For of those two sons, whom after he had given the other two by way of adoption from himself he kept alone at home as his heir to bear his name, to maintain the sacred rites and sacrifices of his family, and to uphold the house he left, the younger, a stripling under twelve years of age, six days before his triumph died, and the elder fell fourteen years old, and more departed within three years after the triumph. Which two youths indeed ought to have been arrived in their embroidered robes of purple, and so to have ridden in the chariot with their father, predestining and aiming to themselves the like triumphs another day.

Some few days after, M. Antonius, the Tribune of the Commons assembled a solemn audience of the people for his sake, wherein when after the manner and custom of other Generals he should discourse of his own warlike and martial deeds, he made unto them a favorable Oration and well becoming a noble Roman Prince, to his effect. "Albeit I suppose (nothohe) to my neighbors and friends, the citizens of this noble City, ye be not ignorant, both how happily I have: ministrat the weal publick, and also how unprofitably within these few days two thunderbolts have staken my private house, as having one while beheld the bloody flow and pomp of my triumph retrenching the one, and then another while the wofull funerals and obsequies of my two sons declaring the other: yet I teach you suffer me with that agenlesness of heart and affection, as I ought, to make a brief comparison between mine own particular priviit fortune, and the publick
The five and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

"public felicity of the City, At my departure from Italy, I looked from Brundisium, and set up sail; but the second day after I came to Delphi, where I sacrificed to Apollo, for my self, for your armies, and your navy. From Delphi I departed, and within five days was in the sea. Where, after I had received the charge of the army, and altered some things which might greatly have hindered the victory, I marched forward, for that the enemies camp was insupportable, and the King could not be forced by any means to fight: and piercing through his guards that kept the passage, I went as far as Peraet: so as this means having perfected the King to fight, I vanquished him in plain field and ranged battle, Macedony subdued, and brought it in subjection to the people of Rome. Finally, that war which for four years together other Consuls began, was done by me to managed, as each one left it ever to his successor worse than he found it, I achieved it and brought to a finish in fifteen days. I followed then in this train other prosperous affairs, as the fruits ensuing of that victory. For all the Cities of Macedon yielded unto me. The Kings treasure I seized upon: the King in person (as if the very Gods themselves had delivered and put him into my hands) I took prisoner, with his sons in the Temple of the Samothracians. But then my heart misgave me; and even then I suspected the surfeiting favour of my good fortune, and called my doubts, and began to fear the dangers at last, having so mighty a mass of the kings treasure to transport, and my victorious army to reconduct back into Italy. But seeing all things fell out to hearts desire, a prosperous voyage, a safe arrival, and whatsoever I could pray for, the Gods hands: this I wished in my heart, (as knowing full well the wonted manner of fortune, when five is at the highest pitch, to turn back again, and come as fall down: that mine own house, that I was much more than the Common-weal, might feel that change and alteration whereof it came. And therefore I hope that this notable calamity of mine own shall call the King to manhood: for having any other misfortune, since that my hapless (if it were to check and shuck the changes of this world) hath fall to just between the limits of my two sons. So see how I and the Perfus are represented about all others for two notable examples of the frail and unstable condition of man. Lo how he, who being a prisoner himself, saw his sons likewise delivered captives before his face, hath them yet living bound and safe: and I, who have triumphed over him, came from the battles of one of my sons to ride in my chariot up to the Capitol, and from thence descended again to find the other lying at point of death: neither is there of all that fair issue that I had, one left to bear the name of L. Paullus Emilius. For two of them the house of the Cornelii and the Fabii have, unto whom I gave them in adoption, as of a great race and breed of children: so now, in the family of Paullus there is not one left but himself. Howbeit for this calamity and ruin of my house, your felicity and the happy estate of the City is a great comfort and consolation again. These words delivered with such a magnanimity, troubled the spirits of the auditors, and astonished them more, than if he had lamentably monied himself into them with piteous tears, for his childrens state and desolator condition.

C. Olibron solemnized his naval triumph over King Perseus the fifth day of December: in which solemnity, he neither had prisoners led in shew, nor spoils carried in pomp. He gave to his mariners and sailors revenue and five Denarii a piece: to every pilot double, and to the ship-masters four times as much. After this the Senate assembled, and the L. L. ordained, That Q. Caffius should M. lead King Perseus with his son Alexander, together with his train that accompanied him, as also bring all his money and goods, silver, or what moveables and furniture forever he had to Ab in the city of Samothrace and there to be kept in sure custody. But the King son of Thrace, with the hostages was sent to Carthage, there to lie in safe ward. As for the rest of the captives that had been led in triumph, though good it was they should be clapt up in prison.

Some few days after these things, there arrived Embassadors from Carthage King of the Thracians, bringing with them money for the ransom of his son and the other hostages. Into the Senate they were brought: where, by way of preamble they laid this for the ground of their speech. That Carthage had not sided with King Perseus in the war, upon his own motive and accord, but was compelled to give hostages: then they besought the L. L. of the Senate to suffer them be redeemed at N. what price ever they would let down, were it never so high. Unto whom this answer was returned by authority of the Senate. "That the people of Rome are well in mind the amity which they had with Carthage, with his progenitors, and the whole nation of the Thracians. As for the giving of the hostages, it was rather an evidence to prove, than an argument to excite their trepitude and fault: considering that when Perseus was quiet, the Thracian nation stood in no fear and awe of him, much less then, when he was troubled and occupied in war with the Romans, Howbeit although Carthage preferred the favour of Perseus before the friendship of the people of Rome, yet they would consider of the matter, and respect more his quality and what was meet for his estate, than his defert and what he was worthy to have regard thereon they would relese his son and the hostages, and send them home again. As for the people of Rome, their man of war is to belowe their favours and benefits freely without regard of recompence the worth and esteem whereof they had rather leave to the consideration and minds of the receivers, than require and demand the same presently. So there were Embassadors nominated to reconduct the hostages into Thrace to wits, T. Quintius Flamininus, C. Licinius Nerus, and M. Cononius Rebutus. And to those Thracian Embassadors were given by way of present 1000 asses a piece. So Bithia the rest of the hostages was sent for from Carthage, and with the forenamed Embassadors returned again to his father.
A The Kings ships taken from the Macedonians, of an extraordinary and monstrous bignes before time, were landed upon Merc field and there laid up drie. While the late remembrance of the Macedonian triumph, remained full not in the minds only, but as it were in the very eyes of men. L. Annius triumphed over King Gentius and the Ligrians upon the very day of the feast Carinaria: it was generally thought that all things therein rather resembled home likenes in show, then otherwise countervailed in substance the former triumph. This himself Annius was inferior to Ennio both in ability and also in quality of person: and letting together their places of command, the one being but Pretor, and the other Consul; neither was Gentius equal to Persius nor the Ligrians to the Macedonians. Spoil for spoilmoney for money gits for gits, there was no proportion nor companying between them. And therefore as that insth late triumph was more replentive and glorious than this, being considered in it fell without other respect, it was not to be found rank withal and delphed. Annius within few dates had vanquished and throughly nam'd the nation of the Ligrians: both by sea and land proud and mighty, bearing themselves flour and bold, and the General was praiyed and exclay'd in many a ditty and ballad. Annius wra'the, That of his booty there was raised as much money as came to twenty millions of Sevettii, over and above the gold and silver that went into the common treasure. But because I could not see how possibly such a sum should be made, I have set down mine author for the thing, now, chuse you whether you will believe him. King Gentius with his wife, children, and brother, was by offer from the Senate led to Spurius, there to be kept in ward: all the captives besides were Rome cast into prison and there lay. But when the Spoiles refused to take the charge and custody of him and the rest, their Princes were translated from thence to Isaurium. There remained besides of the Ligrian prizes two hundred and twenty ships, which being taken from King Gentius, Q. Caffius by the ordinance of the Senate gave and distributed among the citizens of Corpos, Apollus, and Derrhisabon.

The Consols this year after they had only walled the territories of the Ligrians, because they could not vanquish the enemies forces to fight, having done no memorable levies, returned to Rome for the choice of new Magistrates in the room of the old. And so the first comitia of court day that came, they created Consuls M. Claudius Marcellus and C. Sulpitius Gallus. The morrow after were elected for Pretors L. Livius, L. Apollus Saturinus, A. Leucus Nero, P. Rutilius Cilicus, P. Quintullius Vorns, and Marcus Fontius. These Pretors had their government in this mann'r; two for the jurisdiction within the City, two for the Sea, the other two Sicy and Euboea. This year leapt, and the leap day was the morrow after the feast Terminola. That year died C. Claudius the Augur, and in his place the collegy of the Augurs chose T. Quintus Flaminian. Also M. Fabius Pretor the Flamin of Quirinus the same year departed this life. This year also came King Prusias to Rome with his son Nicomedes. He entred into the City with a great train attending upon him: from the gate he went directly to the common place and the tribunal of Q. Caffius the Pretor. And when there was a great concourse of people about him from all parts; he laid that his coming was to worship the Gods which are the presidents of the City of Rome as also to tribute the people of Rome, and withal to shew his own joy and to with their for their happy victory over the two Kings Persius and Gentius, and for that by vanquishing the Macedonians and Ligrians they had enlarged their regno and dominion. And when the Pretor made an offer to call a Senate for him even that present day if he would to himself the desired two sestertis replit to see the temples of the Gods, to view the City, and to visit his good friends and acquaintance, L. Cornilius Seipas the treasurer was appointed to go about with him and shew them all: who also had been sent as far as to Cato to meet him upon the way: also for him and his train about him, there was a sufficient house taken up, where he was kindly and liberally entertained. The third day after he came into the Senate where after he had congratulated in their behalf for their late victory, he recounted his own dementis and good deferts during the war; and then requisted, that he might have leave to pour his vows and namely, to sacrific e at Pomus in the capitol,ten head of greater beasts, and one at Prensius to Fortuna. For that he said those vows were made for the victory of the people of Rome, Alfo that the league and alliance with him might be renewed. Item that the Gland won by conquest from King Annius which being not by the people of Rome given unto any, the Gauls notwithstanding held in possession, might be conveyed into him by a deed of gift. Last of all he recommended his son Nicomedes to the Senate. He found much favor among all them who had been Generals of armies in Macedony. And therefore he obtained directly all other things that he made: only as touched the said lands, this answer he had. That they would send certain commissioners to see and view the thing. And if it appeared and fell out, that the foresaid land was appertained to the people of Rome, and was not passed away by gift to any already they would.
repute King Prusias the worthiest man of all other, to receive that donation at their hands. He had no right unto it, or if the Gauls had a grant thereof already, Prusias then must be content and pardon them, if they were unwilling to gratify him with any gifts prejudicial and injurious to another. Neither could a thing never to freely given, be an acceptable gift, which he knew the donor may take away from the donee at his pleasure. As for Nicomedes his son, they would willingly receive him into their protection at his hands so recommended. And how careful and tender the people of Rome was that King children committed under them to keep, may appear by Ptolomaeus the King of Egypt. With this answer was Prusias dismissed. Order was given that he should be presented with a certain volume of letters, and with silver plate to the quantity of so pound weight. Alto also ordained that his son Nicomedes should have gifts proportionable to that sum which was given Masagaba the son of Mefanetas; also that bequests and all other things appertaining to sacrifices, should be allowed unto the king, out of the City-chamber, like as to the magistrates of Rome, whether he would lay and offer them at Rome or Frensete. Alto that out of that fleet which was in the harbor of Brundisium, there should be twenty galleries aligned him to use, until such time as the King were arrived at the fleet which was given him. Finally, that L.Curdius Scipio should accompany him and never depart from him, but bear the charges both of him and his resume about him until they were embarked and on shipboard. It is said, that the king joied wonderfully at this custom and kindness offered him by the people of Rome and that he would needs pay for those presents which were given him; only he commanded his son to take a gift at the hands of the people of Rome. Thus much have our Historians writ ten as touching K. Prusias. But P. Hyginus reporteth, that this King was unworthy the Majesty of so honorable a name, for that he was wont to meet the Embassadors of Rome with his head shaven and a cap upon, it also to acknowledge and call himself the freed villain and valet of the people of Rome, and to tell him much he wore the badge and token of that degree and condition. At Rome likewise when he entered the Council-houfe, he looped down and kissed the very door sill, calling the Senators Gods, his Saviors, yea, and to have used other speeches so honourable to the bearers, as bold and unifiting his owne person. When he had sojournd in and about the City not above thirty days, he took his leave and departed into his owne Realm.

To the Reader.

From the five and fortyeth book forward, all the rest of Livy (to the great main and blemish of the Latin tongue, and no small grief of learned men) is lost, even 100 books wanting five, like as those ten between the tenth and one and twentieth books, commonly called the second Decad. For as it appeared by L. Florus the Epitomist there were in all 140: and the arguments of so many remain at this day, by him collected. But if it be true that Francis Petrarch faith, Levy wrote in all 142: and as Charles Sgonius probably conjectureth, the 36 and 37 Breviaries of L. Florus be wanting of this later number. How all these complete books of T. Livius should miscarry, it is not certainly known. Some hope there is, that they are but mis-cast and laid out of the way. For like as within these hundred years some fragments of the story were discovered in Moguncie: and the last five books now extant, found by Simon Grinaeus in the Library of a monastery over-against the City of Worms, and dedicated by Erasmus of Rotterdam unto Charles the son of William Lord Montjoy, in the reign of Henry the eight of famous memory K. of England, &c. so we are not to depair of the rest. In the mean time, we must make much of these brief summaries left unto us. Even as therefore I have inserted those ten Breviaries in stead of the books: so I thought it not amiss, (in hope that one day the very books of themselves will come to light) to proceed in the rest following: and the rather, for that neither he that translated Livy into the Tuscan language, nor they who have done him into French (as far as I could ever see) have taken that pains.
The Breviaries of L. Florus upon the rest of T. Livius his Books, which are not extant.

Of the XLVI. Book.

Eumenes came towards Rome. Now because in the Macedonian war he had carried himself indifferent between Pericles and the Romans, there passed a law in general terms, That no King might repair to Rome; to the end, that if he were excluded, he should not be reputed an enemy; nor if he were admitted, acquit and cleared of all fault. Cl. Marcellus the Conful subdued the Gauls inhabiting the Alps; and C. Sulpitius Gallus the Lignians. The Embassadors of King Prusias complained of Eumenes, for that he invaded and robbed their borders; and they informed besides, that he had confounded with Antiochus against the people of Rome. At the current suit and entreaty of the Rhodians, a league was contrived with them. The Confuls took a review and survey of the City, wherein were enrolled and levied 327022 citizens of Rome. M. Aeminius Lepidus was elected President of the Senate. Ptolemaus the King of the Egyptians was by his younger brother expelled of his realm, but by the means of Embassadors (sent from Rome) he was restored to his kingdom. Upon the death of Ariarathes King of Cappadocia, his son Ariarathes came to the crown and by intercourse and mediation of Embassadors, renewed amity with the people of Rome. This book continues besides the wars against the Lignians, Corcyrenians, and Lusitaniens, fought with various fortune: the troubles also in Syria after the death of Antiochus, who left behind him Antiochus his son a very child. This young Prince (together with his guardian Lyctus) Demetrios the son of Seleucus (who had been sent in hostage to Rome) murdered privately, because he was not set at large and dismissed by the Romans; and so himself entered upon the kingdom. L. Aeminius Paulinus who had conquered Pericles, departed this life; whose inscription and diligence from the publick treasure was such, that notwithstanding he had brought both one of Spain and Macedonia so great store of wealth a dividend, yet when his goods were prized and sold, there would be hardly raised thereof sufficient to repay his wife her dowry. The Pompeian marches were drawn drizzled Cor, Cethegus the Consul (unto whom that charge was by lot fall) and the same turned into firm ground.

Of the XLVII. Book.

Cneus Tremellius a Tribune of the Commons had a fine set on his head, for that he had contended in a wrongfull case with M. Aeminius Lepidus the soveraigne Pontiffe. The power and authority of the clerige Magistrates was greater and mightier than before. A law was enacted to confine the overordinate suit for offices. In the survey of the City, there were taxed in the fifted book, 328314 Roman citizens. L. Aeminius Lepidus was chosen again President of the Senate. Between the two brethren Ptolomeus, who were in variance, there was sent this accord and agreement, That the one should reign in Egypt and the other in Cyrene. Ariarathes King of Cappadocia, by the publick plot and forcible power of Demetrios King of Syria dispossessed of his kingdom, was by the Senate set into it again. Certain Embassadors were sent at delegats from the Senate to determine of the lutigious ground between Mafamitas and the Carthaginians, C. Mattius the Consul fought against the Dalmatians, at the first unfortunately but afterwards achieved the victory. The occasion of the war with them was this: that they had made war upon the Illyrians, who were allies of the people of Rome. The same nation Cornelius Natusis the Consul brought in sujectiion. Q. Opinius the Consul subdued the Lignians beyond the Alps, who had spoil'd Antipolis and Nicæa, two towns belonging to the seignors of the Scarifinis. Moreover, here are contained the adventures of many Captains in Spain, with no good success. In the 508 year from the foundation of the City, the Consuls so soon as the assembly for election was past, and other Consuls chosen for the year following, began their office. The cause of this alteration was, because the Spanish were entered into rebellion. The Embassadors afforded that had been sent to take up and decide the controversy between Mafamitas and the Carthaginians, made report, That they had found great store of ship-timber and other matters for a navy at Carthage. Certain Pretors accused by the provinces for avarice, were condemned.

Of the XLVIII. Book.

The Confuls took a review and tax of the city, wherein were reckoned three hundred four and twenty thousand polls of citizens. The census of a third Punic war was here recorded. Upon a report that there was a rightfull army of Numidians upon the borders of the Carthaginians, conducted by Archobazantes the nephew of Syphax. M. Porcius Cato perused in an election to provost war against the Carthaginians, for that they intimated such a power within their frontiers under a colour against Mafamita, but in truth raised against the Romans; he sent Publius Cornelius Natusis to observe what they did, and whereabout they went. Who after they had given the Carthaginians;
The Breviaries of L. Florus.

Senat a check and rebuke, for that against the covenant of the league they maintained forces, and were provided of timber and other stuff for a navy, they were willing to conclude a peace between Malaunia and them; so Malaunia would part with the land in question. But Gigno the son of Amilcar, a chief and seditionous man, whom they had forsaken Agesipate (now residing in their seas as promised to be voted by the award of the said Embassadors) assisted them so by his perfidious remonstrances to war upon the Romans, that the Embassadors made shift to see and save themselves, or else they had come to a mischief. When they received these news at Rome, the Senat accordingly met and bent against the Carthaginians, were now by his words provoked much more. M. Porcius Caton performed the funerals of his son, defeated in his Pretorship, with exceeding small charges, according to his ability, for he was put poor. One Andronicus, who solely made the world believe, that he was the son of Pericles the King of Macedonia, was sent to Rome. M. Eumylus Lepidus, now six times chosen President of the Senate by the Conforts, gave his son in strict charge before he died, to carry him forth tobird in a coach without linen clothes and purple pall, and not to bellow in other oaths upon one another saying, that the feuds and enmity of the greatest and best persons are wont to be embittered and blazoned with the terms of images and titles, and not with some private expenses. An insipion there was about the price of poisoning and fetjoy, Pulvilia and Licinia were enticed for making away their husbands put in fretties before the Pretor, to be bound in goods, lands, and body for them; and after judicial process polled and their cause heard, by a degree of their kinsfolk suffered death. Gululfa the son of Malaunia gave intelligence, that at Carthag there was a matter of keeping and levying of soldiers, aggregating and providing of an army, all preparations to defend for war; and Publicius Cornelius Natacis replied again that nothing was to be done inconsiderably, without advice. Though good it was to send three Embassadors, to see the truth of all, and upon their knowledge to certify, L. Licinius Lucullus and A. Pothismus Albinus the Consuls, when they took matters with severity and vigour, and would not for favour spare any one, but press all, were committed by the Tribunes of the commons, who for their friends could obtain at their hands no release and immunity of soldiers. By occasion of the war in Spain, which many times had been undertaken and unfortunately managed, when the City of Rome was so dilated and deserted, that there could not (if found one who would as much as accept of a martial Tribuus) was willing to go in quality of Lieutenant: P. Cornelius Eumylus Septimus, made officer and professed, that he would undertake any kind of military service whatsoever should be laid upon him: and by his own example stirred up all the west to the love of war and peace. L. Liciniius the Consul, when Claudius Marcellus (after whom he succeeded) was thought to have quieted all the states and nations of Celtiberia, subdued the Vacocio, Cantabrians, and other regions and nations as yet unknown in Spain, P. Cornelius Scipio Africenus Eumylus, the son of L. Pothismus, and the nephew of Africenus by adoption, being there a martial Colonel, followed a barbarian challenger that defied him. But in the winning of the City Icturitica, he adventured a more dangerous enterprise: For he was the first of all, that he said and mounted over the wall. Scipio Sulpinus Calbo the Pretor fled but boldly in a battalia against the Portugals. When the Embassadors were returned out of Africa, together with the Carthaginian Orators, and Gululfa the son of Malaunia, bringing word, That they found at Carthag both an army and also an armado thought good it was to put to question and debate the matter in the Senate: where Cato and other principal Senators were of opinion and gave advice, to transport an army presently into Africa: but because C. Natacis opined and said, That he saw no just and sufficient cause of war, agreed it was to forbear all hostility enface of arms; in case the Carthaginians would burn their towns and defounce their army: yet, then agreed it was that the Consuls next following in place of government should propose as touching the Parthian war. When the Theatre was built, which the Consuls had been put forth and known to frame, and set up a price, through the means of Pub. Cornelius Natacis, who inferred, that it was a piece of work unprofitable, yet, and hurtful to the manners generally of the citizens; by vertue of an edict, of Senate decreed, it was taken down; so that the people for a long time food on their feet to behold the publick play. The Carthaginians at that time took arms contrary to the league, and warred upon Malaunia. But as dignified they were in field by him (who not withstanding he now was five or six years old, and twelve, yet be of did effect his meat simply without any dainty since yet, and to chew his bare bread stiff) and over and besides they desired to draw upon their head the Roman war.

Of the XLIX. Book.

The beginning of the third Parthian war, in the six hundred and one year from the Citys foundation, which within 5 years after it began, came to a full and small end. Much diversity there was in opinion between M. Porcius Caton whom they respected for the west, and Scipio Natacis, who by the Senate was Ereigned the chief and house of seat in the City. Cato was altogether for the war, and to demand Carthage quite: Natacis contrarywise diffudged what he could. Nor perhapes, in the end decided it was. That because against covenant and accord they kept a noisy at feast, and had led forth an army out of their borders; also for that they entered into arms and pressed war upon Malaunia, a friend and confederate to the people of Rome; and received not into their town Gululfa his son who was in the company of the Roman Embassadors: nor should be proclaimed against them. But before that any forces were embarked and taken the feast, the Embassadors of Utica repented to Rome, yielding themselves and all that they had. That embassage, as a special preface to the issue and event of the war was acceptable and pleasing to the Lords of the Senate, but heavy and grievous to the Carthaginians. In Territum (a place it was in Campus Martius, wherupon the parthenes Terentins took their name) were places exhibited
The Breviaries of L. Florus.

visited to Father Dis the infernal God, according to the direction of the books of Sibylla. These had been set out one hundred years before in the first Panwick war, and in the five hundred years and one year, after the City was founded, Thirty Embassadors came to Rome, by whom the Carthaginians presented their submission. But the sentence of Cato importuned and prevailed, to hold full their former determinations, and that the Consuls with all speed should set forward in their journey to the war. Who having passed the seas and arrived in Africa, received of them three hundred hostages, whom they had required and demanded; and also took into their hands all their armor and weapons, and what furniture of war formerly they found at Carthage. They proceeded moreover after all this to command them by warrant and authority from the LL. of the Senate to build them a new Town for to inhabit in some other place, so that it were ten miles at least remote from the Sea, by which indignity offered, they provoked the Carthaginians to rise and take arms against L. Martius and M. Manlius the Consuls, began to besiege and assail Carthage: during which siege and assault it astonished that two Colonels madly and boldly adventured to break into the City with their cohorts, at one part thereof where the walls were neglected, and when by the Romans they were sore beaten and killed, by the means of Scipio Africanus they were restored: by whom also a certain seneque and part of the Roman, which the enemies by night affailed, with the help of a few horsemen was delivered. Moreover, he saved the camp, against which the Carthaginians rallied forth of their City, and gave the siege at once upon it with all their forces; by which service he above the rest was great honor. Over and besides, when at the Consul (for the other was gone to Rome to hold the election of Magistrates) seeing the siege and assault of Carthage took no better effect, minded to lead the army against Alcadrubal, who with another power of men kept the narrow confines of a certain passage; and compell'd him to retire, and gave battle to the enemy; and so brought them away to safety, though quarter of his, even Cato, (a man otherwise more ready of his tongue to find faults) so recommended in the Senate, that in these premises he gave out and said, * That all the rest who were employed in the war of Africa, serv'd as shadows and dead men, but Cato had true vigour and spirit indeed. The people of Rome before can't such an honour and goodwill to him, that at the next election, most of the tribes procured him to be Consul, notwithstanding he was by law under age. When L. Scribonius a Tribune of the Common had promis'd a law, That all the Portugals (who according to custom and composition, yielded to the people of Rome, and by S. Galba were sold in France) should be restored to their freedom: M. Cato most earnestly pleaded in the behalf of that law, and maintained it. His Oration is extant to be seen, included with his Annals, Q. Fulvius Nobilior, when he was by himself taken up and well checked in the Senate, answered in the behalf of Galba, Teo and Galba also, saying himself at the point to be condemned, took in his arms and embraced his own two sons; being * Praetextati, and a son of C. Sulpitius whose Guardian he was, and made such piteous and fruitful move, all the while he spoke in his own case that the foresaid law was retracted and cancelled. Three Orations of his there are to be sects against Libo Censor of the Commons and his proposed laws, as touching the Portugals; and one against L. Cornelius Cethegus, in which he confesseth and avoweth the killing of the Portugals encompass'd more into him; for that he knew certainly that they after their manner had sacrificed on horse and man, and under a colour of peace, intended to set upon and change his army. Andrius one of his birth and the most abject lowest condition, who made the world believe that he was King Pericus his son, and thereupon chang'd his name and was called Philip, having made an escape and fled secretly from Rome (whether Demetrius King of Syria had sent him in regard of this he notorious lie had many men condescended upon him, embracing a forged and counter feit able of his, if it had been a true name and report; by which means he gathered an army together, and either with the good will of the inhabitants, or by force of arms, seiz'd all Macedonia and held it in his hands. Now had he devolved and framed the pagan in his wife, That Pericus the King had begotten him (forsooth) of a confederate: that he was committed to * one Cytheria to be fostered and brought up: to the end that if ought should fall out but well unto the K., in that war which he waged with the Romans, there might be sent some seed as it were and issue remaining of the Kings blood and race race, when Pericus was deceased, let his education be at Acardium until he was 13 year old, fupposing him to be his natural father who fostered and kept him, and will not at all from what stock he was defended. Now if fell out (faith he) that the said foster father of mine was very sick: and being at the point of death being at length his birth and parentage. Moreover, that there was little book given to my supposed mother, fett with the sermon of King Pericus which was to deliver unto me when I came once to ripe age, and to be 14 years old: charging her most freely and all love, to conceal the whole matter until that time were come: and when I was grown to that age next day, then the book was given me, wherein mention was made of two chiefs of treasure left for me by my foster father. Then the woman, who knew full well that I was no child of her, but only foster, be warned my birth unto me, who was the origin of mine own descent: also the woman laid great care upon me to depart out of these quarters before that Eumenes, a professed enemy to Persicus, came to the knowledge thereof; for fear to be murdered. In which respect I being affrighted, and keeping with to find some hidden at the hands of Demetrius, went into Syria and there first I took heart unto me, and dared openly to profess who I was, and never before. [That much of Andrius this counterfeits Kings son,]
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Of the L. Book.

Hefally at what time as the said counterfeft Philip would have invaded and kept it by force of arms, was by the means of the Roman Embassadors, together with the aid of the Achaeans defended, Prutias King of Sichymia, a favourer of the bleft person and lowest vices was by his own Niconedes murdered with the help of Attalus King of Pergamus. Another son he had who in stead of the upper rowe and course of齿 teeth, is reported to have done entire hole for all, growing out at his gums. When the Romans had sent their Embassadors to conclude a peace between Niconedes and Prutias, of which Embassadors, the one had his head full of many fears and was troubled with the greatest kind of pains, the other was troubled with the very terrible kind of pains and the third reported that Hieyfle of forts by nature, and none of the wisest: Catu said, That there was an embassage between left and heart-lefts. In Syria, which at that time had for their King, one indeed of the line and race of Pericles K. of Macedon, but another Prutias up and down, for cowardie, idleness, and base mind; it fell out, that whiles he haunted taverns, spoke, and brother- houses, and lay there altogether, Anomius said the Seper and ragued as King: by whose prattifis the Kings friends, also Lacedice the Queen, and Antigonus the son of Demetrius came to their end and were killed, Maiinisia King of Numidia, a man above thirty and ten years old, a famous Prince and every way excellent, yielded to nature and died. Among other useful parts which he performed to his dying day, this is one, That in this old age of his he was so lusty, that after the fourth and fifth year of his life he got a boy, Among his three sons, Micypta (the eldest) Guttula and ManLatabai, who also had many in the Greek tongue, Publius Scipio Aemilianus devised the administration of the kingdom: for in those three years, it is in common for them all and had given order not to dispose of the states except to relations of the same Scipio, Lukinmhe, persuaded Phatias the commander under Himikle of the Carthaginian Constabulary, (a valiant warrior, and when the Carthaginians employed most of all others in service) to revolt with his men of arms and to turn Roman, Of these three Embassadors above said who were sent to Maiinisia, Claudia Marcellus was cast away in a tempest upon the sea, and swallowed up of the wear in a gulf. The Carthaginians murdered in their Council chamber Alcyrbath nephew of Maiinisia, and their Pretor for the time being, upon suspicion of treason. This jealousy of theirs arose hereupon, for that he was more in mankind and blood to Guttula, who friend and succoured the Roman, Publius Scipio Aemilianus, when he freed to be male. was by the people propounded and nominated for Consul; and when as low he might not for his four years he created Consul, bold bond was there among him whilst the common advised with might and main for him, and the nobles and Lords of the Senate gain said in a good while; but in fine, he was disfavow'd, but not in the means of the law that himself, and created Consul Marcus Manilius (Pro concul) forced certain Cities to quit about Carthage. * Counterfeit Philip, after he had slain M.Juventius the Pretor and Q. Calcius, and together with them defeated the army, was in Macedon vanquished himself and taken prisoner, and so Macedonia was recovered again which had been lost before.

Of the L.I. Book.

Achates, which took up in circuit the compass of four and twenty miles, was with exceeding pain and crowed besieged and won by peace-ment: first, under the conduct of Mancius the Lieutenant: afterwards of Scipio the Consul, unto whom where upon the province of Attick was extraordinarily granted. The Carthaginians having made a new pere, (for that the old bawn was choked and stopped up by Scipio) and, therewith secretly in a small time went the great fleet, burned a batallion at Sea unfortunately. Moreover, the camp of Alcyrbath their General, pitched in a place of most difficult access near the Town Nephetis, was forced, and in his army defeated by Scipio; whereby the end the city was the very City of Carthage, in the seven hundred and one year after it was first founded. The greatest part of the spoil and pillage there found, was restored to the Sicilians, from whom it had been taken. In the utmost extremity and final destruction of that city, when Alcyrbath had yielded and submitted to Scipio: his wife (who some days before could not obtain at her husband hand to abandon the Town and fly to the conqueror) cast her self with her two children headlong from the Castle into the midst of the flaming fire, where with the City burned, Scipio, following the example of his father Eumylus Paulus who had conquered Macedonia, set forth certain solemn places and pintimes; wherein the enemy and fugitives were presented and obliged toa fawning beast. The costs of the Achaeans were here reported. The Roman Embassadors who had been beaten and ill treated by the Achaeans, were sent unto Corinth to sever and disfrat those cities (which had been under the swayg of Philip) from the general diet and parliament of the Achaeans.

Of the L.I. Book.

Q. Unius Metellus fought a battall at Thermopylae with the Achaeans, that had to aid them the Boeotians and Chelidians who being overcome, Ceolus their chief Captain burnt his own life by fire: and in his place *Dracaus the first author of the troubles in Achaea was by the Achaeans chosen General of the field; and by L., Mummirus the Consul vaunquished Philip of Illyricus: who having received all Achaea by surrender, razed and destroyed utterly Corinth, by an Act and commission directed of the Senate; because the Roman Embassadors were there abused, Thebes also and Calcis which had aided the Achaeans, were overthrown and pulled down. Mummirus for his own part, bore himself
The Breviaries of L. Florus.

himself most abstinent and incorrupt: for of all that wealth, and those goods and ornaments wherewith Corinth was mightily enriched, there came not one parcel into his house. Quintus Ceüius Metellus triumphed for the conquest of Andricus, and Publius Cornelius Scipio Africamus Emylaus, his wife, over Carthage and Afridul. Viriatus in Spain, first of a heretick became an heritor, and of a hunter proved to be a very thief and robber; and within a while after was chosen General of a complete and main army, and set his to his own use at Portugal. He took prisoner M. Vitellus the Pretor, when he had first despoiled his tents in the field. After whom Plautinus the Pretor fled no better in flight. This enemy so terrified the Romans, that to make head against him they found necessary to employ all confederate army, and a Conjular Command. Moreover, in this book, he recorded the troubles of Syria, and the wars between the Kings. Alexander an excellent person and base born, having slain (as it be fore- said) Demetrius the King, reigned in Syria. Him Demetrius (the son of Demetrius) slew for the help of Ptolemaeus King of Egypt, whose daughter Cleopatra he had espoused and married, this Demetrius in times past had been sent out of the way into Gnidus by his fathers, hearing the doubtful chances of the war; and he entered upon this action by occasion of the contemptible flunk and cowardice of the said Alexander. Ptolemaeus was grievously wounded in the head: and in the ears whiles the Cilurmites went about to "remove the bones of his skull died under their Land, And in his stead Ptolemaeus his younger brother who reigned in Cyrene, succeeded and took upon him the crown. Demetrius for his cruelty which he excercised upon his people by raking and other tortures was vanquished in battle by Dio- dorus, one of his own subjects; who made claim to the Kingdom in the right and title of Alexander; so a young child hardly two years old, whereupon he fled Seleucia. Lucius Mummius triumphed over the Achabani, in which famine he carried in pownions show sundry images as well of brass as marble, besides pictures and painted Tables.

Of the L III. Book.

A Ppius Claudius the Consul subdued the Sittiffians an nation inhabiting the Alps. As second * Mor- Philip there was in Macedonia, who by L. Tremellius the pretor was with his army dowered and slain. Q. Ceüius Metellus the Pro-consul gave the Cilurmites an overthrow. The most part of * Spain then Portugal was regained by Q. Fabius the Pro-consul, and many Cites therof by assault forced. C. Julius, a Senator by calling, wrote the Roman History in the Greek tongue.

Of the L IV. Book.

Q uintus Pompeius the Consul subdued the Termessins in Spain: with whom verity as well with the Numantins, by occasion of his infancy and fickleness, he concluded peace. A review and numbering of the citizens was taken by the Consuls: wherein were enrolled four hundred twenty eight thousand three hundred forty two polls. At what time as the Macedonian Embassadors came to complain of D. Junius Syllanus, the Lord Deputy over them, for that he took their money, and victuals he made an incursion on the boundaries of the Province, and thereupon the Senate was willing to have the hearing of their complaints. M. Marius Torquetus the father of Syllanus, exhibited an aggrieved, and obtained, that the inquiry and decision of such a matter as this might be referred over and committed unto him. And after he had given upon this commission at home, in his own house, and found his son guilty, he both condemned him and put him away: nor, when afterwards he had hanged himself, for that was his end, he would not be so much as present at his funeral, but according to his ordinary manner and custom, sat in his house, attending all clients and correspondents to him for counsel. Q. Fabius the Pro-consul, after he had managed the war in Spain right prosperously, married all with this suit and zeal of dissuasion, in that he contrived a peace with Viriatus, upon even and equal conditions. This Viriatus by a prudence completed by Scipions Ca- 

Of the L V. Book.

W hile P. Cornelius Natus, who by way of mockery was surmised Scipio, by scoffing Curataus a Tribune of the Commons, and D. Junius Brutus the Consul took the masters, there haped in the very sight of the new and raw founder an accoutrement of great consequence, and for example false exceeding profitable. For C. Matienus was judicially accused before the Tribunes of the Commons, for that he had abounded and forsook his own army in Spain, whereupon he being comitted, was confined, and feued a long while with rods, carrying a fork or crook upon his shoulders, and in the end tied as a slave for a small piece of flesh of three half pieces of eight. The Tribunes of the Commons, because they might be allowed to exempt from military service ten founders: space, whom it pleased them to chose, commanded the Consul to prefer, Jun. Brutus the Consul, where he was in Spain, to ordain the founders who had served under Viriatus with land and living, and gave them a Town to inhabit e. h. N. Valeria, M. Popilius, together with his army was failed and put to the rope by the Numantins, whereupon the peace that was concluded the Senate had poffed off all that it could not stand in force. The occasion was:
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Deius Junius Brutus had good fortunes in the farther Province of Spain, fighting with the Gallicans. But M. Emilius Lepidus, pro-consul, fled for safety to his wars against the Vaceetis, and suffered the like overthrow that he other received from the Numantins. When Marcus, the author and maker of the accord with the Numantins, was delivered up in person to the Numantins for to afford the people of Rome, and discharge them in conference for cancelling the said covenant, they received him not, and would none of him. The people was moved and stirred by the Consuls, in which survey and account of them, there were enticed into their toks 30,000 Roman citizens. Fulvius Flaccus the Consul brought the Vaceetis in Ulycium under subjection. M. Collonius the Praetor fought in Thracia with the Scipionins, and won the better. When by the default and error of the Captains and Commanders, the Numantins war continued still, not without the publick blame and dishonor of the State; the Senate and people of Rome conferred the Consulship upon Scipio Africurus, without any fear or seeking of his part. And when he was unwilling to accept thereof, by reason of a law forbidding expressly, 'that any man should be created C.S. the second time,' he had a dispensation, and was freed from the law in that behalf, like as from the other in his former Consulship. There was an interceptation of bondsmen and slaves in Sicily; and when it could not be suppressed by the Pretors and Lord Governors, Flaccus had the charge of that Province and service. This war began by occasion of one Lutus a bondman, and a Syrian born, who being assembled together a power of rustic prelats and country slaves, broke prisons and houses of correction, came to have a full and complete army. Moreover, Clean also another notable face, raised to the number of 70,000 villains by himself: and they both joining their forces together, waged war many times against the people of Rome and their army in those parts.

Scipio Africurus laid siege to Numantia: and whereas the army was grown to be corrupted through idleness and loose life, he reclaimed the same, and reduced it into a most strict and severe kind of military discipline. For he cut off all the means and occasions of delight and sensual pleasures: he sent packing many two thousand waggons and troops that followed the camp: he held the soldiers hard to work every day: he forced each one to carry on his shoulders corn for thirty days, and seven good stakes besides for a polla sado. If he found any of them to go bare-handed by his lands, he would set them under him. Sulpicia, when you have the skill to employ your self with your swords point, then yest to carry pales, but not before. When he saw another praiseful to wield very thinly a little light buckler, he commanded him to bear a target of a bigger size, and weightier than ordinary, for finding hand that be knew better how to hold his shield for defence of his own body than to handled his sword for offence of the enemy. After he with a soldier out of his rank, enfiled 3. If he were a Roman, up he went and was well armed and fully equipped with one sword by the custom of a stranger, swung and jerked he was with [broad] rods by the Lictors. And whereby all the pack-horses and bell-laboring beasts the consuls did because they would not use the soldiers of their carriage. Willis, many a time be bare himself worthily in fight, and had a very hand against the enemies that failed forth against him. The Vaceetis were frightly befriended: and after they had killed their wives and children, they flung their own felons upon them, Scipio, at that time at Antiochus King of Sythia had sent unto him most rich and heavily presents: whereas other Generals of the field were wont to conceal the gifts of K.K, he adorned the accepting of them in open sight of all men, etc. at the very banquet. And when he bad done, he commanded the treasurer to receive all, and enter in his book of receipts for the blesse promising out of that flock, to reward the hardiest men and most valiant knights. When he bad blocked and invested Numantia on every side, and for the enemies driven to great straits for hunger, he forbade expressly to kill any of them that went forth of the town to forage and procure victuals. Saying, that the more they were in number, the fonder they would confine and food up the corn which they had.
Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a Tribune of the Commons, who was promoted an Agrarian law, that no man should hold and occupy above "five hundred acres or acres of the City lands, selling the Sena; and order of Gentlemen to form against it, grew into such a heat of choler and furious rage, that presently by an all made, he deprived of Tribunitian power M. Octavius. In Colleagues for maintaining the cause of the adverse party: and withal, created himself, his brother C. Gracchus, and App, Claudius his own wiper father, Tribunors or commissaries for dividing of the said lands. He proposed also and published another Agrarian law, by virtue whereof any man encroached further, and went about that first and proportion, the same Tribunors and none but they should he known and determine, how far for the common grounds and the prorial lands should reach. Afterwards, when these were to be left ground than could be divided, he protested that without the defence of the common people, (because even while he had stirred up their appetite to his for great matters,) he would prefer a law. That amongst all them, who by virtue of the law Sempronia ought to receive lands, the many which belonged sometime to King Attalus should be divided. Now this Attalus the King of Pergamus and son of Eumenes, had left behind him, the people of Rome his full heir of all that he had. The Senate upon these so many inducements offered by Gracchus, was highly pleased, and Pub. Mucius the Consul, about the rest: who after he had inveigled in the Senate against him, was by him hurried forth the same, and accented into the Commons, whereby he declaimed against him over again openly from the Rostrum, When Gracchus would have been chosen Tribune of the Commons a second time, by the advice and procurement of P. Cornelius Naica, the chief peers and nobles flew him in the Capitol. He caught in his first knock with the broken pieces of the Tribunes part. And among all the his in this famous gar- lock, was never committed to the earth, but thrown into the river. Moreover, this book contains the battles in Sicily, fought against the fugitive flows with variable fortune a decade.

Of the LIX. Book.

Of the LIX. Book.

The Numantios forced by great extremities, and famine especially murders themcstheselves in course by turns. After the City was won, Scipio Africans raised and defied it rather: and even it triumphed, in the fourteenth year after the ruin of Carthage, P. Atilius the Consul departed, and ended the war in Sicily, with the forfait fugitives. Africannus the son of King Eumenes, invaded Asia and held it to his own use; whereas the left will and testament of King Attalus, it was bequeathed as a legacy unto the people of Rome, and ought to have been freed. Against him P. Licinius Crat- bus the Consul and Archbishop besides (a thing never done or seen before) took a journey with an army out of Italy, and in a battle was overthrown and lost his life. M. Perpenna the Consul forsook Africannus, and received him by surrender. Q. Pomponius and Q. Metellus were elected Censors, the first Commons that ever both together attained to that dignity. A review was taken by the Censors wherein were numbered 36883 citizens, besides orphans and widows. Q. Metellus the Censor gave his advice and opinion that all men should be compelled to take wives for the breeding of children. His Or- tions to this purpose it extended Augustus Cesar, at what time as he went in haste to join marriage in all the three states and degree of the City, as it had been penned to fit these times wherein we now live. C. Atilius Laboe, a Tribune of Commons, commanded Q. Metellus the Censor (who in the review and new choice of the Senators did him that disgrace as to leave him out,) to be pitch'd headlong from the rock Tarpeia but the rest of the Tribune affisted the Cesars till that any could be expected executed by men. A Tribune of the Common, proposed a bill, that it might be lawful to create the same man a trib, of the Commons for any one would; P. Africannus disfranchised this law in a most peace and public Oration wherein he used these words effectually, That he judged Trib, Gracchus to have been partly slain for his defects, Gracchus on the other side maintained the law, and pleaded that it might peace be but Scipio imported and prevailed in the end. In this book are related the wars between Antiochus king of Syria, and Ptolomeus king of the Parthians, as also the troubles of Egypt, which stood as then in no better terms. Ptolomeus fornamed Evergetes, for his exceeding cruelly grew hateful and abus'd to his own subjects, and when the people had set fire on fire, and burned his royal palace, he fled with health into Cyprus; and when the king came to be the people made oath to over to his sister Cleopatta, whom (after he had deformed by force her daughters,) a virgin, and taken her to wife, he had turned away in great displeasure and notice with her; he killed that son he had by her, in Cyprus, and sent unto the mother the head, hands, and feet. Certain seditions were raised by the Tribunors. Fulvius Flaccus C. Gracchus, and L. Carbo, who were created for the decision of land. Against whom P. Scipio Africannus made resistance but being in perfect health, strong and strong, he went home to his house as it might be to day, and being found dead in his bed-chamber the next morrow, His wife Sempronia was deeply perplexed to have given him a cup of poison & poison, especially because he was fitter to the Gracchi, between whom and Africans there was no day and enmity: Howbeit, there was no question and bright enquire how he came to his death. When his body was laid the Tribunors seditions before said, brake forth into a sight but hot fire. C. Semproni- nus the Consul fought against the Iapidex, but unfortunately, but soon after he made advance for his lost received, with auditory achieved by the special order of C. Gracchus: site some men who he first had conquered Portugal.
The Breviaries of L. Florus.

Of the LX. Book.

Aurelius the Consul subdued the Sardians, Fulvius Flaccus was the first man that vanquished in fight the Ligurians beyond the Alps, being sent to aid the Massilians against the French Salies, who lay sore upon the borders of the Massilians, and foiled them. Lucius Opimius the Pretor received under his jurisdiction the Frejellians who had revolted, and restored the Town Frejelle. Here is reported a pedilude in Africa, by an exceeding multitude of beasts, killed and lying dead afterwards upon the ground. A survey was taken of the City by the Confort, wherein were numbered 330736 citizens.

C. Gracchus, brother of Tiberius, a Tribune of the Commons, but of the twain more eloquent, preferred certain dangerous laws: and among the rest, one attacking teaching, namely, that the Commons should be served in the market, at the rate of one half, and a third part of * Asses, a Modius: another, concerning diversion of lands, the same which his brother before him had published, and a third (whereby he meant to corrupt the order of Gentlemen, which then accorded with the degree of Senator) namely, that from out of the Gentlemen, 600 should be taken into the Senate: and forasmuch as in these days, the re were but 300 Senators, those 600 Gentlemen should be entering into the said thousand; that is to say, that the order of Gentlemen should be double in number to the Senators, and twice as strong. This Gracchus having concluded his Tribunship another year, by proposing still the Agrarian laws proposed, that many Colonies more should be planted in Italy, and one besides, upon the very spot of ground where Carthage lately defired, had been; and there himself (chosen Triumvir therefore) erected a Colony. Moreover, this book containeth the exploits of Q. Metellus against those Baleare Islands, which the Greeks call Gymnikes, because the people go naked all the summer time. But Baleares they be named either off fishing darts, or of Baleus the companion of Hercules, whom he left behind there, at that time, as he failed to Ceryon. Also, the troubles in Syria be here reported, wherein Cleopatta (of her husband, Demetrius and his son Seleucus, taking great indignation, that when his father was by her killed, he without her warrant had taken the doomed upon him.)

Of the LXI. Book.

Caicus Sextius the Pro-consul, after he had conquered the nation of the Salies, built the Colony Agae Sextia, so called of the plentiful abundance of waters, by reason of springs both hot and cold, and of his own name. C. Cominius the Pro-consul fought fortunately against the * Allobroges, near the Town * Vindellum. The cause why he lasted war against them was, that he had received and refNicked by all means they could, Teutoniam the King of the * Salvis, when he mixed them, and had wasted also the territories of the * Hitinians, were the allies of the people of Rome, C. Gracchus, after he had born his Tribunship with much sedition, and kept the Aventine hill with a multitude of the Commons in arms, was by L. Opimius the Consul (who by virtue of all the Senate had put the people in arms), deprived of his bold and plain, and together with him Fulvius Flaccus a Consular men, his officer and companion in this furious outrage. Q. Fabius Maximus the Consul, and nephew of Paulus, won a field of the Allobroges, and Biturias King of the Arverni. Of Biturias his army were slain a hundred and one thousand. And when himself in person was gone to Rome, the Senate was convicted and restored him, he was committed toward in Alesia, for that he fomented danger and hurt to the peace, for to send him back again into France. Also, there passed a decree, that Congestians his son should be apprehended and sent to Rome. The Allobrogis submitted and were received, L. Opimius being accused before the body of the people by Q. Decius a Tribune of the Commons, for imprisoning certain citizens uncondemned, was acquitted.

Of the LXII. Book.

Caicus Marcus the Consul vanquished the Stobii, a people dwelling upon the Alpes, Micripia, King of the Numidians dead, and left the Kingdom unto his three sons, Adherbal, Hyempsil, and Jugurtha his brothers sons, whom he had adopted for his own child. L. Caecilius Metellus subdued the Damnianas, Jugurtha leved war upon Hyempsil his brother, overcame him in fight, and slew him. Adherbal his third brother, he drove out of the realm, but by the Senate of Rome restored he was again. L. Caecilius Metellus, and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus the Consul, deprived 32 Senators of their place and dignity. Besides, this book containeth the troubles of the Syran Kings.

Of the LXIII. Book.

Caicus Porcius the Consul fought with the * Scordisci in Thracia, and lost the field. The Consul took a survey of the City: in which were enrolled 394336 parts of Roman citizens, Amylia Licinia, and Marcia, three central virgins were consulted and condemned for incest. The manner how their fornication was committed, detected, judged, and punished, is here set down. The * Cimbrians, an huge and mighty nation, invaded Illiricum, and put it to the mast: by whom Papirius Carbo the Consul was defeated, both he and his army, Livius Drusus the Consul, warred in Thrace upon the Scordisci, (a people descended from the Gauls) and won much honour.
Of the LXV. Book.

A heral warred uppon by Jugurtha, was within the City Cirta besieged, and by him slain, notwithstanding the commandment of the Senate to the contrary. For which cause war was proclaimed against Jugurtha himself. Caphtanumus Beftia had the commission and charge to manage this war; who made peace with Jugurtha, without warrant from the people and Senate, Jugurtha being cited and called forth under false conduits, to appear and hear at the authors of his plots and designs, for that the once went, that he had bribed and corrupted with sums of money many of the Senate, came to Rome: where he was in trouble and jailprison for a murder committed upon the person of a certain Prince, called Malthius (who seeing him to be hated of the Romans, fought for his kingdom) whom he slew at Rome, Being commanded to answer for his life in regard of this murder, he secretly fled, and as he departed from the City suffered (by report) these words, O corrupt City and set to side; how soon will it perish: if it may meet with a chapman? A Pothinus a Lieutenant General, after his wife fought with unfortunate at battle against Jugurtha, amended the matter still well, by making an ignominious and dishonourable peace with him, which the Senate judged not: to be observed and kept.

Of the LXV. Book.

Quintus Cæcilius Metellus the Coq, in two battles demolished Jugurtha and overran all Numidia, M. Junius Syllanus the Coq, unexpectedly in a battle fought against the Cimbrians, whose envoys demanding of the Senate a place of habit and lands to occupy, were denied, M. Minclunus Pro-coq had great success in fighting against the Thracians, L. Callius the Coq, together with his host, was defeated and cut in pieces in the borders of the Allobrogians by the French Tigurins, a country of the Helveticians, who had divided themselves and were departed from the rest of the State. The soldiers remaining alive after that overthrow, capitulated with the enemies, for safety of their lives, to put in plighted faith to part with the one moiety of all that over they had unto them.

Of the LXVII. Book.

Ugurthia driven out of Numidia by C. Marius, had the help and aid of Bocchus King of the Moors; but when the power of Bocchus also was defeated in battle, and himself unwilling to maintain the war any longer (so unfortunately begin) Jugurtha was overcome, and delivered up to C. Marius, in which exploit the service of L. Cornelius Sulla treasurer unto Marius, was singular above the rest.

Of the LXVIII. Book.

Marcus Antonius the Praetor persecuted the rovers as a and chased them as far as into Cicilia. M. Manlius the Consul manifestly defended the camp. He laid with all force sufficient by the Thebans and Ambrosians. Afterward di in two battles one for another about Aquae Sextiae, the bravest of the Cimbrians were defeated and killed in action, the other part were taken prisoners. Marius in his absence was created Consul now for the third time; and when the triumphs were offered unto him, he declined it and put it off, until he had made full and final conquest also of the Cimbrians. The Cimbrians repulsed and drove from the Alps Q. Catulus the Pro-consul, who had set the narrow gullet of the Alps, and kept a Castle highly over the everer Athenes, which he now alighted: and when their colour they had cleared the passage they pursued the Pro-consul with his army and pass. over to Italy, where they were overthrown by the same Catulus and C. Marius, who had joined their forces together: in which battle 14000 men were slain, and 60000 taken prisoners. Marius was honorably received at his return with a general acclamation of the whole City: and whereas two triumphs were offered unto him, he was content with one. The principal peers and nobles of the City, who along time before had desired him as a mark newly start up in it, and determined to so great honours, conferred now that the common-wealth by him was preserved. Publicius Metellus for murdering his own mother, was the first man joined up in another bag and thrown into the sea. Here is related how the sacred shield Ancilla flared of their enemies with a great rousing noise before the Cimbrians war was finished. Finally, this book comprehendeth the wars between the two Kings of Syria.
The Breviaries of L. Florus.

Of the L XIX. Book.

Cneus Apuleius Saturninus, by the help of C. Marius, and by occasion that A.Nonus his competitor, and concurrent was by his soldiers slain, was by sentence of the tribunal of the commons, and bare the tribunalship violently as he got it. And when he had proposed an agrarian law and passed it by force, he arrested Metellus Numidicus to answer at a day, for that he had written and sworn to the said law: who being maintained and defended by the citizens of the better sort, it was he would give no occasion of unseemly debates and evil contentions, went in voluntary exile to Rhodes: and there he employed his time in reading of books and giving audience to great and famous men. After he was departed, C.Marius the captain and author of that sedition, who now had purchased a freed manship with a large sum of money, assembled amongst the tribes, proclaimed him at common council and interdicted before fire and water like an outlaw. The same Apuleius Saturninus, tribunal of the commons, first, C. Memmius, in his white gown standing to be seiz'd, for that he feared him above all others to craft his proceeding: whereupon the Senate was exceedingly moved in the cause and behalf of C. Memmius: and when C. Marius a man by nature unamiable, and in his own soul variable, one who ever loved to lose on the better side of the bridge, and to hand with the mightier, was not a little to hear him out and protect him, the said Saturninus together with Cauclus the Prator and other his confederates in that outrage, was slain by one Rabinius, Q. Cæcilius Metellus was recalled out of banishment with exceeding great love and favour of the whole City, Manius Aquilius the Pro-cof detached, and ceded the flower-war raised in Sicily.

Of the LXX. Book.

When Manius Aquilius should plead his own defence, or answer in case of extortion, he would not himself but trust in others: the cause of the Jewry. But M.Antonius his advocate who pleaded for him, at the bar, set his hat down along his breast, to show the honourable scars received in the forehead of his body which being by the judges seen, they made no doubt, but acquitted him. Of this thing Cicero is the only author. Didius the Pro-cof. managed his wars against the Celtiberians happily, Ptolemy K. of Cyrene surrendered Apion, when he died, left the people of Rome his heir and the Senate ordained that the cities of his realm should be free, Ariobarzanes was restored to his kingdom of Cappadocia, by L. Cornelius Sylla, the Persian embassadors sent from their K. Attalids came unto Sylla, to treat and sue for amity with the people of Rome, P. Rutilius a man of uncourteous and uncivil life, who (being lieutenant under L. Mucius the Pro-cof.) had defended Nisa from the wrongfull depredations of the Publicans or commoners (his being ado for the order of knights and gentlemen of Rome, who now as judges had the jurisdiction in their hands) was condemned for extortion and banished. C. Garinius the Prator fought magnificently against the Thracians, The Senate would no longer abide the mutinies and tumults committed by the gentlemen in exercising of their jurisdiction, and therefore began by all means possible to endeavour for to reduce and transmute their prerogative again to smallness in which enterprise M. Livius Drusus a tribune of the commons stood in their behalf: who to gain more strength to the cause, prevailed the communal by proposing unto them a pernicious hope of a largess. Moreover in this book are comprised the fires and troubles of the kings in Syria.

Of the LXXI. Book.

Marius Livius Drusus a tribune of the commons, for the better maintenance of the Senat's causes, which he had undertaken, solicited the allies and the nations of Italy, upon hope to be enfranchised citizens of Rome: by whose assistance having gone through by strong hand, with the Agrarian and Frumentarian laws, he obtained also the freed-manhood of the Judicials, in this manner. That all judgments should pass differently and equally by Senat and Gentlemen. After this, when the freedone of Rome promised to the allies could not be performed, or performed; the Italian, in a chief and the cholery began to complete how to make to: whose conventicles, conspiracies, and ordinances delivered in the assemblies and diets of their princes, are in this book reported: In regard whereof, Livius Drusus became hateful even to the Senat, at the author of a social war, and in his own cause was murdered, but by whom God knew.

Of the LXXII. Book.

The Italian fans revolt, namely, the Pictons, Seffins, Marains, Petilignans, Mercurians, Lucains, and Samitans. The Pictons first entered into armament and began the war. Quintus Servilius the Pro-cof. was slain at Alculum, together with all the Roman cities which were in that town: whereupon the whole people of Rome put on arms and soldiers coats, Servius Galba being surprized by the Lucains, escaped captivity by the means of one woman, in whose house he took up his lodging. Eternia and Alba, two colonies were by the Italians besieged, after this, these were reported the aid of the Latins and other foreign nations sent unto the people of Rome: moreover, the expeditions and alternative winning of cities, as well by the one side as the other.

Of the LXXIII. Book.

Lucius Caesat the cof. in a battell against the Sammits went down and had the worse. Nola the colony fell into the hands of the Sammits, together with Pothumius the Prator, who there was slain. Many more nations revolted to the enemy's forces, for that P. Rutilius the Consul had fought against the Marains, and lost his life, and the Marains, under C. Marius his lieutenant, had a better conflict with the enemies in the end and effect, Servius Sulpitius captured the Petilignans. Q. Capio another lieutenant of Rutilius, who having been by the enemies besieg'd, had fallen forth upon the enemies and got the upper hand: for this good success he was made equal in government and command with C. Marius. But hereupon he grew too sooth, and being over-taken by an ambush of the enemies was slain, and the army defeated. L. Caesat: the Consul won a field of the Sammitans, for which valor the soldriers coats were laid off again at Rome. Yet because the forrance of the field would show her self varrable, the colony Effern
nia, together with M. Marcellus, was taken by the Samnites. On the other side, Marius in a battle overcame the Bithynians, and the Thracians. Thus the province of Gaul was beyond the Alps.

Of the LXXI V, Book.

Cneus Pompeius defeated the Picton in battle and held them besieged: for which Valerius, the embroiler of purple, and other ornaments and badges of the Mannars were taken up again and put on. Moreover, Marius fought against the Marfians with great effect. The Liburnians took a man, never before been to serve in the wars. Aurelius, the lieutenant, on a battle overcame the Liburnians, and his wife L. Pertici the Praetor vanquished the Marfians, when as both these nations had rebelled, Nicomedes was placed again in the kingdom of Bithynia, and Aretobazanes of Cappadocia. Cn. Pompeius the Cesar overthrew the Marfians in a pitched field. When the city was deeply engaged and plundered in debt, Aretobazanes of Cappadocia, and Nicomedes of Bithynia were driven both out of their kingdoms by Mithridates King of Pontus. Last of all, this book contains of the misfortunes and invasions of the Thracians into Macedonia, together with their routing of those parts.

Of the LXXV, Book.

Aulus Gabinius a lieutenant, having fought fortunate against the Lucania, and from them many towns: as he laid siege to the enemies' legions, was cut off and slain. Sulpicius in quality of lieutenant had the execution of the Marius, and the surrender of that whole nation. Cn. Pompeius the Pro-Congal took the submission of the Veiius and Falegiani. The Marfians likewise having been in certain battles vanquished by L. Murzana and Cencillius Pinnah lieutenant, saved peace. Alcimus was put by Cn. Pompeius: and the Italian people by Mancrufius Aemilius the lieutenant were put to the sword. Silo Poppulas, general of the Marfians, and the author of the villain was slain in battle, Aretobazanes of Cappadocia, and Nicomedes of Bithynia were driven both out of their kingdoms by Mithridates King of Pontus, last of all. This book contains the misfortunes and spots that the Thracians made in Macedonia.

Of the LXXVI, Book.

When P. Sulpicius a Tribune of the Commons, by the advice and inclination of C. Marius had promised certain peculiar favours; that the basest should be restored, and now Citizens together with Libertins be sorted into Tribes: also that Marius should be chosen General against Mithridates King of Pontus: and when he offered violence against Q. Pompeius and L. Sylla the Confals, who contrived his proceedings; and had slain the son of Pompeius the Consul, who had married Sulpicia daughter to the same L. Sylla, they sent to Rome with an army, with which they the city was taken by the besiegers, and all the city was thrown out of the hands of the besiegers, and taken by the army itself and the besiegers. The state of the city, and how it was drawn out from thence inhabitants to their colonies. Q. Pompeius the Consul took the journey to receive the army of Cn. Pompeius the Consul, and by his consent was slain. Mithridates of Pontus seized upon Bithynia and Cappadocia; drew out Aquilus the lieutenant, and with a mighty army invaded Thrace, where the people of Rome.

Of the LXXVIII, Book.

Mithridates held Asia with his garrisons; he cast into prison Q. Oppius the Pro-Congal, and likewise Aquilus the lieutenant. Also by his commandment, all the Roman Citizens to be found in Asiawere in one day massacred. The city Rhodes, which only continued true and kept all seiges, he assaulted, but being in certain battles at sea overcome, he gave over and retired. Archelas the chief governor and commander under the King, entered Greece with an army, seized upon Athens and held it. Moreover, this book contains the lot of the trouble of some cities and islands, whilsts the inhabitants endeavoured to draw their fleets, some to side with the King; others, to take part with the Romans.
Luctius Cornelius Cinna, at what time as by force and arms he published dangerous levies was thereupon by his Colleague Cn. Octavius, driven out of the City with few Tribunals of the common soldiers, and being thus deprived of his rule and authority, he became commander of Ap. Claudius his army by corruption; and joyning with C. Marius and other banished persons, out of Affrict he marched in while he manner against the City of Rome. In which war, it followed but two brothers, the one of Pompeius his army, and the other of Cinna, encountered in fight and knew not one another. Now when the conquest was in designing and spoiling him whom he had slain, he saw what he had done, and took knowledge that it was his brother; whereupon he fell into an exceeding pious fit of lamentation and mourning: made a funeral fire for his brothers corpse, stabbed himself through hereupon, and in the same fire he burned and consumed to ashes. Now whereas these civil wars might have been suppressed in the beginning such was the fraudulent dealing of Cn. Pompeius, who seeming to maintain both parties with strength to Cinna, and set not to his helping hand before that the Nobles side went down; such also was the wantonness and coldness of the Consul, that Cinna and Marius took heart and grew strong; and with four armies, whereof two were committed to the conduct of Q. Sertorius and C. Carbo, they invested the City of Rome. Marius won by force the Colony Olisti, and most cruelly massacred it.

Of the LXXI. Book.

The Italian nations were by the Senate enfranchised, and obtained the freedom of Rome, The Sambucus who only continued in arms baid again with Cinna and Marius; by them was Plancius slain and his army defeated, Cinna and Marius together with Carbo and Sertorius were posted of Janniculum, and being discomfited and repelled by Octavius the Consul, retired and departed. Marius being led and laid defeat Antium, Aricia, and Lavinium three Colonies, When as now the nobility and Lords of the Senate had no hopes at all left to to withstand the contrary faction, by reason of the cowardice and treachery as well of foul-sellers as leaders, who upon corruption either would not fight at all, or else went over to the adverse part; Cinna and Marius were received into Rome: who as it had been an enemy force by assailed had havoc of all with rage and massacres. In this carbo Cn. Octavius the Consul left his life, and all the nobility of the other side were murdered: and among the rest, M. Antonius most elegant Orator, and C. Caesar whose heads were set upon the Pulpit Rostra; and Caesar Catus the for was by the lorfemen of Fimbria killed; and Catus the father, because he would not endure any indignity worthy his virtue, fell upon his own sword; without any assembly or election at all L. Cinna and L. Marius declared themselves Consuls for the next year: and the same day when they entered to their Magnificy, Marius cas'd Sex, Licinius a Senator to be thrown down the rock Tarpeian; and after many wicked and heinous outrages committed upon the Ides of January, he departed out of this world: a man whose virtues (if they were weighed together with his virtues) hardly could be determined whether he were in war a better soldier, or in peace a more dangerous Citizen. For the Commonwealth which he in his armour saved, the same in his long gown he overthrew, first with all manner of cowardice and deceit; and lastly plain hostility and force of arms.

Of the LXXII. Book.

Luctius Sylla straightly beleaguered Athens, which Archelaus a governor under King Mithridates held with a garrison and after much toil and labour won it, To the City he granted their liberty again, and restored into the Citizens all that was their own. Magnific the only City in Asia that remained free and for long was most violently defended against Mithridates, Over beside her, she might read the exploits performed by the Thracians in Macedonia.

Of the LXXIII. Book.

Sylla unjustifiably in fettle the power of King Mithridates, which having kept Macedonia in obedience, was now come into Thracia, He flew one hundred and thousand enemies, and was Master of the Camp. Afterwards when the war was renewed, he discomfited and defeated quite the Kings whole army. Archelaus together with the Kings fleet yielded to Sylla, L. Valerius Flaccus the Consul and companion in government with Cinna being sent to succeed Sylla, was (for his covetousness) so odious unto his army that he was slain by C. Fimbria his own lieutenant, a most audacious and desperate person, and so the conduct and command of the army was transferred to Fimbria. Moreover, here is recorded what Cities in Asia Mithridates won; how cruelly he strove and vexed the Province; and how the Thracians made roader and invasions into Macedonia.

Of the LXXIV. Book.

Caius Fimbria after he had discomfited certain forces of Mithridates won the City Pergamus, besieged the King there, and missed but a little of taking him prisoner. The City Ilium, which stood one and preserved itself in the behalf and devotion of Sylla, he forced and subdued, and the greatest part of Asia he recovered, Sylla in many battles defeated the Thracians, When L. Cinna and C. Pappius Carbo who for two years together were Consuls of their own making) prepared war against Sylla, by the means of L. Valerius Flaccus the President of the Senate (who made an Oration in the Senate-house) and those who loved concord and sought for unity, effected it was in the end, that Embassadors should be sent unto Sylla to treat about a peace. Cinna was murdered by his own soldiers, whom he forced against their wills to be embarked and to take a voyage against Sylla: by which occasion Carbo alone bore the Consulship, Sylla being pested over into Asia, made peace with Mithridates upon his capitulation, That the King should quit these Provinces namely, Asia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia, Fimbria being forsaken of his own army, which revolted into Sylla's gave himself a bare wound, and yielding his neck unto his own bond-servant, obtained this favour at his hands, as to dispatch him outright.
Of the LXXXIV. Book.

SYLLA returned this answer unto the Embassadors sent unto him from the Senate; That he would be ordered by them, in case those Citizens who (upon the hard usage of Cinna,) fled unto him, might be restored. The Senate thought this a reasonable condition and just demand: but by means of Carbo and that faction, who made reckoning that war would be more commodious unto them, there ensued an agreement and accord. The same Carbo when he was minded to exact hostages of all the towns and colonies of Italy, hereby to bind them upon their allegiance against Sylla, was by a general consent of the Senate crossed and inhibited. The new enchanchted Citizens, by virtue of an act by the Senate granted, were allowed the privileges of their suffrages and voices, Q. Metellus Pius, who had sided with the nobility, whilst he left war in Africk, was by C. Fabius the Praetor dismissed: and by the faction of Carbo and those that followed the part of Marius, an act of Senate passed, That all armies and forces wherefo'ever should be caufed and discharged. The Libervins were distributed indifferently throughout the free and thirty tribes. Be sides all this, there is specified the preparation of war which was rased against Sylla.

Of the LXXXV. Book.

SYLLA crossed the seas with an army over into Italy: and when those Embassadors which he sent to treat for peace were by the Consul C. Norbanus well entertained, he overcame the said Norbanus in a battell. And when he was about to all the camp of L. Scipio the other Conful, with whom he had travelled and affai'd all means to conclude peace, and could not compafs it: the whole army of the Conful in general, being followed by soldiers whom Sylla had sent out unbeknown to that purpose, turned his ensigns unto him, and followed his standard. Scipio, when he might have been killed was let go. Cn. Pompeius, the son of that Cneus who won Atcolum, enrolled an army of volunteers, and came unto Sylla with three legions: whom also the nobility all and whole ranged themselves; so as abandoning the City they repaired to the camp. Finally, in this his book report is made of the expeditions performed by Captains of both sides through all Italy.

Of the LXXXVI. Book.

THAT year wherein C. Marius (the son of C. Marius) was by forcible means and strong hand create Conful before he was twenty years of age; C. Fabius in Africk was burnt quick in his own pal- lion for his bloodly cruelty and treedy avarice. L. Philippus, lieutenant unto Sylla, besiezed Sardina, after he had disposed and slain Q. Antonius the Praetor. Sylla contrived a league with the states of Italy, to put them out of fear that he would not bereave them of their freedom of Rome and liberty of suffrages lately granted unto them. In like manner, upon assured confidence (that he had already) of unknown victory, he commanded all those that were in the world and restored unto him for jurisdiction, to adjoin their appearance in camp, and to appear at Rome. Whilst the City yet was divided and disfrailed two ways, L. Damaisipus the Praetor, having according to the will and pleasure of C. Marius the Cos, gathered the Senators together, massacred all the nobility of the City. Out of which number Q. Mutius Scelvola the arch-Pontiff, as he fled, was in the very porch and entry of Vetlans Temple murdered. Besides, this book contains the war renewed by L. Murra against Mithridates in Asia.

Of the LXXXVII. Book.

SYLLA after he had descomfited and overthrown the army of C. Marius, near a place called Sacripitorus, besieged him within the town Prasmeile. The City of Rome he recover'd out of the hands of his ene- mies: and when Marius made an offer to fallily, he repelled him. Moreover, this book contains the exploits achieved by his lieutenant, with the like fortunes of that side in all places.

Of the LXXXVIII. Book.

SYLLA after he had defeated and put to the sword the army of Carbo at Cluentium, Faventia, and Fi- dentia, chased him forth of Italy. With the Samnites, who alone of all the Italian nations had not yet laiddown arms, he fought one final battell, and vanquished them near the City of Rome, even before the gate Collina: and thus having recovered and got into his hands the absolute enaging of the state, he pillag'd and stri'd this most godly and beautiful vict'ry with the foulst cruelty that ever man comitted. He cut the throats of 3000 in the great host called Villa Publica, even those that had yielded themselves. He set up the table of profcription and outlawry. The City of Rome and all Italy throughout filled with massacres. Among th'rest he cauf'd all the Prasmenes, d'armed as they were, to be slain. Marius, a Senator by calling, he killed in this manner, by breaking his arms and legs, by cropping his ears, and digging out his eyes. C. Marius besieged within Prasmeile by Lucretius Alcida and that side with Sylla; when he fought mean's of vict'ry by a mine under the ground, seeing how he was environ'd by the army, new fell within the said mine: for perceiving that he could not escape, he and Pontius Telephus, that accompanied him in this flight, ran one at the other with their drawn mixed swords: and when he had killed him, and was himself hurt, he found so much kindness at his slave hands as to make an end of him quite.

Of the LXXXIX. Book.

LUCIUS Butus sent from Cn. Papius Carbo, who was arrived at Corcyra in a shitter boot to Lily- bium, in efl'ort to see whether Pompey were there: being compos'd and became involved about by those vessels which Pompey had sent out of their swords points to his body, and set the prussell against a seat within the boat: and so bending forward with the pose of his boot was pierced through and cutt'd. Cn. Pompeius sent by the Senate with full commission of rule and command unto Cn. Carbo prisoner, who was arrived in the Islands Collura, and flew him, who kept up his and weeping, like a woman, when he should diu Sylla because Diilleror, and that which never any man had done besides him, he kept his part abroad with 240 livers or Litters going before him with their rodes and axes. He altered the State,
The Breviaries of L. Florus.

and in that innovation established it. The Tribunes of the Commons he abridged of their authority, and wholly deprived them of their power to prefer and establish laws. The College of the Pontiffs and Augurs was augmented and increased to the number of 15. The body of the Senate he supplied out of the order of Gentlemen. The children of these whom he had proscripted and outlawed he restored for being eligible to any honourable office, and of their goods made port-fide, whereat at first he seized much by violence and had it away. A mighty mass of money he raised thereof, amounting to *a hundred and fifty millions of Sesterces. He commanded Q. Lucretius Ocellos to be killed in the very Forum of Rome, for that he profaned without his leave and license to sue for a Consulship; and when the people of Rome were highly offended at this indignity, he assembled them to a publick audience, and before them avowed the fault and took it upon him, Cn. Pompeius in Affrick vanquished and slew in battle Cn. Domitius, one of the proscript outlawed; and Harbas King of the Numidians, who prepared to levy war. He being but four and twenty years of age, and no better at yeat than a gentleman of Rome (a thing that never any man attained unto) triumphed over Affrick, C. Norbanus, a man whom he had been Consul, and now proscript and outlawed, was apprehended in the City of Rhodes, and thereupon slew himself. Mithridates likewise one of them that were outlawed and one of protection, being come presently disguised with his head covered to the back door of Bithia his wives house, was not let in, for that he said he was an outlaw; whereupon he took the fish at his own hands, and with his own blood bled himself in the door of his wives house. Sylla recovered and won again Nola in Sammium. He brought seven and forty legions into the lands conquered from the enemies, planted them there, and divided the grounds amongst them. He besieged the town Volaterra, which yet stood out and bare arms, and at length upon surrender got it. Mitylene also, the only City in Aisia, (which after that Mithridates was subdued maintained war) was fired and reduced down to the ground.

Of the XCI. Book.

Sylla departed his life, and this burden was done unto him by the Senate, that he was entered in March. M. Lepidus going about to cancel and abolish the acts of Sylla, raised new war: and by Q. Catulus (his companion in government) was driven out of Italy: and when he prepared to wage war (bnt to no effect) in Sardinia, there he perished, and came to his death, M. Brutus, who held him in the City of Rhodes, and thereupon slew himself. Sylla recovered and won again Nola in Sammium. He brought seven and forty legions into the lands conquered from the enemies, planted them there, and divided the grounds amongst them. He besieged the town Volaterra, which yet stood out and bare arms, and at length upon surrender got it. Mitylene also, the only City in Asia, (which after that Mithridates was subdued maintained war) was fired and reduced down to the ground.

Of the XCII. Book.

Cneus Pompeius, being as yet but a gentleman of Rome, was sent with full commission of Consul, and at the command of Sylla, to fight against Sertorius. Certain Cities had Sertorius won by affaire, and brought under many States to be his devotion. Ap. Claudius the Pro-Conful overcame the Thracians in divers and sundry battles. Q. Metellus the Pro-Conful defeated and slew L. Hirculeius the treasurer of Sertorius, with all his army.

Of the XCIII. Book.

Cneus Pompeius hitherto fought with Sertorius in doubtful events, so as of both parties, one of the wings and parts of the battell had the better hand. Q. Sertorius overthrew in sight Metellus and Perpenni with two armies. Pompeius desirous to carry away his part in that victory, entred into the field, but made no saving game of it. Afterward Sertorius was besieged within Calaguritis, in 65 by land and continual sallies forth gave the enemies that lay in siege, and as good as they brought, Over and besides, hereon are continued the deeds achieved by Curio the Pro-Conful in Thrace against those Dardanians, together with sundry cruelties and bloody parts played by Q. Sertorius, even with those of his own side. For many of his own friends, and such as were with him outlawed, upon imputations of treason pretended against them, he put to death.

Of the XCI. Book.

Publius Servilius, the Pro-Conful in Cilicia, subdued the Icturians, and won certain towns of the Pratts. Nicomedes King of Bithynia at his death made the people of Rome his heir, and his kingdom was reduced into the form of a Province, Mithridates compelled a league with Sertorius, and waged war against the people of Rome. Herein is showed the great preparation of war that the King made at well and at sea, and how he seized upon Bithynia, M. Aurelius Cotta the Consul was in battle vanquished by the King at Chalcedon. Moreover, this book containeth the exploits of Pompeius and Metellus against Sertorius, who in all martiall feats and martiall prowess was equal unto them, whom also he raised from the siege before the town Calaguritis, and compelled to go into divers countries, Pompeius into the farther Province of Spain, and Pompeius into Gallia.

Of the XCIII. Book.

Lucius Lucullus the Consul fought against Mithridates and in horse-service had the better hand of him, certain ydes he made with good success; and when his victors called hard upon him for battle he fled them from mutiny, Deiotaros, a tetrarch of Galatia, defeated the captains of K. Mithridates whatsoever war in Phrygia. Moreover, this book containeth the fortunate achievements of Pompeius against Sertorius in Spain.
Quintus Arrius: the Praetor defeated and slew Chrylus the captain of the fugitives, and with him 20,000 men. Caius Lentulus: the Consul received a spoil and overthrew the bands of Spartacus. He also overcame in sight Lu. C.ellinus the Consul and Quintus Arrius. Sertorius was at a-hanket slain by Manius Antonius and M. Perpenna with other conspirators in the eighth year of his dukedom. A captain and brave warrior he was. He fought with Pompeius and Metellus, two famous Generals and Commanders. Many a time he saved his own, but more often he went away winner, however, in the end he was abandoned and betrayed. The sovereign command of that side was made over to Marcus [Perpenna.] whom Cn. Pompeius vanquished, took prisoner and slew: so about the tenth year after the war began, he recovered Spain, C. Caflus the Pro-Consul, and Cnens Manlius the Praetor were foiled by Spartacus in the field, and that war was committed over to the managing and conduct of M. Crassus the Praetor.

Of the XC VIII. Book.

Marcus Crassus: the Praetor first fought with a power of the fugitives afore said, consisting of Frenchmen and Germans, and won the better: for he slew 30,000 enemies, and their captain Granitus. After this, he warred against Spartacus, killed him also and 40,000 with him. Manius Antonius the Praetor maintained war unfortunately against the Cretians, and by his death it took an end. M. Lucullus the Pro-Consul brought the Thracians under subjection. L. Lucullus had the upper hand in a battle of Mithridates in Pontus, and slew above 60,000 enemies. M. Crassus and Cn. Pompeius were created Caesars and Crassus immediately out of his Proconsulship stepped to that dignity, so Pompeius was of a gentleman of Rome and no better advanced thereunto, even before he had shown the office of Tribune. They restored again the Tribunes power and authority. By the means of Aurelius Cotta, the predominance of judges also was transfused into the Gentlemen of Rome. Mithridates seeing his own estate lying in dependence, fled unto Tigranes King of Armenia for succour.

Of the XC VIII. Book.

Metellus Censor was the son of Mithridates. King of Bolphorus, was by L. Lucullus received into amity, Cn. Lentulus and C. Gellinus the Censors administered his office with great celerity and vigour, and despatched 60 from Severus dignity: they also held a review and purged the City. Enroled there were 45,000 Citizens of Rome. L. Metellus Lord Praetor in Sicily fought fortunately against the pirates and rovers. The Temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, which by fire had been consumed, was re-edified by Q. Castrini, and dedicated anew. L. Lucullus in Armenia detached in many battles Mithridates and Tigranes, with a mighty power of both Kings. Q. Metellus the Pro-Consul having the charge of the war against the Cretians, besieged the City. L. Cydonius, C. Triarius: a Lieutenant under Lucullus received a battle of Mithridates. So Lucullus was impeached and fined for pursuing Mithridates and Tiganes.

Of the XC IX. Book.

Quintus Metellus the Pro-Consul forced by assaults Gnoles, Lyculus, Cydonia, and many other Cities in Crete. L. Rothina a Trib. of the Com. published a law, that the gentlemen of Rome should be allowed the 14 next seats in the scaffold of the Theatre, to behold the games and plays. Cn. Pompeius being commanded by a law promulgated in the people for to pursue the rovers above said, who had despatched and sent off all commerce for corn and victual, within 74 days rid the sea of them quite: and after the war with them finished in Sicilia, he received them upon submission, and gave them Cities and lands to poffefs. Moreover, this book containeth the worthy exploits of Q. Metellus against the Cretians. The letters also of Metellus and Cn. Pompeius, sent from the one to the other: in which Metellus, complaining that Pompeius by sending his own lieutenant into Crete, to recover the surrender and homage of the Cities there, was enabled and assisted by the glory of those all which he had achieved, Pompeius again vendeth a reason thereof, and addeth that so he ought to do.

Of the C. Book.

Ca. Manlius, a Trib. of the Com. preferred a bill, to the exceeding displeasure and indignation of the nobles: that the war against Mithridates should be assigned to Pompeius. His speech to the people imported and was effectual. Q. Metellus having subdued the Cretians gave laws unto that Island which until that time enjoyed freedom of State. Cn. Pompeius went his journey for to levy war against Mithridates and with Phraæas, King of the Parthians, he renewed the league. In a battle performed by horse-service he overcame Mithridates. Also herein it contained the war, first between Phraæas King of the Parthians, and Tigranes King of the Armenians: afterwards between Tigranes the son and his father.
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Of the CI, Book.

Neus Pompeius vanquished Mithridates in a battell fought by night, and compelled him to flee to "Boiphorous. He received Tigranes upon his submission; and when he had taken from him Syria, Pharnacia, and Cilicia, he gave him again the kingdom of Armenia. Their conspiracies, who having been condemned for the inordinate and ambitious sute of the Conspiration, were confedered to kill the Conspirators, was surprized and deatht. Cn.Pompeius following the chafe after Mithridates, entered into far remote counties and unknown nations. The "Iberians and Albani who would not grant him passage, he overcame in battell. Over and besides this book sheweth how Mithridates fled by Colchis and Heniochi, and what his alls were in Boiphorous.

Of the CII, Book.

Cn. Pompeius reduced the realm of Pontus into the forme of a Province. Pharnaces the son of Mithridates made war upon his own fathers, by whom Mithridates was besieged within his own royal Court and Palace. Whereupon he drank poison, and seeing it was not effectual and strong enough to dispossess him, he was killed by a French souther, named Bitetius, whose helping hand he requested for to rid him of the world. Cn. Pompeius subdued the Jews; their famous Temple of Jerusalem, which until that day never had suffered abuse and violence; he forced and won Catilina, by occasion that he had twice suffered a repulse in trying to take Condis, confederate together with Lentulus the Praetor, Cethegus, and many others, to warfear the Conspirators and the Senate, to set the City on fire, and to subvert and overthrown the State of the Commonwealth, and to this purpose had levied an army in Tuscany. This treason and conspiracy was by the industry of M. Tullius Cicero detested and found out. Catilina was banished the City. The rest of his complices and adherents every one suffered death accordingly.

Of the CIII, Book.

Catilina, together with his army was by C. Antonius the Pro-Consul defeated and slain. P. Clodius was accesseed for entering (in the habit and apparel of a woman) that *Chappel which it was not lawful for a man to go into; and notwithstanding he had committed adultery with the archepiscop's wife, yet he was acquitted and went clear. Cn. Pompeius the Praetor vanquished at Solone the Allobroges, who had rebelled, P. Clodius left the nobility, and ranged himself with the Com, C. Caesar subdued the Portugals. At what time he was in election to be Czad, and went about to invade and make havoc of the C.M. There arose a conspiracy among three of the most principal personages of the City, Cn. Pompeius, M. Crassus, and C. Caesar. The Agrarian laws were by Caesar the Czad, published with great strife and contention the Senate was unwilling thereunto but by the other Czad, M. Bibulus they passed, C. Antonius Pro-Consul at Thracia did but badly in his war-affairs, M. Cicero was banished the City by virtue of an edict promulged by P. Clodius Tribune of the Commons, for that he had put to death certain Roman Citizens uncondemned. Caesar made a voyage into the Province of Gaul, where he subdued the Helvetians, a vagrant and wandering children of Mithridates, also over Tigranes and his son, and by one voice and general confine of the whole assembly was saluted by the name of \"Magnus.\"
Of the CV. Book.

At what time as the assembly for election of Magistrates might be holden, by reason of the state and election of C. Cato a Trib. of the Com., the Senat generally in token of sorrow put on mourning needs. M. Cato in his state for a Praetorship suffered a repulse, and Vatinius was preferred before him. The same Vatinius when he would have impeached the laws whereby were granted to the Cisna Provencies for five years, unto Pompey the government of both Spain, unto Caius Syria and the Parthian war, and unto Caius France and Germany, was by C. Trebonius a Tribune of the Comonies, and the first maker of the said law, committed to prison. M. Gabinius the Pro-Consul established Polomaxis again in the kingdom of Egypt, and dispossessed Archelaus whom they had set up for their King. Caius after he had vanquished and put to sword the Germans in France, crossed over the Rhine, and found that part of Germany which is next thereto; which done, he sailed over into Britain with much trouble and damage, by reason of the floor and contrary winds whilst he was at sea; and he stayed little better when he was there: but after he had slain a mighty great number of men, he brought into subjection the rest of the island.

Of the CVI. Book.

Iulia daughter to Caius and wife to Pompeius departed this life, and had his passing honour done unto her by the people, as to be entered in Mars Field. Many of the States of France revolted by the leading of Ambiorix a Duke of the Eburons, by whom Cotta and T. Auruncules the lieutenants of Caius were by an ambuscado surprified and environed, and by means thereof they and the armies whereof they had the command were put to the sword. And at what time as the camp of the other legions was besieged, assaulted, and with difficulty defended, and among them Q. Cicero, who was Lord President of the Treasons: the armies were by Caius himself in person overtaken in sight. M. Caius intending to war upon the Parthians passed over the river Euphrates, and being vanquished in battle, wherein his son was slain, after he had rallied the broken ends of his army, and retired them to a little hill, he was returned forth by the enemies (whose Captain was Surenas) a treaty and truce of peace and thereupon attached: but because he would not suffer any indignity and villany done in that bringing of his was slain, and there an end of him.

Of the CVII. Book.

Caius Caius having vanquished the Trevisans in Gaul, passed over the second time into Germany, but finding no enemy there to make head, returned into France, where the Eburons and other Cities which had conformed he overcame, put their K. Ambiorix to flight, and followed him in chief. The lands of Caius Caius in the high way Appia near Bovilax by T. Annius Milo a competitor of the Consulship, the Commons of Rome burnt in a funeral fire within the Curial Hallitia. By occasion of a feudious variance between two Candidates for a Consulship, namely, Hyppius Scipio, and Milo, who with force and arms tried the file by the courts: Cn. Pompeius was sent out of the Senate to suppress such enormatious debates. Created Consul he was the third time in his absence, and which prerogative no man ever had alone without College. A commission was granted forth to sit upon the death of Pub Claudius, by virtue whereof Milo was judicially condemned, and had his judgment to be bound. A bill was proposed that C. Caius not fulfilling he was absent, should be accepted in the election of Consuls, albeit M. Cato was unwilling thereto, and said it. Moreover, this book containeth the warlike acts achieved by C. Caius against the Gauls, who generally in manner revolted under the leading of Vercingetorix the Arverian, and the five full sieges of certain Cities, and namely, of Avarium in Birriges, and Gergovia in Auvergne.

Of the CVIII. Book.

Caius Caius vanquished the Gauls at * Alexia, and received all the Cities in France which had been in arms, unto his protection upon their submission, C. Caius the treasurer of M. Caius, put the Parthians to the sword who had passed over into Syria. M. Cato said to be Consul, and had the repulse, and Ser. Sulphurinius with M. Marcellus were created Consuls: C. Caius sold himself the * Bellovaci, was assisted with other States and Cities in France. Also it containeth the strife and debate between the Consuls about sending of a successor to C. Caius. For M. Marcellus the Consul was earthen in the Senetum, that Caius should come to stand for a Consulship, considering that be it a law made in that behalf was to govern his provinces unto that time of his Consulship. Lust of all, the martial deeds of Mar. Bibulus in Syria are here reported.

Of the CIX. Book.

The causes of the civil war and their beginnings be here set down. The contentious likewise about a successor to be sent in lieu of Caius, who denied finally to disturb the armies, unless Pompey also dismissed
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Charged his forces. Moreover, this book treateth of the actions preferred by C. Curio, a Tribune of the Commons, against Caesar, and afterwards for him. When there passed as all of the Senate, that one or other must fall, should be employed to succeed Caesar, M. Antonius and Qu. Cassius, two of the Tribunes (for that by their negative and inhibitions they seemed to cry and say that all) were expelled the City; and a commission was directed by the Senate to the Consuls, and to Cn. Pompeius, in this form. To see that the Common-meal sustained no damage, C. Caesar intending to persecute his adversary, came with his army into Italy. Continus together with L. Domitius and L. Lentulus he took prisoners, and let them go again; but Cn. Pompeius, and the rest of that side, he utterly chased forth of Italy.

Of the CX, Book.

Caius Caesar besieged Maflius, which had shut the gates against him: who leaving C. Trebonius and D. Brutus at the siege, took a journey into Spain, where he received upon submission Lu. Atranius and C. Petreus, two lieutenants of Pompeius, together with seven legions at Ilerda, and dismissed them all with no harm done unto them. Varro also a lieutenant of Pompeius, together with his army came under his obedience. The Galither he enfranchised and gave the City unto. The Maflians after two overthrows in sea-fights, and a long siege which they had endured, submitted at last and were at the devotion of Caesar. C. Antonius a lieutenant of Caesar fought an unfortunate battle against the Pompeians; and in Alythinum was taken prisoner; where in war the inhabitants of Opitergium, beyond the river of Padus (where the auxiliaries of Caesar) seeing their chained bridge of boats and lighters locked up and fast shut within the enemies ships, rather than they would fall into the hands of their enemies, ran one upon another, and died every one, C. Curio, a lieutenant of Cn. Pompeius, after he had fought against Varus a captain of the Pompeians, was together with his army defeated, and cut in pieces by Juba King of Mauritania, C. Caesar passed the sea over into Greece.

Of the CXI, Book.

Caius Cæcilius Rufus the Praetor going about to raise communions and seditions all the year he could within the City, and having solicited the comitium upon the hope of cancelling all debt-books, was first deposed from his Magnificence, and after driven out of the City. Then he banded with Mulo a barbarous person, who had levied a power of offensive outlaws: but both of them in this preparation of war came short of their purpose and were slain. Cleopatra queen of Egypt was by her brother Ptolomæus expelled out of her kingdom. By reason of the scarcity and cruelty of Q. Catulus the Praetor, the Carthaginians in Spain together with two Varian legions, revolted from Cæsar and his side. Cn. Pompeius was besieged by Caesar at Brundizium: but having won his forces with the guards there to belonging, and that with great loss of the adverse part, he was delivered from the siege. But after the war was transferred into Thrælia, he was at Pharillis in a batted overthrow. There remained still with him the camp Ciceron, a man by nature framed for nothing more trust than war. Cæsar pardoned all those of the adverse part, who after his victory submitted themselves to his mercy.

Of the CXII, Book.

Herein is related the fearful condition of that side which was vanquished, and how they fled in sundry parts of the world. Cn. Pompeius being arrived in Egypt, by the commandment of Ptolomæus the King, as yet an infant under age; and persuasion of Theodorus his teacher and schoolmaster, who might of all other overrule the King; also of one Phætanus, was killed by the hands of Achilla, one who had a warrant to execute that feat, even in the very barge before he was landed. But Corinthus his wife and Sexus Pompeius his son fled back into Cyprus. Cæsar three days after the foresaid victory, pursued Pompeius: and when Theodorus presented unto him his head and signet of his finger, he was displeased in his heart and went withal. He entered Alexandria without any danger, notwithstanding the troubles and burthens therein. Cæsar was created Dictator. He restored Cleopatra unto the kingdom of Egypt: and when Ptolomæus had made way by their advice and counsel who moved him to murder Pompeius, Cæsar vanquished him, with great peril and hazard of himself. As Ptolomæus fled, his vessel, wherein be was embark’d ran upon a ground in Nile, and thereuck fainted. Reference this book through the painful and toilsome journey of Marcus Cæsar with his legions, in Africa through the desert wilderness; and the war which Cn. Domitius unfortunately managed against Phætras the king.

Of the CXIII, Book.

When the side of Pompeius had gathered heart and strength in Africa, the sovereign command thereof was committed to P. Scipio: for Macto, who before had equal power and commission with him, gave place and yielded his right. Now when it was debated in council as to reaching the fleet, and the ruin of Utica, for that the City was so inclined and favourable to Cæsar: while M. Cato stood still in this point; he it should not be destroyed: and Juba the King (for he was known to havevalued the guard and keeping thereof was committed unto Cato. The son of Pompey the great, having levied forces in Spain (the conduct and leading whereof, accursed Atranius nor Ptolomæus were willing to undertake) made fresh war upon Cæsar. Phænæus King of Pontus and son of Mithridates, endured no time of war
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but was soon overcame. At what time as P. Dolabella a Tribune of the com, raised seditions in Rome, by means of a law by him published in the behalf of bankrupts. That the old debts should be strucken off, and no order taken in the creditors, upon which occasion there ensued a commotion of the commons; M. Antonius, General of the cavalry, entered the City with a strength of soldiers: and eight hundred of the commons lost their lives. Cæsar discharged all his old soldiers who in a mutiny demanded the same: and having failed into Africa, he fought against the power of K. Juba with exceeding great jealousy.

Of the CXIV. Book.

Cælius Baifiis a gentleman of Rome, and one of Pompeys side, by war in Syria, Sextus Cæsar was both for by the legion which revolted and went to Baifiis, and also Baifiis, Cæsar vanquished Scipio the Pretor, Afranius, and Juba, near 1 aps, and forced their camp. Cato hearing thereof, wounded himself at Utica: and when his son came between and found his body, he was so strucked, but in the very wound, as the wound was newly lanced at his, he uplifted his scutall bowe, and died, in the 49 year of his age. Petreius killed Juba and himself, P. Scipio in his ship was before wound, and at his death, which he took manfully, beaterd a brave speech: for when the enemies made speech and squary what was become of the General. The General quoth he was well. Paulius and Afranius were slain. Cato's son had his pardon, Brutus, a lieutenant of Caesar vanquished the Belovacini in France, then rebelled.

Of the CXV. Book.

Cæsar rode in four triumphs over France, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. A solemn feast was made, and exhibited unto the people dishes of all sorts. Both M. Marcellus a man of Consular dignity, at the request of the Senate be granted leave to return, which Marcellus could not enjoy the benefit of his grace and favour: because that he was murdered at Athens by Cn. Magnus Chilo, his own client and so atall. Cæsar also held a review of the City, where in were enrolled 150000 Caesars, whereas before there had been numbered 400000. See the calamity of civil war. He took a voyage into Spain against Sex. Pompeius: and after many roads and expeditions on both sides made, and some cities forced in, the end he attained one final battle for all before the City Munda; but with exceeding peril and danger, Sex. Pompeius escaped and fled.

Of the CXVI. Book.

Cælius Cæsar triumphed a first time over Spain. When many honours and those right excellent, were by the Senate ordained for him, and namely, among the rest, to be called Pater Patriae; to be free-hand, and regarable: and with hold to be Dictator for ever; he gave occasion to be enied and mishandled in that. When the Senate bestowed upon him these honourable titles, at what time as he sat before the Temple of Venus Genetrix, he rose not up nor did reverence unto them: second for that when Mar. Antonius the Cn, his College, and many of the Commons, they did upon his own chair of state the throne was taken away from him, whereas the principal heads, were M. Brutus, C. Trebonius, and C. Cælius, also one of his own sides, D. Brutus; by whom he was massacred in the court of Pompeius, and received 23 wounds: and these murders were the Capitol seized and held. But after that the Senate had published a decree to forget this murder, the conspirators thereof, having receivd their security the children of Antonius and Lepidus, as hostages, came down from the Capitol. By the left will and testament of Cæsar, C. Octavius (his fisters son) was made his half heir, and adopted into his own name. The body of Cæsar being brought into Mars field, was by the Cn, burnt in a funeral fire before the Rotunda. The honour and dignity of Dictatorship was for ever abolished. Chamacce a person of most wise and wise condition, vowed himself to be the son of C. Marius: and while he raised a sedition among the creditors common people, was cut off and killed.

Of the CXVII. Book.

Cælius Octavius from one of Epirus repaired to Rome: for Cæsar had sent him thither before, when he minded to make war in Macedon, where he was received with good tokens and fortunate prefages, and with hold upon him the name of Cæsar. In this confusion of state and tumult was troubled of all things. Lepidus attained by stealth to the highest pontifical dignity. But when M. Antonius the Consul demanded himself mast lords and proud in his place, and by force published a law at touching the exchange of the Provinces and mutual offered much wrong and abuse to Cæsar, when he made request that he would affiz, and stand with him in revenge of those that murdered his uncle: Cæsar, to the end that he might make both himself and the common wealth strong against him, raised and excited the old soldiers whom he had before placed in Colonies. The fourth legion also, and this called Mattius, fell from Antonius and turned their ensigns to Cæsar, after this more besides (by occasion this man through the cruelty of A. Antonius were murdered every where in their tents) because they were once suspected, revoluted from him, and run to Cæsar. D. Brutus purposing to stop Antonius, as he should pass into Lumbardy, seized upon Mutina with an army. Finally, this book declares the running to and fro of these on both parts to be posisffed first of the Provinces, and the preparation for war.
Of the CXVIII. Book.

Marcus Brutus in Greece (under a pretence of maintaining the State, and enterprising war against Antonius, poissed himself of the army, whereof Verrinius had the command, together with the Province. But Cæsar, who first took arms in defence of the C. W. the government and command of a Pro-Prætor was granted, with the Praetorian ornaments and emblems thereto belonging, and withal, he had this addition to be reputed Pro-Prætor. M. Antonius besieged D. Brutus in Mutina. Certain Embassadors were sent unto him from the Senate to concerning peace; but little availed they to the treaty and conclusion thereof. The people of Rome generally took them to arms and soldiers habit. Brutus in Epirus seduced C. Antonius the Prætor together with his army.

Of the CXIX. Book.

Cænas Trebonianus was by the guileful practice of P. Dolabella, slain in Asia: for which fall Dolabella was by the Senate judged an enemy, to the State. When Panutius the Consul was at the point to left the field against Antonius. A. Hirtius the other Consul came with his army to the rescue, discomfited forces of M. Antonius, and so made the fortune of both parts alike and equal. Afterwards, Antonius being conquistéd by Hirtius and Cæsar, fled into France, and joined unto him M. Lepidus: with the legion that were under him. Both he and all they who were within his bands in Garritz, were by the Senate attainted. Aulus Hirtius, who after his victory was slain within the camp of the enemies, and L. Pansa, who died a wounded man, in an unhappiest fight were both buried in Mars field. To C. Cæsar the only Captain of the three now remaining alive, the Senate was not so kind as they ought to have been: for having ordained that D. Brutus (who by Cæsar had been delivered from the siege at Mutina) should triumph, they made no thankful remembrance of Cæsar and his soldiers, as was meet and requisite. For which dishonour C. Cæsar (being reconciled to M. Antonius by the means and mediation of M. Lepidus) came to Rome with an army; and when they were fore dismayed at his coming, he before himself created Consul: he was with Q. Petrus being but nineteen years of age, or not full twenty for he was once a year, as Valerius Paterculus saith.

Of the CX. Book.

Cæsar now Consul, proposed a law for an inquisition to be made of them whose means his father Cæsar was killed, and by virtue of that law M. Brutus, C. Cassius, and D. Brutus were contented, attainted, and condemned in their absence. When together with M. Antonius, Annius Pollio also, and Munatius Plancius had joined their arms, and thereby much strengthened and augmented their forces. D. Brutus whom the Senate had sent with commission to pursue Antonius, being now for his religious and sacred trust at the commandment of Antonius (into whose hands he fell) killed by one Capelles a Burgomaster. Cælius Cæsar contrived a peace with Antonius and Lepidus, wherein it was capitulated between them, that those three should for five years have the sovereignty over all, only to set in order and es- tablish the state of the common-weal, to wit, himself, Lepidus, and Antonius, and each of them preserved, and allowed their own adherents and enemies. In whick prestation were contained the names of very many Gentlemen of Rome, and one hundred and thirty Senators, and amongst the rest were L. Paulus, the brother of M. Lepidus, L. Cæsar the uncle of Antonius by the Mother, and M. Cicero, slain by Popilius Albinus guardian soldier, in the 63 year of his age, whose head and hands was set upon the rostra. Moreover, this book is with the deeds by M. Brutus achieved in Greece.

Of the CXI. Book.

Caesar who had in commission from the Senate to pursue by force of arms Dolabella, judged an enemy to the Common-weal, being born out by the authority and warrant of the State, poissed himself of Syria; and became Master of three armies which were in that Province. He besieged Dolabella within the City of Laodicea, and put him to death. C. Antonius was likewise taken prisoner, and by commandment from M. Brutus slain.

Of the CXII. Book.

Marcus Brutus had but had success in fight against the Thracians. After that all the Provinces beyond Ioucar, and the armies were under his hands and Cæcius Cassius: they completed both together at Smyrna, what steps to take for the future war. Publicola the brother of M. Meffala they vanquished, and yet by common consent they pardoned him.

Of the CXIII. Book.

Sextus Pompeius the son of Magnus, assembled together out of Epirus a number of outlaws and bandits perjured, and having a long time with his army robbed only by way of piracy and left no yet upon the possession of no piece upon the lands, first seized Meffala, a town in Sicily, and afterwards the
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the whole Province. And after that, A. Pompeius Bithynicus the Praetor there, met by Pompey, bit, he the said Pompey in a battell at sea, vanquished Q. Salvinius, a lieutenant of Caesar. Caesar and Antony, with their armies sailed over into Greece, with intent to wage war against Brutus and Caius. Quintus Cornificius in Attrick overcame in plain fight T. Scipio the Captain of the Caucean fleet.

Of the CXXI. I. Book.

Caius Cæsar, together with Antony fought at Philippi with variable fortune against Brutus and Caius. In such sort, at the right points of both battells I the better, and each of them won the other's camp. But the death of Caius was it that turned the balance and made the difference: who being in that point that retreated and went down supposed that the whole army and main battell was discomfited and so killed himself. In another conflict afterwards, M. Brutus also was overcome, and there ended his life: for he intreated Strato (that accompanied him in his flight) to set his sword point toward him, and so he ran upon it. The same did some forty more of the principal Romans: among whom was Q. Hortensius likewise slain.

Of the CXXV. Book.

Caius Cæsar left Antony (for to this place fell the Empire of some Provinces beyond sic.) and returned into Italy. He divided himself among his old friends, the mutines of his own army by occasion that the mutines were seduced by Fulvia the wife of M. Antonius and rose against their General. He was repassed with exceeding danger and jeopardy: I. Antonius, the Cæf, and both to M. Antonius, of his ungracious counsel and persuasion of the said Fulvia, made war upon Cæsar: and having procured the nations to side, and take part with him, whose hands had been made over and assign'd to the old friends aforesaid, and with half discomfited M. Lepidus, who with an army had the government and guard of the City, curst perforce by way of hostility into Rome.

Of the CXXVI. Book.

Caius Cæsar when he was but three and twenty years of age, besieged L. Antonius in the town Perusia: and when he made sundry offers to fall out and be good friends, he repelled and chased him back, yet and for very hunger forced him to yield and come under his obedience. As for Antony himself and all his soldiers, he pardoned, but Perusia he razed and destroyed. Finally, as he had brought all the armies of the adverse side to submission and to form to his mercy, he suffered the war without effusion of any blood.

Of the CXXVII. Book.

The Parthians, under the conduct of Labienus, who had taken part with Pompey and that side, invaded Syria, where Diodes Dionysius the Lieutenant of M. Antonius, and held all the Provinces to their own use. M. Antonius being solicited by the solicitation of his wife Fulvia to make war against Cæsar, put away this motive, because he should be not set nor bindance to the accord and agreement of the three rulers in their Transmaria. Then made he a peace with Cæsar, and took to wife his sister Octavia, Q. Salvinius who complained mischief against Cæsar, he detested and bewrayed: who being thereupon condemned, won up his own death. P. Ventidius a Lieutenant under Antonius, overcame the Parthians of itself, and chased them forth of Syria, having before slain their Leader Labienus. When as Sextus Pompeius held Sicily, and being an annual enemy, and it neighbour to Italy, seized the transporting of corn and provisions by sea, upon request Cæsar and Antony made peace with him for this consideration, that he should govern Sicily in his Province. Also herein are set forth the troubles and wars of Attrick.

Of the CXXVIII. Book.

When Sext Pompeius instanced the sea against Sex. Pompeius with variable success, the one which was conducted by Agrippa, got the better hand: but the other which by Cæsar himself had the overthow, and the soldiers being fit for a shore, were in exceeding great danger. But afterwards Pompeius was defeated, and thereupon fled into Sicily. Marcus Lepidus crossed the sea from one of Attrick, pretending to take part with Cæsar, in his wars to be made against Sex. Pompeius. But when Cæsar heard upon him also, he was abandoned of his army, and being content to resign the honour and dignity of the Transmaria, obtained life. M. Agrippa was by Cæsar rewarded with a naval crown, no honour to no man ever granted before him.

Of the CXXIX. Book.

Sundry battells were fought at sea against Sex. Pompeius with variable issues: so as, of Cæsars two fleets, the one which was conducted by Agrippa, got the better hand: but the other which by Cæsar himself had the overthow, and the soldiers being fit for a shore, were in exceeding great danger. But afterwards Pompeius was defeated, and thereupon fled into Sicily. Marcus Lepidus crossed the sea from one of Attrick, pretending to take part with Cæsar, in his wars to be made against Sex. Pompeius. But when Cæsar heard upon him also, he was abandoned of his army, and being content to resign the honour and dignity of the Transmaria, obtained life. M. Agrippa was by Cæsar rewarded with a naval crown, no honour to no man ever granted before him.
The Chronologie

Of the CXXX, Book.

Marcus Antonius, in his rioting time with Cleopatra, entered into the province of Media with eighteen legions, and sixteen thousand horsemen, landed war upon the Parthians, and after he had left two of his legions, seeing nothing prosper well on his side, he retired back. But still the Parthians followed him in chase: whereupon in exceeding fearful haste and great peril of the whole army, he returned into Armenia: so as in 27 days he fled three hundred miles. About 8000 men he left by tempestuous weather. But he was himself the occasion that he suffered these dangerous tempests, over and before the Parthian war, which unfortunately he entered into, because he would not winter in Armenia for haste he made to his love Cleopatra.

Of the CXXXI, Book.

Sex. Pompeius having once submitted to holes, he was in the protection of M. Antonius, went about to survey against him in Asia; but by his Lientenants he was surprised and took. Caesar said the mutiny of the old soldiers, which with great mischief was begun: he subdued the Latipes, the Dalmatians, and Parthians. Antonius, having upon his word, and to his wife of safety and protection, turned unto him, Artaxerxes, the King of Armenia, commended him to be laid up in iron, and gave the kingdom of Armenia to his own son, which he had by Cleopatra; for now by this time he began to see her at his wife, upon whom long before he was enamoured and doted in love.

Of the CXXXII, Book.

Cains Caesar sold his Dalmatians in Illyricum. When M. Antonius for the love of Cleopatra (who bore him two sons, Philadelphia and Alexander) would not return to the city of Rome, nor after the time of the Triumvirate expired, resign up that dignity and government, but prepared for war, which he meant to levy against Rome and Italy; and thereunto had raised a mighty power, as well as sea-forces as land; and had himself had pronounced the marriage with Octavia, Cleopatra, and sent her a letter of disavowment, and so put her away: Caesar thereupon, with an army, sailed into Epirus. The battles it is afterwards, and the horse-fights, whereon Caesar had the upper hand, be here related.

Of the CXXXIII, Book.

Marcus Antonius was with his fleet overcome at Actium, and hereupon fled to Alexandria; where being by Caesar besieged, and in bitter despair of recovering his former state but moved especially upon a false rumour that was spread, how Cleopatra was killed, he slew himself. When Caesar was now Master of Alexandria, Cleopatra like wise because she would not fall into the hands of the conqueror, willingly procured her own death. Caesar upon his return to the city of Rome, had the honour of three triumphs in one over Illyricum, another for the victory at Actium, and the third in regard of Cleopatra. That when he had subdued all Europe which had continued 21 years, M. Lepidus, the son of Lepidus, the Triumvir, confounded against Caesar; and while he went about to make war, was prevailed and slain.

Of the CXXXIV, Book.

Cains Caesar having set the state in good order, and reduced all Provinces into one certain form, was crowned also Augustus; and the month Sextilis to honour his name was likewise so called. While the sat navitation in Narbone, he took a review of the three Provinces of Gaul, which his father (Caes) had conquered. The war which M. Caesar made against the Biscarrians, Moorsians, and other nations, be here reported.

Of the CXXXV, Book.

Tertius, Caesar, fed against the Thracians, as also which Caesar made upon the Spaniards is here set down. Likewise how the Saltians, a people inhabiting the Alps, were utterly subdued.

Of the CXXXVI, Book.

Rhetia was conquered by Tiberius Nero, and Drusus his son's son, Agrippa Caesar's son in law did: and by Drusus was the general review and taken.

Of the CXXXVII, Book.

The Cities of Germany, as one on either side the Rhine, are by Drusus besieged and assaulted. The provinces in France, by reason of the fore said review or tax, was appeased. Another was restored into Drusus Caesar at the confines of the two rivers, Arar and Rhodanus; and a Priest was created to offer thereupon, one C. Julius Verconradius in Hedum.
Of the CXXXVIII, Book.

Here is shewed how the Thracians were by L. Plautus named. Likewise how the Thebæi, Teumace, the Cæcini, and other nations of Germany beyond the Rhine, were subdued and brought under by Drusus, Octavia the sister of Augustus departed this life, having buried before her son Marcellus: whose monuments still remain, namely, the Theatre and gallery bearing his name as if they had been dedicated by Marcellus.

Of the CXXXIX, Book.

This war which Drusus managed against the nations beyond Rhine is here reported. In which war the chief persons that fought were Senequius and Ancus, Tribunes of the Roman State. Nero the brother of Drusus subdued the Dalmations and Thracians. Peace was concluded with the Parthians: and upon capitulation the military ensigns were delivered up again to their King, which first under the conduct of Cælius, and afterwards of Antonius were lost, and by them taken.

Of the CXL, Book.

In this book is related the war which Drusus fought against the Cities and States of Germany beyond the Rhine. Himself fell from his horse and broke his leg, by reason that his horse fell therefore upon which fracture he died thirty days after. His corpse was by his brother Nero (who being bent for upon the news of his sicknefs, rode in past) brought through to Rome, and deftroyed in the tomb of C. Julius. Praised he was by Cæsar Augustus his father in law, and at his funeral for a fault far well he was emitted with many honourable names.

To the Reader.

The history of Titus Livius, as it was by him passing well penned otherwise, and none thereto in Latine comparable: so in the calculation and date of times, which they call Chronology (a singular light cogive direction in a story) he is somewhat defective and unlike himself; so as he cannot be praised without exception. But if we consider the huge volumes which he wrote and named, in his declining age; the variety and disagreement of former authors whom he followed, who before him faulted allio in this point, and whereas he much complaineth; he is to be pitied and pardoned if his memory failed somewhat in this behalf. For where shall we find a man that is squire to every subject? And indeed if we weigh the thing aught, as it was a profession by it self, and required a whole man, to many travelled therein alone, and they that performed well but it only, deferved high thanks and commendation. And to let many others pass, how worthy is T. Pomponius Atticus praised by Cicero his friend, for digetting the head Magistrates of 700 years in one book? As on Verrius L. Lucius, who lived in the time of Augustus Cæsar, he collected a catalogue and register of the chief Rulers of Rome, how they were chosen successively, and how they governed from time to time: which as he could be cut and engraven in a marble wall within the Capitol for a perpetual memory to posterity: so thereby he delivered all to have his own name erected near the Temple of Vesta, for an everlasting memorial of so great a benefic, But what is there so durable that time waffeth not? What so conspicuous and evident, but trouble some dates may overwhelm and hide in oblivion? Thus amidst that havoc which the Goths and Vandals made in Latine, there remained in those fourteenth part extant of Livy’s history; thus in that general confusion of Rome, these records of Verrius Flaccus were defaced, broken, and buried deep under the ruins of the Capitol and other lately edifices. But the revolution of times as it hath brought to light again some pieces of Livy; it has also discovered all those marbles of Verrius; for in the time of Papi the third, pope of Rome, the fragments of the said stones were digged out of the ground between the Roman Forum and the broad street Via Sacra: brought forth also & laid abroad in the Capitol to the view of the world. To which, as the true touchstone certain learned men of late dates have laid to their own labours in that kind, namely, Bartholomew Mariani of Militia, Onuphrius Parvus of Verona, Charles Sigonius of Modena and Francis Robertus of Udine: and comparing the fame as also the annals gathered by Henry Glareanus before time, with the forelaid antiquities of Verrius late found, have recovered much light to the history of Livy, and have led his wants in that behalf. I thought it not amiss therefore to gratifie my countrymen in some measure this way also, and deliver the same in English which I found annexed to the best editions in Latine as followeth.
A CHRONOLOGIE
TO THE HISTORY OF TITUS LIVIUS,
Compiled according to the Tables and Records of Verrius Flaccus in the Capitoll, and set out with most profitable Notes, shewing the variety and disagreement of Authors about the names of the Roman Consuls.

The causes of different and repugnance in Historiographers, as touching the computation and relating of the years from the foundation of the City of Rome.

In one intend to set forth a Kalender or Register of the Consuls mentioned in the History of Livius, which by reason of uncertainty, obscurity, and discordance of the times, is too dark and intricate, that not only the learned but also experienced historians of our age, but the best writers of the Roman story in ancient times, have oftentimes complained thereof; we think it not pertinent to our purpose, briefly to search into the causes of this difficulty: which being once known, we may follow that account of the times, which leemeth to accord best with the Historiographical, and to be grounded upon the authority and testimony of the most authentic and approved writers. For seeing that an History (as Cicero hath most truly said) is the witness of times; what is more unsatisfying to this than to mislead and want that which is the chief point therein, and without due and diligent reckoning made, to be ignorant what was first and what was last done? It leemeth therefore, that of this diversity in the account and computation of the Roman Consuls, there be three principal causes.

The first is, for that the year in which the first Consuls entered into that Magnificacy, is by the Roman Historiographers not sure; one for but diversly set down. For Dionysius (a most diligent writer of the Acts of Romans) in his first book, in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth, reports that the KK. reigned 244 years: which also is collected out of the yearly computation gathered by Farro and approved by the authority of others. For Messala reporteth, how upon the expulsion of the KK., which hapned in the 244 year after the foundation of the City, the Romans were ruled under the yearly government of Consuls. To which opinion Livy also subscribeth in the end of his first book, saying, that the regiment of KK. continued 244 years from the foundation of the City, unto the freedom and liberty thereof. But Euporius in his first book writeth that the seven Kings reigned in Rome 243 years: which account agreeeth with Sex. Rufius in his abridgment. In which variety this is to be observed, that these two first named, reckoning the years only of every Kings reign, and out of the whole and gross sum leave out the year of the interregnum, which Dionysius, Livius, Messala, and the rest interfet between, and that right truly and upon good reason: for after the death of Romulus, the interregnum continued one year. Consider then and examine the thing diligently, and you shall find, that in reckoning the years of every Kings reign in severall, Euporius and Sex. Rufius both, attribute as many years to the Kings government, as Denys, Livy, and the rest, so that this difference is not much. But others there be (as Ensebius hath delivered in his Chronicles) who write, that the KK., reigned but 243 years, and take the interregnum withall: whole judgment, Orofius, Tornandes, and Bede seem to follow. For Orofius in the first chapter of his second book recordeth, that Brutus the Consul in that very year namely the 244. put his own sons to death. The Kings reigned not precisely so many years, but for that some (and named, Romulus) went over some months and daies, Dionysius and Livius reckoned them for a full year, and laid it to Tarmquins Prifons: but the other above-named, together with Ensebius, left out those odd months and daies (because they made not up a compleat year) and assigned but only seven and thirty years to the reign of King Prifons. To this may be added another reason of the like nature; namely, that as divers authors have doubtfully reported the year, so they arc no more certain of the month and day on which the first Consuls began their government. For Plutarch in his Problems writeth, that they entered upon the first day of January: but Macrobius in the first book of his Saturnalia and seventeenth chapter, leemeth to imply that they took their Consuls place the first of June, saying (according to the opinion of others) That June took the name of Junius Brutus: for that in this month, and namely. upon the first day thereof (according to a vow whereunto he was obliged by the benefitment of Tarquin) he folenized a sacrifice to the goddesse Carmenta upon mount Capitul, Othres
Others again write, how this hapned the 24 of February; grounding herein upon the old antiquities and records of Rome, together with the testimony of Ovid, who in the second book of his Calender thus wrote:

King Tarquin with his sons then fled: The Consuls yearly bear
The sovereign rule at Rome: since that, no King ever reign'd there.

Some there are besides of opinion, that they entered the first day of July: and of their mind feemath Joachimn Perinianus to be, in his third book of the Greek Magistrates. In this regnimn therefor there are of opinions very doubtfull it is which to follow. As for that of Plutarch, it hath long since been clearly and learnedly confuted by two great and excellent clarks. Oxyrinchos Pamiius, and Sigonius: since it is plain that it was the fix hundred year from the foundation of the City:and not before, that the Consuls began their government the first of January. But in setting down the certain day, they themselves are not well agreed. For Sigonius after Macrnianus lineth this way and faith, That the first day of the Consuls government was the fix and twentieth day of May. But Plutarch thinketh that the first Consuls were created the 26th day of February. And this diversity is found not only in the day when the first Consuls took their government: but also in the time after ending. What was the usual day of any month whereby the Consuls were wont to begin their Magistracy, a man can hardly find any certainty before the fix hundred year from the Cities foundation. In the four and fforty year verily after the Kings were exiled the first day of July, as Livy writeth, was the ordinary day for yearly Magistrates to take their place: but have many years following, that order continued, or at what time it was change, he thought not before he came to the three hundred and two year, and then he faith in his third book. That the thirteenth of May was the ordinary day for Magistrates to begin their government. Thus much at least we may collect by him (when he faith that this time was solemn) that he meant not two or three years only, but many. For that is properly called solemn, which is by law usually observed. Again, we read a little after the beginning of the first book, that this time was also altered: for whereas the first day of December was the usual time that Magistrates began to execute their office, he faith, that it was changed, in these words. The principal Nobles and Lords of the Senat, were it upon the death or the incertitude of their Generals (that to shame all an overthrow was received) and advised, not to expect and lay for the ordinary time of the election but presently to create new military Tribunals in Consuls authority, who should enter into their government the first day of October &c. Wherefore this opinion of theirs imported, and the who is so much accounted to it: whereupon the other Tribunals give thus the Senat, and gave quite to resign up their dignity before the eleventh of December, the ordinary day of taking their oaths and beginning their Magistracy. And a little after, within one page, he faitheth that the usual day of entrance into government, was altered from the eleventh of December to the first of September, sayling, When this speech was received with a general applause of all men, and that the Nobles and Lords of the Senat &c. But this day was kept but a few years. For about six years after, the Senat, by occasion that both Consuls lay sick. it was ordained that the first of July should be the ordinary day. And this also I find was changed to another, whatsoever it was, for named it is not: and therefore uncertain. But this hapned in the four hundred and thirteenth year after the Cities foundation: as Livy about the beginning of the eighth book, 1 heareth in these words; And when the Consuls were commanded to resign up their Magistracy before the time to the end that new Consuls might the sooner be created, against those great troubles of war &c. For in these words [The Senat &c. the declarer that the usual day of entering into government was then changed. But as it is not certainly set down what day this was: for the other was as well known: for soon after, and namely the eighth year following it was appointed, to wit, the first day of July. Immediately therefore (quoth he) the new Consuls, L. Aemilius Ma
ercians and Cn. Flaminius were joynd that day even the first of July) on which they began their office, to agree and part between themselves their Provinces. As for the month wherein for the most part the assembly for election of Magistrates was holden, we read it was February; like as the thirteenth of March was ordinary for them to begin their government. For this day held always during the second Punick war and the Macedonian, and longer than so. Thus Livy testifieth in many places, which to quote is needless) as in the first book of the second Punick war, and in the beginning of the first book as touching the Macedonian. By which, who feeth not that there is great variety in the month and day both. Whereupon the Magistrates were wont to begin their rule? But whereas all the certainty in computation and account of the time dependeth upon a precise exact, firm, and settled reckoning of years months and dates; and seeing that in Livy's story it is not expressly shewed what year month or day, the Magistrates began their government, nor precisely noted when the reckoning altered; considering also that nothing therein is more wavering and inconstantly delivered than the very usual day of entering into Magistracy, what marvel is there if authors differ so much about the computation of the times? whereas one beginneth at this month, another at that: whiles some, I say, ascribe these Magistrates created this year, others, the same to another?

Thirdly, there being great difference between Dionysius and Livy, as well about the reckoning of the times and years, as the acts and affairs that there inpass'd: all leemeth to have risen hereupon, that the purpose of Livy was not to deliver exactly the acts and occurrences of greatest antiquity which hapned in the State of the people of Rome: and which by many writers after time had been
The Chronologie

been most diligently set down and penned to posterity: but to record and write those things especially, which from the time a little before the second Punic war, had been achieved by the people of Rome, unto the age wherein himself lived. But because these events, and the particular discourses therefore, left to great a piece of work as his, wanting a beginning, should seem maimed and imperfect; in the form of a book he slightly and briefly ran over the deeds of the people of Rome from the foundation of the City, unto the beginning of the second Punic war, but disdaining to particularize and omit nothing worthy of remembrance, but most curiously and exactly hath delivered all things pertinent, either to the calculation of the times or discourse of affairs, informally as those things whereof Livy hath chiefly made 3 books he hath declared at large in eleven.

Hereupon if a man read in Dionysius, the ancient beginning and original of the Roman Empire, and examine how the times are hereby digested & compared the fame with the brevity in Livy, no doubt he will prefer the diligence of the former before the overhastiness of the latter. But if the indistinct reader consider the purpose and intent of them both, he will yield unto either of them their due praise; whereas Livy making haste to other matters, hath either left part or more lightly handled some things, he will judge him worthy rather to be excused than reproved for it.

To the three caules above related, others also might be adjoin'd: namely, the ordering of the years by Romulus, and the variety as touching that year wherein Rome was founded: but it may sufficiently toouch these & point unto them with the finger. Howbeit, this we think good to advertise and shew the reader by the ways that a belt in the digesting and reckoning of the Colli, have we let before our eyes to follow the marble tables and monuments of Verrus Flaccus, and according therto have framed and applied the computation of the years: yet that year before the 450 as also the other, whither Verrus rejected, we have inserted with the rest, that our account might fall out just with the time of the years, as they are collected by Varro. Which, before us, Omporius Paucatus a most learned man hath done in his Calender, thinking that the year which Verrus and they that followed him raised out was the 449, and therefore he hath put it to the rest without Consils, according to the Capitoline records.

The calculation of times usually observed by the Romans, and of the year of the City's foundation.

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<th>Day of the Month</th>
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The Achaean (as we read) received it from the revolution of the stars: the Argives from their women Priests; as for example, if Cichla such a year was chief Priest to offer sacrifices, they counted the number of years from the said Cichla. But many have derived and fetched the cause from the years before Try was built, or else after the winning thereof. Howbeit, from the 408 year after the captivity thereof, by occasion of the Olympic games, which Hercules first instituted in the honour of his great grand sire by the mothers side and which he called Iphitus (or Iphes, as some have it) were renewed that year: from that time (I say) they began to number the years by the Olympians, especially among the Greeks, whole story (as Eutmus affirmed) is not of any credit but from the time of the first Olympiad, the Hebrews, like as other nations in the East, received the denomination and reckoning of the years from their KK. The Athenians from their Eponymi (as they called them) by that in their Areopagita (that is, the election of their Magistrates) which were wont to hold certain days about the beginning of the year, they counted in this wise, ηαμες προς ηπειρας της Αριστοκρατιας, the tenth or eleventh of the first Priapian. And hereof it seemeth, that the name comes therefrom; as it from thence, their acts received both the time and also the name.

After the example of the Athenians and others, the Romans reckoned their dates, made their Kalender, and regulated their acts by such and such Consils; nothing thereof otherwhiles the year from the Cives foundation, but about it there is much more diversity in authors, than about that wherein the first Consils took their government. And seeing the clearing and declaration of that point is not pertinent to this place, briefly we will rehearse the opinions of authors as touching the time when the City of Rome was founded.

To begin then at them, who (according to the common received opinion of others) have written longer ago and farther off: Timaeus Siculus (I know not upon what reason induced hath recorded, how the City was built) by Romans much about the time that Carthage was stuck by the Tyrians, namely, in the 38 years before the first Olympiad.

Livy (a Senator of Rome by calling) saith it was in the fourth year of the twelfth Olympiad. Q. Fufius Tullius (a most ancient writer of the Roman history and of great credit) attributeth it to the first year of the eight Olympiad.

Publius Maggiplianus and Dionysius Siculus quote the second year of the 7 Olympiad.

Appolodorus Q. Lutatius Calvus, Cornelius Nepos, Eratotheenes, M. Porcini, Calvus, Dionysius Halicarnassus, and Theophrastus Anthecenom, name the first year of the 7 Olympiad.

M. Verrus Placent., (the author of the Capitoline stone-records) T. Livius, C. Julius Solonius, Clemens Alexandrinus, and others, will have it to be the fourth year of the 6 Olympiad.
L. Tarquinus Firmus, M. Terentius Varro, T. Pomponius Atticus, M. Tullius Cicero, Augustus Caesar, C. Plinyus Secundus, Plutarchus Choronzon, Domenicus Caesar Augustus, P. Cornelius Tacitus, Caesius Dio, A. Gellius, L. Sophrinis Severus Augustus Caesarfrius, M. Julius Philippus Augustus, Ennius, P. Marcellus, C. Caesar Cestius, Aulus Oratius, M. Plinyus Longobardus; and after the time of C. Caesar Dictator, the common opinion of the people of Rome (which we also go by) will have the City to be founded the third year of the first Olympian.

But by what motives and reasons each one of these authors is induced, and whereby they would seem to confirm their several opinions, needletis it is in this place to deliberate: both because the speculation hereof pertained properly to another profession, and also for that (besides Plutarch in Romulus, Salamin in the 1. chapter of his Polybius, and Camerius in his annotation thereupon) the question hath been so throngly handled by Ouophinis Pausanias in the first book of his Calendar, that the thing requireth no further examination.

Now for the day on which the foundation of the City of Rome was laid by Romulus: It was the eleventh day before the Calends of May, called Parilia or Palaest. Now this was a festival day to the Eleusinian marble, in which, upon the eleven calendar days of May, in the fields and country villages, for the chaying away of wolves, for the preservation of their sheep and cattle from diaciles, or for the fair yeasting and bringing forth their young: whereupon they were called Parilia. Of this matter writeth Propertius in his fourth book, in this wise: After there was a Palilia, our fathers did call,

Ovid also in the fourth book of his Fasti: A time full meet they choose, withough the plot to work,

Dio: Roma's Pales was laid and so began the work.

The same is avouched by M. Tullius Plutarchus, Salaminus and others. And that these Palaes were solemnized ordinarily the eleventh day before the Calends of May, appeareth as well by the old marble Calendars, as also by the same authors before rehearsed.

Of the first sovereign Magistrates of the City of Rome, namely of the KK, who were in number seven.

As forts of politics and governments in a Common-weal which are set down and named by ancient Writers, the City of Rome (were it by the lawall course of destiny or upon some troubles in the State) hath received and endured every one: so as no Common-weal in manner there can be found, wherein they proceeded to one after another, as they did in the very City of Rome. For in the beginning, the KK, ruled it: but when they for their excessive outrage and inordinate lust excited upon their Citizens and Subjects, were despised and expelled, the Coss, (and after them the Tribunes military in the Coss authority) held the sovereignty. But in process of time, when this frame and form of Common-weal (happily the best) was by the outrage of the two Gracchi (Cawimus and Decius Tribunes of the Commons) put out of joynt and troubled, until in that time as their power and authority was by Sillientin twain, and the Commons differeated of their lands and killed: then the administration of the Common-weal was restored again to the Nobles and principal perons of the City. But at length, when it was oppressed again by the civil war of Pompey and Caesar, the foreign rule of the State was devolved upon the Empire of Caesar alone: wherein, being first shaken a few years before, through the wicked insolency and lust of the three Tribunvis, it continued until the time that it fell to utter ruin. We therefore will briefly go through all these forts of government, in that incoercent order as they followed one after another, and first begin with the KK.

Romulus the first King of the Romans, reigned 37 years.

Romulus, the founder of the City, reigned 37 years: for so many Lucius assigned unto him. Likewise Dionysius in the first book, which he repeate also in the second; and Plutarch in Numa delineated not from them, howsoever in Romulus, he writeth, that he departed this world in the 37 year of his age. Salminus in like manner rehearsing his worthy acts attributeth unto his reign 37 years. Only Euripides (1. book 4. chap.) saith of him 39 years: but Cappian thinneth very well that the City is corrupt. This Prince having reigned (according to the more common received opinion of authors) 37 years: in which time he laid the first ground-work of the Roman Empire with excellent laws and ordinances, and established both civil and also military discipline, departed this life upon the Nones of July, which day was called afterwards, Nones Capronites: by occasion that he in multicing and reviewing his army at the lake of Caprona, was conveyed out of mens sight: whereupon the people fled as amazed at the sudden death of their King, as Plutarck & Dionysius do witness. This Romulus after his deification was named Quirinus of which furnome Ovid in his Kalender giveth these reasons,
Or one year after the death of Romulus the noblest fell to variance and strife who should be king, but by reason that no one person excelled above the rest in that state to newly founded, there grew several factions & debates in their head- corporations. They who were descended from the Sabins (because after the death of Tatius none of them reigned with Romulus in equal dignity) were desirous to have a king, created out of their body, because they would not forgive their false and perfidious in the Empire. But the old Romans could not away with a stranger-King. Howbeit, as different as they were in affection, all were willing to set up a king, as having not tasted yet the sweetness of liberty. The Peers moreover mightily feared (by reason that the neighbor states bordering round about were provoked against them) let some foreign force might assailable their City left thus without sovereign government, and the army without a leader. Whereupon the two hundred Nobles agreed among themselves to enter into an association of rule, and made ten Decuries: and in every Decury created one to have the sovereignty over the rest. These Senators were then 100 in number, as Livy faith, and according to Plutarch a hundred and fifty. But Dionysius writes, that there were two hundred of the Sabins & as many Romans. After this they called and their Decury unto whom the lottery first fell, ruled the City: howbeit not all of them at once, but one alone had the regal ornaments, and the leaders going before him. Five days he governed and no longer; and by this order in course the nobles of every Decury governed the City fifty days. For after five days determined, the whole lot was first to govern in that Decury, delivered up unto the second at the imperial dignity together with the ensigns thereof: and he again, when his five days were expired, unto a third and so to the tenth. Thus when these ten first Interregens had passed one 50 days a second Deceny of Senators in like manner ruled the City other 50 days; and thus they went round through all

until they had fulfilled a years space in this regency. This government was of the thing it self called Interregnum, which name it still retained afterwards, and the men likewise were named Interregens. In this year therefore was the Magnificancy of the Interregens first devised among the Romans. And not only after the death of Romulus the State was ruled by Interregens, but also after the decease of Nummus Tullius, and Ancus Kings. In like manner during the time of the free State and Common-wealth, after the time of yeardly Magnificates expired, the said government took place very often. Before the creation of new for they held the assembly for elections, wherein new governors were by the people created. Now the office and charge of this Interregent was, during the time of his regency (which ordinarily passed not five days) to execute all those functions in the City which belonged either to KK, or COff, namely, to minifter justice, to rule the Common-wealth, to hold a Senate, and there to propound the affairs of State, and lastly, to summon the general assembly for choosing new Magnificates. As touching the beginning of Interregens, Dionysius in his second book, Livy in his first, Plutarch in Numa, Sext. Sallust, Eusebius, and other old writers, have written at large.

43 Numa Pompiius the second K. reigned 43 years.
Numa being decaed, the Interregency took place again: during which time an Act of Senatorial advice, wherein by the approbation of the Commons and advice of the Nobles, Tullus Hostilius was created the third K. of the Romans; in the 81st year after the foundation of the City, who, having raised Alban, commanded the Albanians to be translated to Rome. Their Commons he made free denizens, and the principal Nobles he took into the order of Senators. After Numa he reigned 32 years: as all writers most constantly affirm. He perished, as Dionysius witneffeth, by occasion that his house was on fire, wherein his wife and children and all their household besides were consumed and burnt. Some say, that his palace took fire by lightning through theire of the gods, for that he had built some lattices and holy rites: others write, that it was occasioned by the treacherous practice of Ancus Martius, who reigned next after him. Of him Dionysius writeth in his 3 books: That he carried before him the name of Hostius; and it appeareth by this, that both his father and grandsire bare the said name. A Prince he was, not only far unlike to Numa, but also more fierce and Florid than Romulus.

Ancus Martius, the fourth King of Romans, reigned 24 years.

King Tullius being departed this life, there was an Interregent by the Nobles declared, who held the assembly for election in the 114 year from the foundation of the City: wherein the people created Ancus Martius the fourth K. of the Romans, and the Senators approved the same. He built Hostius a town 16 miles distant from the City of Rome; and fought seven battles, Lucus, Dionysius, and Salwius, to that he reigned 54 years: but Enobius, Etruscus, and Caepio, 23. What death he died, neither Livy in his first book, nor Dionysius in his 3rd do set down; notwithstanding that by them his noble acts are set out at large. Now Ancus (as Sex. Pompeianus hath reported) is called, who hath an arm bowing inward, so as it cannot be put straight forth.

I. Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth K. of Romans, reigned 38 years.

This Tarquinius being leaved by Ancus (when he died) guardian to his children, was the first that ambitiously intercepted the kingdom to himself; he lent the sons of Ancus, during the time of Interregency, out of the way as it were to hunting, and made an oration unto the people to win their hearts & affections to him: and so with the suffrages of the people and authority of the Nobles, he was by the Interregent declared K. in the 170 year after the foundation of Rome, and in the 41st Olympiad. This noble Prince as well for warlike prowess as peaceable policy and government at the length (being above fourscore year old) was forelaid by the secret trains of of the two sons of Ancus, Martius, in the eight and thirty year of his reign, according to Livy and Dionysius, whose judgment we follow: or in the 57th as Oppius, Meffala, Cassius, Eurypus, Caepio, Sex. Pompeius, unto whom accord Dionysius and Livy, who writeth, that the addition of Pr. was given unto him, not by men of that time wherein he lived, but by the age following. But Livy writeth plainly, that he had the surname of Pr. given him, even then when he came first into the City, because he was born before Superbus. He also was called Locomo, and was the son of Demaratus the Corinthian, descended from the family of the Orchidians.

44. Servius Tullius, the last K. of the Romans, reigned four and forty years.

After Pr. Tarquinius was slain presently Servius Tullius was the first that, without any election of the people, yet with the generall consent of the Nobles (took upon him the Roman kingdom, in the year from the foundation of the City 76, Concerning whose conception, we must not let pass that which Pliny writeth in the 56 book after this manner: During the reign of Tarquinus Pr. there appeared suddenly the gentlest member of the masculine sex upon the hearth where the fire was kept, & thenceupon presently a captive woman and bond-servant of Tarquin the Queen, named Ceres, sitting there by the fire side, conceived and was with child; and so was Servius Tullius born, who succeeded in the kingdom. Afterwards as the boy lay asleep within the K.K. palace, his head was seen on a light fire, and supposeth he was the son of the laur L. of that house. In which regard, he illustrated it the Compitibus and planes to the L. Concerning his birth, Plutarch hath written more in his book of the Romans fortune. By the crafty and subtile device of his wives mother Tarquin, he attained to the Crown in the fourth year of the fifth Olympiad, and reigned 44 years: but the villanous compot of Tarquinus his son in law, and Tullia his own daughter and Tarquinus wife, he was most impiously slain in the very street: which thereupon was called Stilurus. As touching the years of this kings reign, there controversy there is among writers: for Livy, Dionysius, and Sallust (whom we have followed) write, that he reigned 44 years: but Meffala Corvinus, Sex. Pompeius, Enobius, Caepio, Sex. Pompeius, and Bede 34 and 40 above. Howbeit, inading those ten to the reign of Tarquinius afterwards, they hinder not this great sum and computation of the years: for they let them down 55, which Livy, Dionysius, and Sallust make but 25. This K. took the name of Servius, by occasion of his own fortune, that his mother Ceres a captive (but a most beautiful and wise woman of Corinth) bare him during her bondage: but Tullius he was called, by the name of his fathers kindred, as Dionysius, which
writeth in his fourth book, reckoning up many acts by him achieved,

25

L. Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh King of Rome, reigned 25 years.

In the second hundred and twentieth year after the foundation of the City, L. Tarquinius the younger, having killed Servius Tullius, entered upon the Roman kingdom with force of arms, nor by Interregent, nor yet any right of law. Superbus he was named for his cruel demeanour, in that he forbade to commit to earth the dead corps of his father in law by him murdered; giving out that Romulus likewise died and lay unburied. He was the son of L. Tarquiniius Priscus the King; as Q. Pisare, Au. Gellius, Lucius Maccers, Vereilius Flaccus, and Livius have written, Howbeit, Dionysius out of L. Pisæ

in his Annals, by most strong reasons disproved their errour, and by the certain computation of the years sheweth how it cannot possibly be so, but rather that he was the son of Tarquiniius Priscus his son, who died in the life of Priscus. Five and twenty years he reigned according to Livy in his first book, Dionysius in his fourth, and Salius in his Polyhistor, But Cato, Deme.iius, Eutropius, and Bede, ascribe unto him five and thirty years, adding unto his reign those ten years which they took from Servius Tullius, and thereby giving occasion of errour to the later writers. Of him Dionysius, Livy, both the Plinies, Gellius, Macrobious, and Eutropius, have written much. Collect then, into one sum the year of these Kings reign, and thereof will arise the number of two hundred forty four.

Of the first Elections of Consuls.

This is the second change of the Common-weal, by occasion that Superbus the King, as well for his inmolate and proud government, as for the villany offered by Sexius the Kings son to Lucræia, was expelled, and liberty recovered: whereupon the over-saing government year by year was committed to two men who were named Prætors, for that they set free the people; then Judges, because they decided their controversies: and finally, Consuls, in that they advised and provided for the good of the Common-weal: as Cicero in the third book of Laws declareth these words: Let there be two invested in royal government: and of ruling, judging, and counsel-giving, be they called Prætors, Judges, and Consuls: let them also have the sovereignty of command in war. Now the first Consuls of Prætors were created by Sp. Lucræia (father of Lucræia, and Interregent for the time) in a generall assembly by the voices of the Centuries, according to the commentaries of Servius Tullius the King. The first Consul had all the rights-prerogatives, and regall enigns of the KK; this, only provided that both of them should not have the rods and saces carried before them, for fear of pretenting any terror to the people. Both of them were chosen out of the Paritii: which for this intent I advettile the Reader of that the progrels of the Common-weal might be known; seeing that in processes of time they came to be created out of the Commons also. Moreover, as concerning the year month and day, when as the first Consuls entered their government, something were to be laid in this place: but because we have spoken before of the variety and dispersion of Authors thereabout: therefore letting pass these circumstances, proceed we to the very Consuls, who by the testimony of all writers were first chosun: namely,

L. Junius Brutus, and L. Tarquiniius Collatinus.

It is recorded by all writers, that L. Junius Brutus, and L. Tarquiniius Collatinus, were the first Coll or Prætors of the Roman people: who in the end of the 244 year, since the foundation of the City and upon the first day of March (after the Tarquiniius K.), the father & the son were expelled the City, in an assembly of the Centuries were solemnly pronounced and declared Coll. But after that Brutus had compiled his Colleague Tarquiniius to reign up his Consulship, either because he was impeacht for the affair and name of the Tarquiniius (as L. Piso in Gellius the 15 book and 29 chap. Livius, Plutarch, and Cicero, do write): or by occasion of a variance between Brutus and Collatinus about the execution of Collatinus his killers son (as Dionysius reporteth): he laboured in his place Pub. Aelius Volusius the son of Volusius, whole helping hand he had used especially in finishing the KK. Of whole Consulship, Polbyius in the third book, Dionysius, Livy, Valerius Max., book 4, chapter, Plutarch in Pop. licola, and Pliny 36 book, chap. 15, have made mention. But Valerius, after that Brutus in his Magistracy was slain by Aruns the son of Superbus: (for the King his father had levied war against the Romans): in a general Court of all the Centuries, took unto him for his companion in government, Sp. Lucræia Tribi. pium the father of Lucræia; and to him (being the elder) submitted the preeminence of sovereignty. And soon after, within few daies upon his death, (for he was very aged) he was turned unto him M. Horatius Polyellus, for his Colleague in the Consulship. The said Valerius was called Poplicola, for that during his Magisl. tracy, he enacted certain laws very popular, and namely, concerning the appeal from the Consuls to the people, and the receiving of the flate-government from the said people, as Livius.
Livius and Dionysius do witness. In the vulgar books, as also in the old written Copies (whether by error or of purpose) we read his name evermore Publicius, but still in one and the same signification. Only the letters are a little altered, which otherwise have much affinity one with another, as Quintius writeth, namely with a, and with b. For in antique titles and inscriptions, you shall read often Publicius for Publicus. To conclude therefore, in the first year after the Kings were exiled, Cic. at Rome were thes, L. Junius Brutus, and Lu. Tar. Collatius, P. Valerius Publicola, Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus, and M. Horatius Palvillus.

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P. Valerius, T. Lucretius.

The Conulship of these two is recorded unto us by Dionysius, Livius and Cassiodorus. Ossorius Panvinius, given unto Lucretius the surname of Tricipitinus, both for that it was a peculiar addition to that house; and also, because by an ancient Chronologer in the records of Cnufinius, he is named Tricipitinus. Now for Publicius, the Etymology thereof according to Sextus, is twofold: For some call him Pub, who hath been brought up at the publicke charges: others again name him fo, who was a ward before he had his name given him.

247

P. Lucretius, P. Valerius Publicola.

Livius calleth this Lucretius by the forename of P, but other books of Titus, Dionysius writeth, that P. Valerius Publicola the third time, and M. Horatius the second time were Co, Plutarch speaketh of the third Conulship only of P. Valerius, Osorius and Sigenius follow Dionysius. As for Cassiodorus, he leaveth out altogether these Consuls.

248

Sp. Lucretius, T. Herminius.

After Publicola the third time, and Pucicoll the second time Consuls, Dionysius hath placed Sp. Lucretius and T. Herminius. The same dooth Cassiodorus. And the book noted by Cassiodorus, under an unknown author, hath in it thus written, Publicola 11, & Pucicoll Rufe & Aquilinos: Valerius Tiberio, Livy omittheth these Consuls, and in their place puttheth down M. Valerius, and P. Pucicollis: But as Sigenius thinketh, the fault is in the writers of the book.

But that this year should necessarily come between, Osorius thinketh, according to the book of M. Tullius Cicero entitled Brutius and certain it is, that Titius Pleccius in his Capitoline tables hath not rejected their Consuls. Now this name Lucretius is derived of Laru, and so ought it to be written, and not Lucretius; as corruptly it is to be seen in some Copies of Livy and Dionysius. As for the surname to Hermioni, Osorius upponeth it to have been Egerius, both for that the mention of that surname appeareth in a fragment of the Capitoline marble, as also because of what family else it should be, no writer ever hath delivered. This Sp. Lucretius was the brother of Titus Lucretius the first Dictator, as writeth Dionysius.

249

M. Valerius, P. Pafimius.

Plutarch, as also Dionysius and Livius writeth, that this M. Valerius was brother to M. Valerius Publicola, and therefore truly is he said to be the fohn of Valerius. Pafimius for his surname had Tiberius. Witness Zonara; together with Plutarch in Publicola, and Dionysius in the fifth and sixth books. Him Dionysius calleth the brother of Quintus, where he treateth of the Consular Embassadors sent unto the Commons in the year 260. This Pafimius, as Osorius teacheth, was by old authors written without the aspiration (b), either because of Pefius, Pafimius, and Pafimius, and so Pafimius is derived, or for that in old time they wrote omnibus without the aid (b). Now is he called Pafimius, who was born late, as Cæcilius writeth in his commentaries of ancient readings. Howbeit, lawyers pronounce the word with the aspiration, and call by that name him only, who was born after his fathers death: and with them accord Varro and Plutarch in the life of Sylus.

250

P. Valerius IIII T. Lucretius.

Dionysius, Livius, Plutarch and Cafoleorbus, report the like for Cic. this year. But the registrers of Cnufinius deliver unto us Publicola the fourth time, and Tricipitinus Valerius Maximi in the fourth book and fourth chapter writeth thus, Valerius Publicola began his Consulship with Brutus; and the same man bare three Consuls afterwards, to the great contentment of the people.

251

Agrippa Menenius, P. Paflimius.

Dionysius hath for Cic. this year, Agrippa Menenius Laetus, and L. Paflimius the second time, Lucius Cafoleorus, Cnufinius book, and the Greek records disagree not from him. Valerius Max. 4, book, 4, cap. corruptly calleth him M. Menenius Agrippa. Now Agrippa are they called, who are born into the world with extraordinary throws & birth-travels of their mothers, namely, not with their heads, but their feet forward, against nature.

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Joins, Zonara, and Cafoleorus, name them Consuls barely thus. Dionysius yet is more liberal, calling Sp. Cestius, Viscellinus; and Opter Virgininus, Tricipitus. But whom Dionysius calleth Castrullus, Cicero in his Latin termeth Caflinius Recellinus, and Cnufinius Kalender, Viscellinus. For fifth of Viscellinus came Viscellinus, and so from thence they derive Viscellinus, Opter (to note that by the way) as Sex. Poppleius hath is his whole father died before his grandfathers And the word foundeth itself much, as if he were born after his fathers death; "ot because he taketh his grandfathers name for his father."

Livy and Caecilinors allow to these no surnames at all. The Sicilian Records give to Sulpicius the addition of Corinnius, like as the Calendar of Cipbonius, and to Tullius of Longus; as also doth Dionysius, who writeth, that Marcus Tullius died in the time of his Magnificacy and that in his place there was none substituted because the year was weare at an end. Of this M. Tullius, Cicero speaketh in his Brutus, saying, As if I should at each my left to be defended of M. Tullius the Patrician, who in the tenth year after the expulsion of the KK, was Cof, with Ser. Sulpicius. This surname Marcus, as Sext. Pompeius faith, cometh hereupon that some one was born here, i.e., in the morn, like as Lucius, who entred into the world by daylight, and in another place, this Man[n]is (ed he) consecrated the field Nemores, from whom many noble and famous men sprung, and continued many years. Wherupon are the Proverbs, Mutti Mati Aricia, i.e., there be many Mutti at Aricia. Moreover, he was called Servius, who came of parents (either both or one at least) which were in bondage, or else, who when his mother was dead, lived still in her womb, and so was saved.

Vetinius, T. Eunius.

The forename of this Vitinius or Vetinius in some Copics of Livy, as Marilus Vetinius in his annals of Cof, is Castor in other Owens in Caecilinors. Lucius in Dionysius Pulilus: who also surnamed Vetinius, Verminius, and T. Eunius Helius, and in some place Vasilius, but faultily; for the late writers also affirm his surname to be Helius. The Greek Records likewise have Helius and Geminius. Moreover, they that write him Vetinius, imitate the ancient manner of putting it, as when they call men Filius, Velius, and Papius; but they who call him Vetinius follow the latter usage. Of this manner Livy speaketh in the year 292.

C. Claudius, T. Lartius.

This say Livy and Caecilinors: but Dionysius Surnamed T. Lartius, Felinus, and Q. Claudius, Siculus, to whom Card the registers both of Caecilinors and Selfy. This T. Lartius is the same, as appeareth by Dionysius, who before was Scof, and therefore is his surname Felinus, rightly added. The house of the Claudi as also of the Juli Sero Li. 17. in with Caecilinors and Quintus, defended from the Alban first, as Dionysius writeth.

An. Sempronius, M. Minucius.

Thus Livy and Caecilinors deliver unto us thei Cof, but Caecilinors register and the Sicilian surname them Ariminus and Augustus, and Dionysius nameth them An. Sempronius, Bessus, and M. Minucius Augustus, albeit he maketh no mention of Ariminus, but in the second Consilius of Minucius. As for Ancus, he was so called, who being new born was nobilitated and folitered by the gods.


Thus are these Cof, set down by Dionysius, Livy, and Caecilinors. And to them verify the Greek records put to the surnames of Albus and Cilimontanor. But the book of Caecilinors ad des Regilenses and Tirisius befoies; so that by them they are thus written, An. Posthumius, Albus Regilenses, and T. Virginius Tirisius Cilimontanor.

App. Claudius, and P. Servilius.

Livius and Caecilinors record these of Cof, this year. The registers as well of Caecilinors as Sicily, Sabins, and Pusilis: But Dionysius much more fully, App. Claudius, Sabins, and P. Servilius Prusil. This App. Claudius was the top of the Claudius kindred, first named, Attius Claudius, and afterwards, App. Claudius, who from Regillius, a City of the Sabins (whereupon he was called, Sabins Regilenses) came to Rome in the twelfth of a fiftieth year after the foundation of the City, and was ranged among the Patricii, as Livy, Dionysius, and Sabinus in Tirisius make report. This man was godlike to that App. Claudius the December. As reaching his forename, there is some difference, where of ye may see Onapius and Martyius in their Kalenders.

A. Virginius, and T. Vetsius.

Here are thus set down by Livy and Caecilinors, as here they be named. Dionysius writeth them, A. Virginius Mucunus, and T. Vetsius Geminus. The registrs of Caecilinors, barely Mucunus and Geminus. The Sicilian Cilimontanor and Geminus. Mucunus and Cilimontanor both are one, Pusilis upon the Nation of Ciceror for Cornelia, calleth them Caecilinors, A. Virginius Tirisius, and L. Virginius Cilimontanor; whereby it may be understood, that both of them had two surnames, to wit, the one, Tirisius Cilimontanor and the other, Geminus Cilimontanor; for to elewhere other writers tellith, Caecilinors obserueth, that this Cilimontanor, is also called Cilimontanor by some writers.
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O Livius and Dionysius, of them speaketh Cicero also in his Oration for Cornelius. But Cassius's books let forth unto us, Vestal senators, & Annomus and The Sicilian records, Annomus, and Vestal senators, and that the name were Contuls together in this yeare, and enterd upon their government the first of September, sooner then the custom was, as Dionysius writeth.

262
T. Gensinus and P. Minutius.

Dionysius in the beginning of the seventh book nameth for Coff. this yeare T. Gensinus Macrinus, and P. Minutius. The same both Livius in the second book, Caiusiores likewise and Efemios. Or the like in the second book and first chapter, leaving out one of their surnames. But the Greek records and Cassiusians book surname them both, the one Marcuserius, the other Angerius. And there are ordinary surnames, this to Minutius, and the former to the Gensan.

263
M. Minutius, and As, Sempironius.

O Livy and Cassius let them down, omitting their surnames, as also the numeral note II. But Dionysius recordeth them fully in this manner, A. Sempironius Aquinianus the second time, and M. Minutius Angerius likewise the second time. This yeare reckoneth Dionysius for the nineteneighth after that Poppisola the Cof. publishe the law of appealing.

264
Sp. Natusius and Sex., Furius.

After A. Sempironius and M. Minutius Coff. Dionysius bringeth in success to them, Q. Sulpicius Camerius, and Sp. Lentius Flavus the second time. Cassiusian regitles, Cornutus and Flavius, the Sicilian, Camerius and Flavius. Moreover, Cornutus is an ordinary surname to the Sulpts, as may be gathered of the Capitoline tables of Rone. And that yeare Coff. are not to be left out, either according to the account of the Capitol, or to make up and digget the sum gathered by Varro, appeareth by the Triumph of P. Valerius, which would not fall to the yeare 279, it we should deduct those Coff.out of the Kalender.

265
T. Siconius and C. Aquilus.

Next after the former Contuls, there followd according to Dionysius, C. Iulius Iulius and P. Pinarus Rufus Contuls. Cassiusian his records deliver unto us, Iulius and Mamerius: But the Greek, Iulius and Rufus. And that Mamerius is a surname to the Pinarus, appeareth by another place. Thence Contuls Livy over-paseth, like as the other the yeare before; upon whom, they that undertook the explication of the Capitoline tables have noted, that there want Contuls for two yeares. So that of himself the like may be said to that which he writeth in the ninth book of Pifo, in this manner: [These Contuls, Pifo bringeth in immediately after Q. Fabius and P. Decius, leaving out two yeares whereof we have reported that Claudius and Polumius were Contuls in the one, and Cornelius with Martius in the other.] Whether he forget them in the digeting of the Annals, or of purpose passed by them (notwithstanding he thought of those two couple of Contuls,) it is uncertain. Moreover, the surname of C. Iulius was transformed every where into Iulius and Tubius; but that it is to be read Iulius, both Martianus, and also after him Polumius likewise. For this surname Iulius is left from Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, and from the said surname is derived the denomination of a family: and therefore Virgils faith, The Iulian house at Rome, first came From Iulius great, a prince of name. And Livy speaking of the same in this wise faith; which Iulius, the house of the Iulian avouch for the author of their name.

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But to leave their things; Sp. Natusius and Sex. Furius, are by Dionysius, Livius, and Cassiusians ranged Contuls in this yeare. In Cassiusian his Annals, there is Rutius, the surname of Natusius, and likewise Vestal in Cassiusians, but in the Sicilian, Natusius and Rufus.

267
Servins Cornelius, Q. Fabius.

According to Livy the Contuls this yeare were T. Siconius, and C. Aquilus, whom Dionysius and Cassiusians name to be T. Siconius and C. Aquilus. The surnames of these by the Greek records and Cassiusians Kalender, were Tuscius and Sabinius. As for Aquilus, he was so called (as Martianae abterver) who was a quilo coloris, of a dusky black, or brownish colour.

268
L. Amylia, L. Furius.

Livy sauceth Contuls for this yeare, Sp. Cassius and Procclus Virginianus and Dionysius sp. Cassius the second time, with Procclus Virginianus, and Diodorus in his eleventh book, unto Virginianus addeth the name Tuscusfur. The Greek records, as also those of Cassiusian make mention of Rutius and Vestal, now as concerning the name of Procclus, some think they be so called, for that they were born when their parents were old, gnaus, Procclus est geregis, tar leapt in yeares.
M. Fabius, L. Valerius, Diodorus, in his said 20 book, declares Q. Fabius Volbulus, and Servius Cornelius Caffius, for this year's Cons. They have done Diodorus Livy, and Caffiadorni, saying that they leave out the story of Caffius, (though it may be resolved) men were named Caffi in the old time, who had rivel'd and wrinkled bodies, like to the wood-worms breeding in trees, called Caffius. Diodorus in his 17 book and 24 chapter, says: Ryo and varnishes hath brought the use at the table of the damner wood-worms breeding in oaks. Hereupon Saint Jerome against Tertullian: In Ptolemy (quoth he) and Philo, it is counted high and delicate fare to eat Xyl phlogiston, to be called their plump and fat worms which came of rotten wood, and among them are reckoned to yield a great revenue and commodity to the housetaker. Of them the Romans took their names of Caffius, Caffius, Caffius, and Caffius.

Q. Fabius, C. Iulius.

L. Emilius the son of Mammertus, and C. Fabius the son of Confuli, are by Diodorus recorded the Consuls of this year. Livy and Caffiadorni approved the fame. Diodorus likewise, saying that he addeth to L. Emilius the surname of Mammertus: but they leave out the fore names of their fathers. The Greek records have Mammertus and Fabius. As for the surname of Mammertus, Diodorus give it unto Emilius himself in the third Consulship. Moreover, Sex. Pompeius affirmeth, that the kindred Emilia took name of Mammertus the son of Pythagoras the Philosopher, who for his singular humanitie, was the surname Emilius, but as he saith Emilius was a name and not a surname. Now was this Emilius the son of Mammertus, as witnesses Diodorus.


M. Fabius, C. M. Manlius.

Diodorus matcheth together in the Consulship this year, C. Iulius and Q. Fabius. Livius and Caffiadorni, Q. Fabius and C. Manlius. The Sicilian regiters and Caffiadorni Iulius and Fabius.

K. Fabius, T. Virginiss.

Diodorus writeth, that C. Fabius the second time, and Sp. Virginiss Iulius were Confuls this year: but Livy, and Caffiadorni put in head of them, Q. Fabius and C. Iulius. The Sicilian regiters, as also Caffiadorni, Iulius and Fabius.

L. Emilius, T. Servius.

By the testimony of Diodorus, there followed Confuls next after, M. Fabius the second time, and C. Manlius. But Diodorus, Livius, and Caffiadorni, deliver unto us M. Fabius and C. Manlius for Confuls. The Greek records, name Fabius the second time, and C. Manlius, Caffiadorni book hath Volbulus the third time. The Capitoline stone neweth, C. Manlius the son of Publius. 

C. Horatius, T. Menenius.

P. Virginiss, C. Servius, Diodorus in Diodorus, and Diodorus, make report of Caff Fabius to have been Conful this year with T. Virginissus the Sicil regiters, Fabius with Rustius Diodorus, of a Conful the brother of the Conful, which gave him his place, was a third Consul this year. And Livy saith, that T. Virginissus Rustius died in time of the pestilence the 290 year.

A. Virginiss, Sp. Servius.

According to Livy, Diodorus, and Caffiadorni, the Consuls this year were L. Emilius and C. Servius; but Diodorus nameth, L. Emilius Mammertus with C. Cornelia Lusnaus: the Sicilian regiters, Amilus with Efginius. Another fragment of the Capitoline stone, only Servius Adda: with Efginius substituteth in his room. Moreover, Mammertus (as Sex. Pompeius writeth) is an Oecane fore-name; who addeth, that the house Emilius was so called of Mammertus the son of Pythagoras the Philosopher, who for his passing courtesie was lurnamed Emilius.

C. Nautilis, P. Valerius.

L. Virginiss, Caffiadorni, Diodorus, and Diodorus, put down for Conv. T. Menenius and C. Horatius. As for Diodorus, he addeth unto Horatius the surname of Patellinus; and the Capitoline stone lurnamed Menenius, Lusnaus. And even in both the Caffiadorni Calendar and the Sicilian regiters, are to be seen Lusnaus and Patellinus. Of theselfe Confs, Caffiadorni make mention in the 17 book & 13 chap. but not without fault.

L. Erius, A. Manlius.

L. Virginiss, Caffiadorni, and Diodorus, let down for Conv. A. Virginissus and Servius Servius, Diodorus, A. Virginissus Tricofrus, and C. Servius Servius. In Caffiadorni his kalender, Virginissus, for his surname hath Rustius: and the Capitol in roles, give Servius to Servius; the Sicilian records have both.
L. Eumylis, Opiter, Virginins, or, Popisus Iulius,

For and Caddedorus nominat for this year CoIs. L. Papiri, and A. Namins, Dionysus, P. Valerius, and C. Nautins, Diodes, P. Valerius, Popisus, and C. Namins, Rarus. The Sicilian regentes, thus Namins and Popisus, Capiolins, and Rarus. The Capital bones, having for Rarus, Rarus: like as Dionysus before in Lautins, for Rarus puteth down Flavins.

279
L. Papiri, P. Furini.


280


Dionysus would have L. Eumylis Manner- ens to be Conul the third time this year, with Volosus Iulius: but Livis, L. Eumylis and Opiter Virginins. Howbeit he faith that in some Annals he found Popisus Iulius, in feed of Virginins. And them Diodorus, the Greek records, and the avowers of the Conuls tables within the Capitol, have followed. In the fragments whereof is read Iulius, which is a furnish- ing of the Iulius. And therefore in the Sicilian regentes, it is thus written, Eumylis and Iulius; but in those of Capiolins, Mannerens, and Popisus, Caddedorus hath followed Livis. Moreover, Appius is a peculiar name of the Claudius, which no citizen else of Rome died: because it was a strange name.

282
L. Valerius, T. Eumylis.

Livins, Dionysus, and Caddedorus, name for this year Conuls, L. Papiri, and Lu. Furini, Diodes, L. Paterius Mannerens, and P. Furins cannot but vallueably, as Sigenins and Onuphins think. Of these CoI. M. Vario maketh mention and Macrobius in the first book of the Saturnins.

283
T. Numanins Prifenis, A. Virginins.

Dionysus faith, the Conuls of this year were App. Claudius the son of Appius, Pomerius Sabius, and T. Quintins Capiolins, Livis leaveth out their furnames.

284
T. Quintins, P. Servilins.

Joy and Caddedorus let down for Conuls this year, T. Eumylis and L. Valerius. Dio-

285
T. Eumylis, Q. Fabius.

Dionysus, faith for Conuls this year, A. Virginins Montanus (whom the Greek records call Calimontanus) and T. Numanins Prifenis, Diodes, Livins, and Caddedorus, conceal their furnames: and whom the Sicilian regentes name Calimontanus; Capiolins calleth Numanins.

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In Dionysus we read for this year Conuls Quinins Capiolins, and Q. Servilins Prifenis, Livins and Caddedorus, are silent for their furnames: but in Diodorus there be T. Quintins, & Q. Servilins. In Capiolins Kalender, Capiolins and Prifenis in the Sicilian regentes, Calimontanus and Prifenis.

287
Q. Fabius, T. Quintins.

Livins, and Caddedorus match together in Conuls with this year, T. Eumylis and Q. Fabius. Dionysus, T. Eumylis the II. time, and Q. Fabius, The Sicilian regentes, Eumylis & Vibulins, Capiolins Mannerens and Vibulins, Diodes, Eumylis Mannerens and Q. Fabius Vibulins. This is that Fabius who after wardes was four times Conul and was the only Fabius that surived, when the Fabii were slain in Cre- miera: not a child at the time of fourteen years of age, but a servicable and an active man of his hands, (as Dionysus reporteth) and was the son of Marcus, a man who had been Conul;

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This year had for Conuls, Q. Servilins and Sp. Paphhumins, as Livy and Caddedorus report: but Prifenis and Albus, as Capiolins faith. And by Dionysus his tellimony, Sp. Paphhumins, Albus, and Servilins, Prifenis the second time; Diodorus nameth Q. Servilins Prifenis the second time; but Diodorus nameth Q. Servilins & Sp. Paphhumins Albus. Howbeit, in the fragment of the Capitol marble, Sp. Paphhumins a furnamed Albus Regillus, and not Albus, and so Marilins thinketh it ought to be read.

289
L. Livins, T. Quintins, Q. Fabius

Caddedorus, T. Quintins the second time, and Q. Fabius the second time. Diodorus, T. Quinis Capiolins, and Q. Fabius, Dionysus Tt. Quintins Capiolins the third time, and Q. Fabius Vibulins the second time.

Still 2
According to the Capitoline table, 

**L. Lucetius Trecipitis, T. Vetinius Gemnius**

According to the Capitoline table, Anius Polibius; out of Livy, Dionysius, and Cassiodorus, Pub, Enuis Fusus, are noted for Consul this year. Diiodorus puteth to Fusus the only gentle surname Mealiinis: for Fusus. This A. Polibius was the son of A. Polibius: the dictator.

P. Volmissus, Serv. Sulpius.


C. Claudius, son of Appius, P. Valerius Pollicola.


Q. Fabius Vulbius, III. L. Corneli, Maliginus.

Livy and Cassiodorus profess for Consul this year, P. Volmissus and Serv. Sulpius, Dionysius, P. Volmissus, and Serv. Sulpius Cameornis. The Capitol marbles have P. Volmissus Amantius Galley. Of the same Consul Valerius speaks in, his first book and sixth chapter.

L. Minemnis, C. Natrius.

Livy and Dionysius name, P. Valerius Publilica, and C. Claudius Sabinius: Consuls for this year: Diodorus, P. Valerius Pollicola, and C. Claudius R. egilinnus. The Sicilian regillers & Casspius, call them Pollicola and Sabinius. The Capitoline marble hath this record, P. Valerius P. F. [son of P.] Volvis N. i., the sons son of Volvicus, surnamed Pollicola, but Livy, Dionysius, Orovins & that they have ranged the Co. in the Capitol, have reported that P. Valerius the Consul was slain in the battle against the bondslaves who this year (under the leading of Ap. Herinnus the Sabine) held the Capitol by force, and that in his Read L. Quintius Cincinnatus was substituted.

Q. Minemnis, C. Horatius Pulvillius.

Livy, together with Cassiodorus, declare for Consul this year, Q. Fabius the third time, and L. Cornelius Maliginus, Dionysius, Q. Fabius, Vulbinus the third time, and L. Cornelius: Diodorus, Q. Fabius Vulbinus and L. Cornelius Again, the Sicilian regillers, and Casspius Vulbinus and Maliginus. The Capitol marble, C. Fabius Vulbinus the third time.

M. Valerius, Sp. Virgininius.

Both Livy and Cassiodorus, deliver unto us for Consul, L. Minemnis and C. Natrius, Dionysius, L. Minemnis and C. Natrius the second time, Diodorus, Minemnis, naffiis, and C. Natrius, Ruffinius. The Capitol Romes C. Natrius, and C. Ruffinius the second time. What this surname naffiis should mean, Siganius, and Onuppius, contesse they know nor, and think in Read thereof; we should read for Siganius, Valerius, Maximus (5 book 2 chap.) thyroidal pecions were the Consul corruptly, Q. for Natrius and Minemnis.


Livy and Cassiodorus name for Cons. this year Q. Minemnis and M. Horatius Pulvillius; but herein they do amiss, as Siganius and Onuppius susposst for the same Livy writeth, that Caint Horatius Pulvillus died being Augur in the year 302, Diodorus nameth L. Polbimnus and M. Horatius, Dionysius Q. Horatius and Q. Minemnis, The Capitol records, C. Horatius Pulvillus, and the Sicilian regillers, Pulvillus and Augurinus.


In Livy and Cassiodorus, and Dionysius, we find Cons. this year, [Valerius with S. Virgininius. But in the twelfth book of Diodorus M. Valerius Laelius, and S. Virgininius Tricostus. In Casspius Kalender Maximus and Calimontinus. In the Sicilian, Maximus and Virginins. In that of the Capitol, M. Valerius Max. As for Laelius, Plince theweth, that it is a surname of the Valeriii. Of these Consuls also, Conferius maketh mention in his discourse of the plate called Seculars'

P. Cariarius, Sext. Quinquilus.

T. Livius. P. Sestius Capitolinus.

Sparius Tarpeius son of M. and nephew of M. furnamed Montanus Capitolinus, the Kalender of Verres Flaccus shewed unto us for one Conulis this year. Of whom, Diodorus, Dioyesius, Livy, Pedanius, upon Cicero his notation for Cornelius, and Caffodorus make mention only of the surnames. Capitoinus book, and the Greek records, have Capitolinus. As for his colleague, they differ and disagree. For Diodorus would have him to be Anius Aferius Ventudalis; but Dionysius Anius Tereminius. Livy and Pliny, the seventh book, chapter seven and twenty, A. Servius. Sestius chapter q, Cest. t book, chapter II. A. Servius. Latly, Caffodorus, Aw. Aferius, whom Sestius and Omphrhis follow.


Livy and Caffodorus likewise report for this yeer Conulis, Sext. Quintusius and P. Carrius. Dionysius, Sex. Quintusius and Heratus, Diodorus, Ext. Quintusius Tergemius. The Capitol flowed his name Sex. Quintusius, son of Sex. nephew of Pub. For this surname Tergemius is common both to the Horatii and Curatii, but Sestius and Omphrhis allow Horatii rather.

Sex. Quintusius son of Sexius, nephew of Pub.

To this Conulis the Greek records give the turn of Varns, and to the Capitoline tables of those do represent him. But Dionysius, Dionysius, Livy, and Caffodorus deliver the same man unto us without the surname. Who was his colleague, it is doubtful. For by Dionysius is was P. Horatius: by Livy and Caffodorus, Pub. Curatius: by Diodorus, Tergemius, which is the surname as well of the Curtius, as the Horatius. Omphrhis rather approveth of Curtius.

Decemvirs Consular.

Livy and Diodorus, together with the Capitoline regislers (as far forth as may be gathered by the broken fragments of the tables) shew that App. Claudius and T. Genius were Cofl. elect for this year, but they resigned the place, in regard of creating Decemvirs. Now at this touching this Decemvirs, the law Terentius brought it into the common weal: that law A. Terentius Argus, a Tribune of the Commons promulged as touching five Quinquevirs to be created, who should set down laws to guide the Commons authority. For the Commons complained, that their government was too vast and tolerable, and therefore required that it should be abated and made more moderate. But this law, after he had been for five years toge-ther, was but abated by the Trib. to no effect.

In the end waxed cold again, by reason that the said Trib obtained a great to double their own number. But afterwards upon the occasion that Romulus and Petronius the Coastlare themselves to extrem in rigor against the Com. refusing warfare, the said law was set on foot again, and but followed more holily then before. Whereupon upon the L. I. of the Senat were doubtefull what to do: at length they resolved upon this, whereof the principal adviser was T. Romilius) to create certain lawgivers, who should set down the rights and privileges both of nobles and commons. And look what ordinances by them were decreed, the same should bind both the one part and the other. The Com. agreed to this determination: and three Em-}
bare the soveraigne port, with his i 2 Liüors before him; the other nine had but one sergeant apeece to give attendance: and the singular concord among themselves, which otherwises was an agreement profitable when they were private, proved exceeding great equity to others.

By this time the Commons, besides that they deteated the name of Coff, no less than KK, found no mifs of the Tribuns afference, nor sought once after it, seeing the Decemvirs yield one onto another in reciprocal appealing. With great affection therefore and endeavour, as well of nobles as commons, there were created for this year also Decemvirs in Consuls authority absolutely without appeal, Ap. Claudius the second time, Q. Fabius who had been four times Consul, M. Cornélus Malagonius brother of L. Cornelius, who had been Consul in the year 295; M. Sergius, L. Minucius, T. Antonius Merenda, M. Rabulius: and three likewife of the Commons, Q. Petitus, K. Dalinius, and Sp. Oppius Cornicius, as witneseth Diodorus, Dionysius, and Livy: although the gentle names for the most part are by Diodorus omitted.

W hen the more part of the former yer was past, and that upon the adding of two other tables to the former ten, there remained no more to doe, (in case the said tables were once in the high court and assembly of the Centuries passed) why the common-wealth should have any need of the Decemvirs, inso- much as the commons expected, that soon after, the solemn court and assembly aforesaid for creation of Consuls should be publishéd: then the Decemvirs without any word at all made of that election or assembly, came aboard guarded with whole troops of young gentlemen Patricians, and demeaned themselves more proudly and insolently to every man. But before the year was fullyexpired, by occasion of the lecherous list of Ap. Claudius, who challenged a maiden (one of the commons daughters) as a bond-servant, according as Livy more at large writeth: and also of the commons insolent and departing into the Avenue, the foresaid Decemvirs gave over their Magisunity; and when Q. Fabius the high Pontifex called a general assembly of the tribes, ten Tribuns of the Commons were again chosen: and so at length in another assembly of Centuries for the Consuls, holden by the Interregent, created there were Consuls,

L. Valerius Petitus, M. Haratius Barbaeus.

The Consuls Ouphrósis caieth upon a third year of the Decemvirs (although Livy feemeth to differ) to the end that he might jump with the account of the Capitol, which he supposeth to be collected by Varro for by their calculation the triumphs of these Consuls declared in the Capitol records, are engraven upon this very year, i. 304: so as it appeareth evidently, that part of this year was taken up by the Decemvirs, and part by the Consuls, Tácitus and Rufus write, that the Decemvirs continued but two years.

L. Livius puteth down for Consuls, Sp. Heremius and T. Verginius Calvus Animus, C. Diodorus faith L. Heremius and T. Verginius, Dionsis writeth, L. Heremius, T. Diodorus thus: L. Heremius, T. Diodorus the Greek records, Heremius, Tirofis: whereby Ouphrósis feareth that it is corruply written in Diodorus, Struilius for Tirofis: for Struilius was a surname of the Servili and not of the Virginis. As for his colleague Heremius, that he is to be fore-named Lar, besides Diodorus and Dionsis, Valerius also sheweth in his tenth book, where he writeth thus: The fore-name of Lar is derived from the Laris.

M. Gregorius Macerinus, C. Juluis.

Thefe are recorded likewise to be the Consuls this year. The surname Macerinus is supprefed by Caffidorus and Diodorus, who also nameth the other L. Juluis. In Dionsis certain pages be wanting in this place, Caflinius his Kalender hath for Macerinus, Macerinus.

T. Quinxtus Capitolinus III. Agrippa Furius.

Dionsis and Livy both, name the Coff, of this year, T. Quinxtus Capitolinus the fourth time, and Agrippa Furius, Diodorus and Caffidorus conceal the surname and the numeral note of four. The Greek records have Furius and Capitolinhus, Ouphrósis unto Furius addeth the surnames of the grandfere, to wit, Medullinus Furius.

M. Genutius, C. Curtius.

Livy deliveth unto us for Coff, this year, M. Genutius, and P. Curtius, Caffidorus likewise M. Genutius and P. Curtius: but Dionsis, M. Genutius and C. Quinxtus: and Diodorus hath, M. Genutius and Agrippa Curtius Chilo. But as Sigonius, and after him Ouphrósis have noted, it is fully read in Livy, Curtius for Curtius; and that is proved by the authority of Varro de lingua Latina: and therefore in the Sicilian registers written they are, Genutius and Curtius.

A. Semp. Atratus, Military Tribus in Cons, T. Claudius, Sula to the authority whose L. Asilus, designation Consuls were chosen in their rooms.

L. Paprinos Magilanus, L. Sempronius Atratus.

W hen C. Cannelius a Tribune of the Commons, had the former year published a second
second law. That one of the Consuls should be created out of the Commons, (whereby the dignity of the Patricians was emaii) the nobles fearing lest the said law would pass in deed, managed their heads, drew to a point: whereof C. Clodius made the first motion and was the adviser. That in stead of Consuls there should be created military Tribunes, three of the Patricians, and as many of the Commons; who being endowed with Consular authority, should govern the common-wealth. Also, that when their years government was expired, the advice both of Senate and the people should be once again required, Whether they would have Consuls rather than Tribunes consul? and look which pleased them; they should be created. These points being resolved upon and decreed, three military Tribunes were created only, all Patricians: and well enough were the Commons content therewith, because themselves were eligible and capable of that dignity. Howbeit, this regiment of theirs newly set up, stood not firmly established. For within three months after, by a decree of the Augurs, they resigned up their honourable place, as if there had been some error committed in their election: and then T. Quintus Barbatus (nominated Intercursus) created Consuls, L. Papirius Mucianus, and L. Sempronius Aretius. The Consuls are left out in the Sicilian registers. Well faith Livy therefore, that these Consuls are found neither in ancient annals and yearly records, nor yet in the Kalender of the Magistrates. But Cicero makes mention of them in his Epistle to Papirius Paccus.

311. M. Papirius Mucianus, T. Quintus Capitolinus.

Dionysus and Cassiodorus avouch these for Consuls this year. As for Dionysius, he faid that they entered in the month of December. Cassius concealeth both their surnames, and Diodorus the one, namely, Capitolinus. The Greek records have Mucianus the second time, and Capitolinus the third time, Zonaras nameth them Mucianus and Barbatus.

312. M. Fab. Vibullianus, Poemenius Ebunius Corneminus.

Livy faid, that Consuls of this year, were fo named, Diodorus and Cassiodorus are silent in their surnames. The Greek records have Vibullianus and Helena, Diodorus attributeth to Ebunius the surname of Ebunius, but what manner of addition that might be, Sopodria knoweth not, and thinketh that it should be read, Ebunius.

313. C. Forbis Pacilus, M. Papirius Cassius.

These Consuls by Livy and Cassiodorus are in the same represented unto us. But by Diodorus after this, Q. Forbis Eufius, and Mucianus Papirius Cassius. And by the Greek records thus, Pacius and Cassius.

P. Papirius Mucianus, L. Mucianus Lusanius.

Livy and Cassiodorus, deliver these Consuls thus fully named, Proculus Geganius Macrinus, and L. Mucianus Lusanius, Diodorus, T. Mucianus, and Proculus Geganius Macrinus. The Sicilian registers, Mucianus and Lusanius.

315. T. Quintus, Capitellius VI, A. Mucianus Lusanius.

By Livy and Cassiodorus, there were the Consuls for this year; but after Diodorus, T. Quintus, and T. Mucianus. According to the Sicilian rolls, Mucianus and Capitolinus.


The Tribunes of the Commons imported and prevailed, that there should be an election holden for Tribunes military, rather than Consuls: making no doubt, but in the chusing of six (for so many now by law might be created) some of the committers by making profession that they would be revenged for the death of Mucianus, would step into the place: howbeit the Commons created no more than three Tribunes with Consular authority, and among them L. Quintus the son of Cincinnatus. In which election, Mucianus Eumylus, a right honorable man and of great worth, was by their suffrages preferred before Q. Initials, and Lucius they made the third. In like manner, Diodorus nameth three Tribunes military for this year; but in this fort, M. Eumylus Mancius, C. Julius, and L. Quintus.


When the Commons, together with their Tribunes were quiet, and carefully regarded the main state of the Common-wealth, no question there was not controversy, but that Caffu, were chosen, to wit, M. Papirius Mucianus the third time, and L. Sergius, to wit Livius, Cassiodurus doth the time, but that he fetteth down the names of the Caffu, only in this wife, M. Papirius the third time, and L. Sergius, without surnames, Diodorus likewise, M. Papirius and L. Sergius, Caffianus Kalender, and the Sicilian registers, Mucianus and Fidenus. For this Sergius was surnamed Fidenus (as Livy reporteth) by occasion of the war which he made against the Fidenus.


Livy and Cassiodurus report these above-named for this year Consuls, Diodorus nameth them, L. Papirius and A. Corn, Mucianus: but doublets not without error, as Sopodria supposed: for both in Caffianus Kalender and the rolls of Sicily, we find Maluginensis and Cassius.
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M. Fabius Vibulans. Tribunes militaries in Consuls authority.
M. Sergius Veditus, L. Fesitus.

The Tribunes of the Commons in their omissions continually forbid the the elections of Consuls: and when they had brought it so about, that the government was at the point of interregency, they war the matter in the end, that the military Tribunes might be chosen with Consular authority. But reward of this victory which they Shot at, namely, to have a commoner created, they obtained none: for out of the Patritii, namely M. Fabius Vibulans, M. Fesitus, L. Sergius Veditus. Thus much Livy, Diodorus; likewise nameth there: but corruptly, to wit, M. Fabius, M. Gallicus, and L. Servilius. As for Fesitus, in some of the Capitol monuments, he is written Flaccus or and not Fesitus, as in the common editions of Livy, whom Diodorus calleth Gallicus.

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L. Panarius Mamercus, L. Furius Medullinus, C. Publilius Albus, Tribunes military in Consuls authority.

No motion was made of Consuls election, So Tribunes military were created in Consuls authority thele, P. Panarius Mamercus, L. Furius Medullinus, and S. Publilius Albus;

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T. Quintius, son of Lucius. Consul and Proconsul.


C. Furius, A. Cornelius Cossus.

T. Quintius, son of Lucius. Consul and Proconsul.

C. Cunius. Proconsul.

L. Servius Vatinius. Proconsul.

T. Quantius, son of Lucius. Proconsul.

L. Servius Vatinius. Proconsul.

C. Cunius. Proconsul.

A. Cornelius Cossus. Proconsul.

C. Furius. Proconsul.

T. Quintius, son of Lucius. Proconsul.

C. Cunius. Proconsul.

L. Servius Vatinius. Proconsul.

C. Cunius. Proconsul.

A. Cornelius Cossus. Proconsul.

C. Furius. Proconsul.

T. Quintius, son of Lucius. Proconsul.

C. Cunius. Proconsul.

L. Servius Vatinius. Proconsul.

C. Cunius. Proconsul.

A. Cornelius Cossus. Proconsul.

C. Furius. Proconsul.
T he Commons carried is clear, that no Consul this year were created for four there were elected military Tribunes in Consuls authority; namely, T. Quintus Penum immediately up-on his Consulship, M. Pfeunianus, C. Furius, & C. Cornelius, Cossar. Thus writeth Livy; and the same Diodorus nameth.

329
A. Sempronius Atratianus.  
L. Quintus Cincinnatus.  
Tribuns Military in 
L. Furris Medullinus.  
Consuls authority.  
L. Horatius Barbatus.

These abovenamed (as Livy reporteth) were Tribuns military in Consuls authority this year. Diodorus leaveth out their surnames, and L. Horatius full and whole.

330
L. Sergius Vidius.  
Sex. Julius Lusius.  
Sen..  

These Tribunes military in Consuls authority, Livy leeteth down for this year. The same both Diodorus also nameth, all but their surnames, and App. Claudius whom he called Tri-tai. Livy moreover saith, that there were two of them, Quintus Numiani Sidulius, Tribunes in those days: but no doubt, as Diodorus thinketh, there is some error in the copies of the book the one who is now the first time, and a second time shall be in the year 338: the other, who was full in the year 335, and once again in the year 359. The Capitol monuments of Rome have the time: but they shew that the one was but once, and the other three times.

331
C. Sempronius Atratianus. Q. Fabius Vabicilus.

The Consuls this year were created according to Livius and Cassiodorus, C. Sempronius Atratianus and Q. Fabius Vabicilus, [Diodorus overpaith them] whom Livy reporteth to have entred into government, upon the ideas of December. Of C. Sempronius Atratianus Consul, Valerius writeth six book, exp. 5, whom he forenameth Lucius: but in the third book and second chapter, he speaketh of both, although antically; for Q. Fabius, he nameth Q. Capuaus.

332
L. Mauilius Capitolinus.  
Q. Annius Merenda.  
Tribuns military in 
L. Papius Magullanus.  
Consuls authority.  
L. Servilius Sturillus.  

The Senate being offended with the very name of Consuls for the hatred they bare to Sempronius, commanded Tribuns military to be created with Consuls authority. And where they were, L. Mauilius Capitolinus, Q. Annius Merenda, and Papius Magullanus. Thus much Livy, in whose story the name is mistaking, to wit, L. Servilius Sturillus, who in the year 337, is found engraved in the Capitol stones. Tribuns military, the second time; Of these, Diodorus saith not a word. In a fragment of the Capitoline marble, there is to be seen the surnames of Magullanus, belonging to L. Popius.

333
T. Quintius Capitolinus, N. Fabius Vabicilus.

N ot only Livy, but Cassiodorus also recordeth that the Consul this year were M. Fabius Vib- cilus and T. Quintus Capitolinus. Diodorus overpaith them; but do not the Sicilian regifterers in a fragment of the Capitol marble, we find engraven T. Quintus Capitolinus Barbatus and N. Fabius. This Fabius was the son of Q. Fabius the Decemvir, who after the 300 Fabius slain in Cremona, liveth, and was the first of all that kindred and family surnamed Fa-bius: as Valerius Maximi in his 30 book, and Sex. Pompeius do report. As for T. Quintius for he was (as Livy writeth) to that Capitolinus who was Consul six times.

334
An Interregency.

When the greater part of the year was spent in troubles and contentions, between the new Trib., of the Commons and certain Interregents, while the Tribuns one while would not suffer the Patritii to go together about the declaring of an interregent, and another while impeached the Interregent that he could not pass an act of the Senate for the election of Consuls as length L. Papius Magullanus the interregent, by rebuking as well the Senators as the Tribunes of the Commons, prevailed, that an assembly should be held for choosing of Tribuns confiner, so there were created Tribuns military with Consuls authority, and all Patritii, T. Quintius Cincinnatus the third time, L. Furius Medullinus, M. Manlius, L. Sempronius Atratianus, Thus much Livy.

335
A. Menenius Lanatus.  
P. Lurcriius Tricipitinus.  
Trib. military in Consuls authority.  
C. Servilius.  

Military Tribuns with Consuls authority for this year, are let down by Livy Agrippa, Menenius Lanatus, P. Lurcriius Tricipitinus, and P. Numia: for the name of the fourth wanting; and that was C. Servilius, son of Quintius and nephew of Catius, surnamed Axil-los; who the year following, in the Capitol tables is numbered among the Tribuns confiner, with the numeral note of II. So ass it must needs be, that he was the first time in the year, for as much as no other fit void place left for him. Diodorus nameth Sp. Vetulius.
The Chronicle

L. Sergius Fides, M. Papirius Amigillanus, C. Servilius Priscus

For Tribunes Consular this year, Liuv names the. This C. Servilius is by Verres Placent named Axilla. Diodorus calleth them L. Sergius, M. Servilius, and M. Papirius. Now this M. Papirius was son to L. Papirius Magillanus the Centor.


Only these are by Liuv recorded: but that the pen-men who wrote out the books, left out the fourth Tribune of this year Quintus Fabius, son of Quintus, nephew of Marcus, named also Pibiulm). The Capitoline stones and Diodorus do tell the same name. Liuv himself doth also write this name, who writeth that Quumius Fabius was Tribune military the second time, in the year three hundred and forty; but in what year he was first, it appears not. Moreover, Agrippa is by Verres Placent named the son of Lucius and nephew of Aulus. Diodorus recketh all four, but he conceal the names.

P. Cornelius Cossio, Q. Cincinnatus, C. Valerius Potius, N. Fabius Vibilius.

He doth Liuv deliver unto us for Tribunes military this year: Diodorus, Titus Pestiunimus, Cn. Cornelius, C. Valerius, and Cn. Fabius. But Verres Flacent nameth P. Pestiunimus son of A. nephew of Aulus; whom Liuv writeth to have been

Tribunes militari

Cn. Cornelius Cossio, C. Fabius Medullinus.

Then the Noble and LL. of the Senate imported, that there should be Consuls created in the Centurial assembly, which Q. Fabius held. And the Consuls were M. Cornelius Cossio, and L. Fabius Medullinus. The name are named by Diodorus, and Caffector, but that they leave out their names. The Greek records have Cossio, and Medullinus.

Q. Fabius Ambustius, C. Fabius Pusillus.

Liuv and Caffector name these for Consuls Diodorus, supplupeth their names.

M. Papirius, C. Numilius Rufius.

Both Liuv and Caffector report for this year Consuls, M. Papirius and C. Numilius Rufius. Diodorus hath not a word of the names. Caffector book letteth them down by the names only Magillanus and Rufius.

M. Amylius, C. Valerius.

Liuv and Caffector call them Consuls, C. Amylius and C. Valerius. Diodorus in the list of M. hath M. i., Manus, this Amylius in the table of the Capitol, named in his first and third Tribunship, M. Amylius, son of Manus, nephew of M., and surname Manusius.

Cn. Cornelius Cossio, L. Fabius Medullinus.

Liuv putteth these down for the Consuls of this year. Caffector putteth over their names and the numeral note of two. Diodorus hath L. Fabius and Ca. Pompeius; but he is to be written Cn. Cornelius, out of the end of a broken fragment in the Capitol; and the other L. Fabius, by his Tribunship testify'd in the Capitol records.

C. Iulius Julius, P. Cornelius Cossio, Cn. Valerius Abala.

These are let down for Tribunes military this year by T. Livius. Diodorus saith nothing of their names, which the Capitol tables exhibit unto us. Cn. Servilius is written in the second Tribunship (after the Capitol records) the son of Pubiis, and nephew of Q. furnamed Abala.

Cn. Cornelius Cossio, L. Valerius Potius, Q. Fabius Vibilius, M. Pestiunimus Regicentius.

Thee declareth Livius; for this year, but Diodorus, Titus Pestiunimus, Cn. Cornelius, C. Valerius, and Cn. Fabius. But Verres Flacent nameth P. Pestiunimus son of A. nephew also of Aulus; whom Liuv writeth to have been
Lyre, recollect, that the four Tribunes con- ulilar were all Patruii this year, & had boen that dignity once before, to wit, L. Varus Medul- linius, C, Valerius Postius, N. Fabius Vibulianus, and C. Servilius Abala; and then this man last named was chosen again and continued in his place till this year with the former, as well in regard of other virtues as for the fresh favour and late grace gotten by his singular moderation and rare carriage in his government. Diodor- rarch C. Furtus C. Servilius C. Valerius, and N. Fabius. In the Capitoline tables, two are written short, Postivius Volusius III and Medullinius, the other two as full, whereby it doth appear as Omyphus reporteth, that Lys was deceived. For Medullinius was not this year Tribune the second time, but the first: who had been twice Consul before, and after this year, will be no less than seven times Tribune militiary.

348
L. Cornelia Cossus, N. Fabius Ambassius, Cn. Cornelius Cossus, L. Valerius Postius.
Of these four Tribunes military, I. Valerius Postius and N. Fabius Ambassius stand upon record in the Capitol tables; the other two, as appeareth by a fragment thereof, by I. Loy- alo and Cestius, were Pub. Cornelius, son of Amilus, nephew of M. Ruckius Cossus, to written by his dictation. Diodorus reckoneth Ten- tus Maximus for the fourth Tribune.

349
Diodorus, faith, that this year six Tribunes were created, but he nameth but three, T. Quinctius Cetubianus, C. Iulius, and An. Man-lius, I. Loy reheareth them all as here they be let down. The Capitoline stone LII, I. Co- pilinius Barbatus, Cestius, and the other three. And this was the first year that had six Tribunes military, notwithstanding that the law permitted it before, at what time as full it was granted that Tribunes should be created; and in this year began the siege first before Feii.

350
I. Loy recketh all these Tribunes this year, L. Diodorus puteth down Lm. Iulius, M. Furius, Amyntius Mamercus, Camu Cetubianus, C. Fabius Malagostus, but amisse. In the frag- ments of the Capitol, they are thus named, La- Iius Iulius, A. Malus, nephew of P. Poplius Iurnalle Iulius, Marcus Amyntius, I. Iulius, nephew of M. Furtus, nephew of Marcus Amyntius, I. Iulius, nephew of Marcus, nephew of L. Iulius, nephew of Qu. Ambassius the second time. These were commanded to enter into government upon the first day of October (whereas the thirteenth of December was the usual day before time). I. Loy recketh of an overthrow received the former year at Feii by M. Sergius. Camus made an expedition in the Silkian country, Cornelius to the Capeans, Varus to the Volscians for the recovery of Anxuni, Amynti- us and Fabius to besiege Feii.

351
I. Loy writeth that the number of Tribunes militiary were by the Romans augmented, and eight of them created, which were more then ever any time before, whose names we have let down. In Diodorus they are thus named, Marcus Claudius, Mar. Quinctius, Lm. Iulius, M. Furtus, L. Iulius. And albeit there be wanting in some Tribunes, yet Omyphus thinketh, and doth Sigoth, that himself by his own delivereth not eight, but fix; which Vero- rius Flaccus also observeth in the Capitoline tab- bles.

352
C. Servilius Abala, III, Q. Sulpicius, Q. Servilius, A. Malus, L. Virginus, M. Sergius, II.
IN Lys the Tribunes militiary in Consul authorities are C, Servilius Abala the third time Quin. Servilius, and Lm. Virginus the rest as in the tables of the Capitol, but only the fore- names. Lys nameth Qu. Servilius, Fidusianus in the other six Tribunships following, which he shall bear, To Lm. Virginus, Omyphus ad- deth Truscitus, a surname usually in that house. Diodorus saitheth not out of this range, but as Sigoth noteth, he doth rank in the name, and doth not reckon. In the fragments of the Capito- tol, they are thus named, Q. Servilius the Jon of Servilius, N. Cestius Cetubianus, An. Malus, toot Amilus, nephew of C. Volo Capito- linius; the second time, M. Sergius son of Lucius nephew of Lucius, named Fidusianus, the se- cond time.

353
I. Loy reckoneth all these Tribunes this year, L. Diodorus puteth down Lm. Iulius, M. Furi- us, Amyntius Mamercus, Camu Cetubianus, C. Fabius Malagostus, but amisse. In the frag- ments of the Capitol, they are thus named, La- Iius Iulius, A. Malus, nephew of P. Poplius Iurnalle Iulius, Marcus Amyntius, I. Iulius, nephew of M. Furtus, nephew of Marcus, nephew of L. Iulius, nephew of Qu. Ambassius the second time. These were commanded to enter into government upon the first day of October (whereas the thirteenth of December was the usual day before time). I. Loy reckoneth of an overthrow received the former year at Feii by M. Sergius. Camus made an expedition in the Silkian country, Cornelius to the Capeans, Varus to the Volscians for the recovery of Anxuni, Amynti- us and Fabius to besiege Feii.
The Chronologie

Hele by T. Livius are this year named the Tribunes military. But Didoros reheareth only three, namely, P. Melius, Sp. Mamini, and L. Furins. But Oomphrus thinketh that he is to be read, not L. Furins but Sp. Furins. The same author hath putt to P. Licinius the surname of Calvis, whom Livy writeth to have been the first man of the commonalty chosen Tribune military, only to take possession of the said right and interest.

The Didoros neweth for Tribunes. But Livy leteth down Marcus Furius to have been the only Patrini, and the rest commoners, namely, M. Pomponini, C. Dainius, Volero Publilinius, Cn. Gennius, L. Aetilus, Castrinius: his book, who every year delivereth the names only of two Tribunes, hath Augustus and Longus, the names of Gennius & Aetilus.

Ali these Tribunes military for this year created were Patrilli, as Livy writeth: neither differeth Didoros although he recite two names corruptly, to wit, Macaod Cynis, Agiades Cynis. Plutarch in the life of Camillus maketh mention, of the said Camillus, the second time Tribune military; and the Capitoline Stone of Medullins the third time.

In this maner are these Tribunes military delivered unto by Livy. But Didoros names them thus, L. Titinius, P. Licinius, L. Medius, Q. Mamini, Cn. Gennius, and L. Aetilus. All these, but L. Licinius the son of Publius as Livy giveth the dignity of Tribune ship a little before, whereunto moreover, that Gennius was slain in a battle against the Faliscins.
T

The Heze are by Tepelln records for Tribunes military in Consuls authority: but Diodorus recketh the three Fabius, Q, K, & C, and the other three, besides Plutarch in Coinnulis, Gelius out of Ferrus Flaccus, in his 5 book and 17 chapter: Macrobius also in his first book of Saturnals, make report of Quintus Sulpicius a Tribune military.

A

According to Livy, there were created Tribunes military after the winning of the City: but by Diodorus, they were Pub, Cornelius, L. Virginius, A. Manlius, and L. Polsumius. Off these Tribunes,Macrobius speaketh in his first book of Saturnals.

T

Livy hath Tepelln but Diodorus faith, that four only were created namely, L. Papirius, Q, T, and L. Lull Quinutil. But of those six, A. Manlius having been Tribune military in the year 365, and who shall be a third time in the year 371, must now verily be the second one.

\[370\]

S, Cor, Malgignivos, IV. P. Valphius Potitius II.
M. Furius Camillus V. Ser, Sulpicius Rufus I.
C. Papirius Crafius, L. Quint. Cincinnatus I.

T

Livy Tribunes military in Coull, authority, in this manner be delivered unto us by Lep: but Diodorus (as his manner is) putteth down four Ser, Sulpicius, L. Papirius, Mar. Cornelius, and T. Quintini. In this year, M. Manlius attained and condemned for aliping to be K, was thrown down headlong from the rock Tarpeia: Live, Plutarch, and Vater.

\[371\]

L. Valerius IV. L. Lucretius.

L

Livy rangeth the six this year, Diodorus nameth four; L. Valerius, Grifius, (which is the name of Tribunon) Am, Madius, and Ser, Sulpicius, Grifius, some call Flavius.

\[372\]

L. Papirius, Q. Serriviliius, L. Papirius, C. Sulpicius, Ser Cornelius IV, L. Zemlytus IV.

A

According to Livy, there were created Tribunes military in Consuls authority. The surname of Cornelius (as we saw before) was Malgigninos, Diodorus writeth four; Q, Servilius, S, Papirius, Cornelius, & Fabius, but not truly.

\[373\]


L

Livy nameth these as we have placed them: but Diodorus in this wise: M, and L both Furius, A. Pofhimius L. Lucretius, M. Fabius, and L. Pofhimius Plutarch also nameth Cumlus Tribune military this year; wherein he vanquished the Preelins, the Volcians, and the Tuculans also, against whom was proclaimed, because they had levied in the field under the Preelins.

\[374\]

L. Valerius V. L. Zemlytus III.
L. Valerius II. L. Papirius.
C. Serriviliius III. Ser, Cor, Malgignivos.

T

Livy six arelet down by Livy, but Diodorus reckoneth eight, namely, L, and P, both
A

After this, was the general assembly held for the election of military Tribunes in Consular authority, wherein were as many created of the Commoners as of the Patricians; namely, P. and C. both Males, with L. Julius, Patricians; and of the Commons, C. Sextius, M. Albinius, and L. Antistius. But Diodorus exhibits eight, and to those above rehearsed, he addeth C. Heculius, and P. Trebonius. Sextius also he calleth Sextius.

I

Livy reporteth these for Tribunes military in Consular authority: this, but in Livy, for L. Mucinius the third time, you must read C. Licinius, as Sigerinus hath declared in his Schedula upon Livy: which Onuphrius also in his Calendar approveth. But Diodorus speaketh of no more than four: Q. Servilius, C. Licinius, L. Furius, P. Cladius.

When C. Licinius and L. Sextius the Tribunes gave over their opposition and the liberty of their negative voice, whereby the Interegent called and held an assembly for the election of Magistrates, the abovesaid Tribunes military, were (as Livy faith) created for this year, Diodorus nameth them thus, L. Papirius, L. Mucinius, Ser. Cornelius, and Ser. Sulpius, whom Livy calleth Sextius, that after them there was another Anarchy, and when that was overpast and gone then were created A. Manlius, L. Furius, Ser. Sulpius, and Ser. Cornelius. But in his story, as well through his own default, as the negligence of the writers that copied our fame, there is a confusion of yearly Magistrates.

This year also, as Livy writeth, had there for Tribunes military in Consular authority, but Diodorus hath Q. Servilius, Q. Vulcius, A. Cornelius, M. Cornelius, and M. Fabius as for Quintius, Sigerinus calleth him rather Cincinnatus than Capitolinus. The rest have their warrant out of the Capitoline fragments, wherein it is thus found: "M. Maluginensis. Cincinnatus. M. Fabius Ambusius. This is that M. Fabius Ambusius, who had beleaved his two daughters in marriage, the one to C. Licinius Sto., the other to Ser. Sulpicius Protectans, as Livy writeth.
Livy declared these six for Tribunes military this year, Diadorus rehearsed but these, namely, T. Quinctius, Servius Cornelius, and Servius Sulpicius. What surnames all these carried, and with what numeral notes (signifying how often they had been the office) they are to be marked, the Capitoline fragments do shew; wherein they fland thus, Capitolium, &c.

Two Dictators without any enure Magistrates of State before.

Recently in the very beginning of the year, they proceeded to put it to the trial of a final issue, what should become of the forenamed laws proposed by Licinius and Sextius. When the tribunes were called to give their voices, and the publishers of the laws were not hindered by the negatives of their Colleagues coming between; the Nobles began then to quake for fear, and in all haste betook them to their two left helps and means of refuge, the sovereign and absolute government and the principal Citizen and greatest man of all others. Resolve they did to nominate a Dictator, and Marcus Furius Camillus was the man; who took unto him for General of the horsemen L. Aemilius. But when the Captains and ring-leaders of the Commons dealt very bitterly and roughly against Camillus, he (as Livy writeth) rejoined up his Dictatorship. Plutarch also testifieth the same: who likewise avouched the cause thereof, which Livy goeth about to disprove. But both Livy and Plutarch do affirm, that in the room of Camillus thus giving over his place, there was a second Dictator created. Livy saith, it was P. Maelius, Plutarch appreth his name: but they agree both, that C. Licinius was the General of the horse. Howbeit, they mean not both, one and the self-same man. For Livy faith and that truly, that it was he who had been Tribune military in Consuls authority before: but Plutarch nameth him, who was the author of the sedition, and of the new laws: wherein he faulteth. For the Captain of the forenamed sedition, was this year also made Tribune of the Com. the ninth time: but Tribune of the Com. and General of the horse at one time he could not be. And therefore Quinctius thinketh him to have been the son of P. Licinius Calvis military Tribune, and who had to his grandfather that Pub. Licinius, who of the Com. was the first Tribune military. Of this, see more in his Kalender.
together with L.Geminus, but in the second, the son of M.nephew of Cn.furname Amenienius. In the Sicilian regis ters they be written Geminus and Curtius, but corruptly, as Sige nius thinketh.

C.Sulpitius Petenius, C.Licinins Stole.

Here be the Consuls reported by Livy and Diodorus, Diodorus conceal their surnames, Valerius Max. in his second book and first chapter mention of them, and doeth Plutarch in his problems, But he whom all other writers name Stole, the Capitoline records nomine Calvus: as also the Sicilian which deliver their surnames Petenius and Calvus.

L.Amylius Manueriuu II. Cn. Genimus.

Livy and Diodorus declare these for Consuls: whom Diodorus in his sixteenth book nameath Cn. Genimus and L. Amylius. In the Capitol tables in this manner be set down, * * * Marucerius II. and Cn. Genimus son of M. and nephew of M. Amenienius. But in the Sicilian registers, Manocerius and Calvus.

Q.Seruulius Abola II. L.Genimus II.

Diodorus nameath the Consuls of this year, Q. Servulus and Q. Genimus. The Sicilian register, Abola and Genimus. Livy and Cassiodorus, Q. Servulus Hola and L. Genimus. These are they who three years before were matched together in the same government.

C.Sulpitius, C.Licinins Calvus.

Here be by Livy recorded Consuls this year, Cassiodorus write them thus, C.Sulpitius II. and C. Licinius, Diodorus in this wife, C. Sulpitius and C. Licinius, Sige nius suppose they be the same, who three years before were Col leagues. The Sicilian registar give unto Licinius the surname, not of Calvus as before, but of Stole: and Sulpitius say they surname Petenius.

C.Patitius Libo, M. Fabius Ambusbus.

Livy and Cassiodorus write the Consuls for this year were, C. Patitius Balbus: and M. Fabius Ambusbus. But Diodorus, M. Fabius, and C. Patitius, corruptly for Patitius. The Capitoline writers give them surnames divers from Livy; for they call Libo, Balbus: but he, Balbus. And the Sicilian register go with those of the Capitol.

M.Popilius Lauus, Cn. Manlius.

Livy and Cassiodorus name this year Consuls in this form: but Diodorus call them, M. Popilius Laurus, and Cn. Manlius Imperiosus, This was the first man of the Popilii, furname Lauus. The reason of which name Ciceron rendeth in his book Brutus, saying, M. Popilius being Consul, and at the same time offering sacrifice in his robe called Lauus, for that he was Flamin to Carmenta, upon news brought unto him that the commons were up and rife in a commotion against the Nobles, came in that attire and habit as he was into the assembly: and what with his authority of censure, and what with his eloquence of speech, appeased the sedition.

C.Fabius, C. Plantius.

Livy and Cassiodorus have these above-named for the Consuls this year: but in Diodorus, they are named M. Fabius and C. Plautius. In the Capito line records, * * * Amlbsbus and C. Plautius Proculus.

C.Martins, Cn. Manlius.

Diodorus, Livy, and Cassiodorus name the Consuls of this year, C. Martius and Cn. Manlius. This Cn. Manlius was Consul the first time, two years before, Cipstiianus book and the Greek records have Rutilius and Capito lineus.

M.Fabius Ambusbus II. M.Popilius Lauus II.

This year Consuls are with these names entitled by Livy and Cassiodorus. Diodorus leaveth out their surnames and the numerall notes, Cipstianus book and the Greek records, set them thus down. Ambusbus II. and sayth,

C.Sulpitius Petenius III, M.Valerius Poplicola.

In the four hundred year from the foundation of the City, and the thirty five after that it was by the Gauls won, the commons after eleven years did forgo their hold of the Confulship, and upon an Interegency, both Cof, of the Patricii enired into government, to wit, C. Sulpitius Petenius III., M. Valerius Poplicola, as Livy faith, The same Consuls Diodorus, Cassiodorus, and the Sicilian registar do report, But why the account of time made by Livy, disagreeeth from this reckoning, Sige nius and Onuphis in his Kalender do give a reason.

M.Fab, Ambusbus III. T. Quint, or M. Popilius.

In this year also, according to Livy, both Cof, were Petenius, namely, M. Fabius Ambusbus the third time, with T. Quintius, although they writeth, that in one Annal instead of T. Quin tius, he found Marcus Popilius Consul. With Livy accordeth Diodorus, and Cassiodorus, Sexinis also, who in his forty one chapter out of Cornelius Nepos writeth, that Alexander was born when M. Fabius Ambusbus and T. Quin-
The Confuls were named by Livy and Caforfodors. Some put to Quintus the name Caesar, others Cnay, and Caforfodor name them thus, C. Sulpius Peticus and T. Quintus Pennus, but Diodorus C. Sulpius and C. Quintus.

M. Valerius Corvinus II. C. Petreius.

T. Manlius Torquatus, C. Plutarchus.

M. Valerius Corbinus, M. Popilius Lanus, III.

Arcus Manlius torquatus being Dictator, declared for Conful with the exceeding favour of the people, M. Valerius corvinus for that was his surname afterwards in his absence, and being but three and twenty years old. This corvinus had joined him in the Confulship from out of the commons, M. Popilius Lanus the third time, as faith Livy and Caforfodor. But Diodorus three years after nomineth M. Valerius and M. Popilius. In the fragment of the Capitoll thus only it is found, M. Valerius, M. F. M. N. Corvinus Conful. In the Sicilian regiters Corvinus and Lanus.

C. Sulpius Peticus, III. M. Valerius, Poplicola III.

Both Confuls created this year were Patrici, and namely, those who are here set down after Livy and Caforfodorus, Diodorus omiteth both their surnames, and also the numeral notes, and fetteth after the former Confuls, M. Valerius and C. Sulpius.

P. Valerius Poplicola, C. Martius Rutius.

To L. Valerius Poplicola was given in fellowship of government this year, C. Martius Rutius of the commons, as Livy faith, Thefe Caforfodorus calleth P. Valerius and C. Martius Rutius the second time, Diodorus nameth them M. Fabius and P. Valerius. The Sicilian regiters intername them confeduly with those of the next year, matching Rutius and Pennus together.

M. Popilius Lanus, L. Cornelius Scipio.

Livy writeth, that for Confuls this year the commons yielded M. Popilius Lanus, and the nobles L. Cornelius Scipio. Caforfodor seteth them forth under the name of M. Popilius Lanus the third time, and L. Cornelius Scipio, Diodorus nameth them, C. Cornelius and M. Popilius; and the Sicilian regiters barely Scipio and Lanus.

L. Furius Camillus, P. Claudius Crassus.

Lucius Furius Camillus the Dictator restored the nobles again to their former possessiof the Confulship: and being himself for that good demerit created Conful, with the great love and hearty affection of the nobles, nominated for his College, Publius Claudius Crassus. Thus faith Livy. The same Confuls are let down by caforfodor. But Diodorus nameth them Emylius and T. Quintius, The Sicilian regiters, Camillius and Crassus. Gicero in Cato make mention of these Confuls, saying, that Plata came to Tarcentum, when L. Camillius and P. Crassus were Confuls: Galatin likewise, book 11 chapter.

M. Valerius Corvinus, M. Popilius Lanus, III.

M. Valerius Corvinus III. A. Cornelius Cicerus.

Livy and Caforfodor both together report, that these were chosen Conful, for this year. Diodorus, Cicero in his book of Divination, and Frontinus name them, M. Valerius and A. Cornelius. The Sicilian regiters, Valerius and Coflus; both of them are Patrici. But he that hath written of famous men, calleth them Valerius Max, and Cornelius Coflus.
C. Martius Rutilus IV. Q. Servilius.

usty and Caffiodorus declare Coff, for this year, C. Martius and Q. Servilius, Diodorus, Q. Servilius and Martius Rutilus. The Sicilian regifters, Abala and Rutilus. This is that Q. Servilius Abala, who was Master of the horse in the 403 year.

C. Plutinus II. L. Anylus Mamerciunus.

The Consuls that followed were C. Plutinus the second time, and L. Anylus Mamerciunus, witnesses Lucy and Caffiodorus: but L. Rutilus and C. Plutinus as tellith Diodorus and as the Sicilian regifters say, Vero and Mamerciunus, Cenfpianni calendar set forth for this year, being the second time, and Mamerciunus.

T, Manlius Torquatus III. P. Decius Mus.

This Manlius Torquatus the third time, and P. Decius Mus, bare the Consuls this year, as Lucy and Caffiodorus report, Diodorus nameth them, T. Manlius Torquatus and P. Decius, The Sicilian regifters, Torquatus and Mus, Zonaras, Torquatus the third time, and Decius. Of the same Consuls Pliny speaketh in his 20 book and 5 chap, Valerius also in his 1 book and 5 chap, besides others.

T, Anylus Mamerciunus. Q. Publilius Philo.

This Anylus Mamerciunus, and Q. Publilius Philo, are by Lucy reckoned Coff, for this year, Diodorus pasheth over their surnames, The Greek records shew unto us, Mamerciunus and Philo. As for Philo, he is described out of the tables of the Capitoll.

L. Furius Camillus. C. Manius.

Thus saith Lucy and Caffiodorus, Diodorus Hath L. Furius and Philo, but corruptly The Sicilian regifters, Camellius and Menius. The Capitol monuments of triumphs, L. Furius Camillus, and C. Menius, Pliny in his 34 book and 5 cha, maketh mention of Caes Menius, Consul; 1


Lucy and Caffiodorus write, that theie Coff, followed, Diodorus puttheth down C, Sulpius, and L. Papirius. The Sicilian regifters, have Longus and Pans.

L. Papirius Caffius. K. Dintius.

Lucius Papirius Caffius, and K. Dintius, were this years Coff, as witness Lucy, Caffiodorus, and Diodorus also, but for leaving out the surname Caffius. In the Sicilian regifters they are named, Caffius and Dintius. Atouching their Conulis, Cicero in his Epistle to Pans, wrieth thus, L. Papirius Caffius, four years after he was Dictator, was made Consul with X. Dintius.

M. Valerius Corvus IIII. M. Attillus Regulus.

This year, when the Amoones that inhabited the City Cales, took arms and combined with the Sicidins, M. Valerius Corvus, a right noble General, was created Consul the fourth time, having to his College (as Lucy wrieth) M. Attillus Regulus, Caffiodorus likewise declareth the frame for Consulis: and so deth Diodorus, but that he leaveth out their surnames: which appear extant in the Sicilian regifters.


He Dictator held an assembly for the election of Conulis, wherein were created according to Lucy the above-named. So say Caffiodorus also and Diodorus, Zonaras nameth them Tiber, Calvitius, and Sp. Posthinius: and right well, as Segonius thinketh: for Tiberius was the fore-name of the Vettius. The Greek records, and Caffiodinius book, have Albinius and Calvitius.

L. Corvius. C. Sulpicius.

Segonius and Ompirius invent this one year without Conulis: besides the account of the years, according to the Capilloni monuments, albeit they see neither in Lucy, nor many other, mention thereof; and all to make up the total sum collected by Varro. And that the said year should be this time especially be interpreted the tables of the Capitoline records do shew. For whereas in them thus engraven it is, M. Valerius Corvus Consul the fourth time in the year of the City 419, and again L. Emilus and C. Plutinus, in the year 414: to the end that these records might agree one with another, of necessi- tity there must be put a year between. For leave out that, then both L. Emilus the Consul should fall upon the year 414, and the total sum of the year in Varro and the Capitoline tables be overthrown. That this odd-year was now above all other times to be cast between, Gregory Halesander (who left in writing a Chronology of the Conulis) law long before them: for he over-paseth this year wholly, noted without Consulis. But Segonius and Ompirius are of opinion, that this year there was an Anarchy, and the Common-wealth without Conulis, or other Magistrates of State, by occasion of the pestilence, whereof Lucy wrieth.

A. Cornelius II. Cn. Domitius.

Attius Cornelius the second-time Consul, with Cn. Domitius, is by Lucy, and Caffius set down.
After this, were created Conuls, M. Claudius Marcellus, and C. Valerius. 

These Conuls are by Livy and Cassiodorus put down for conuls, L. Papius Graffus, and P. Plantus Venus. 

Cassiodorus put down for conuls, [for Conuls] L. Papius Graffus, P. Plantus Proculus, and P. Cornelius Scapula, Dio Cass. P. Corneliae, L. Cornelius Scapula, Diodorus, P. Cornelius Scapula, Dio Cass., P. Corneliae, A. Pashus, Livy, and Cassiodorus. The Sicilian regiments Veniso and Scipio, Ompurix, Livy, and Cassiodorus. The Sicilian regiments, Veniso and Scipio, Ompurix. As for Papius, Livy, indeed furnameth him here. Magillus, but he saith that he findeth him another Annals by the name of Confur. In the Greek records they be Lito and cerfor. Now, as touching C. Petullus, he is to be written with the numeral note II, and not III, as Siganus and Ompurius do admonish. For it is not the same man who was Conuls in the 393 years but his son.

Cassiodorus put down for conuls, L. Furius Camillus the second time, and Junius Brutus Secau. 


Heicus Furius, unto whom the charge of Samnium fall by lot, forsook, and by occasion of sickness to forgo the war there, and was commanded to nominate for the managing of martial affairs a Dictator whereupon he pronounced L. Papius Cerfor, the bravest warrior in those days; by whom Q. Fabius Rullianus was named great Master of the horse. Afterwards Cerfor turned him out of that Masterhip of horse, because without his warrant he had fought (although it were fortunately) against the Samnites when himself was out of the way and gone to Rome for to take the Aulpias a new and in his room he substituted L. Papius Graffus. Thus write Livy, Entropius, and Valerius; in the second book.

Q. Fabius, L. Fulvius.

Livy and Cassiodorus deliver unto us for Conuls this year, Q. Fabius and L. Fulvius, whom the Capitol records of the triumphs name Q. Fabius Maximum Rullianus, and I. Fulvius Q. Curtius. Marvell it is therefore, that in the Sicilian regiments they are put down, Curto and Sylver.

This year, Livy and Cassiodorus let loose for Conuls, T. Veturius, C. Deciusus, and Sp. Paehus, Livy, in his third book of Olives writeth that they were twice Conuls, Cenang and Cenali.
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434

L. Papyrius Cursor II. C. Publilus Philo.

Livy and Caffiodorus shew for this year Conuls, Q. Publilus Philo and L. Papyrius Cursor, the second time. The Sicilian regiters, Cursor and Philo. But that this Philo should now be third time Conul, his Conulships do plainly shew.

435

L. Papyrius Cursor or Magillius. Q. Anius Cerretanus II.

Livy faith, there is some doubt whether L. Papyrius Cursor were this year created Conul the third time, with Q. Anius Cerretanus the second time; and for his good service in war at Luceria continued still in government; or rather L. Papyrius Magillius, and so the surname was mistaken. Caffiodorus delievereth unto us L. Papyrius and Q. Anius Cerretanus. The Siciliano regiters, Papyrius and Cerretanus. The monument of his triumph in the Capitol, alloweth of Cursor and not Magillius. The author of that book which Caffiodorus hath set forth, following other Annals, setteth down Magillius.

436

M. Fesius Flaccinaior, L. Plantius Verno.

Seeing that for twelve years next ensuing, we have the Capitolion tables whole and found, the left trouble we need to be at in reforming and rectifying the names of the Magilirats. Both they, and also Livy with Caffiodorus represent unto us for this years conuls, M. Fesius Flaccinaior and L. Plantius Verno. Diocttrus calleth them L. Plietius and midas &c. &c. The Siciliano regiters, Verno and Flaccus.

437


438

Sp. Nauilus, M. Papius.

Next follow in order Sp. Nauilus and M. Papilus Conuls, according to Livy and Caffiodorus. Rustius and Lanus their surnames, are by Siginus refereed unto them; and the same also are to be leem in the Siciliano books of record.

439

L. Papyrius Cursor III. Q. Publilus Philo IIII.

The Conuls names of this year, through the default of the writers that copied forth Livies books, are there left out: namely, L. Papyrius Cursor the fourth time, and Q. Publilus Philo likewise the fourth time; as it is written in Caffiodorus, in the Capitol tables, and in Cipanimus book, wherein they are named Cursor and Philo. Howbeit, in the Siciliano regiters they are called Cursor and Lanus.

440

M. Patellius, C. Sulpitius.

Livy and Caffiodorus report for Conuls this year C. Sulpitius and M. Patellius. But Diodorus hath C. Sulpitius and midas &c. corruptly for torritas. The Capitolion writers, have M. Patellius Lito and C. Sulpitius Longus the third time. The Siciliano regiters, Longus and spurius, but there is a fault, as Siginus truly thinketh.

441

L. Papyrius Cursor V. C. Junius Babulius.

Diodorus putteth down for Conuls this year L. Papyrius fift time, and C. Junius. The Siciliano regiters, Cursor and Babulius. But Livy and Caffiodorus, L. Papyrius Cursor V. and C. Junius Babulius II. Festus maketh mention also of these Costin his 18 book.

442

M. Valerius, C. Decius.

Livy writeth that there followed consuls M. Valerius Max. and P. Decius: but Caffiodorus, saith M. Valerius and P. Decius. Frontinus in his book of water-conduis, speaketh of these Conuls; whom he writeth to have been thirty years after the beginning of the Samnit war. As for P. Decius, Livy afterwards calleth Mus. The Siciliano regiters have Max. and Mus.

443

C. Junius Babulius III. Q. Emilius Barbula II.

We find in Livy for Consuls this year, C. Junius Babulius the third time, and Q. Emilius Barbula the second time: likewise in Caffiodorus. But Diodorus numbereth them C. Junius and Q. Emilius. In the Siciliano regiters, Babulius and Barbula. The fame names are also in the Capitolion monuments, which be in Livy.

444

C. Martinus Rustius, Q. Fabius.

Cassius Martinus Rustius and Q. Fabius be this years Consuls in Livy, But in Caffiodorus, C. Martinus Rustius and Q. Fabius the second time. Diodorus hath C. Martinus and Q. Fabius the second time. The Siciliano regiters shew Rustius and
and Rutulus. The Capitol monuments, Q. Fabius, Max., Rutillus the second time, and C. Martius, who afterwards in his second Conscrip-ship in the 498th year, is surnamed Consorius.

445
A year without Consuls, P. Papirius Dictator, II.

Verrua Flaccus interpofeth this year also without Consul, wherein he reporteth L. Papirius Dictator the 2 time, with C. Junius Brutus the Master of the horie. This year Dioodorus, Livy, the Greek records, Caffinian book and Caffiodor do overtop. For Livey writeth that L. Papirius Cæsor was nominated by the consuls Dictator, and by him C. Junius Brutus named Master of the horie: upon occasion that C. Martius the Col, had no good fortune in his conduct of the wars in Samnium. This inseriting of one year Onomphius hath approved, that the computation of the years gathered by Livius might stand in force, to the Capitol tables putreth one year, where judgment we also are willing to follow.

446
Q. Fabricius, P. Decius.

Livy writeth, that Fabricius continued Consul this year also, for his singular good service in dubious and taming Hevemania and that he had for his companion in government Decius, Caffiodorus acknowledgeth for Col, Q. Fabricius the third time, and P. Decius the second time, Dioodorus, P. Decius and Q. Fabricius, the Sicilian regillers Mab and Rutillus, The Capitoline tables, P. Decius Mab ins. and Q. Fabricius Mab, Rutillus the third time.

447
App. Claudius, L. Volumnius.

Livy faith, that immediately there followed consuls, App. Claudius and L. Volumnius, Caffiodorus and Dioodorus, Appius and Volturnus, the Sicilian regillers, App. Claudius Cæsarius and L. Volumnius. The Capitoline monuments have Flaminius and Volturnus. Now whether one of these Consuls surnames be Volturnus or Volturnus, Onuphrius adviseth us to consider, For the capitol fhone hath it alwayes written Volturnus, But the Greek words have Apps and biaxor as if the name were Volturnus.

448
Q. Martius Tremulus, P. Cornelius Arvius.

Livy and Caffiodorus regillers for the Consuls of this year, Q. Martius Tremulus with a Colleague adjoynd unto him, Dioodorus faith Q. Martius and P. Cornelius, The Sicilian records, Tremulus and Arvius.

449
L. Pofthuminus, T. Mutilius.

Livy Pofthuminus and T. Mutilius are reported consuls by Dioodorus, Livy and Caffiod, cussianian book sheweth, Megellus and Angi- rius, Thalic Coin, both L. Pofthuminus put down for to succeed Q. Fabius and P. Decius, leaving one that two years wherein we have set down (as Livy writeth) that Claudius with Volturnus, and Cornelius with Martius were consuls. Whether his memory failed him in digesting of the annals, or of purpose he supposed that those two couple of Consuls were not truly recorded, and therefore overleapt them, I know not. A fragment there is of the Capitoline stone, which sheweth for this year, Megellus to be the surname of Pofthuminus, Tiberius the forename of Minutius, and M. of Fabius. Now the surnames of Fabius were Murius and Petenus, as it appear thereby in his triumph.

450
P. Sempronius Sophus. P. Sulpitius Serrurrius.

The Consuls next following were P. Sulpitius Serrurrius and P. Sempronius Sophus, according to Livy and Caffiodorus. In Dioodorus they are written P. Sulpitius and P. Sempronius. In the Greek regilgers, they stand Sempronius and Savurrius. P. Caffiodorus writeth that these Consuls in his 33 book: but Sempronius he calleth Longus, Both of them are describ'd thus by their triumphs, appearing upon record in the Capitol, for in their Conscripship there is no more to be seen but Sophus and Publius.

451

Dioodorus, Livy and Caffiodorus report for Consul this year, L. Genuius, and Servius Cornelius, The Sicilian regillers have Ascanianus and Lemulius, The Capitoline writers put unto Con-fulus the surname of Lemulius.

452
M. Livius Denter, M. Aemylius.

Livy nameth for Consul this year M. Livius and c. Aemylius, caffiodorus, M. Livius and L. Aemylius, Dioodorus, M. Livius and M. Aemylius. As for the forename to Aemylus, Segonius and Omphrins do think that more credit is given unto Dioodorus, than others: especially, seeing that in Livy there is mention made the year following of M. Aemylus Puntus General of the horfemen, whom they all think to be the fame man that this Consul, M. Livius is written Denter in the Capitol records, which surname Livius in another place addeth to the Livius, caffiodorus book in like manner setteth down Denter and Puntus as the surnames of these Consuls. The Sicilian regillers, Denter and Aemylus.

453
Two Dictators, and no Consul.

This year also of two Dictators without Consuls, Omphrins intereth in his Kalender, howbeit directed thereto by evidence of the Capitol fragments: to end that the calculation of Varro might agree in all respects which;
which, if this year were over-flipped should be wholly overthrown: although Diodore, Livy, and Caesiodore differ therefrom, and leave out this year altogether. Whereof see Onomophris more at large in his Kalender upon this year 453.

M. Valerius, Q. Apuleius Panza.

Immediately after M. Livius and M. Asellius, Livy, and Caesiodore lettereth pase the year of two Dictators without Consuls, bring in M. Valerius and Q. Apuleius Pandora for Consuls. The Greek records shew Goravus and Panza. It seemeth that Livy by M. Valerius meaneth Maximus; for that he faith that presently upon his Dictatorship he was made CoL Now that M. Valerius Max. was Dictator the year before, he writeth plainly.

M. Fulvius Patni, T. Marus Torquatus.

Livy and Caesiodore declare for Consuls this year, M. Fulvius Patni and T. Marus Torquatus. The Sicilian registors have Patnius and Torquatus, Livy faith that Q. Fabius refused the Consulship offered unto him without any hint of his. But T. Marus the Consul, was by lot appointed to levy war against Heron. whih took arms and prepared for war against the truce accorded upon. Now was he scarce well entred into the enemies confines, but as he exercized among men of arms, and chance to turn about his horse upon a full carrier, he was cut from his back: whereupon (for the present) he lay for dead and within three days after the said fall ended his life. Then all the Centuries in general by their suffrages chose M. Valerius CoL whom the Senate purposed to have made Dictator. Thus much Livy. By M. Valerius he meaneth Corvus, whom Cicero writeth in his book of old age, and Valerius Max., in his 7 book and 48 chap, to have been Col. now the 48 time, and that between this and the first there were 46 years. although Platarch in the life of C. Marcius. they were but 45. Howbeit all of them call him Corvus and not Corvus.

C. Cornelius Scripius, Cn. Fulvius.

Crescens Fulvius and C. Cornelius Scripius recorded Consuls by Livy and Caesiodore; but Scripius and Centumalius, by Cappinianus book: Seipio and Maximus by the Greek records.

Q. Fabius Max. IV. P. Decius Mus III.

Livy and Caesiodore allledge for CoL this year, Q. Fabius Max IV the fourth time, and P. Decius Mus III. three times Col. Cappinianus book and the Greek records delivered unto us. The author that writeth of famous men, and Frustianus in his book of Stratagems, speak of P. Decius three Col.

Q. Fabius Gorge Max. Decius Junius Brutus, son of Sicelani.

The yeare following had Consuls, Q. Fabius Gorges, and D. Junius Brutus Sicelani as witnesses. Livy and Caesiodore, Zonaras name them, Junius Brutus and Q. Fabius Max. Cappianins Kalender, Maximus and Scripius. The Sicilian registors, Brutus and Maximus, Livy, Pliny in his 7 book, the Capitol tables, and Zonaras, have delivered, that this Fabius was the son of Q. Max. Rutilianus, who had been 5 times CoL before. And here an end of the Consuls for the 5th 10 years.
Since that after this Conspic ship, ten books of
Liwy next ensuing be lost, whom hitherto we
have had for the most sufficient witness of this
story, so as now we are in manner defliute and
deprieved of the best helps of Annals, namely,
Diodorus, Dionysius, and Livy: from hence for-
ward we will tic principally in digesting and
reckoning the years by the Conulses, the auth-
ority and testimonies of Caifodorius, the Sicilian
records, and Cappitiniian book: yet will we not
in the mean while reject what help sooner shall
be minutely owned up to others. For this year
therefore Caifodorius writeth, that L. Polli- 
nius and C. Junius, were created Con. whose fur-
names Megellus, and Brutus Babuleus, have not
been left out to much as in Caifiniian Kalender,
nor in the Sicilian records. Liwy also maketh
mention of them in his 28 book, saying thus,
Lu. Polliiius Megellus the Intergent, was
created Con., with C. Babuleus, by that very court
and assembly which himself called and held,

He Con., this year are recorded by Caifodo-
rius, Pub. Caifiniian Rufius, and M. Curius
Dentatus for whom in the Sicilian registra, ap-
pear Maximus the third time and Mus the first
time. But of those forenamed Con., Cicero mak-
eth mention in his book, entitled Cato; Par-
teculi in his first book, Valerius Mal, in his
six book, and 3 chap. Pliny also in his 7 book and
50 chap. Now this M. Curius was called
Dentatus as Pliny writeth in his 6 book and 16
chap, for that he came into the world with teeth,

M. Valerius. Q. Cadinini.

Caifodorius intereth P. Corn., Dolabella, and
Q. Cadinini for Con., Caifiniian Kalender hath
Dolabella and Calvinus. The Sicilian regis-
trers, Dolabella Maximus, And some think that
Maximus was the surname of Dolabella, which
he feemeth to have acquired by the honour
that he had won in the war against the Gauls,

Q. Martinus. P. Cornelius.

Caifodorius this year delivereth for Conilis,
Q. Martinus and P. Cornelius, Caifiniian
book and the Greek records add their surna-
mes, Tresneius II. and Avrionis II. who had
been Conilis together once before;


Caifodorius avoucheth Conulcs this year,
M. Marcellus and Cn. Nautilus, The Greek
records and Caifiniian book, have Marcellus and
Nautilus.

M. Valerius. C. Aelius.

Arven Valerius and C. Aelius are ranged
in this year for Con. by Caifodorius, Caif-
niian book putteith forth, Maximus and Mus:
but the Greek records, Patruus and Patruus.
Now you must think, that both Maximus and Pat-
ruus are the surnames of the Valerii,

C. Claudius, M. Aemilius.

Or this years Con., Caifodorius hath C. Claud-
inus and M. Aemilius. The Greek records and
Caifiniian book, Cawon & Lepidus: where-
of the former is the surname of Claudius, the
latter of Aemilius.

C. Servilius, L. Caelius.

By Caifodorius, C. Servilius and L. Caelius
Metellus are placed Con., in this year: for
whereas in some copies of Caifodorius instead of
Lu. Caifius is written Caifius that is a fault
as Sagonius and Omporinhus have noted. To Ser-
vilius this Conul, the Greek records add the
surname of Tarsus, whom they put down Con.
with Dempo, they would say Denter, as both S-
agonius and Omporinhus suppose, For Denter is a
turname also given to the Cælius, as appeareth
by Liwy.

P. Cornelius Dolabella. Q. Domitius.

Caifodorius intereth P. Corn., Dolabella, and
Q. Domitius for Con., Caifiniian Kalender hath
Dolabella and Calvinus. The Sicilian regis-
trers, Dolabella Maximus, And some think that
Maximus was the surname of Dolabella, which
he feemeth to have acquired by the honour
that he had won in the war against the Gauls,

C. Fabriicus. Q. Aemilius.

Caifodorius bringeth in for Con., C. Fabri-
arius and Q. Aemilius: but the Sicilian regis-
trers, Luscinus and Papir. Or them Cicero in his
book Lcus, maketh mention in this manner:
We see that Papir Aemilius was familiarly ac-
quainted with C. Luscinus: for so we have
heard our fathers say that they were two Con.
together, and companions in the censorship.
Moreover, Valerius in his chap. where he tre-
tech of Poverty, maketh mention of C. Fabri-
arius, and Q. Aemilius Papir. This Bipir, Plu-
tarch in his Parallels calleth corruptly by the
name of Paulus.

L. Aemilius. Q. Martinus.

Here followed cozz as caifodorius shew-
eth, L. Aemilius & Q. Martinus: unto whom
Caifiniian book and the Greek records give al-
so their surnames, Bubus and Philippus, and
the same also is evident by the records in the
Capitol of their triumphs,
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474
P. Valerius, T. Coruncanius.

Puth Valerius and Tit. Coruncanius are by Caßfordor placed in this year for Cost, The Greek records, Cuniphorin book, Flow, Orosius, and Eutropius, give to Valerius the surname of Ldebani. And Plutarch hath elibor for Valerius.

475
P. Sulpitius, P. Decius.

Next after thofe, Caßfordor putrath down P. Sulpitius Conulf with P. Decius. The Sicilian regifters, have Sarmentius and Mus. Cicero in his book entitled De Fin, and in his Tufcanian diptaphie, faith, That this Pub. Decius was the elfon of that P. Decius who vowed himself to death in the Samnits and Gaulswar.

476
C. Fabricius, Q. Aemilius.

Caßfordor delivereth unto us for Conuls C. Fabricius and Q. Aemilius whom Cuniphorin book and the Greek records, call Leftius in the second time, and Pupus. That these were fellows together once before in the Conulf, Cicero writheth in his book Lulitio, Plutarch in Pyrrius Cellius 3 book, chap. 8. Eutropius, and Zonarius make report of the fame.

477
P. Cornelius, C. Iunius.


478
Q. Fabius, C. Geminus.

Caßfordor reporteth Q. Fabius and C. Geminus Conuls. The Sicilian regifters have Gargus and Clephius. Of thefe Cost, Orosius maeth mention in this wife: When Fabius Gargus was the second time CoT, with C. Geminus Clephius, a grievous pestilence reigned both in the City, and also in the territory about it.

479
M'. Curius, L. Lentulus.

Caßfordor and Eutropius deliver unto us for Cost, M'. Curius and L. Lentulus. The Sicilian regifters, Dentiatus and Lentulus. This is the third Conulf of M'. Curius, which together with Lentulus Conulfhip, is drawn out of the Capitoll records of triumph this year.

480
Serv. Cornelius, M'. Curius.

Caßfordor sheweth for this years Cost, Serv. Cornelius and M'. Curius, Cuniphorin book and the Greek records, Merenda and Dentsalis the third time, This M'. Curius is now Cost. the fourth time, for, thrice he was before. Concerning this Serv. Cornelius Merenda, Plutarch relateth and writheth, that he received a princeley coronet of gold at the hands of L. Lentulus the CoT of the former year, for winning a town of the Samnits.

481
C. Fabricius, C. Claudius.

Caßfordor setteth down, C. Fabricius and C. Claudius Conuls: the Sicilian records, Livius and Callin. Cuniphorin Kalender, Livius and Cun, Epitrobius, Pabius Liciinus and C. Claudius Callin. Veiius, Fabius Dorfo and Claudius Callin, Whereby it may be understood, that these Conuls were called, C. Fabius Dorfo Liciinus, and Cains Claudius Callin: for Dorfo was an old name of the Fabii.

482

Next after them, Caßfordor nominateth for Cost, Sp. Cornelius and L. Papirius Carbus. The records both of Sicily and Cuniphorin, have Carbus and Maximus. Both these were now Cost, the second time as appeareth by their triumphs upon record in the Capitoll. Frontinus speaketh of them in his book Of water-conduits, and L bevor his book 24.

483
C. Quintius, L. Gemitius.

This is reported by Caßfordor, that C. Quintius and L. Gemitius were Conuls, Cuniphorin book and the Greek records, set to their furnames, Claudius and Clephius. Livy in his 7 book speaketh of one Tit. Quintius lame of one leg, from whom haply this furname is drawn.

484
C. Geminus, Cn. Cornelius.

Reputed there are for Conuls this year by Caßfordor, C. Geminus and Cn. Cornelius: who furnames were Clephius and Blindo, as it appeareth in Cuniphorin book, This Cn. Geminus in the fame, who before-time was Conulf. As for C. Blindo, he is described by his Conulfhip standing upon record in the Capitoll. The Greek records over-pass them both.

485

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Galba.
Polybius and Cassiodorus match together in the Consular for this year L. Valerius and T. Oconius: the surname of Valerius is Valeri, and of Oconius, Caflorius, as it appearth upon the capitol and Sicilian records.

C. Agulius and Zonaris bring in for Cest., C. Agulius and C. Dutilius. In like manner also Polybius, but only that in lieu of Jutius he had Polybius, The Sicilian Registers shew Scipio and Dutilius, Cn. Cornelius Scipio is surname also Asinus by the capital writers Cestius, Entropius, and Valerius in his first book chap. 10, of which surname Macrobius writeth thus in his first book of Saturnalia: The surname of Asinus (quod, he) was given to the Cornelius for that the first of the Hoom Cornelius having either bought land, or given his daughter in marriage, when (after the common manner) he was required to put in good security for certainty, brought into the open market place a side laden with money, and pawned down that present in lieu of pledges.

Here are nominated by Cassiodorus for Conuls, C. Agulius and L. Cornelius, The Sicilian registrars, Flavus and Scipio, Zonaras, C. Flavus and L. Scipio, Entropius and Orosius, L. Cornelius Scipio, and C. Agulius Flavus, Polybius leaveth them out. The Capitoline monuments agree with the Annals of Entropius and Orosius.

Polybius avoucheth for these years Conuls, A. Asilius and C. Sulpius. Cassiodorus, A. Asilius Calatinus, and C. Sulpius, The Sicilian registrars and Cassianus Kalender, Caflatius and Paternos. The capitol monuments, A. Asilius Calatinus and C. Sulpius Paternos, Zonaras, Asilius Calatinus, and Calvi Sulpius. Of these Conuls, Polybius, Cicero, Valerius, Flavus, Frontinus in his Strategems, Polybius and Calvisius make mention. But concerning the surname of Sulpius Paternus, the Capitoline tables disagree one from another; to wit, those that carry the records of the triumphs, from those that shew the Consulships and other magistracies; for in these latter monuments he is called Quintus, in the former, Caius, Whereby Gellius doth conjecture, that one man was not the author of both those records, namely, the Triumphal and the Consular.

Cassiodorus sheweth unto us, Cn. Cornelius, and C. Asilius Serranus, for Conuls: but Polybius, C. Asilius. The capitol tables, C. Asilius Regulus, C. Cassianus Kalender and the Sicilian registrars, have Regulus and Blafo the second time, But how Asilius should come by his surname Serranus, Pliny sheweth in his 2 book, saying: In these days the fields were tilled by the very hands of L. Generals themselves, and a man verily would believe thereby, that the ground joyed in a laureat plough-share and a triumphant plowman. Him they found a lowering, unto him they presented those honorable dignities, and so took he his surname Serranus. As concerning Blafo, all authors well near besides, approve the judgment of Cassianus: but Gellius supposeth, that he was not the same man that was Conul before: and therefore he writeth him the son of C, nephew of L, without putting to the numerical note II.

Here are nominated by Cassiodorus for Conuls, C. Agulius and L. Cornelius, The Sicilian registers, Flavus and Scipio, Zonaras, C. Flavus and L. Scipio, Entropius and Orosius, L. Cornelius Scipio, and C. Agulius Flavus, Polybius leaveth them out. The Capitoline monuments agree with the Annals of Entropius and Orosius.

A. Asilius Calatinus, Q. Sulpius.

The next Conuls that succeeded, were by (Cassiodorus his saying) Q. Cadius and L. Mantius, The Sicilian registers name them, Vulso and Cadius, Zonaras, M. Regulus and L. Mantius, Entropius, M. Asilius Regulus and L. Mantius Vulso, and Polybius, M. Asilius and L. Mantius, Sulpicio in his 41 book maketh mention of these Conuls. But ye must understand, that Q. Cadius died whiles he was in office, and M. Asilius was substituted in his room, and made Conul the second time: as appeareth evidently by the capitol tables, wherein it standeth thus upon record, L. Mantius Vulso Longus: and in stead of Q. Cadius, M. Asilius Regulus the second time: as also by Cassianus book, wherein is written, Longus and Regulus.


Polybius sheweth for the Cest. this year, Ser., F ulpius and M. Asilius, Cassianus Kalender, Nolilis or and Pavlius, The Sicilian registrars, Paternos and Pavlius, Cassiodorus and Entropius, together with the Capitoline records have Ser., F ulpius Nobilior, and M. Asilius Pavlius.

Cn. Cornelius, A. Asilius.

Cassiodorus and Polybius report for this year Conuls, Cn. Cornelius and A. Asilius, The capitol authors write, A. Asilius Calatinus the second time, and Cn. Cornelius Scipio Afranius like wife a second time. As touching Cn. Cornelius Afranius twice Conul, thus writeth Valerius in his first book: Cn. Cornelius S. Afranius who being Conul, was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians at Lipara when he had by the law,
For this year, Cassiodorus penned down P. Servilius and C. Aurelius, Cicero in his book On senators, that there were twice Conuls, which also is apparent by the Capitoll and Sicilian tables: in which their furnamce are to be seen, Gemmae II. and Cotta II.

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The Calendar


Q. Latianus Cereo. A. Maximus.

Cassiodorus, Entropius, and Orofus, shew for consuls this year, Q. Latianus, and A. Manlius. The Sicilian records, Cereo and Torgiatus. They of the capital, Q. Latianus Cereo, and A., Manlius Torgiatus Atticus II. Indeed C. Latianus Cereo, is named for an Embassador by Livy in his 42 book.

C. Claudius Cebro. M. Sempronius

For this year there were Consuls, C. Claudius Cebro, and M. Sempronius Tudatos, according to Cassiodorus and the capital writers. The Sicilian records testify also the same surnames. Of these consuls likewise, besides the capital writers, Cicero speaketh in his Caro and Brutus, where he calleth this year (according to the judgment of Atticus, wherto Varro also agree) the 514 year from the foundation of the city; as also in his first Tusculan question. So doth Gellius 17 book 21 chapter, and C. Siodorus.

C. Manilius. Q. Valerius.

Next there followed in consuls place, as witneseth Cassiodorus, C. Manilius and Q. Valerius: but according to the Sicilian registrates, Turrinus and Fulo; and after the capital records, C. Manilius Turrinus, and Q. Valerius Fulo. Besides, Verrini Placenti and Cassiodorus, Gellius also maketh mention of these Coif, in his 17 book and 21 chapter. So doth Cicero in Brutus and the Tusculan questions, in which year they say, that Ennius the Poet was born.

T. Sempronius. P. Valerius.

For the year following, Cassiodorus hath consuls, T. Sempronius and P. Valerius, Gracchus and Fulo, in Capitoline Kalender and the Sicilian records, Zonarius avoucheth, Sempr. Gracchus, and P. Valerius. The capital writers have T. Sempronius Gracchus, and P. Valerius Fulo. Orosius speakeith of these consuls.

L. Cornelius. Q. Fabius.

Next to them, Cassiodorus reporteth for consuls, L. Cornelius and Q. Fabius, Zosimus, L. Lentulus and Q. Flaccus, Entropius, L. Cornelius Lentulus, and Q. Fabius Flaccus. The capital registrates give to Lentulus, the surname Caudinius: and therefore in Capitoline Kalender, they stand by the names of Caudinius and Flaccus. As for the Sicilian registrates, they leave them out clean.

C. Licinius. P. Cornelius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for consuls, C. Licinius and P. Cornelius, Zonarius, P. Lentulus, and Licinius Varus. The capitoline writers, C. Licinius Varus, and P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinius. In like manner Ce feroriius; who reckonneth this for the 515 year after the cities foundation: following herein the computation of Varro, Cereon, and Plutarch, Capitoline Kalender and the Sicilian registrates, name them Claudius and Varus.

T. Manius Torgiatus. C. Atticus.

This year had for consuls, as Cassiodorus faith, T. Manius Torgiatus, and C. Atticus. The Sicilian records, shew Torgiatus and Bullius: but Entropius, Orofus, and the capital Tables shew, T. Manius Torgiatus, and C. Atticus Bullius: unto Bulius the capital records put to the numeral note 11. When T. Manius Torgiatus and C. Atticus Bullius the second time were coif, according to Verrius Flaccus, Entropius, Orofus, and Cassiodorus, and that there was peace throughout all the empire of Rome, the Temple of Janus was shut that the second time, as Plutarch theweth in Numu.; as Livy also, Fellinus, Entropius, and Orofus do testify.

L. Ponsimus. C. Carullus.

Cassiodorus nameth for consuls this year, L. Ponsimus and Sp. Carullus. The Sicilian registrates have Albinius and Roga, Zonarius, Ponsimus Albinius, and Sp. Carullus. The capital writers have L. Ponsimus Albinius, and Sp. Carullus Maximus. That Roga was a surname to the Carullus, appeareth out of Gellius, who maketh mention of Sp. Carullus Roga, who at this time was the first that divorced his wife.

Q. Fabius. M. Pomponius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for consuls, Q. Fabius and M. Pomponius. The Sicilian records Maximus and Matho. The capitoline writers have Q. Fabius Maximus Verucicculus, and M. Pomponius Matho. Zonarius hath Q. Fabius Max and M. Pomponius. The surname of Maximus, this Fabius took of his grand-father, and was not himself the first of that name, whatsoever Polybius writeth in his third book.
Nero he was called besides of a writ upon his lip, at Ptolemaic written, and he that wrote the treatise of Famous men.

M. Lepidus, M. Poppicius.

Arcus Lepidus and M. Poppicius are reputed to be Consuls this year by Censorinus. The Sicilian regissers have Lepidus and Malcius. Zonomys hath M. Malcius and Emelius. The capital records shew M. Emelius Lepidus and M. Poppicius.

C. Papirius, M. Pomponius.

Next after this were created Consuls, C. Papirius and M. Pomponius according to Censorinus, Zonaras, and Dionysius in his second book. The Sicilian regissers shew Majo and Malbo. But the capital records have C. Papirius Majo and M. Pomponius Malbo. Of C. Papirius, top of C., surnamed Majo, a Pontiff or Bishop, Livi spakeoth in the year 540.

M. Emelius, M. Junius.


L. Postumius, Cn. Fulvius.


Here are by Censorinus nominated for Consuls this year: Q. Fabius Maximus the second time, and Sp. Carvilius. The Sicilian regissers Maximus and Vogum. The Capitol writers fea looke unto Carvilius Maximus the mark and numeral note of a double Consulship. Cicero in his book entitled Care. likewise in his second book of Rhetorical invention, makes mention of these Consuls, and so doth Valerius in his chapter, discomposing of the kindnes and affectionate duty of children to their parents.

P. Valerius, M. Atellus.

Here are set down by Censorinus for Coell this year, P. Valerius and M. Atellus. The Sicilian regissers, have Fleccus and Regularus. The Capitol records represent P. Valerius Fleccus, and M. Atellus Regularus. Censorinus writeth of them in his 4 book and 3 chapter.

L. Apollius, M. Valerius.


C. Atellus, L. Aeumius.

Immediately followed Consuls, C. Atellus and L. Aeumius, as Censorinus and Polybius do witness: whom the Capitol writers call, C. Atellus Regularus, and L. Aeumius Populus. The Sicilian regissers, Regulus and Populus, Zonaras, Regulus and Aeumius. Of these Consuls also Polybius maketh mention: and Polybius in his third book and twentieth chapter, where untruly men read Pusillus Populus.

T. Manlius, Q. Fulvius I.

The year following had Consuls T. Manlius and Q. Fulvius the second time, according to Censorinus and Polybius, and as Orosius faith, T. Manlius Tergatus and Q. Fulvius Placentus. Censorinus tables, together with the Capitol, have Tergatus the second time, and Fulvius likewise the second time, shewing the surnames only of these Coell,

C. Flaminius, P. Furius Philus.

Censorinus setteth down for Coell, C. Flaminius and P. Furius. So doth Polybius, Zonaras nameth them Flaminius and Furius, Plutarch likewise in Marcellus. The Sicilian tables name them Flaminius and Philus. But the capital records, C. Flaminius, and P. Furius Philus.

M. Marcellus, Cn. Cornelius.

Censorinus nameth for the next Consuls, M. Marcellus and Cn. Cornelius. Polybius, M. Claudius and Cn. Cornelius. The Sicilian regissers Seicio and Marcellus, Zonaras, Claudius Marcellus and Cn. Seicio, Entropius, M. Claudius Marcellus, and Cn. Cornelius Seicio. The Capitol tables, M. Claudius Marcellus and Cn. Cornelius Seicio Colons. This is that Marcellus, who was five times Consul: and this is that Seicio, who afterwards with his brother Seicio was slain in Spain by Aeschnath the Carthaginian.

P. Cornelius, M. Minnius.

Censorinus sheweth for this years Consuls, C. Cornelius and M. Minnius. So doth Zonar.
The Sicilian regicides have Scipio and Emelius, Eutropius hath P. Cornelius and M. Minucius Rufus, Cisilian book Afina and Rufus. Sigerius and Omeriophius both, do think that this P. Cornelius Scipio Afina was his son, who in the first Punick war was twice consul. And verily Livy, in the year 543 maketh mention of P. Cornelius Afina, an honorable Senator, and who had been consul.

534 L. Veturius. C. Lentinius.


535 M. Livius. L. Emelius.

The consuls next following were M. Livius and L. Emelius, as Cisfadonius witnesseth. Cisilian book and the Greek records shew Selinutor and Paulus. Zonarcs, M. Livius and Emelius Paulus. Pliny maketh mention of these consuls in the 29 book and first chap.

536 P. Cornelius Scipio, T. Sempronius Longus.

C. Affedorus and Polybius put down for consul P. Cornelius and T. Sempronius, Zonarcs, Sempronius Longus and P. Scipio. The Sicilian records, Longus and Scipio. Livy, Eutropius, Probus, Orosius, and Paulus, name them P. Cornelius Scipio, and T. Sempronius Longus. While these were consuls, the second Punick war arose, as writers have delivered unto us in their chronicles.

537 On, Serviliius Gemellus, C. Flamininius.

Then followed consuls, as Polybius, Caifadonius, and Livy write, On, Serviliius, together with C. Flamininius. But the two last named, as also the Sicilian regicides, have given to Serviliius the surname of Gemellus. C. Flamininius now second time consul, with like pride as heretofore, entered into his magistracy in the isle of March not at Rome but at Ariminum. The same man, in neglect and contempt of the auguries or signs of birds, at what time as he made head and went against Annibal coming into Italy, fought a battle at the lake Thrasymenus, where his army was wholly defeated and himself lost his life: into whose place M. Asilius Regulus, who had been consul before, was substituted. Thus much out of Livy and Polybius.

538 C. Terentius Varro, L. Emelius Paulus.

Next to them Polybius bringeth in L. Emelius and C. Terentius for consul. The Sicilian regicides, Paulus and Varro, Plutarch in Paulus, Terentius Varro, and Emelius Paulus, Livy, Caifadonius, and others, C. Terentius Varro, and L. Emelius Paulus. Gellius noteth, that the father of C. Terentius Varro, was one Aulus; a thing by others passed over.


Livy reporteth that the consuls elect for this year, when M. Janius the Dictator held the solemn assembly for the election, were Lucius Pobulius Illius the third time, who as then ruled the province of Gaul, and T. Sempronius Gracchus, who had been master of the horsemen; and that Pobulius before that he entered in government, was by Annibal in France environed and slain, in whose stead M. Marcellus was subrogated consul now the second time: who upon information given by the Augurs, that his creation was not good, resigned: and commonly the Nobles gave out and said, That the Gods were not well pleased, that two commoners were then first chosen consuls: whereupon in the room of Marcellus, Quintus Fabius Maximus was chosen consul the third time. Thus write Livy and Plutarch. And for this cause it is that Caifadonius, Orosius, and Eutropius do put down for this years consuls, T. Sempronius and Q. Fabius.

540 Q. Fabius. IV. M. Claudius Marcellus. III.

Livy, Plutarch, and Caifadonius, set out for consuls this year, Q. Fabius Maximus the fourth time, and M. Claudius Marcellus the third time. Moreover, Cicero oftentimes and in his second book of satiragens, make mention of these consuls.

541 Q. Fabius Max. son of Verres. T. Sempronius Gracchus. II.

Against this year were both the consuls created in their absence, namely, Q. Fabius, the son of Verres, and T. Sempronius Gracchus the second time: as Livy tellith and Caifadonius, together with the Sicilian regicides. This Fabius had been Proctor the former year; and Gracchus consul two years before. These consuls Gellius nominateth out of Quadrigarii, the second book and second chapter. Likewise Cicero and Velletri.

542 App. Claudius Pulcher. Q. Enulius Flaccus. III.

The consuls created for this year by the Dictator, were Quintus Enulius Flaccus the third time, who then was master of the horsemen, and Appius Claudius Pulcher, who in
his pretorship was L, deputy in Sicily, as Livy, Plutarch in Fabius, Caflidius, and Orosius in his 17 book do witnes.

543

C. Sulpicius Galba, Cu. Fulvius Centumalus,

Vpon the receipt of certain letters, the Consuls agreed together, that Clandlus should hold the election for magistrats and fee fiished, whiles Fabius remained still before Capua, Claudius created for consuls, Cu. Fulvius Centumalus, and P. Sulpicius on of Servius, and summarized Galba, who before time had born no state-office of the chair. Thus wrote Livy. The same consuls also Caflidius doth deliver, Orosius likewise and Fulvia in his 17 book. The Sicilian records declare Galba and Centumalus. As for S. Sulpicius, he is named in his second consulsip, as it appeareth upon record in the capitol, the ion of Ser, nephew of Pultius summarized Galba Maximus,

544

M. Valerius, II. M. Claudius Marcellus, IV,

Livy, Sexius Pompeius, Valerius Maximus, Plutarch, Florus, Eutropius, and Orosius, do present for consuls this year, M. Claudius Marcellus and M. Valerius. Now this is Marcellus his fourth consulsip, as Plutarch and Livy write: but Caflidius faith, that he was but the third time with M. Valerius, leaving out that consulsip which he bare not through, because of the error in his creation; and yet is it one of the five that he is reported to have borne. Livy in the nine and twenty and thirtieth books, writeth that M. Valerius was twice consulsip. In like manner, the book of Caflidius hath for this year, Marcellus the fourth time, and Livius the second time, and therefore Orosius supposeth that his first consulsip was in the year five hundred four-and-thirty: and his second, now. Of him Pultius and Cicero make mention.

545

Q. Fabius Maximus, V.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus, IV.

The consuls this year created, were Q. Fabius the fifth time, and Q. Fulvius Flaccus the fourth time, the same man who being Dictor, held the assembly for that election; as Livy and Caflidius do witnes. The Sicilian records let forth Fabius and Flaccus. While these were consuls, Cicero in his Oration against Balbus, faith that Capua was won: and yet Livy hath reported it two years before. Of these consuls Valerius also, together with Plutarch, Eutropius, and Orosius have made mention.

546

M. Claudius Marcellus, V.
T. Quinius Crispinus,

In the eleventh year of the Punic war, there entered into their consulsip, M. Marcellus this last time (fo ye reckon that consulsip which upon an error in the creation he kept not) and T. Quinius Crispinus, So hath Livy. Plutarch also nameth Marcellus the last time and Crispinus. But Caflidius reckoneth Marcellus but the fourth time with Crispinus, pathing over that faulty consulsip of his. Moreover these consuls are mentioned by Cicero Valerius, Phinius the yonger, Prebas, Eutropius, and Orosius: who also report that they both were forelaid and intrapped in ambush by Ambaibs: in so much as Marcellus was presently slain in the place, and Quinius fled forth wounded.

547

C. Claudius Nero.
M. Livius Salinator.

Vhen the II. of the Senate cast about to see whom they should create consuls, behold, the most eminent and singular man above all others, was C. Claudius Nero: unto whom was joined as companion in government, M. Livius, who many years before, upon a consulsip that he had born, was by the judgment of the people condemned: and almost eight years after his condemnation was by Marcus Marcellus, and Marcus Livius their consuls, reduced into the city. In like manner, the Sicilian Registors name for consuls, Nero and Salinator. The capitol records show Cains Claudius Nero, with M. Livius Salinator.

548

Q. Caecilius Metellus, L. Veturius Philo,

Livy, Caflidius, and the records of the capitol, exhibit unto us for consuls this year, L. Veturius Philo, and Q. Caecilii Metellus, The Sicilian registors, Metellus and Philo. Over and beside, of these consuls Cicero many a time and often, Valerius, Plutarch in Africanus, Appicius in Ibericus, Pliny in his 7 book 43 chap, do make mention.

549

P. Cornelius Scipio.
P. Licinius Craeffus.

Livy, Veturius Philo held the assembly for creation of Magistrats, wherein all the centuries in general, with exceeding great favour nominated Pultius Scipio for consuls, and to him was joined in government, P. Licinius Craeffus, the supream pontify. Thus saith Livy. The Sicilian tables have Scipio with Craeffus. The capitol records shew P. Cornelius Scipio.
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Scipio, surnamed afterwards Africanus, with P. Licinius Crassus the rich, of whom Caffiodorus likedwife and Cicero in Bruces do speak.

550
M. Cornelius Cæthogus, P. Sempr. Tidarianus.

Livy, Caffiiodorus and the capitol records do name for Consuls this year, P. Sempronius Tidarianus, and M. Cornelius Cæthogus. The Sicilian registers, Cæthogus and Tidarianus, of whom Cicero in Bruces, Plutarch, Eutropius and Caffiodorus do often time make mention. In this year P. Scipio Naesent, judged by the Senate the best man in the city, received dame Idea.

551
Cn. Servilius Capio, C. Servilius

Livy and Caffiodorus together, with the Sicilian records and capitol monuments, put unto us for Consuls Cn. Servilius Capio and C. Servilius. Of which twain Capio had been Pretor in the year 548, and Servilius in 547. This year died Q. Fabius Max, and Annibald with a fat cheer and heavy heart departed out of Italy into Africa by commandment of certain delegate Embassadors, in the seventeenth year of the second Punic war.

552

Marcus Servilius Geminus, and Tib. Claudius Nero were Consuls this year according to Livy, Caffiodorus, and the capitol records, in which Servilius surnamed Pulex, Geminus. The Sicilian tables have Nero with Servilius. In these Consuls year, Annibald was in Africa by Scipio overthrown, and a second peace made with the Carthaginians, as Polybius, Livy, Plutarch, Appian, and Eutropius do report.

553

Against this year were created Consuls, as Livy writeth, Cn. Cornelius Lemnus, and P. Aelius Pannus. So faith Caffiodorus also and Pline in his eighteenth book and eighteenth chapter. In a broken piece of marble in the Capitol, we find Lemnus and P. Aelius in the Sicilian registers, Lemnus and Pannus. These two were Pretors both in the year 550.

554
P. Sulpicius Galba, C. Aurelius Cotta.

Livy and Caffiiodorus put down for Consuls, P. Sulpicius Galba, and C. Aurelius Cotta. This P. Sulpicius in the year 542 was first Consul; and C. Cotta two years before, Pretor. These same Consuls are to be seen in the capitol tables, but Galba and Cotta in the Sicilian.
second time, and T. Sempronius Longus. Of them Cæcero maketh mention in the erection of Cornelia accused of felony, appeareth in Pedanius.

L. Cornelia Merula, Q. Minutius Thermus,

Livy, Caius Fabia, and the capital authors, write that the Consuls chosen to succeed in this year, were L. Cornelia Merula, and Q. Minutius Thermus. The said surnames are found in the Sicilian records, Probus speaketh of them in Annals, and Frontius in his book of Fragments.

L. Quintius Flaminius, C. Domitius Aemilianus,

Nero Quintius Flaminius, and Cn. Domitius Aemilianus were this year Consuls, as Livy, Caius Fabia, and the capital records testify. The Sicilian registers also flow their surnames.

M. Acilius Glabrio, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.

The Consuls created for this year, were P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, and M. Acilius Glabrio, son of Cn, as surnames Livy, Caius Fabia, the capital records, Plutarch in Quinianus, and Appian in his Syracusian history. In the Sicilian registers, named they are Glabrio and Nasica. In these Consuls year the fame authors report that the war against Antiocbus King of Syria, and against the Etiolians, was proclaimed: which in the capital monuments, in Paterculus, and Macrobius, is called the Antiochian, but by Florus and Pliny the younger in Cato, the Syrian war. This was the 562 year from the cities foundation, as Macrobius writeth in his first book of Saturnis.

L. Cornelia Scipio, C. Latinius.

Caius Fabia, Livius, and M. Acilius Glabrio, the capital tables put down for Consuls this year, L. Cornelia Scipio and C. Latinius. The Sicilian registers have Scipio and Latinius. The same men were in his sixteenth book, and fourth chapter named C. Latinius son of C. and L. Scipio of P. To Latinius Caius Fabia only addeth the surname Africanus. This L. Scipio surnamed Africanus, was brother to Africanus.

C. Mamilianus Pullo, M. Fulvius Nobilior,

Cn. Mamilianus Vallo, and M. Fulvius Nobilior, are nominated Consuls for this year by Livy, Caius Fabia, and the tables both of the capital and Sicily, Mamilianus was Pretor in the year 557 and Fulvius anno 560.

C. Lucius Sallustius, M. Valerianus Messala,

The Consuls next following, were M. Valerianus Messala, and C. Lucius Sallustius, as Livy and Caius Fabia report, together with the Sicilian and capital tables.

M. Aemilius Lepidus, C. Flaminius,

The next Consuls, were M. Aemilius Lepidus, and C. Flaminius, as Livy, Caius Fabia, Suetonius Strabo in his first book, the Sicilian and capital tables. Of them Valerianus maketh mention in his fifth book, This is that M. Lepidus who was the Arch-bishop, twice Consul, Censor, and President of the Senate six times chosen by the Senators. And this is that C. Flaminius, who afterward by Cato the Censor was displaced out of the Senate and distroyed.

S. Pesteimius Albinus, Q. Marcius Philippus,

Livy, Caius Fabia, the capital tables report Consuls for this year, S. Pesteimius Albinus, and Q. Marcius Philippus. The Sicilian Registers name them barely. Albinus and Philippus, Valerianus maketh mention of them in his last book and third chapter. Likewise Pliny in his 53 book and tenth chapter.

P. Claudius Pulcher, M. Sempronius Tidtanianus.

For this years Consuls were Appius Claudius Pulcher, & M. Sempronius Tidtanianus, as Livy, Caius Fabia, and the capital records do testify. They stand in the Sicilian records by the names of Pulcher and Tidtanianus.

P. Claudius Pulcher, L. Porcius Glicinius.

The Consuls that followed for this year, were L. Porcius Glicinius & P. Claudius Pulcher: witnesses Livy, Caius Fabia, and the capital tables, Pulcher and Glicinius they be called in the Sicilian records.

Q. Fabius Labeo, M. Claudius Marcellus.

Against this year were created Consuls, M. Claudius Marcellus and Q. Fabius Labeo according to Livy, Caius Fabia & the capital marble stones. Their surnames be found also in the Sicilian tables, Whereas these were consuls, Attius wrote that Annibal died, as Probus maketh report in Annals.

L. Aemilius Paulus, Cn. Babinius Tampillus.

Cn. Babinius Tampillus and L. Aemilius Paulus were created Consuls for this year, as Livy, Caius Fabia, the capital, yea, and the Sicilian tables do testify, although their last have regard only of their surnames. This L. Aemilius is the son of that L. Aemilius, who was slain at Cannae, as Plutarch and Velleius de warre,
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573
P. Cæcilius Cæcilius, M. Balbinus Tamphus.

574
A. Posthumius Albinius, C. Calpurnius Piso.

575
L. Manlius Acidinius, Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

576
M. Iunius Brutus, A. Manlius Vipsa.

577
C. Claudius Pulcher, Tih. Sempronius Gracchus.

578
C. Cornelius Scipio Hispulas, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, C. Valerius Levnius.

579
P. Marcius Scævola, M. Cæcilius Lepidus II.

580
Q. Posthumius Albinius, Q. Marcius Scævola.

581
L. Posthumius Albinius, M. Popilius Lanus.

582
C. Popilius Lanus, P. Aelius Licanus.

583
T. He Coss for this year created were L. Posthumius Albinius and M. Popilius Lanus, as L. Coss, Caffiodorus, and the capitol records do testify, Albinius and Lanus are put down in the Sicilian records. While these were consuls, the feast Floralia was instituted first, as omnium beveeth in his fit book of his Kalender.
The Consuls next ensuing for this year, were P. Licinius Crassus, and C. Cassius Longinus, as it appeareth in Livy, Caesiodorus, Orfus, and the capitol tables. For in the Sicilian records, they are named no otherwise than Crassus and Longus. Of the very same Consuls Pliny maketh mention in his seventh book, Gallus also in his ninth book and fourth chapter. Whiles these were Consuls the people of Rome began war against Persius King of the Macedonians, son of Philip: which Florus and Entropius, together with Orfus, call the second Macedonian war; whereas Livy and Plutarch write more at large.

A. HusiU: Manicius, A. Acilius Servanus.

Cassiodorus next after for Consuls, C. Husius Mancius, and C. Asilius. The Sicilian regilsters, Mancius and Servanus. The capitol monuments, A. Asilius Mancius, and As. Asilius Servus, as well the election of these Consuls as their acts, are missing in the Annals of Livy.

Q. M. Marius Philippus, II. Cn. Servullus Capio.

Livy, Caesiodorus, and the capitol tables match together in the Consulship of this year Q. Marius Philippus the second time, and Cn. Servullus Capio. The Sicilian catalogue hath barely Philip and Capio. Cicero in his books entitled Brutus and Caes, writeth that Ennius the Poet died in their Consulat.

L. Aemilius Paulus, II. C. Licinius Crassus.

The Consuls: that next succeeded were Lu. Caesiodorus the second time (seventeen years after his first Consulship) and Cn. Licinius Crassus: witnesses Livy, Caesiodorus, and the capitol monuments. In like manner they are named in the Sicilian regilsters Paulus and Crassus. As touching this second Consulat of L. Paulus, Plutarch, Velisius, Orfus, Entropius, Florus, and Iulius in his 53 book do write, Plutarch addeth thus much and taith, That Paulus was threecore years of age, when he was chosen Consul the second time.

Q. Qelius Patus, M. Junius.


M. Marcellus, C. Sulpius.

Livy and the capitol monuments shew for this years Consuls, M. Claudius Marcellus, and C. Sulpius Gallus. Oflesquem, and the title prefired before the comedy Andria in Terence, exhibit Mar, Marcellus and C. Sulpius. This is that Marcellus, who after he had been thrice Consul, perished in the sea. Nephew he was of that M. Marcellus, who had been five times Consul, as Padinus reporteth. Of these Consuls, Ifineus, Pliny in his second book, and many other have made mention.

Cn. Othoavius, T. Manlius.

Caesiodorus and Othoavius infer Consuls this year, Cn. Othoavius and T. Manlius. The Sicilian tables. Othoavius and T. Manlius. The capitoliones. Othoavius and T. Manlius. Mention there is made of these consuls in the list, before Heyacin in Terence. Cicero in his first book of Final ends, and likewise in many other places, speaketh of T. Manlius, Consul with Cn. Othoavius.

A. Manlius, Q. Caisius.

Cassiodorus matcheth together consuls in this year, A. Manlius and Q. Cassius. The Sicilian catalogue hath Torquatus and Longinus. The capitol records A. Manlius Torquatus and Q. Cassius Longinus, who died in his consulship. These also had been companions together in their Pretorship, anno 586, as Livy beareth witness.

T. Sempronius, M. Invenutius.

Cassiodorus faith, that the consuls this year were T. Sempronius and M. Invenutius. Oflesquem name them, T. Gracchus, and M. Invenutius. The capitol monuments shew T. Sempronius Gracchus the second time, and M. Invenutius Tha. In the Sicilian regilsters, Delabellae and Tha, but not well as it is to be doubted. Cicero, Valerius, and Plutarch have made mention of Tha, Gracchus twice consul. And that M. Invenutius died while he was consul, Pliny in his seventh book, and Valerius also do report.

P. Cornilius Scipio Nasica, C. Marius.

Cicero in his first and second book of the nature of Gods, Veretius Plancus, Obelgens and Caesiodorus, report for consuls P. Cornil, Scipio Nasica and C. Marius Figilius. But for that there was an error committed in their creation, and thereupon they resigned their places, as the foresaid authors witness, together with Valerius Plutarch, and Pliny; P. Corn, Lentulus, and Cn. Domitius Enobarbus, entered in their stead.
M. Messula, C. Fannius.


L. Anicius, M. Cornelius Cæcilius.

Caesidius and the title set before the Comedy Adelphes in Terence avouch for Cn. Cornelius and M. Cornelius. The Sicilian registers shew Dolabella and Fulvius. The capitol monuments, Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and Mar. Fulvius Nobilior. The same is to be seen in the life of Terence the poet, for there it is written, that in their year he died.

N. Æmilius, C. Popilius.

The Consuls next succeeding, were Marcus Æmilius and C. Popilius, as Caesidius saith. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth Lepidus and Lewis. The capitol records have M. Æmilius Lepidus and C. Popilius Lewis the second time. Of the same Cesarius maketh mention in his chapter of distinction of ages.

Sex. Filius, L. Aurelius.

Caesidius reporteth, that the next Consuls were Sex. Filius and L. Aurelius. The Sicilian and capitol tables yield surnames unto them, Sex. Filius to Fulvius, and Orestes to Aurelius. Pliny writeth of them in his 33 book.

L. Licinius, C. Martius.

Orestes and Caesidius record for this years Consuls L. Licinius and C. Martius. The Sicilian catalogue Lenticus and Fignus. The capitol monuments, L. Cornelius Lenticus Lugus; and C. Martius Fignus, the second time.

Cicero in Brutus speakeith of them both. And as touching Fignus twice Consul, Valerius writeth in his chapter of Wrath.

P. Scipio Nasica. M. Claudius.

In this year both Scipio and M. Claudius are by Caesidius set down for Cn. Messala and Q. Opimius. The Sicilian tables, both in the capitol records, M. Valerius Scipio Nasica the second time, and M. Claudius Marcellus likewise the second time, Pedarius writeth, that this Marcellus was thrice Consul, and that the Cn. Scipio Nasica, named also Cornelian, was twice Consul and Senator besides, Cicero writeith in his Brutus.

L. Pompeius, Q. Opimius.

This year had Consuls, L. Pompeius and Q. Opimius as Caesidius doth and Orestes doth witness. The Sicilian tables shew Opimius and Albinus. But the capitol records Q. Opimius, and L. Pompeius Albinus. Mention there is made of this, Q. Opimius, Consul, by Cicero in his Brutus: also in the Epitome of the seventh and fortieth book. Moreover, that Pompeius died in his magistracy, besides Verris Flaccus, Obtuse also sheweth: in whose stead Man. Aeclius Glabrio was chosen.

Q. Fulvius, T. Annius.

The Consuls next following, as Caesidius writeth, were Q. Fulvius and T. Annius. In the capitol fragments they are named Nobilior and T. Annius. In the Sicilian registers, Nobilior and Lusius, Cicero in his Brutus saith, that Q. Nobilior son of Marcus, and T. Annius Lusius were Consuls. The Greek records and Caesidius shew Nobilior and Lusius.

M. Marcellus, L. Valerius.

This year had for Consuls, M. Marcellus and L. Valerius as Caesidius witnesseth. The Sicilian catalogue repeateth Marcellus and Flaccus. Orestes sheweth unto us M. Claudius Marcellus and L. Valerius Flaccus. This Marcellus was thrice Consul, as Pedarius saith upon the Oration for Servius, and Cicero in his book of divination and destiny.

L. Licinius Lucullus, A. Postumius Albinius.


L. Licinius Lucullus, A. Postumius Albinius.
T. Quinctius, M. Aelius.

This year had for Conuliis, T. Quinctius and M. Aelius, as Cassiodorus telleth, whom Pliny in his 7 book 36 chap, calleth C. Quinctius and M. Aelius. Cicero in his book 24, and the 12 book of his Epitales to Atticus name T. Flaminius and M. Aelius, and faith that they were created Conuliis in the 19 year after the death of Emnius. The Sicilian tables have Flaminius and Balbus. The Capitol fragments, Flaminius and M. Aelius. Balbus.

Cassiodorus avoucheth for the Conuliis of this year, L. Marcius and M. Manlius: likewise the 49 Epitale, Cicero in Lucullus maketh mention of Censorinus and M. Manlius: of Censorinus and Manlius in his twelfth book of epitales to Atticus. The same Conuliis, Appianus in Libya name L. Marcius Censorinus and M. Manlius. In like fort Conserinus in his treatise of Nativity or Birth-day. The Sicilian tables have Censorinus and Manlius. The capital fragments shew Censorinus and M. Manlius, son of Publius, nephew of Publius. While theirs were Conuliis, there arose a third war between the State of Rome and the Carthaginians, as Florus in the 49 Epitome, besides Censorinus Florus do testifie: likewise Sallust, but he faith with Verres Florus, that it was the year 64, Cicero also in his eleventh Philippick, and lately Entropius, with Orosius.

Sp. Postumius, L. Piso. The Hen were Conuliis created, Sp. Postumius and L. Piso, according to Cassiodorus and Obsequens. In the capital fragments they are named A. Magnus, and Lu. Calpurnius, son of Caiaus, nephew of Caiaus, furnamed Piso Censorinus. In Censorinus Kalender, Magnus and Censorinus, in the Sicilian catalogue Albinius and Piso. As for Magnus and Albinius, they are the furnames of Postumius: like as Censorinus and Piso, of Calpurnius. In this year the people of Rome, entred into arms against Andronicus, other wise termed Pseudo-Philipps, which they call the third Macedonian war, after Florus and Entropius.

P. Africanus, C. Livios.

Obsequens and Cassiodorus set forth for conuliis this year P. Africanus and C. Livins. In the Sicilian catalogue they are registred Sepio and Denius: in the capital fragments Afriuus Amphilus, and C. Livins: the one son of M. Amphilus, nephew of Marcus, the other furnishad Denius. This Pub. Cornelius was the natural son of that Paullus that vanquished Persea King of the Macedonians, and adopted by P. Cornelius the son of Sepio Africanus, Whereupon he was called Pub. Cornelius, son of Paullus, nephew of P. Sepio Africanus the younger, and Amphilus, as Vellius and others do witnesse. His two last furnames are in the capital records, out of which, the complete name of M. Livius Drisfas, with his addition, was framed. Of these Conuliis Cicero speaketh after: likewise Valerius, Petronius, Appian, Plutarch, Florius, both Plutarch, Entropius and Orosius.

C. Cornelius, L. Mammius.

Next conuliis following, were Cn. Cornelius and L. Mammius, as witnesseb Cassiodorus: and according to Orosius, Vellius, Consorinus, and Cicero in the thirteenth book of epitales to Atticus, Cn. Cornelius Leantius and L. Mammius they are named. In the Sicilian registrates Leantius and Mammius. In the fragments of the capital, Leantius and L. Mammius, nephew of Lucius, L. Mammius in this magistracy acquired the furname of Achmeu, upon a victory achived by him in Asia, as Ptolemy in Marinus, and Vellius do testifie.

Q. Fabius Maximus, L. Hosfilius.

Cassiodorus this year delivereth unto us for Conuliis Q. Fabius Maximus, together with L. Hosfilius. Cicero in Lucullus, and Pliny in his five and thirtieth book and fourth chapter, name them Qn. Maximus, brother of Sepio, and L. Mammius. Of this Q. Enlius Maximus Amphilus, Valerius, and Scribanius, wrote in his second book and fourth chapter. This Q. Fabius was the son of P. Enlius, adopted by Q. Fab. Max, the son of Verres, as Appianus writeth in Hispania: and therefore in the fragment of a capital table there is to be seen the second furname Eumphilus. Pliny was deceived, when he in his 32 book 11 chapter calleth him Qn. Allobrogicus, brother of Sepio, who was the son of this Fabius.

Ser. Galba, L. Aurelius.

This year had for Conuliis, Ser. Galba and Lu. Aurelius, according to Cassiodorus: theole, Valerius in his six book name St. Subtius Galba, and Lu. Aurelius Cotta, whom the Sicilian catalogue sheweth under the bare names of Galba and Cotta. But the capital fragments have Galba and L. Valerius Cotta. This is that Seip. Galba, who being Pector, as Sutonius writeth, stirred up the war before against Ptolemy, for he was a vehement Orator, of whom Cicero speaketh many times. And as for L. Cotta, he it was whom afterwards being accused by Africanus, Qn. Metellus Macedonianus defended, Cicero in Brutus, for Marcus and against Verres make mention of him. Likewise Frontius of them both, in his first book of water-conduits.

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611


Cassiodorus nameth for this years Consuls Appius Claudius and Q. Metellus, Orosius, App. Claudius and Q. Caecilius Metellus. The Sicilian registerers have Claudius and Metellus. The capitolt fragments shew Pulcher and Q. Caecilius Macedonius. Of the fampe, Fromontius speaketh in his book of water-conduits, and Valerius in his leventh book. Now this Metellus is he who being Pretor, subdued the Macedonians and Acharians, wereupon he was named Macedonius, whom Pliny 7 book sheweth to be the son of Lu, and nephew of Quin.

612

L. Metellus, Q. Maximus.

Cassiodorus putteith down for Consuls, L. Metellus and Q. Maximus. The Sicilian records Metellus and Maximus, Orosius, L. Caecilius Metellus and Q. Fabius Maximus Servilius. In like manner the capitolt fragments Callius and Servilius. This Servilius is the brother-german of Q. Servilius, Cepio, the Conful two years after, as witnesseth Appian and the adoptod son of Q. Fabius Emelius, for they were both adopted by Q. Fabius Mac, the son of Verneus, the one out of the house Regulus, the other of Servilius. L. Metellus is the brother of Q. Metellus Macedonius, as writeth Valerius in his treatise of Witnesses.

613

Ca. Capio, Q. Pompeius.

Cassiodorus and Q. Pompeius are recounted Consuls by Cassiodorus, Velitius in his second book faith thus: Whether there were two or three houses of the Pompeius, the first of that name was Consul with Ca. Servilius. This Q. Pompeius, Cicero maketh mention oftentimes, writing that he was of base and obscure parentage. Him Valerius in his chapter of witneffes nameth Assidus, but corruptly through the fault of the copiers, in stead of Am. F. i, the son of Aulus, in the name for Appianus in Historiens nameth him Qn. Pompeius Asius for A. Filius, Cicero in his Orations against Verres, and in that for Fontius, Valerius also in his chapter of Witnesses, sheweth that there were two brethren named Cneus and Quintus, both Servillii Capios. 614

Q. Capio, C. Larin.

After this were Consuls made Qn. Capio and C. Larin, my authors are Cassiodorus and Obsequens together with the Sicilian tables, and Frontinus in his treatise of water-conduits. This Larin as Cicero in his eleventh Philippick, and Valerius de report, was the son of Larin the the Consul, anno 564, whom as Cicero in his second book of Duties and in Larin, was the first that was named Wile, whereof Plutarch in Gracchi yeeldeth a reason.

615

Ca. Piso, M. Popilius.

Cassiodorus sheweth for this years Consuls, Ca. Piso with M. Popilius. Apionius and the Epitomist have M. Popilius Larus: but they be named M. Popilius Larus and L. Calpurnius by Valerius in his first book, writing thus, That Cornelius Hispalus, Lord chief justice for strangers, when M. Popilius Larus and L. Calpurnius were Consuls, by an edict commanded all the Calidians [Africologers] to depart out of Rome and Italy within ten daies next ensuing.

616

P. Scipio, D. Brutus.

Publius Scipio and D. Brutus are named for this years Consl, by Cassiodorus, Florus in his 55 Epitome; P. Cornelius Nasca (in named Scipio in mockery by C. Curianus a Trib. of the Com.) and D. Junius Brutus Consul, levied and muttered fouldiers, &c. This Scipio was feon of that Nasca who was named Cornelius, and twice was he Conful and Centor also, recepeth to that Nasca, who by the Senat was deemed the best man in the City, and father to him that warred upon Ingarus, as Velitius faith. This Decius Brutus, Cicero in his Brutus calleth the son of Marcus, who bare the Confulship in the year five hundred ninety seven, and in the capitolt tables is called Pennis. Moreover, of these Consuls Cicero speaketh very oft, Velitius also in his 3 book, chap. 7, 5 book, chap. 3, 9 book, chap. 15: Likewise, Pliny in his 21 book, and laffly, Fromontius.

617

M. Emelius, C. Hostilius Mancinus.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens match together in the Consulship this year, M. Emelius, and C. Hostilius Mancinus. The Sicilian registerers L. Lepidus and Mancinus, Orosius and Apionius, M. Emelius Lepidus and C. Hostilius Mancinus. Of this Conful Mancinus there remain yet some tokens to be feen in broken marble of the capitol. Cicero maketh mention often-times of Lepidus, as well in other places as in Brutus. Likewise, Valerius, Florus, Paterculus, and Pliny in his treatise of Famous men.

618

P. Furins, Sex. Attilius Serranus.

Cassiodorus putteith down for Consuls, P. Furins and Sex. Attilius Serranus. Cicero in his third book of Duties, L. Furins and Sex. Attilius, Obsequens, L. Furins and Attilius Serranus. The Sicilian registerers Phidus and Serranus. Of this Furins, Cicero writeth thus in his Brutus; I. M. Furins Phidus, was reputed for a man of very good language, and to have spoken more learndly than others. In the capitalt fragments there appeareth yet some shew of Serranus the Conful.
The next consuls are set down by Cassiodorus and Obsequens, Ser. Aurelius and Q. Calpurnius. 

The year following had P. Africanus and C. Fulvius Flaccus for Q. Calpurnius Piso, as it is written in Cassiodorus and Obsequens; but Servio and Flaccus in the Sicilian catalogue. The same Flaccus the Capitol fragments do they, of this C. Fulvius, mention there is made also in the 56 Epitome; and of Africanus twice consul, by Appian in Hispania, by Orofius, Florini, and Valerini in his eight book.

P. Africanus, C. Fulvius Flaccus.

This year had consuls, P. Mucius, and L. Calpurnius, as witnesseth Cassiodorus. The Sicilian register theyw Secundus and Calpurnius, Velleius nameth P. Mucius Secundus and L. Calpurnius. Thee of Consuls Velleius upon the orations against Verres, maketh mention, in which words Secundus a right learned man in the Laws, was consuli with L. Piso, that year where-in Tiberius was killed. In the broken marbles of the Capitol he flangeth by the name of L. Calpurnius Piso, furnamed also Frugi; and that truly. For Cicero in one Oration against Verres, and in another for Fonteius, writeth, that he was the fift of the Piones, named Frugi. This man, when he was Tribunus or Provovll of the Commons, made a law against the extortion of magistrates, when Marcus and Manlius were consuls; he wrote also the annals of Rome, as Cicero testifieth in his book Brutus.

P. Mucius, L. Calpurnius.

A point Clodius and M. Perpennus are matched in the Confulat together this year by Obsequens and Cassiodorus. Culpinius book and the Greek records, show Lentulus and Perpennus. This Clodius haply was adopted into the family of the Corneli. Moreover, Cicero in his third book of Laws, and in the Oration for Plancinus, calleth this man C. Clodius. This also is confirmed by an old table of stones commonly known, wherein is to be feed this inscription, C. Clodius and M. Perpennus, of this M. Perpennus as many as wrote the war of Ariftonice, have made mention, and namely, Varinius in his 3 book and 4 chapter. Celleius, Sestus, Orosius, and Eutropius.

C. Sempronius, M. Aquilius.

This year had consuls, M. Aquilius and C. Sempronius, as witnesseth Cassiodorus. But Aquilius and Titanius according to the Siciliani registers, C. Sempronius Tadinius, and M. Aquilius after Orosius, Cicero speakeh of them in his book of the nature of gods, and to his brother Quintus. Paterculus also in his second book, Sestus in his 14 book. Appian in his first book. And both of them are taken out of the triumph records in the capitol.

Cn. Olavius, T. Annius.

Next followed as consuls Cn. Olavius and T. Annius, at Cassiodorus testifieth, but not he. For Cassiodorus book and the Sicilian catalogue, have Olavius and Rufus. Plutarch also writeth, that one T. Annius contended with Tib. Gracchus in a sedition. As for this Cn. Olavius

Cn. Olavius, T. Annius.
The Chronologie

The year of Caesar, 607.

L. Cassius, L. Cina.

Cassidors nameth for this years Consuls, L. Caius and L. Cina. The Sicilian records Longinus and Cina, Cassius; books set out Rufius corruptly for Roscella, and Cina. This L. Cassius was his son who bore the consulship in the year 590, and he was afterwards Censor in the year 629, famed Roscella by Frontinus.

M. Aemilius, L. Aurelius.


M. Plautius, M. Fufius.

Cassidors and Obsequens avouch Consuls this year, M. Plautius and M. Fufius. The Sicilian registers, Hypsiss and Flacus. Orsus and Frontinus in his treatise of water-ducts, M. Plautius Hypsiss and Mar. Fufius Flacus. Valerius also in his discourse of Pride maketh mention of them.

C. Caflius Longinus, C. Sexius.

Cassidors and Obsequens report, that the consuls following were C. Caflius Longinus, and C. Sexius. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth Longinus and Catulus. Pellemus writeth, that the colony Fabratoria was planted by Caflius and Catulus. Cicero in Brutus speaketh of C. Sexius Catulus, Entropius declareth for consuls, C. Caflius Longinus, and S. Domitius Catulus, not without suspicion of a fault or error.

Q. Caflius, T. Quininus.

Cassidors nominateth for consuls this year, Q. Caflius and T. Quininus. The Sicilian records Metellus and Flamininus. Entropius and Orsus. Q. Caflius, Metellus and T. Quininus Flamininus. Cicero in his Oration pleading for his house, calleth them T. Flamininus and Q. Metellus. This Q. Metellus was the elder of the four sons of Macedonians, whom Plutarch in his treatise of the Romans fortune, calleth Q. Mctellus Balareus, of the Balares whom in this magistracy he conquered.

Cn. Domitius, C. Fannius.

Cassidors and Obsequens join in fellowship of the consulate this year. Cn. Domitius and C. Fannius. The Sicilian records, Euphrates and

Fannius, Cicero writeth of them in his Brutus, and Plebs in his second book and 32 chapter. Three months (if so, he) appeared when Cn. Domitius and C. Fannius were Cn. which most men called the night-stars.

L. Oppianius, Q. Maximus.

This year had for consuls Lu. Oppianius and Q. Maximus, as written in Cassidors. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth Oppianus and Maximus. But Obsequens, Lu. Oppianius and Q. Fabius Maximus. Pliny speaketh of them in his second book, laying, About the fun there appeared an arch or bow, when Lu. Oppianus and Q. Fabius were consuls. This Lu. Fabius Maximus is by Cicero in Brutus. Florus in his Epitome, Pellicia in his 2 book, and Plutarch upon the Orations against Verres, rightly named the nephew of Paulinas, and son of E. Aurelius. And is may Strabo, Appian, and Pliny be well reproved, for making him and his father, Aemilius, all one. The same man, as Cicero and Pliny testify, was summi ded Allobrogian, upon a victory over the Allobroges. Of this L. Oppianus consul, after whose name there was a wine called Oppianum. Pliny maketh mention in his 14 book and 4 chapter. Plutarch also in C. Graecius, and Pellicia in his second book.

P. Marcius, C. Pappius.

Cassidors inferreth for this years consuls, P. Marcius and C. Pappius. The Sicilian records Marcius and Carbo. This is that Cass Pappius Carbo, who being a Tribune of the commons when Claudius and Pernius were Cn. was afterwards by C. Gracchus appointed for one of the Triumvirs to divide lands: who first took part with the commons, but afterwards ranged with the nobility: of whom Cicero in many other places, and namely, in his second book of a perfect Orator, maketh mention.

L. Caecilius, L. Aurelius.

Cassidors inferreth for this years consuls, L. Caecilius and L. Aurelius. The Sicilian catalogue, Metellus and Cassia. Plutarch in Marcius speaketh of C. Metellus and Cassia consuls. Which Marcius he writeth to have born the Tribunship of the commons, when these were consuls, and to have cast Metellus the consul into prifon. This is that Cassa, in whole common room Velleius reporteth, that C. Caesar Flamin of Jupiter, was created.

M Cato, Q. Marcius.

This year had for consuls Mar. Cato and Q. Marcius. witnesseth Cassidors and Obsequens. Cato and Marcius, according to the Sicilian registers, but Entropius nameth them M. Porcius Cato and Q. Marcius. Valerius speaketh of

637

L. Lucilius, Q. Maximus.

Caﬂodorus next ensuing by Caﬂodorus his saying, were L. Cælius and Q. Maximus. After the Sicilian catalogue Metellus and Scaevola; if ye go by Entropius L. Cælius Metellus and Q. Maximus Scaevola. Now in this is that L. Cælius Metellus, who afterwards upon troubling the Dalmatians, was named Dalmatius, whom Plutarch in Cæsarians and in his book of the Roman fortunes, nameth Dalmatius; for that in a long time he bound up his forehead with a frontlet or wreath which they call a diadem to hide an ulcer that he had there, Hereupon when Pompeius bound up his leg with a white band of garter, It makes no matter,quad. Pauvinus, in what part of the body a man weareth the diadem: upbraiding and reproaching him for his Kinglike power, in terming a small clot or piece of cloth by that name. This is that Q. Maximus Scaevola the Angar, of whom Cicero in his book Latinis, and in the fifth book of an Orator maketh mention.

638

C. Licinius Cæsianus. Q. Maximus.

Caﬂodorus completh together in society of Conulhip this year, C. Licinius and Q. Maximus. The Sicilian catalogue name them Cæsianus and Eburinius, (this Q. Maximus Cicero speaketh in his Oration for Marcus.) That this man was the house of the Fabius, his named Eburinius Heweth, of whom writeth Pllustarch in this name: Qu. Fabius was called Eburinius, or named Eburinius, of whitencis, for that his butrock was blaited with lighting, Q. Isidius in his third Declamation reporteth, that this Fabius Eburinius had a son unhal of his body, whom he examined at home in his house, and thereupon put him to death. The same man Valerius call eth Qu. Fabius Servianus. As for the name of this Licinius his father, obscure and unknown heretofore, Galbezius out of an old antiquity of coin hath restored it, wherein, as he faith, was written plainly, C. Licinius Cæsianus, son of Publins.

639

M. Metellus. M. Scaevola.

The conuls next following by Caﬂodorus his report, were M. Metellus and M. Scaevola. As for Metellus, the third son he was of Macedoniens, But as touching M. Scaevola, whom the writer of the book entituled of famous per stos, calleth M. Aëtius, Scaevola, thus writeth Plutarch, M. Scaevola (qd. he) was a Partian indead and no blood but fo, as the gentry of his house for those dacies before him lay obscure for neither father, nor grand sire, by reason of their poor estate and for want of putting forth themselves in the world, attained to dignity in weal publick. Moreover, of him Cicero maketh mention oftentimes in his Oration for Moretus and in Brutus. Valerius also in his 5 book and 8 chap. and Pliny likewise in his 2 book and 36 chap.

640

M. Aëtius Balbus. C. Cato.

Caﬂodorus setteth down for conuls this year, M. Aëtius Balbus and C. Cato. The Sicilian catalogue Balbus and Cato, Olisiponens M. Aëtius and C. Porcius. Of the same conuls Pliny speaketh in the 2 book, chap. 29. and 58. Plutarch in Marius giveth to Aëtius the orname Marius. This C. Cato is the brother of that M. Cato, who four years before was Conul, nephew to M. Cato Confiilurum, and Africanus hates his son, as faith Vellicinius, Cicero against Verres, and in Brutus.

641

C. Cælius, Cn. Papreus.

Caßodorus and Olisiponens let down for next Conulis, C. Cælius and Cn. Papreus. The Sicilian catalogue Metellus and Carbo. Entropius, C. Cælius Metellus, and Cn. Carbo. These men Tacitus in his book of the manners of Germans reported to have born the Conulhip, anno 640 after the foundation of Rome in which, both he and Olisiponens do report, that the people of Rome began first to war with the Cimmerians and the Teutones. This C. Metellus was the fourth son of C. Metellus the son of Macedoniens; whom, when he died, he left a man of Pretors calling, and in fait and election for to be Conul. This man garner a surname by way of reproach, as Cicero teetitheth in his second book of a perfect Orator. Now hisnameth he Capreus, as Plutarch faith in the Life of the Romans.

642

M. Livius Drusus. L. Piso.

Caßodorus exhibeth unto us for this years Conulis, M. Livius Drusus, and L. Piso. The Sicilian catalogue Drusus and Piso. L. Piso sumed Cæsarius: a man of Conuliar degree was then alter by the Tigurins, when Lu. Cæsion was Conul, as Oration teetitheth.

643

P. Scipio. L. Calpurnius Befius.

644

645
Q. Metellus. M. Silanus.
Cassiodorus faith that the Consuls next following were Q. Metellus and M. Silanus. The Sicilian catalogue theweth Metellus and Silanus, Pedianus and Eutropius, Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, and M. Junius Silanus. Of them also Cicero speaketh in Brutus. This Metellus was furnamed Numidicus for the conquest of Numidia, as witnesseth Velvius.

646
Cassiodorus and Obsequens deliver for the Consuls of this year, Servutus Galba and M. Scarus. The Sicilian evendces, Sulpius and Scarus. Cicero in the Oration for Rabirius, faith that S. Galba wasa man of Consul degree, when Marcus was the fix time Conful. Of M. Scarus the Conful, Velvius and Tacio make mention. This is that M. Arelitus Scarus, who being afterwards in embattale was by the Cimbrians murdered, as appeareth in the threecore and sevent Epitome.

647
I. Cassius. C. Marius.
Cassiodorus joineth in the conquesthip this year, I. Cassius and C. Marius. Cassinian book and the Sicilian records. Longinus and and Marius, Pliny also make mention of them in his 1:0 book and 1:8 chap. Cicero in his oration for Plancus: Plutarch in Marius; and Cicero again in his third book of Duties, witteth, that C. Marius having taken the repulse twice for the office of Edileship, was created Conful.

648
Q. Servilius Capio. C. Atillius.
Obsequens and Cassiodorus match consuls together this year, Q. Servilius Capio and C. Atillius Scarrus. The Sicilian monuments Capio and Scarus. In this yean upon the third day of January, M. Tiullius Cicero was born, as Celsus in his fiftteenth book and eight and twentieth chap, hath left written. Much mention there is made of these consuls in Cicero and other ancient writers.

649
P. Rutilius Rufus. C. Manlius.
Pllinius Erutius Rufus and C. Manlius, are put down by Obsequens and Cassiodorus for this years conuls. This P. Rutilius, Cicero in Brutus, calleth the son of Marcus. About the other conful the Annals do vary and disagree: some forename him C. others C. Same name him M. Manlius others M. Marius or Manlius. But all this controversy is decided by an old antiquity in one at Puteoli: the inscriptions whereof testifyeth that P. Rutilius and Mn. Marius were Consuls; as also the evidence of the Sicilian regissers, wherein it is Rufus and Manlius. Of this Manlius mention there is made in Cicero’s Orations for Plancins and Manius: likewise in Valerius, Salus, Tacius, Florus, Eutropius and Orosius. That he was not only a safe man and of low birth, but also without all verte and wit, in the course of his life also vile and contemptible, Cicero writeth in his Oration for Plancins. Whereby it easily appeareth, that the Malii were a kinred different from the Manlii. For of C. Manlius a Patrician, and that of a molt noble house, Cicero would never have spoken in such terms.

650
C. Marius II. C. Flavins Fimbrina.
The next Consuls are set down by Cassiodorus, C. Marius the second time, and C. Flavius Fimbrina: by Obsequens, C. Marius and C. Flavius. By the Sicilian regissers Marius and Fimbrina: by Pedianus upon the Oration for Cornelius, C. Marius the second time, and C. Fimbrina’s Item, C. Marius and Cane Flavius. Besides, Cicero, Velvius, Valerius, Plutarch, and others speake oftent of his Coff.

651
C. Marius III. C. Aurelius Orfeles.
Cassiodorus reporteth for this years Consuls, C. Marius the third time, and L. Aurelius Orfeles. The Sicilian catalogue Marius and Orfeles. Moreover, Marius even in his abilene was elected Consul the third time, for fear of the Cimbran war which was defeated, as Velvius, Eutropius, the Breviary, and Cicero in his Oration concerning Provinces, do testify.

652
C. Marius IV. Q. Lucatus.
Next after them are put down for Consuls by Cassiodorus and Obsequens, C. Marius the fourth time, and Q. Lucatus. The Sicilian regissers exhibit unto us Marius and Catullus, Plutarch and Eutropius. Cain Marius the fourth time, and Q. Lucatus Catullus. Of these Consuls, Cicero and Pliny oftentimes make mention.

653
C. Marius. V., M'. Aquilinus.

Then succeeded in the Consulship by the

106

A. P.,

Lucius. 661

T

658

L. T. T.'omitius.

and

LyJerius

his

P.

C. Marius VI., L. Valerius Flaccus.

CaAedorus and Oftegens shew unto us for

this years consuls, C. Marius the first time, and

Lu, Valerius Flaccus. The Sicilian records,

Marius and Flaccus. This L. Flaccus (after-

wards Censor) was President of the Senate, and

matter of the horiomen under Sylla Dictator.

Of these consuls Cicero speaketh very often, and

namely, in his Brutus, in his oration for Rabiri-

us, against Catiline and Antonius; and also in the

defence of Flaccus. Plinylikewise in his se-

cond book, Velatiiu, and Pedanius upon the

oration against Piso. Moreover, Plutarch, and

many authors besides. In this year (upon the

twelfth day of July, then called Quintilis, as

Microbius witnesseth) was C. Caesar born, who

afterwards was surnamed Dictator.

M. Antonius, A. Postumius.

Reported it is by Caesarodorus and Oftegens,

that M. Antonius and A. Postumius were

Conuls this year. The Sicilian regilifers, shew

Albinus and Antonius. In a fragment allo of

the capitol marbles, mention there is of A.,

Postumius. Carthianian book and the Greek re-

cords, have Antonius and Albinus. Of these

Conuls, Cicero speaketh in his oration to the

citizens of Rome, after his return out of exile.

Likewise, Pliny in his 8 book and 7 chap, where

he noteth this the 655 year, Allo Celsus in his

4 book and 6 chap.

Q. Metellus, T. Didius.

Ullus Metellus and T. Didius succeeded

Conuls next year, as Caesarodorus

and Oftegens do write. And Pedanius upon

the oration for Cornelia, nameth them: Curio

(faithe he) accused Q. Metellus Nepos,ion of

Batiocorus, and nephew of Macedonius, who was

Conul with T. Didius. Cicero speaketh of

the same man in his oration after his return.

C. Lentulus, P. Crassus.

Not only Caesarodorus, but the Sicilian regi-

lers also, do tellith, that Cn. Lentulus and

P. Crassus were Conuls this year; and Of-

geens nameth them, Cn. Cornelius and P. Lic-

ninius. Pliny writeth of them in his tenth book

and first chap, also in his 33 book and second

chapter.

Cn. Domitius, C. Cassius.

This year had for Consuls, Cn. Domitius

and C. Cassius, as Caesarodorus and Of-

gegens do writeth. Cassius annals and the Greek regi-

lers, shew Xeodarbus and L conjugis, A fragment

of Per, Flaccus his marbles, Xeodarbus and C.

Cassius son of Lucius. Pedanius speaketh of

them upon the oration for Cornelius.

L. Crassus, Q. Scaviola

Lucius Crassus and Q. Scaviola were Conuls

next following, according to Caesarodorus and

Oftegens. In a fragment of the capitol records

as touching Conuls, is to bee seen Crassus and

Marius. In Consorinius, we find Lu, Licinius

son of Lucius, Cicero in his Brutus writeth, that

Crassus the orator bare all dignities of magistra-

ty, together with Scaviola the high-priest, ex-

cept the Tribunat of commons and the Cen-

forthip: also that whites they two were Con-

uls, Q. Hortensius pleaded the first cause that ever

he understand, at the bar. Pedanius upon

the oration of Cicero for Cornelia, maketh

mention of L. Licinius Crassus the Orator, and

Q. Marius Scaviola the arch-bishof, an orator

beides and a professed lawyer, both Conuls

together.

C. Celsus, L. Domitius.

CaAedorus and Oftegens declare for this

years Consuls, C. Celsus and L. Domitius, The

Sicilian regilifers, Calidius and Xeodarbus. In a

capitol fragment, they are Calidius and L. Domi-

tius son of Cn. As for Calidius, it is the surname

of Celsus. For Velatiiu maketh mention of one

C. Calidius, under Augustus. In like maner Cicero

in his book entituled, The king for a Conul-

ship, and in his oration for Murena. Allo Pada-

nus upon the Oration for Cornelia, Again,

Cicero in his Brutus, nameth them next before

Herenius.

C. Valerius Flaccus. M. Herennius.

There are marched by Caesarodorus and Of-

gegens for conuls this year. C. Valerius Flac-

cus and M. Herennius. The Sicilian records,

Flaccus and Herennius. A broken stone of the

capitol, hath Flaccus and M. Herennius, Plinius

in his 29 book and 3 chap, Cicero also in his

Oration for Murena, and in Brutus, speaketh of

them.
666
C. Claudius Pulcher, M. Perpenna.

Conuls this year, were C. Claudius Pulcher, and M. Perpenna, as Kites Caius and
Ossianus. Likewise in a capital broken monument, and in the Sicilian register, it is Pulcher and
M. Perpenna, Cicerone maketh mention of this Caius as Prior of Sicily in the fourth
Oration against Peressus and as Edile Curule in his second book of Office. So doth Pliny in his
8 book.

L. Marcius. Sext. Iulius.

According to Cassiodorus and Ossianus, note for
Conuls this year, L. Marcius and Sext. Iulius. The
chapt, in like manner Cicero many times, and
Valerius.

665
L. Flaminio. P. Ratius Lupus.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls this
year, L. Portius and Cn. Pompeius, Padernus
upon the Oration for Consuls, surmised Cn.
Caesar. The Capitol fragment threw no more but Strabo and
dota. Appius hath made mention of these consuls;
so have Ossianus and others that have pen-
ned the Marian war. This Cn. Pompeius was fa-
ter to that Cn. Pompeius the Great, as Appia-
num witnesseth, and Padernus upon the Oration
against Piso.

666
L. Sulla. Q. Pompeius.

Cassiodorus setteth for this years Consuls, 
L. Sulla and Q. Pompeius: and the same is
written in Ossianus, Vellius, En党的十九us Ossianus, 
Appius Vulcius, and others. The Sicilian
records have Silla and Kullius, Sulla after his vic-
tory in the civil war; would needs have himself
surmised Flamen, and therefore Padernus and the
avouchers of the capitol monuments, in report-
ting this consular, write thus: I, Sulla, who af-
swered with the name of Lucullus, and nephew of Plautus. Moreover of Q. Pom-
petius Rufus, Cicero maketh mention in his Br-
tus.

667

Reported there are by Cassiodorus and the
Sicilian registers for Consuls this year, L. 
Cinna and Cn. Olivarius, Appius Volatus, and the
rest who have recorded the history of this time,
name them L. Cornelius Cinna, and Cn. Olivarius.
Plutarch writeth, that La, innows being the ad-
verse faction to L. Sulla, was by him made con-
ful, upon condition, that he should not cross
nor stand against the proceeding of the said La.
Sulla, and to soon as he was entered into place
of government, he began to trouble and dis-
quiet the present state of the commonwealth,
yes, and intended an action against Sulla, by
the means of Virginius a Tribune of the com-
mons. Howbeit Sulla contemning Virginius, 
made an expedition against Mithridates.

668
L. Cinerinus II. C. Marcius VII.

A feast this year, were Consuls, C. Marcius the re-
venth time, and L. Cinna the second time,
according to the records of Scllofys, C. Scissidi-
orus, and those who wrote of the civil war. Plutarch
faith, that Marcius was the first man that was
seven times consul of Rome. Moreover as is it to be read in Appius and in the Breviaries L. Cinerius
and C. Marcius without any lawful assembly for
Election, declared themselves Consuls against
this year, and the very same day that they entered
into their magislary M. Ascanius commanded Sex.
L. Licinius a Senator, to be thrown down from the
rock Tarpeia: who after he had committed many
hainous crimes and outrages, ended his
dates upon the Ides of January: in whose room
was subordained, L. Verr. Flaccus, even he (as
men think) who before-time was colleague to
C. Marcius in his first Consulship of whom Cici-
nero maketh mention in his Oration for his son
Placcus.

669
L. Cinerinus III. Cn. Papirius.

Cassiodorus witnesseth that the Consuls suc-
ceeding in this year, were L. Cinerius the third
time, and Cn. Papirius. The Sicilian records,
have Cinerius and Carbo. In the 83 Breviary it is
written that Lu. Cinna and Cn. Papirius Carbo,
for two years together usurped the Consulate.
Also in the book entitled Of famous perions,
we read that Cinna made himself Consul a sec-
ond and third time, of thee Consuls Plutarch
speaketh in Sulla, Appius in Mithridatic, and
in the first book of civil wars.

670
L. Cinerinus IV. Cn. Papirius II.

Next were Consuls, after Cassiodorus and the
Epitomist, Lu. Cinna the fourth time, and
and Cn. Papirius Carbo the second time. Cicero in his Tusculan questions mentioneth Cn., four times Conil: so doth Suetonius in Caius. And of Cn., Papirius Carbo twice Conil, the capital tables do yeeld testimony. As for the Sicilian
records, they put down for conil (not without fulmination of error) Carbo and Scribonius.

671

L. Scipio. C. Norbanus.

Eedles the Sicilian tables, Caffiodorus, Obseq
tient, Appius, Velleius, Florus, and Tacit
us in his nineteenth book do witness, that Lu.
Scipio, and C. Norbanus were Conils. In the
capital fragments it is written, Lu. Cornelius
son of Lucius, nephew of L. Scipio Aetacian.

672

M. Carinus. Cn. Carbo III.

I find in Caffiodorus, Appius, Velleius, and oth
ers, the next conill to have been C. Mar
inus and Cn. Carbo the third time. This C.
Marinus was the brothers son of C. Marini seven
times conil, according to Appius: but Vellei
us, Plutarch, Florus, and others, say, that he was the son of that C. Marini and haply indeed he was adopted by C. Marini.
Certainly, in the capital tables, he is called C.
Marinus, son of C. and nephew of Cnus. Cicero
spokeath of the Cn. against Rutus: Pliny also
in his 17 book and they who have set down in
writing the civil wars of Sulla.

673


Next to those, Caffiodorus bringeth in for coni
lus, M. Tullius and Cn. Dolabella. The Sicilian
records, have Decius and Dolabella. Appius also reporteth, that Sulla Dictator, to the
end that the flat and common-weal might seem to retain some flew yet of her ancient
dignity, permitted M. Tullius and Cornelius De
cubitus to be created conils, whilst himself af
ter the manner of Kaste aloft in a throne above
them. Cicero in his oration against Rutus, and
Celsius in his 15 book and 33 chap, maketh mention of M. Tullius and Cn. Cornelius coni
uls. In a capital fragment, this M. Tullius son
of M. nephew of A., is surnamed Decius.

674

L. Sulla II. Q. Metellus.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian reggizites, let down
for Conils, Lu. Sulla the second time, and Q. Metellus. Appius laith moreover, that Sull.
na Dictator though he was, yet hold content
and willing to be declared conil with Q. Met
ellus Pontius, to the end that the common-weal
might seem to have some likenes yet of a free
state. Of these conils, Cicero maketh mention
in his Orations against Verres, and elsewhere.
Celsius likewise in his 15 book and 28 chapter,
together with Caffiodorus. This Metellus was
surnamed Pontius. He it is, who was by lot ap
pointed to manage the wars in Spain and ag
against Servius: and lou he was to Namicais.

675


T he next conils were P. Servilius and Ap. Cla
udiantus, as witnesseth Caius. In the Sicilian
tables it appeareth that their surnames were,
Pana and Pulex: of whom Appius writeth thus: The people of Rome in malevoli
ous manner to court Sull. the Dictator, reques
ted of him that he would continue conil till
another year. But Sulla would none of that: and took order, that Sen. Ifurinus and C. Mar
ius Pulcher, should be declared Conil. In a frag
ment of the capital he is thus written: P. Servi
lus Vatia, called afterward Flaviius: whch surn
name he took of the Iatarians, a nation in his
whom he subdied. My authors are. Pana
nus upon the Orations of Cicero against Verci
Stabro in his 14 book; Marcellinus likewise in
his 14 book, with others.

676

M. Lepidus. Q. Catus.

M. Lepidus and Q. Catus are by Casi
dorius named Conils for this year. Plut.
arch reporteth that when L. Sulla had given up
his Dictatorship and restored again to the peo
ple of Rome the free liberty to dispole of consu
lar dignities in their solemn assemblies for elec
tions; M. Lep did an enemy to Silla, and an audacious person, was declared Conil be
to Catus, and had the preheminence above him, by the earnest endeavours of Cn. Pompeius.
Of the Cn. Conils, Pliny maketh mention in his
36 book, wherein he laith that they governed in
the year 676. Likewise, Cicero in his Ora
tion for Cornelius: Flow sour out of Egypt: Valerius
a book 3 chap, and Europius.

677

M. Aemilius. D. Brutus.

T his year had for Consil by the testimony of Casi
dorius and Obseqient, M. Aemilius and D.
Brutus, Macro a Tribune of the com
mons, spakeath of them in Salust, complaining
that the commons were by the nobles oppre
fed. In like fort, Cicero in Brutus, and in his se
cond book of Duties, as also Valerius in the 7
book and 7 chap. This M. Aemilius was sur
named Lepidus and Livius; for out of the fami
ly of Livius he was adoptid by M. Lepidus, and
therefore right well he is called, son of Ma
mercos.

678

Cn. Octavius. C. Carro.

Errinis Flaccus setteth down for Consil; Cn.
Octavius son of M. nephew of C. and C.
Scribonius Carro. The same doth Cerro report
in Brutus. So do Salust. Obsequens, Livius,
in his first book; and Pliny in his second book
and
and 35 chapter. Cic, in his Brutus, and Pliny in his 7 book and 41 chap. make report of three Cat Censoris, all our Orator to wit, the father, the son, and the sons son or nephew.

679

L. Olivarius. C. Cotta.

Cassiodorus putteth down for consuls this year, L. Olivarius and C. Cotta. Obsequens, C. Aurelius and L. Olivarius. Pliny in his second book and 37 chap. Cicero likewise in his third and fifth Orations against Verres, maketh mention of L. Olivarius, and C. Aurelius consuls. Upon the broken marbles of the Capitol, they stand to be seen, L. Olivarius son of Cn. nephew of Cn. and C. Aurelius. This year the Sicilian registers over-skip, Paddius writeth, that there were at this time three Cotta’s brethren, and all of consular degree, namely, Catius, Marcus, and Lucius.

680

L. Licinius Lucullus. M. Cotta.

For this years consuls, Cassiodorus registreth L. Lucullus and M. Cotta. The Sicilian records, Lucullus and Cotta, Eutropius, Appianus in Historiastica, and Plutarch in Lucullus, name them, L. Licinius Lucullus, and M. Aurelius Cotta. Mention there is made of them by Cicero against Verres; and by Florus in the 93 and 94 Epitomes. This L. Lucullus had for his grand-father that Lucullus, who was consul with A. Albinius, as Cicero and Plutarch do testify.

681

M. Lucullus. C. Cassius.

This year (by the testimony of Cassiodorus) had for consuls, M. Lucullus, and C. Cassius: but the Sicilian records, nominate Marcellus and Cassius: whom Cicero in an oration against Verres, nameth M. Terentius and C. Cassius: saying that the laws of Terränia and Cæsara were thereby promulged. For, so far forth as we may conjecture by the capitol fragments, M. Licinius Lucullus, was adopted by M. Terentius Varro, and therefore called M. Terentius Varro Lucullus. Cicero in Lucullus, and Plutarch, call L. Lucullus and M. Lucullus brethren, whom Eutropius nameith Roman gens by two siblers. That the surname of Cassius was Varrius, appeareth both by a conduit pipe or waterpont of lead found in Rome, and also for that Appian in his fourth book, writeth that C. Cassius Varrius, a man who had been Consul, was condemned and outlawed by the Triumvirs.

682


The consuls next following, by the report of Cassiodorus, were L. Cæsur and Cn. Lentulus. In like sort Cicero maketh mention of them in his oration for Balbus, and elsewhere. Plutarch also in Cæsaris, with Eutropius and Orosius. Cahpiian book showseth Poppicola and Lentulus. Now the surname of L. Cæsur was Poppicola, as witnessth Orosius.

683

Cn. Anfidius. P. Lentulus.

Anfidius sennaeth down for consuls this year, Cn. Anfidius, and P. Lentulus. The Sicilian registers have Lentulerus and Omphius. Eutropius, C. Lentulus and Cn. Anfidius Omphius. This Cn. Anfidius Omphius, when he went beside a Tribunship of the commons, was chosen consul, as Cicero writeth in his oration for Plantæus. This is that P. Lentulus turnmaed Sura, who afterwons, being a man of consular calling, and who had been twice Praetor, was hanged and strangled to death when Cicero was consul, for that he had confirited with Catullus: whose grand-father was P. Lentulus President of the Senate, as Cicero faith, pleading for his house, and inveighing against Catullus: as also Paddius.

684


Next to them were Cn. M. Cæsarius and Cn. Pompeius, according to Cassiodorus, Plutarch, Appian, and the Sicilian records. Their surnames for certain, were Verres and Magna. All the old writers speak much of this first consulship, Plutarch reporteth that L. Cæsarius attained to the Consular dignity, by the means of Pompeius the consul. Besides, Cicero, Sallust, Paddius writing upon the oration for Cornelius, and all other authors speak of these consuls.

685

Q. Metellus. Q. Hortensius.

Then followed consuls, Q. Metellus and Q. Hortensius, as Cassiodorus and the Sicilian catalogues do testify, Paddius matcheth Q. Metellus with Q. Hortensius, that great Orator. Likewise, Josephus in his fourteenth book of Jewish antiquities, Cicero in Brutus calleth this Q. Hortensius, the son of Lucius, Q. Metellus, afterwards upon the conquest made of Crete furnamed Creteus, was the son of L. Dalmatian, as may be gathered out of Paddius upon the Oration of Tully [called Divinarit] against Verres.

686

L. Metellus. Q. Marcianus.

Pæadius writing upon Tullus Oration against Piso; Dio likewise and Cassiodorus, join together in the consulship this year, L. Cæsarius Metellus, and Q. Marcianus. The Greek records, Marcianus Rex, and Metellus this Metallus, Dio writeth to have died in the very beginning of his magistracy: that he also who was substitutted in his room, left this life before he entred into the government: and therupon it was not thought good to infeble any more: and by that means Q. Marcianus bare that dignity alone: and him Sallust entitleth with the surname of Rex. This L. Metellus was brother to Q. Creutius, as Paddius witnesseth.

687

The Conuls elect, were L. Antonius Patro (as it appeareth upon a monument of a triumph in the capitol, and not Antonius, as commonly it is read) and P. Cornelius Sulla: who being condemned for ambitious seeking after that office, and having therefore suffered, condign punishment, their accusers step into their place of government, namely, L. Aurelius son of Marcus, surnamed Cassius; and L. Manuel son of Lucius, surnamed also Torquatus: as tellit Salas, Dio, Pedian upon the oration for Cornelius, and that which he made in his white robe: and lastly, Tranquillus in Caesar.

The year next ensuing had for Conuls, by the testimony of Cassiodore, Pedianus, and the Sicilian records, L. Cesar and C. Figulus, whom Dio calleth Lucius Cesar, and Lucius Martius son of Caius, surnamed Figulus, Cicero in his oration for Sulla, nameth them L. Julius and C. Figulus: so doth Salas in Catilina. This, L. Julius Cesar is his son who was Conul in the Marian war.

Here the Conuls this year, were M. Tullius son of M. surnamed Cicero, and C. Antonius son of M. as tellity Dio in his seven and thirtieth book, Cassiodore, Salas in his Catilinian oration, Vitellius in his second book, Joseph in his Jewish antiquities 1 4 book 8 chapter. Plant in his eight book and three and fifteenth chapter, Tranquillus in the life of A. gusitus, Appian, Eurpomius, Pedian, and others.

Here followed Conuls next, D. Silanus and L. Muraus, as Cassiodore, salebo, and the Sicilian records do witness. Dio calleth them D. Junius son of M. surnamed Silanus and L. Licinius son of L. surnamed Muraus, Emprius nameth them D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius, son of that L. Muraus who in quality of Pro-prector triumphed over Mithridates (as Cicero saith) pleading for Muraus himself, being accused and in trouble for unlawful seeking to be Con. In this assembly for election of Con. L. Sergius Caelius suffered the second repulse: for anger thereof; in a melancholy he brake out into a conspiracy, and practised against the state: and likewise Servius Sulpillius Rufus the lawyer, who afterwards accused Muraus for the crime afofoled.


Q. Metellus, Q. Afranius.

Cassiodore and the Sicilian regifiers nominate for this years Conuls, Q. Metellus and L. Afranius. The like doth Obsequens and Cicero in his first book of Epistles to Atticus, Dio nameth them L. Afranius son of L. and Q. Cassidus of Q. surnamed Metellus Celer. Both of them were advanced to the Contulate (as Dio witneseth) by the means of Pompeius, for they had been both twain his Lieutenants serving under him in Afia.

M. Cesar, M. Bibulus.

Cassiodore, Sustanius, together with the Sicilian tables and the Breviaries, do much together for consuls this year, C. Cesar and M. Bibulus, Dio, C. Julius son of C. Cesar and M. Calpurnius, Plutarch and Appius, C. Julius Cesar, and C. Bibulus. Albeit Appian as also Eupomius and Orosius give Bibulus the forename of Lucius. Of Cesar and Bibulus, Cicero speakseth in his first book of Epicles, writing to Lucullus.
Cassiodorus and the Sicilian records shew for Confuls this year, L. Piso and A. Gabinius, Dio, L. Calpurnius of L. Piso: and A. Galba
us son of Aulus, Cæsar, Cicer, Plutarch, and Cassiodorus, L. Piso, and A. Gabinius, Cæsar wrote
of them in his first book of the Gaul war, and Plutarch in the life of Cæsare the younger.
Cicero also in his oration against Piso and for Sextius. This Piso the Conful Cicero and Padian
surnamed Cæsorius, for so his grand-father before him was called, as appeareth in the capitol
records for the year 666.

P. Lentulus.  Q. Metellus.

The Confuls following for this year, were
by Cassiodorus and the Sicilian records, P.
Cornelius son of Publius, Lentulus Spinther and Q. Ca-
celius son of Q. Metelius Nepos. Of them speake-
thek Valerius in his ninth book, Lentulus (ed.
he) and Metellus companions in the confulfhip
were beheld and feen both upon the stage like pla-
iers: but the one of them took the surname of Spinther. One of the second sort of actors:
the other, but that he had gotten the name of
Nepos already for his lewd behaviour, should
have been called Pamphilus, after the name of
one of a third sort, whom for all the world he
resembled. Of the same men, Cicero in his first
book of Epitites, and in very many of his orat-
tions, Pliny also in his seventh book and second
chapter, Plutarch in the life of Cicero, and all
other writers make much mention.

698

Cn. Lentulus. L. Philippus.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Confuls, Cn.
Lentulus and L. Philippus. The Sicilian
records, Marcellus and Ph. Eupemph, Dio, Cn.
Cornelius son of Publius, Lentulus Marcellus: and
L. Marcellus son of Lucius Philippus. Of Lentulus
and M. Marcellus Confis, Cicero speaketh in
his Epitites to Lentulus. Plutarch also in the life of
Cato, maketh mention of Marcellus Philippus
now Confis, This Cn. Lentulus was the fon of
that P. Lentulus, as Cicero faith in his Brutus,
And surnamed he was Marcellus, and not Claud-
ius, that it might be known of what family of
the Claudii he was defended.

696


When as by the obstinate perfitance of C.
Cato Tribun of the commons, (who ever
interpoted his negative) there could be no or-
dinary assembly holden for the creation of
magistrates, the whole degree of the Senators
changed their weed in token of grief: so as upon
an interregency between Cn. Pompeius was
chosen Conful, and with him M. Crassus the
second time, as Plutarch, Dio, and Appian do
witness. Lucius Domittius Enobarbus, whom
Caio and all good men accompanied and pre-
seated, was in the common place by violence
throughly beaten, and Cæsare himself wounded.
These Cæsare in pamphlet, ion of
Cn. Magnus the second time: and M. Licinins
son of Publius Crassus, the second time. Of
them Padianys, Entropius, the Sicilian register
and others make mention.

700


Dio in his nine and thirtieth book, for the
year after the cities foundation 700, fol-
owing the computation of Varro, avoucheth
Confils, Appius Claudius, son of Appius Pul-
cher: and L. Domittius, son of Cereus, Enobar-
bus, Cassiodore and Obsequens, name them. Ap.
Claudius and L. Domittius, whom the Sicilian re-
cords call Pulcher and Enobarbus: and Padian
upon the Oration for Scamurus, L. Domittius
Enobarbus, and Appius Claudius Pulcher. Of
this L. Domittius, Ion of Cereus Enobarbus,
Cicero speaketh in the eight book of Ciceros
Epitites.
When by reason of the contentions among the mighty competitors, the Consuls could not be created by the Calends of January; there pallied an Act of the Senate, according to the mind and advice of Bibulus, by virtue whereof, C. Pompeius was by the Interegent Servo, Sulpius created Consul the third time, upon the fifth and twentieth of February, without a Collegium first, and presently entered upon the government. But afterwards to avoid the envy that might arise thereupon, he took unto him as companion in the Consulship for the five last months of the year behind, Q. Catullus, Pius, Metellus Scipio, his wives father. Thus writeth Tadius upon the Oration of Cicero in defence of Milo, Plutarch likewise, Appianus and Dio. This Metellus Pius Scipio was also called P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, son of Nasica Scipio, who being adopted by Q. Metellus Pius, is called by Cicero in the familiar Epistles of Cicero, Q. Catullus on Q. nephew of Q. Metellus Pius Scipio.

M. Marcellus, Sen, Sulpius,

Against this year were Consuls created, M. Marcellus, and Servo, Sulpius, as Caiffodorus, Plutarch, and Appianus witness. The Sicilian records call them Rufus and Marcellus, Dio nameth them Servo Sulpius Seneca, son of Nasica Scipio, which being adopted by Q. Metellus Pius, is called by Cicero in the familiar Epistles of Cicero, Q. Catullus, son of Q. nephew of Q. Metellus Pius Scipio.

L. Paulus, C. Marcellus,

Here succeeded Consuls, L. Paulus, and C. Marcellus, witnesses Caiffodorus, Dio, Strabo, Florus, Historian in his 8 book, together with the Sicilian records. The one of these is by Do named L. Emilius, son of Marcus, Junius Pardinus the other by Cicero in his Epistles, C. Cæcilius, son of Cæcilius, Marcellus, Do writeth that this man by some was reported to be the brother, i.e. the brothers son, others another brother of Mar, Marcellus, but Suetonius faith plainly, he was the brothers son.

L. Lentulus, C. Marcellus,

Caiffodorus setteth down for Consul this year L. Lentulus & C. Marcellus, as also Appian, Plutarch, Historian, Florus, and Cicero in his Epistles do teellifie, Do call eth theie Consuls

Lu. Cornelas, son of Publius Lenolus, and C. Claudius, son of Marcus Marcellus, in the broken marbles of the Capitol it is to be seen thus, C. Claudius, son of Marcus, nephew of Marcus Metellus. This is that Lucius Lenolus Cænus, who as Calus teellifie in the former election took a repulse, and by Cicerone is called in the Oration against Patiens, Flamen Martialis.

C. Cæsar, P. Servilus,

When Cæsar Cæsar the Dictator held the solemn assembly for the election in the latter end of the former year, Consuls there were created Caius Julius, son of Caius Cæsar, and Publius Servilus, son of Publius Servilus. For now was the year come, when as Cæsare by the laws might be chosen Consul; for in the third book of his own Commentaries he faith himself, and in Dio in his one and sixtieth book, Plutarch, Triumviri, Appianus, and Caiffodorus do teellifie of him, but he meaneth that law which expressly forbade and debarred, that no man might be within ten years space chosen Cof, twice. As for Publius Servilus, he was the son of that Publius Servilus that first took the surname Servilus, who this year bare his Consulship at Rome, while Cæsar warred in Macedonia.

Q. Fufius Calenus, P. Vatinius,

Do faith, That the people of Rome, having intelligence that Pompeius was murdered, endeavoured earnestly, that there might palls as honourable decrees for Cæsar the conqueror as possible might be. And therefore they ordained, that he might be Conful five years together, and Dictator not for six months as before-time, but a whole year and a half, and the Tribunes authority for ever. Now Cæsar, albe it he was without Italy, immediately entered upon his Dictatorship, having sub-ordined under him for his General of the horie, Mar. Antonius, a man who yet had not been Praetor. This appeareth by the Capitol records, Dio, Plutarch, and Cicero in his second Philippus. But under what pretence and colour Cæsar took upon him this Dictatorship and the reth following, Marcus Antonius sheweth in his Oration of Cæsar prdlte in Dio: wherein he faith, that Cæsar was created Dictator to make head against the enemies and therefore the troubles and difficulties of war was the cause of this creation. But certain it is that Cæsar became Dictator for another cause, namely that by the means of that sovereign power, he might draw unto himself alone the whole managing and government of the State, whitherforetime had been administered by many persons, but Do addeth moreover and faith, that in the beginning of this year there were neither Praetors nor Consuls elected. For Marcus Antonius, General of the horie, arrayed in his purple robes, with six Lictors, making way before him, resembled a certain
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Certain knew of the ancient liberty. But within a while after he departed forth of the City, and that which never was before done by any Master of the horse, he left Lu. Cesar an aged man, Provolt and governor of Rome, Hovbeir, in the end of the year, after the recovery and conquest of Egypt, when King Ptolomeus was slain, and Pharmaces K. of Ptolemais vanquished; Conuls were created, Q. Enibus, son of Quintus, Cateler; and Pub. Vatinius, son of Publius. And the Capitoll tables do shew, and Caiusbrus also, Of Publius Vatinius Conul, Macrobius in his second book make mention.

708

Verrinis in his capitoll tables letteth forth Conuls of this year, only without ever a Dictator. Tho stone record of Catarius, whereof Ompharion speakeheth hither, nameth C. Julius Cesar the third time, and M. Enibus Lepidus. But Dio in his three and fourtieth book, the last year following (quoth he) he bare the Dictatorship and the Conulat both, the third time, and took unto him for his College in both Magistracies, M. Enibus Lepidus. Of the same mind feemeth Tragullus to be in Cesar, chap. seventy fix. Likewise Hirtius in the first book. But Ompharion supposeth that both Tragullus and Dio, and Hirtius also was in an error. For with the capitoll records, Plutarch and Eutropius agree; who write that Cesar this year was Conul the third time with M. Lepidus, and Dictator the second time.

709
C. Cesar. Q. Maximus.

They who cut the capitol marbles, do shew unto us that Cesar this year was third time Dictator with M. Lepidus General of the horse. From whom Dio different; who doth report that this year Cesar was Dictator the 4 time, and Lepidus second time Master of the horse: also that Lepidus follow Conul with Cesar, declare himself again against all law, General of the horse, thus much of the Dictator. But asking the Conuls this year, there is to be written in the Index or table of Dio, that the same year Cesar bare his fourth Dictatorship, and likewise his fourth Conulat without College. In that history also it appeareth, that Cesar pretently entered upon his fourth Conulat, but bare it not throughout the whole year: and that so soon as he was returned to Rome out of Spain, he resigned and substituted in his place for the rest of the year, Q. Fabius Maximus, and Qn. Trebonius. With Dio, the evidences agree that are written in the capitoll fragments: wherein it appeareth that Cesar was the fourth time Conul, and that without College; as Sigerius maketh interpretation. For Cuphius, Kalender, together with the Sicilian regifiers, do shew that Cesar was Conul now alone the fourth time. In like manner, Appian and Plutarch make mention of Cesar, who being Conul the first from the fourth time led an army into Spain. As for Q. Fabius, Suetonius calleth him a three months Conul. Dio faith moreover, that Cesar upon the death of Q. Fabius the Conul, declared the very last day of the year, C. Cauinus to be the Conul for those few hours that were behind. Whereof Cicero in his seventh book of Epitites, writing to Cn. Macrobius in his second book of Suetonius, Tacitus in his eighteenth book, Pliny in his seventh, and Suetonius in Caesar do make report.

710
C. Cesar. M. Antonius.

To feteth down for this year Cesar Dictator the first time, together with M. Enibus Lepidus Master of the horsemen, but the capitoll tables avouch him Dictator now the fourth time, Dio and Appian write that he created himself Conul together with M. Antonius. Likewise Caiusbras and the Sicilian regifiers give record, that Cesar was this year Conul the first time, together with M. Antonius, and Macrobius in his first book speaketh of them. Moreover, written it is in the capitoll and Colotitian tables, that Cesar was Co, the first time, with M. Antonius of M, and that in the room of Cesar there was chosen P. Cornelian of Publius. And this was P. Cornelius Dolabella, whom Cesar himself (if he had lived) meant to have substituted in his own room, Plutarch writeth that Cesar Conul now the first time took unto him for his companion in government M. Antonius. And when as he would have subordained Dolabella in his own stead, Antonius gavemeth it in an oration: and afterwards, when Cesar a second time would have had Dolabella to be declared Conul, and still Antonius crostled and withholdit, Cesar gave over his enterprise. But after Cesar was murdred, Antonius (as Dio writeth) yearing some infraction and commotion if he should have rejected Dolabella, took him into the fellowship of government, Appian writeth, that immediately after Cesar was killed, Dolabella entered into the Magistracy. So faith Phelimumallo. And this verily was the year, in which the conspiracy was contrived against Cesar, whereof the captains were M. and Decimus both Brutis, C. Trebonius & C. Cassius: and upon the fifteenth day of March, when he sat in Councill together with the senator in the court of Pompey, he was stabbed, and received in his body three and twenty wounds: which done, the murderers who had wrought the feat feigned the capitoll. And C. Olavius, his nephew or ferssion, whom Cesar had made in his will his half-heir, and adopted to bear his own name, came out of Epirus, whither Cesar had sent him before, minding to make war upon the Parthians, and after all lucky and happy proceedings, took upon him the name of Cesar, according to his last will and testament.
C. Paufa. A. Hir. 

C. Paufa. A. Hir. 

C. Paufa. A. Hir. 

C. Paufa. A. Hir. 

C. Paufa. A. Hir. 

C. Paufa. A. Hir. 

C. Paufa. A. Hir. 

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C. Paufa. A. Hir. 

C. Paufa. A. Hir. 

C. Paufa. A. Hir. 

C. Paufa. A. Hir.
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718
L.Celius, M.Caecilius.

C Afdadurs nameth for Conulis this year, L.Gellius and M.Caecilius. The Sicilian records these Publica & Nervos: Dio hath Lu. Gellius son of Lucius Poppæus, and M.Caecilius Nervus. Out of the capitol fragments it appeareth, that L.Gellius was the son of Lucius, and nephew of Lucius. By the report of Dio, this Lu. Gellius was brother to M. Valerius Messala. For it is the same man who was pardoned before by M. Brutus: whereby it may be understood, that Poppæus was his surname by way of adoption: for they were not the Gellus but the Valerii, that carried the surname of Publicola. The same fragments do shew, that the said Gellius left his place, and that another was put in his room. And haply it was L. Menatius son of Lucius, nephew of Lucius Planus: whom Pliny in his thirtieth book and third chapter, saith to have been twice Conulis: but in what year he was the second time, a man cannot find, unless it were in this.

719
Sex. Pompeius. L.Cornificius.

C Afsodorus and the Sicilian records testify, that this year Conulis were Sex. Pompeius and L.Cornificius. Dio L.Cornificius son of Lucius, and Sextus Pompeius son of Sexius. This year Sex. Pompeius son of Consus was slain.

720
M. Antonius. L.Scribonius Libo.

C Afsodorus putteth down for Conulis, Lu. Scribonius and Lu. Arratius. The Sicilian catalogue Antonius and Libo. Dio, M. Antonius son of Marcus the second time, and L. Scribonius son of Lucius Libo. The same Dio faith moreover, that M. Antonius the Triumvir, presently upon the very Calends of January gave over the Magistracy, and subscribed in his own stead Lu. Scribonius Arratius: and therefore many there be that affirm how it was not Antonius but Arratius that was Conulis this year with Libo. That Conulis also were sub-elected to bear out one part of the year, it is to be found in some authors that have set forth the Municipal Annals. And verily Dio maketh mention of Paulus Amphilus Conulis, for one part of the year, and that he built a statytkon or gallery at his own charges, and dedicated it in his Conulsiphip.

721
C.Caspar. L.Volatclus.

C Afsodorus exhibeth unto us for Conulis, C.Caspar and L.Volatclus. Dio, Caspar the second time, and L.Volatclus son of Lucius Tullus. They who composed and digested the Sicilian registers, very untily set down Cæsar and Cicero for this years Conulis. Of this Conulsiphip of Cæsar, Suetonius and Dio speak, saying, that he held it very few hours, as Antonius also beforehand. Instead of Cæsar was Lu. Antonius subrogated, and many other for one part or other of the year, who in the book enuited, Old inscriptions, are reckoned in this manner:

Emperor Cæsar II, L.Volatclus.
Kal. Januarti, L.Antonius.
Kal. Maii, L.Volatclus.
C. Fonteius.
Kal. Sept., L. Vinicius.
Of L. Volatclus made Conulis by M. Antonius: and depoed Dio likewise maketh mention.

722


723
C.Caspar II, L. Messala.

C Afsodorus quamctheth for Conulis this year C. Cæsar the second time, and L. Messala. The Sicilian registers Ottavius and Cornicius, Dio Cæsar the third time, and M. Valerius son of Marcus, named Messala Corvinus, and that right truly. For Cæsodorus maketh no reckoning of that Conulsiphip of Cæsar which he bare with Pedius: because he was subordinated in the place with another. But Dio and Appius do writeth, that Cæsar and Antony were marched together this year, both of them in their second Conulsiphip, at that time as upon peace made with Sextus Pompeius, they were appointed Conulis beforehand for eight years next ensuing: howbeit in the first year the people turned Antony out of his Conulsiphip, and proclaimed war against him and Cleopatra, and in his place was Marcus, Messala declared Conulis. As touching the Conulis this year subordinate, thus we find written in the ancient inscriptions:

Emperor Cæsar III, M.Valerius.

724
C. Cæsar III. M. Crausus.

C Afsodorus nameth for this years Conulis, C. Cæsar the third time, and M. Crausus. The Sicilian records Ostienus and Crausus. Dio, Cæsar the fourth time and M.Licinius son of Marcus, Crausus. He added moreover, and faith, Caesar in the midst of that water crossed the seas out
of Macedon into Italy, wherein he was the fourth time Consul with M. Crassus. Or at this time, that Caesar called Emperor, was Caesar the fourth time, with M. Crassus. Of other Consuls substituted after M. Licinius, this we find in the old inscriptions. Emperor Caesar W, M. Licinius. Cal. Jul. C. Antistius. Ibid, Septembr. M. Tullius. Cal. Novembr. L. Scaius.

Of M. Tullius Consul with Augustus, Dio maketh mention in his history of this years acts, Pliny also in his 22 book and 6 chap, and Plutarch in Cleopatra, By Velius and Tacitus it appeareth that Augustus had this for addition the lifetime of Venus and Senius of Sabinus.

725

C. Caesar III. Sex. Apuleius.

In C. Caesar the four time, and Sex. Apuleius, In Dio, C. Caesar the fifth time, and Sex. Apuleius ion of Sexi. In the Sicilian records, Ovidianus and Apuleius: in the Antiquite inscriptions, Emperor C. Caesar the fifth time, and Sex. Apuleius. Dio saith, this was the year 725 from the foundation of the City. Of Caesar five times Consul, there is to be seen an old Epigram or inscription in this manner.


726

C. Caesar V. M. Agrippa II.

C. Caesar declared for Consul this year, C. Caesar the fifth time, and M. Agrippa the second time. Ovidianus and the Sicilian records, C. Caesar the fifth time, and Agrippa the second time, Dio, C. Caesar the fifth time, and M. Silanus. Agrippa: the third time: but it is to be read the second time, as Sibyllus advírteth, so as the next year it should be written the third time. And this plainly appeareth by the supercription of that Temple (which he erected and named Pateron) in this form, [M. Agrippa son of L. third time Consul built it.] For Dio saith, that this Temple was finished two years after that he was Consul with C. Caesar the seventh time, in which year himself bare his third Consulship, and not the fourth. For otherwise in the front of the said Temple, he would have written, Consul the fourth time.

727

C. Caesar VI. M. Agrippa III.

C. Caesar, saith, that the next Consul were Cesar the first time, and Mar. Agrippa the third time. But Dio, Cesar the seventh time, and Agrippa the fourth time. But what is to be thought of them both, is evident by that which hath been said before. In the Sicilian registers verily it is written Ovidianus the seventh time, and Agrippa the third time.

728

C. Augustus cesar VII. T. Statilius.

C. Augustus puttesth down for Consul, C. Caesar Augustus the eighth time, and T. Statilius. The Sicilian monuments, Ovidianus the eighth time, and Titus. Dio, C. Caesar Augustus the eighth time, and Statilius Taurus the second time. For he had been Consul first, for a part of the year, anno 727, and now is the second time of whom Suetonius writeth thus in Nero; Nero took to wife Statilia Messilia, daughter (in the fourth decease) of Taurus, one who had been twice Consul, and also triumphant: he writeth also, that Augustus entered upon his eight and ninth Consular at Taracum.

729

C. Caesar Augustus VIII. M. Silanus.

C. Augustus theweth for Consul next, C. Caesar Augustus the eighth time, and M. Silanus. Dio and the Sicilian records, Augustus the ninth time, and M. Silanus, A fragment of the capitol, Emperor C. Caesar Augustus the ninth time, and M. Junius Silanus. This year Augustus Cesar was Emperor the eight time, and first up the Temple of Janus the fourth time now that ever it was shut: which he had set open before in regard of certain wars, as Dio reporteth.

730

C. Cesar Augustus IX. c. Norbanus.

C. Augustus puttesth down for this years Consul, C. Caesar Augustus the ninth time, and C. Norbanus. The Sicilian registers, Augustus: he tenth time, and Flaccus. Dio, and a fragment of the capitol marble, Augustus the tenth time, and C. Norbanus Flaccus. This Norbanus seemeth to be the fom of C. Norbanus the Consul, anno 716, for he had not the numeral note testifying a second Consulship.

731

C. Cesar Augustus X. Cn. Piso.

C. Augustus letteth down for Consul, C. Caesar Augustus the tenth time, and Cn. Piso. The Sicilian records, Augustus the eleventh time, and Piso. And Dio, Augustus the eleventh time, with Cn. Calpurnius, son of Cn. Piso. By a fragment of the capitol itone it appeareth that Augustus entered the Consulship the eleventh time, together with Ambus Terentius Varro Murmora: also that Murmora died in his Magistracy, in whole head was elected Cn. Calpurnius Piso and Augustus went out of his government. Of which matter Dio thus writeth: Augustus went to the Alban Hills, and there refused up.
the Consulship. For whereas both he himself and many others, ever since the time that the C.W. was set in frame and established, had been the yearly Magistrates, he thought that from hence forwards he was to forbear the same; to the end, that the honourable dignity of Consul should be open to as many as might be. And this did he without the City, because he would not be hindered and letted in the Senate: and therewith subsidized in his place Lucius Sulpicius, a man that of all others most affected and loved Brutus, who also wrote of his praises and commendable parts.

732 M. Marcellus, L. Arruntius.

This year had for Consuls, as faith Cestodorus, M. Marcellus and L. Arruntius: as Dio, M. Claudius son of Marcus Marcellus and Aemilius son of Lucius. In the Capitol stone these Consuls are thus set down, L. Arruntius son of L., nephew of L. M. Claudius son of Marcus, nephew of M. Whereby it is given to understand, that in the Sicilian records the Consuls are not well put down to be C. and A. in the twelfth time and Arruntius. In this year, the conspiracy of Fannius Capio and Varro Murex against Augustus was discovered: and the Temple of thundering Jupiter was dedicated, witness Dio.

733 M. Lollius. L. Lepidus.

The Colitian stone and Cassidorus shew for this year Consuls. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Lollius, Dio writeth, when Augustus was in Sicily: and the people of Rome at the assembly for Consuls election, there was a federation and commination. For M. Lollius only entered upon the government, by reason that the other place was reserved and kept for Augustus; but when he made reinsall, L. Lepidus was created, Of these Consuls Herace in his first book on Epistles writeth thus:

Me quaeque undas secat inlegiste Decembers, Colegami Lepidum quo dixit Lollius auro.

Know he, that 40 winters old and four, I was that year, At Rome when Consul Lollius, chose Lepidus his heir.

734 M. Apuleius. P. Silus.

After Cassidorus, the Consuls that followed for this year, were M. Apuleius and P. Silus. But in Dio, M. Apuleius son of Sextus and Publius Silus son of Publius Nerus. In the Sicilian records, Apuleius and Nerus.

735 C. Senius. L. Lucerinus.

The Colitian stone, Epiphanius in his treatise of Times, Dio and Cassiodorus set forth as Consuls this year, Caius Senini, son of Cains, Susenninus and Quintus Lucretius son of Quintus Pipa.

Of this year consuls thus writeth Dio, Caius Senius was declared Consul: but for that there was to be given him a Companion, and Augustus thought the second place of Consulship reserved for him, there were a revision, until Augustus pronounced Consul Quintus Lucretius one of the Embassadors, whom the Senate had sent unto him about the appearing of the foresaid edition; and with landing he was a man in times past proscribed, and outlawed. The same writeth Plutarch in the second book. In the broken Colitian stone it is to read, that the Consul elected instead of Sextus Saturninus, was Marcus Ventidius of Marcus Tullius: unto Plutarch and his soneth as Colleague, Agrippa. In this year, after the first ten years were expired, for which space Augustus together with Agrippa at the first received the Centaurian authority and dignity, he was created a second time by the people, over four of men's behaviour for the term of five years; and renewed the Consular power for the same time, and the Consular authority for ever. So as, at all times and in all places, he might have twelve Lictors go before him with their bundles of rods, and he allowed to take his place and sit with the Consuls.

736 C. Lentulus, P. Lentulus.

Putilus Cornelius son of Publicius Lentulus Marcellus: and Cn. Cornelius son of Lucius, are set down for Consuls by the Colitian stone table; by Dio also and Cassidorus. In this year Marcus Agrippa by the motion and authority of the Emperor C. after Augustus, obtained of the Senate and people of Rome the Tribunitian power for five years.

737 C. Furnius, C. Silanus.

Here succeeded Consuls next, according to Cassidorus, Furnius and C. Silanus; after Dio, C. Furnius on C. and C. Junius son of Cains Silanus. But in the Colitian fragment C. Furnius on Cains, and C. Junius, whereas C. Furnius and C. Junius Silanus were Consuls, the solemn places, called Sculptures were now the fit time let out by Augustus, as Censorius and Dio affirm.

738 L. Domitius. P. Scipio.

Cassidorus nameth for Consuls Lucius Domitius and P. Scipio. The Sicilian records, Eubulbus and Cornelius, Dio, L. Domitius son of Lucius, nephew of Lucius, Eubulbus: and P. Cornelius son of P. nephew of Publius, Scipio: in like manner the Colitian table, wherein it standeth, that for P. Cornelius there was substituted L.Tau, i.e., Tarvisius of whom Pliny in his eighteenth book and seventh chapter writeth thus, L.Tarvisius Rufus, a man most base for his parentage;
parentage, delivered a Consul under Augustus. Cæsar of happy memory, only for his military service. In this Consul was the Quinquennial solemnity performed, as writeth Dio, in memorial of the Empire of Augustus and Agrippa one of the Quindecentur, had the ordering and letting out thereof.

1075
M. Drausus, L. Piso.

The Consuls next following, were M. Drausus and L. Piso, as Cæsiodorus saith. The Sicilian regissers name them Libo and Piso, Dio, M. Lorimus son of Lucius, Draus Libo; and L. Calphurnius son of Marcus Piso, as Drausus son of Marcusus, &c., according to the Colonian fragment.

741
Ca. Lentulus, M. Crassus.

This year next following, had for Consuls, after Cæsiodorus and the Sicilian monuments, Ca. Lentulus and M. Crassus: whom Dio calleth, M. Licinius son of Marcus Crassus; and Ca. Cornelius son of Quintus Lentulus. The Colonian fragment saith, Marcus Licinius son of Marcus.

739
T. Nero, Q. Quintilis.

Tiberius Nero, and P. Quintilis were Consuls this year, as Cæsiodorus reporteth. They are named Nero and Varus, in the Sicilian Catalogue. And Dio calleth them Titus Claudius son of Tiberius Nero: and Q. Quintilis, son of Sextus Varus. The Colonian fragment, Tiberius Claudius son of T. Suetonius writeth, that Tiberius bare his first Consulship but a few days. For this is that Tiberius Nero, Augustus Cæsar's wives son, who after the death of Augustus, attained to the Empire, having been first by him adopted.

742
M. Messala, P. Sulpitius.

Cæsiodorus putteth down for Consuls, Messala and P. Sulpitius. The Sicilian records, Messala and Q. Quirinus, Dio, M. Velinius, son of Marcus, Messala Barbatus: and P. Sulpitius of Publius Quirinus: of whom, Suetonius in Claudius, and Tacitus in his second book write. Moreover, this is that Sulpitius Quirinus, who by Josephus in the seventeenth book of antiquities and first chapter, is said to have born the Consular dignity, and was Lieutenant in Syria. At which time, our Lord Jesus Christ the Redeemer and Saviour of mankind, was born, of whom Saint Luke maketh mention, saying, This was the first enrolment or taxation which was made by Quirinus Preident and governor of Syria. After these Consuls, others were submitted in their place, as the Colonian stone sheweth, wherein it is thus read:

Pindarum quisquis fides eundem
Inle, ceravis opus Dedit,
Naturam pennis C'.

With wings devis'd by Dèdus,
And grew'd with wax they fliè;
Who's to ftrive (O Tendis) with Pindar;
To match his Poetry.

And after,
Tendis (Anton) quotis in alis
Nubium trabibus,
O Antonius so loft
As he doth mount the cloud's aloft.

743
The Chronologie

745

Drusus Nero; Titus Quintius,

Here succeeded Caesar, according to Cassiodorus, Drusus Nero, and T. Quintius, but after Drusus Claudia the son of Tiberius Drusus and Titus Quintius, son of Titus Crispinus, Drusus and Crispinus, by Cassiodorus Calender and the Sicilian annalists. This Drusus, brother of Tiberius Nero was Augustan Caesar, his wisest son, who being Cenius, died in Germany, and both he and his children had the surname of Germanicus, as Dio writes: which addition the Senate gave him the first of that Province, as Etacaetis, with the death of this Drusus, endured Lactantius histories: for thus it is written in the last Epitome, &c. Look in the said Breviary.

To the Reader.

I doubt not but many of them who shall take delight and pleasure in reading the Roman story above written, will presently grow into a liking of the very places, which hath afforded so many persons and rare examples. The love whereof hath moved many a man to undertake a voyage to Rome, only to see the river Tyber, those seven hills, and the monuments remaining of that famous city. The journey they have found, for may long and tedious; for expense of money heavy and chargeable; for hazard of religion, confidence and good manners, exceeding dangerous: for degenerate are the inhabitants now from that ancient people so devout, so virtuous, and correct, in old times. To satisfy the Readers in this behalf, and to avoid the peril of that travel, I thought it not amiss to bring Rome (as it were) home to them, even to represent unto their eye the Topography thereof, that is to say, the description of the places, with the memorable edifices, or rather the ruins of those antique buildings, mentioned in the story aforesaid. And forsooth, as Bartholomew Marlianus hath herein taken pains, and made a Treatise thereof, in his own concept to be dedicated unto that noble Prince of famous memory, Francis the French King, the first (I take it) of that name: and for that these learned men, who left it bright in print, have thought good to adorn therewith, as a necessary dependant, the foresaid Treatise: if for my part, hoping strangled with the difficulties of the Alps, and in some sort overcomes them, crossed Rhone and the Po, passed over the hills Olympus and Eumus, and framed through the rough streights of Thermopylae and Tempe; then now I would not at my return to stick at the pleasant mount, Palatine, Capitoll, Aventine, &c., with the plains and valleys between, or the river Tyber and Mars field underneath them, beautified especially with such wares, Temples, triumphant Arches, glorious Palaces, Theatres, Circles, Columns, and Colofses, wonders of the world, And albeit I found Marlianus unhappily himself, and the book that went in his name much corrupt in the print yet by conference with other Authors, I have reformed the faults, and endeavoured that our English edition might in some measure be answerable to the Latin.

A Summary collected by John Bartholomew Marlianus, a Gentleman of Millain, touching the Topography of Rome in ancient time.

The First Book.

The situation of the City.

Before we entripe to shew the edifices and buildings of the City of Rome, somewhat would be premised of the site thereof. Begin therefore we will at the very habitation of the immortal gods; with the invocation of whom, the Poets are wont in every hand and difficult work, to lay their hill ground and make their entrance.

The Capitol hill, where it is broadest, exceedeth not 8° or 10° feet; in length it lyeth out toward the North-west 1500. It hath a point or wing on either side in fashion of a semicircle, and in compass containeth well near seven furlongs.

From this mount as it runneth out in length, the Palatine hill is divided by a valley of the same breadth, or somewhat more; making a square with four angles of unequal sides, containing 1200 paces. For, the one of 600 foot boundeth upon the Capitoline hill: a second of 1500 foot, boundeth to the Northeast: the third, being almost twice as long, looketh toward the Southeast and the mount Caelius: the fourth, which of all others is biggest, and comprehendeth the lips or hill-places, called Circus Maximus, directly regardeth the Aventine. On the second side thereof there is one plain, reaching from the head and top of the Circus, to the utmost skirt of the hill Caelius, which boundeth toward the Subura, and taketh up in breadth 500 feet; but it lieth out in length almost a mile from both fronts, between the Capitol, the Forum, and the mount Caelius:—in like manner from the said mount Capitol and Palatine, Subura and the Esquiline, as far as to the Church of Saint Mercurialis. A second plain there is,
The Topography of Rome.

under the other point and top of the Capitol, near the Theatre of Marcellus, which stretcheth out 500 foot from the mount it self, as far as to the Tyber; and anon over-against the valley from the crooked reach and course of the river, and the nook whereby the Aveunitue is divid'd from the Palatin, it spreadeth broader: but afterwards between the said hils it groweth narrow, until ye come to Calibus and the very gate Capena, where the Aveunitue is parted from Calibus only by the breadth of the street or high way. The length of this plain is likewise a mile, having on the right hand, Tyber and the Aveunitue; and on the left, Capitolin mount the Palatin, and Calibus.

Then followeth the mount Calibus (separate from the Palatin by a plain) resembling a pyramidal form of a spire, so as the base thereof containeth 500 foot near to the Amphitheatre. Divided also from the same it is by the street Appia, left by the grand Ciqre, which reaching to the gate Capena, leaveth on the left hand a valley 600 foot broad between Calibus and Calibus lying out in length 4 Statia, and within a while to the walls which joyn close to the mount Calibus, as far as to the gate Agnaria. This hill then from thence lyeth along the City wall for 4 Statia, toward the Northeast. Hence from the walls meet afornt for the space of two Statiae, even to the gate Nasicia: from whence as they turn to the Northeast, it is parted from the Esfugia by the street Labicanas; and anon shewing it self afront near S. Marcellinus, it beareth forward as far as to the Amphitheatre. Thus keeping no certain form it taketh in circuits about 2500 paces. Moreover the Calibus is enclosed within the said valley, the street Appia, and all along Northeast and Southeast, with the City walls, and hath in compasses well-near a mile.

The Aveunitue seemeth to contain two hils: the broader part whereof toward the Tyber, and in like manner in length from the Tyber along the walls, and round near the gate Heptiteris, is divided and cut with a crooked street-way which leadeth to the angle of the grand Cirqre and the mount Calibus: leaving the other part thereof, divided on the right hand from the mount Calibus by the street Appia, until you come to the gate Capena: It had in compass 18 Statia as Downtown also taketh: and on the Southeast a molt spacious and large plain of 4 unequal sides: toward the South containing almost 6 Statia, Westward five, somewhat less Eastward, but toward the Tyber not above four.

The Esfugia on the South part is divided with the street Labicanas; on the Northwest, with the valley lying between Calibus, Palatinus, and it self; on the North-the Sevina: and from the Vimigala hill, the street called Paritius pareth it, until a man come to the bath of Diodorus. In circumference it containeth about 4 miles, and hath no certain form; incomprehensibly Varrus (not without good reason) thinketh it two hills, and cuteth it into many parts.

The Quirinal hill on the West side regardeth the Quirinal having about a furlong space the plain Suburraly lying between: on the North it hath the valley Quirinalis. Between the same hills there lyeth as it were 4 jugera in breadth, but about a quarter of a mile in length. And anon it joyneth to the Quirinal and Esfugia along the wall of the City, by a continuall row of many arches, whereby the mountains are made even. The compass thereof taketh up two miles and an half; the form thereof is longwise, and the breadth not in every part alike, but variable. The Quirinal mountain on the left hand, directly from the tower called [Militiam] for the space of 4 Statia, over-looketh the levell plot of the City which lieth Westward: but on the right hand, (as clearly appeareth by what we have said,) it is opposite to the Viminatus on the third side Northward, for the space of 6 Statia, it lieth to the hill called [Nortulosum]: It hath a valley lying between, in breadth 4 jugera, reaching near to the gate Saleria: and in the whole compass it taketh almost three miles.

Next to it is the little hill Hortulorum, although it standeth without the old poermory of the city: for the space of 3 Statia, it beareth over the valley Marisia lying between it and Tyber. It carrieth in length along the wall of the City, from the gate Flumentum to Collinas, a full mile more than any other sides. The circumference thereof is much about 18 Statia.

There remaineth now the mount Janiculm, on the other side of Tyber: the one half thereof and not above, is contained within the walls from the Viminatus, for the space of 3 Statia, whereas it stretcheth toward the South, it adjoyneth to the river: the other part thereof is enclosed within the walls, for the compass of five Statia.

Moreover, above the Viminatus there is a little hill of the same nature, which putheth forth two points like horns: the one toward Janiculum, the other Northward, much like a bow full bent; the convexity or outward compass thereof containeth a mile.

Now will we run over the plain and base plot of the City: which beginning at the Capitol hill near the gate Flaminia, at this day on the Northeast side (or rather the North) comprehended a Diameter or race almost of 8 Statia, environed with the hills Quirinalis and Hortulorum: but on the West side, the Tyber runneth by it, where along the banks thereof it beareth a greater space. Moreover, by a fright and direct line being drawn for two Statia from the hill Hortulorum, and namely, where it over-looketh the Pincers of Domitian called Namuscinus; along the bank of Tyber, over against the Pile Hadriani, it maketh a quadrangle of four uneven sides, containing within it more than three miles: without which square is left the valley Martia, namely as much as lieth between the hill Hortulorum, the wall of the City, and Tyberis: so as the break, draweth narrow-er fall into the gate Flaminia.

There refteth yet the Transtiberin region, which together with the Janiculum, taketh in compass about three miles. This will be more easily observed and marked by the very channel of Tyberis.
The region (on which Rome was after built) Well of Tyber, a hundred and forty furlongs distant from the sea, the Sicilians (by confiant report) first inhabited. Afterwards, the Aborigines leaving Arcadia, by the conduct of Oenopion the lion of Lycaon, came into the laid quarters: and being grown into a liking of the place for the fertility thereof they expelled the Sicilians, and held it for their own use. In process of time the Pelasgians, a people of Greece, together with the Thessalians, who came to aid the Aborigines against the nations their neighbor borderers, remained also in these parts (with the good will and contentment of the said Aborigines) until the Trojan war: but they all retained the name of the Aborigines, which prerogative they held because they were the first, that by arms conquered that seigioy and kingdom; Long time after, Saturn being chased out of Crete by Jupiter his son, fled into Italy: where he taught Jovis the King of the Aborigines the skill of planting vineyards, with the use thereof, and likewise the handling of the sicle: in regard of which good turn, he was freely feoffed by Jovis in part of his realm, yea, and after the decease of Jovis enjoyed the kingdom alone. After this, the Arcadians, who forsook the city Pallantum (as weary of their own native country) and by the leading of Eumander, seeking some other place of habitation, arrived at the place where now Rome standeth; received of Fannus the Ko of the Aborigines, a portion of ground; built a fort upon a little hill not far from Tyber, and named it Pallantum, in remembrance of their native city which they had abandoned. After all this, the Peloponnesians, Phanetians, and Eprians, by reason that Elys their native country was wafted before by Hercules, were by him brought a way into Italy, and they planted themselves up on the mount Saturnine. These men lived along time according to their own laws and customs, until they being vanquished and subdued by the Aborigines, were incorporated by them into one commonalty. Then taigned Latium the ion of Fannus, still intime as \\
ot the ion of Achaios, after the overthrow and final ruin of Ilums, after many adventures and much variety of fortune, which he had endured together with the Trojans his companions, came by the instinct of the deities to K. Latium, whose daughter Lavinia he took to wife; and so was by Latins admitted into the society and fellowship with him of the kingdom. When the Aborigines and the Trojans were thus linked and joined together, he called both nations by the name of Latins. Then was Fannus wareed upon by Turnus: for that he had married Lavinia, who was espoused and affi-
anced to him before. But Eneas won the victory, and in single combat flew Turnus. At that time also Latins died, and left his ion in law Eneas heir to the cown, certain years after was Eneas killed by Mercurius K. of the Tucans; and Aeneas his ion succeded in the kingdom. He built the towns Lavinium and Alban: and when he departed this life, made over the cown to his brother Sicyon. After him followed Kings, Eneas Sycions Latins Sycions, Alba, Alba, Capys, Capys, Tybenos, Areipas, Romulus, Arvantes, Procas, and Amulius. This Amulius usurped the kingdom by fraud, which in right of eldperth was due to his brother Numitor. And for fear lest there might arise from his brothers offfpring, some one to make claim and recover the royall seat, and thereby himselfe be thrust out of his place, he consecrated Reu, the daughter of Numitor to Vesti, for to be a profected Nun. She being thus made a votary, and devoted to perpetual virginity, happened to be with child by Mars, and was delivered of two boys, twins, namely, Romulus and Remus, Amulius advertised hereof, commanded both the babes to be call forth to perish. Found they were by Fenius a shepherd upon the bank of the river Tyber, and by his wife Fensius fostered and brought up among other shepherds, Remus being grown to mans elate, was taken by certain thieves and robbers, and brought to A. Amulius his great-uncle. Accused he was, for that he had killed the child and drive away whole droves of Numitor his carrell. Whereupon delivered he was to Numitor for to be punnished according to his distrection. But Remus after much difcour of speeches to and fro, was by certain tokens found and known to be Numitor his daught-
ers ion. And at the very time came Romulus also with Fenius in place, purposing to reculf Remus his brother. Soon they entered into a conspiracy, and at unawares surprized and murdered A. Amulius: and restored their grandfathers Numitor. In the seconf year of Numitor his reign, Romulus and Remus built the City of Rome, in the very place where they had been laid forth to perish, which was the 432 year after the winning of Troy, and the twelfth day before the calends of May. Afterwards in a fray that arose between Romulus and Remus striving for the sovereignty, Remus came by his death, and then Romulus gave name both to the City and Citizens also of Rome.
CHAP. III.

The form and bigness of the City of Romulus.

Romulus let out the City foursquare, as Plutarch witnesseth: whereupon of some it is called Quadrata. Others affirm, that the form and compass thereof is uncertain, and by reason of Antiquity unknown at this day: The hill Palatins was by Romulus first fortified, because therein he was brought up: at the foot thereof began the Pomerium. Afterwards the Capitol and the Roman Forum were laid to it.

The City began to be marked and bounded out from the Beast-market: from whence in certain places were stories pitched and set between, along the bottom of the mount Palatins, as far as to the altar of Consus; and so within a while to the old Curia: then, to the Chappell of the Laters and the Roman Forum the bounds were extended, until a place was assigned for the walls, and a spacious plot to build the City upon.

Tutus Tarpeus began the wall from the rock Carmentalis, and brought it to the way, which is not far from Tyber. From thence Southward unto the further part of the grand Cirque: and to Northward he ranged it into the Forum of Nerat, and in the end joined it to one of the points of the Capitol hill, and within it compassed both the Capitol it self; and also the Palatins. And finally, to enlarge the City, he let to it the hills Quirinalis and Caelum.

CHAP. III.

The gates of Romulus his City.

Romulus when he died, left the City of Rome with three gates, namely, Carmentalis, Romula, and Pandara. Others add a fourth thereunto, to wit Janus.

Carmentalis took the name of Carmentis the mother of Evander, whose Chappel Carmentale stood before the gate. This gate stood under the Capitol on the right hand, between the cliff Tarpeia and the Tyber over against the Church now of S. Katherine, towards the southwest. Magonia, This was afterwards named Securitas, for that without this gate, in the Temple of Janus, the act of Senate passed, for the lending of the three hundred Tabith to Cremona, who went forth at this gate, and were slain every one at Cremora.

Romula was called of Romulus: built it was where now the gardens are belonging to the new Church of S. Mary, not far from the angle of the mount Palatins in the bottom of the cliff of Victoria. Some affirm, that this gate was afterwards called Magna, of the lowing of cane and oxen: others name it Trigonum, of three corners that it had.

Pandara was so named, because it stood open for things to be brought through it into the City. The same also was called Libera or Romula. The place for it was assigned where the gate Saturnia stood, bearing the name of the old City, so called and after destroyed.

Janus carried the name of the Temple Janus, which is not far off. It stood sometime at the very foot of the hill Viminalis.

CHAP. V.

The variety of the compasses and walls of the City.

When the Romans one while made war upon their neighbor nations of Italy, and others while defended themselves against their violence, it happened for the most part, that they got the upper hand, and ever as they vanquished any and subdued them, under their subjection, in the end made them Citizens of Rome; by which occasion the City built by Romulus, was not sufficient to receive so great a multitude. Tullus therefore after his conquest of the Sabins and Albans laid to the City the mountain Caelum and the Esquiline, and enlarged it. Afterwards, when Polesium was won, and a number of the inhabitants translated to Rome, Ancus made a second enlargement of the City, and granted these new commotes the mount Avventine to inhabit. The old City therefore moved in Palatine; the Sabins in Carmentalia; the Albans in Caelum: and this new come multitude in Avventina. But after the Latines also were received into the City, they joyned Janiculum also to the city by a wooden bridge made over the Tyber: and cast a trench called Faustus Quirinalis about the low and level places of the city. So the Tran-tiberine quarter was united to the city, and made it more spacious and lately of all, Servius Tullus by adjoining the hills Viminals and Quirinalis to the five above mentioned, amplified the city. And as before it was bounded about with rubbish, and the same rudeely laid, Tarquin the proud was the first that enclosed it with a wall of good ashlar stone: And the very same walls which stand at this day, were by the pohtery that followed, repaired and reedified upon the old foundations. But the city in old time, when it flourished in greatest glory, extended far more in bounds and compass. For in Plinian time the circuit thereof within the wall contained about 50 miles. But in these days hardly 12. And the whole compass of the city, with the suburbs and buildings about and without the walls (which although they spread far, were comprehended yet under the name of city) is in the said Plinian time, was 50 miles.
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CHAP. VI.

The Pomeroy of the City.

That void space of ground within and without the walls, which might not lawfully be either ploughed or inhabited, is called Pomeroy. And sometime it is set for the circuit of the whole City. This Pomeroy was oftentimes let out farther, and altered by the Roman Emperors. But none had power granted so to do, save only they that either conquered somewhat to the Roman domination, or endowed the City with some singular and especial benefit; as the Emperor Claudius and many more. And like as the Romans had no certain limits of their Empire, so no set bounds confined either the City or the Pomeroy.

CHAP. VII.

The gates of old Rome, which at this day are not to be seen: those also that are now extant.

Even as the bounds of the City and Pomerone were many times altered, so the gates also; some were left within the City, by occasion that the walls were farther set out and left their names: others in time were so old, that they fell down; and albeit their name remain, yet the place where they stood is not known. Some again were made new, and took either new names, or else kept their old: others changed the place, and held their old name: and finally, there were some that had two names: and others, more. And these in manner were all the names of the gates:

*Flumentana* or *Flaminia*,
*Nomentana* or *Viminalis*,
*Esquilina* or *Taurina*,
*Caelia*, or *Appia*,
*Tiberina* or *Hosfienfi*,
*Retamena*, or *Vientana*,
*Montania*, *Salaria*, *Mittia*, *Practinaria*, *Prescina*, *Libinaria*, *Valeria*, and *Tepaeia*.

*Flumentana* took name of the river Tyberis; for it stood at the first upon the bank of that river, not far from the bridge of *Xylen* in the end of the Broad Street, and at the head of the way or street *Flumentana*; but afterwards, translated it was to the place where now it standeth. In time following, it was called *Flaminia*, of the cause of *Flaminius*: at this day it is named, The peoples gate, and is situate in the hill Hortolorum.

*Collatina*: bare the name of *Collatina*, a town not far from *Rome*: now it is *Pinciana*, of one *Pincius* a Senator, whose name it keepeth. This also standeth in the hill Hortolorum: between it and *Flumentana* is a noble space.

*Quirinalis* took name of the Chappel of *Quirinum*: or became in old time the way lay through it: for they went to the hill *Quirinum*. It seemeth to be called *Agonensis*: *quasi* *ab eodem, i.e.* without a corner; afterwards *Collina*: and at the left *Salaria*: for that it was carried into the City, this name it heldeth still, and standeth 6 *Stadia* from *Collatina*.

*Viminalis* is from *Quirinalis* distant 5 *Stadia*; so named, as they lay of a wood of Oiers, which (as it is supposed) sometime grew there: or else, of a Chappel of *Janus* *Viminalis*. This also men called *Ficinonis*, of the potter works made without it: but now they name it the gate of *S.* *Agrippa* and *Numantiana*.

*Interrogates* standeth in the Plain *Viminalis*: between the gate *Viminalis* and *Esquilina*: it had the denomination of *Taurinum*: his mures and banks, among which it was built.

*Taburnia* stood between *Esquilina* and *Nomentana*: so as it was 2 *Stadia* distant from *Esquilina*: upon the plain of *Esquilina*: in the very place where the conduit is of the *Mare* water.

*Esquilina* took that name of the hill *Esquilina*: the same in ancient time was called *Taurina*: of a bulk head there found: for many a day after was the said bulls head seen painted in the inner front of the said gate. At this day, S. Lawrence gate.

*Numa* drew the name of certain groves or woods near adjoyning. In time past *Labicana*, and now *Mayor*: An arch there was so called: and erected in the same place by the old Romans.

*Collatinesa* standing from *Numis* 8 *Stadia*: seemeth by affinity of name to be so called of the hill *Collina*: in the edge whereof it standeth: and *Appia*: it was called, of the Ayes which were wont to be sent out to *Naples*: by that gate. At this time they call it S. John gate.

*Gabinia*: built close to the mount *Colius*: Southwell: which seemeth to be likelihood to take the name of the City *Gabinia*: which it directly regardeth. It carried the name also *Meridum*: of measuring and is situate from *Collatinesa*: as it were 5 *Stadia*.

*Latinia*: 5 *Stadia* like wise from *Gabinia*: stood not far from the Church of S. John Baptist: so called so that men go forth of it into *Latinia*.

*Caelium*: to named of the Cappenas: Lateine nation, aginst which it lyeth. This also is called *Caelium*: of a grove and Chappel of the Muses, built just before the same gate. *Appia*: likewise, of the high-way *Appia*: which *Appius* the Center paved: and to it bare his name. They call it also
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also Triumphalis, for that in triumph the pomp is that way carried with state, of some it is named Fontinalis, for the plenty of springs there. At this day S. Sebastianus gate.

Tertullian took that name of an old gate so called, at which the twins Horatii went forth against their enemies, and gave the first name to it. Some shew remaineth yet of this gate to be seen, near the Suburra.

Hostilia, was in ancient days so called, for that it led to the City Hostia: now S. Paulus gate: situate it is from Capena well-neer 8 Stadia.

Portunus is a gate beyond the Tyber, within half a Stadium of the said river; so called, for that it leadeth to the haven of Hostia. Now a daies men call it, Porta ripa. The bank gate.

Anfona, looketh toward Janiculum; distant from the former almost 7 Stadia. In this age they call it S. Pancrace gate.

Altar, was built by Aulus Hadrians, of whom it took that name.

Septimius, bare the name of Septimius the Emperor: and because it standeth under Janiculum, is at this day called S. Sabius Janum. Some affirm, that this is Fontinalis, because out of the mount called Anfona, there issue fountains: for to the said hill this gate standeth close. From it to Anfona are 5 Stadia: and to the river Tyber 7 jugera or acres.

Thus much for the gates of the City of Rome, and their names. The wall in old time had upon it 360 curnets. Some of these are decayed and gone: others repaired, and many long time are ready to fall.

The second Book.

CHAP. I.

The sundry names of the Capitol.

The Capitol was by the old Romans called Mount Saturnus, either of a City named Saturn, which under the very hill was built in that place where now Rome standeth: or because Saturn in times past dwelt in that hill: or else (as some think,) for that the mount itself had Saturn for the titular God and Protector thereof. But afterwards it was named the mount Tarpeia, of the Virgin Tarpeia, of whom Livy writeth. Lafi of all, Tarquinius Priscus going in hand to build upon that hill a temple to Jupiter, when he digged for to lay the foundation, chance to find in the bottom of the trench a man's head: whereupon they called it Capitolium. And the Angurs being brought unto and demanded, What the finding of that head might signify? answered, That this Castle should be the See of the empire and the head of the whole world. This hill they divide into the Castle and the Capitol. The Castle they built Northward, as a stronger and more fortified place: but the Capitol, toward Tyberis, a place naturally defended.

CHAP. II.

Who first laid the foundation of the Capitol: who finished it: how often it was burnt, and by whom restored.

In the Sabine war, Tarquinius Priscus vowed to build the Capitol temple: but after the war was ended, so soon as he had laid the ground-work, he died. After him, Tarquinius Superbus finished the buildings, of 4 square stone: and defaited the charges thereof out of the pillage of Pomatia, a Town that was his. When he for his tyranny was banished Rome, Lucius Puteullus, the Consul dedicated the said Capitol to Jupiter. It stood upright and found for the space of 430 years, until the Marian wars, and then (in the Constilship of Scipio and Nauro) it was consumed with fire. Sulla-re-erected it, and Q. Catinus consecrated it: and so it continued until the Vitellian war. During which troubles, it was a second time burnt, at what time it stood with all the doores shut, undefended, and not rifed. Vespasian built it again and in his life a third time it was destroyed by fire: and together with the Capitol, Vespasian also himself died. Afterwards, Domitian rebuilt it in more magnificent and stately manner than it had been ever before, and disturbed therein above 10000 talents. Of the Capitol turrets and pinacles, the statues and images smitten with thunder-bolts and blasted oftentimes with lightning, divers writers have made mention.

CHAP. III.


The Capitol, Cicero calleth The house and habitation of the gods, because it contained the chappel, statues, and images in manner of all the gods: but the first of all others in Rome was...
that of Jupiter Forcirus, vowed by Romulus in the war against the Cenjenians. After which war ended, and he returned to Rome with victory, he reared a temple in the very pitch and top of the capitol hill, But Jupiter was by Romulus named Forcirus, as some would have it; for that Jupiter alighted him in striking the enemy, in that very place where he vowed the temple. Or else, because the Romans used in making of peace, to swear by his scepter and the flint. The roof of this Church fell down for very age and through neglect of the Romans, Augustus repaired. This temple first built by Romulus, was afterward enlarged by Ancus Martius.

But the temple of Inv. Opt. Maxv, of all other was the greatest and most renowned. This also was called Capitolium; and Targ. Persiens vowed it. After him, Targ. Superbus expended in the foundation thereof 40000 pound weight of silver: but before that he finished it, he was deprived of his kingdom for his tyranny, and left the work unperfect to be accomplished by the Romans. Built it was upon the hanging of the Capitoline hill toward Tyberis, as hath been shewed before. For the form, the greatness and beauty of this temple, read Dimenius and sundry other authors, who have written of the Roman acts and of Rome it self. Upon the top or lantern thereof, stood Salmnus the God, made of potters earth, whole head was smitten with lightning and fell into Tyberis. It had within it besides, a lanctuary or secret chapel, which no Lay person might enter into. Within the said cell or chapel, were two corones of gold: the one of them, the Gauls consecrated to Inv. Opt. Maximus: the other, the Cathaginians sent to Rome in the honor of Jupiter, in token of joy for their victory over the Samnites. Moreover, in the said temple were other three chapels; to wit, one of Inv. Opt. Maxv, in the middle second of Minerva on the right hand: and a third of Inv. on the left. And because men in old time attributed unto Minerva the invention of numbers, a law was set down in writing, That the chief and highest Pretor for the time being, should drive a spike or great nail near unto her image, whereby the computation of the years might be known. This so rich and costly edifice, was burnt all at once in the Vitellian war. Now at this day the place where it stood, is prophane: howbeit there remain yet to be seen, some tokens thereof, and the foundations; but all deformed and broken pietement.

CHAP. IV.

Since that we have described the temple of Jupiter K, of the Gods, in what place it was, and by whom built; meet it is to make report also of other gods in order, who had their houes in the capitol: and first of Saturn, Jupiter's father.

Saturn in old time had an altar erected unto him in the very way as ye go out of the Forum up to the capitol, as some think. There be that would have this temple or altar of Saturn, built by the companions of Hercules: others again say, that Tatius reared it. But of this variety in opinion of Writers, this may be the reason, because some affirm, that there were two temples consecrated to Saturn, but reared in divers places and at several times: one at the rock of Carmenta, even before the capitoline cliff (wherein the bones also of the gods brought from Aricia were bestowed:) the other in that very place, where now standeth the chapel of S. Saviour; where yet at this day there is a turret to be seen which they call, the Tower in Ararum: for there first was the common treasury houfe of Rome. In the temple of Saturn, dedicated by Caius Lucius Tatius, there stood Inv. with four faces; signifying the four times of the year: of whom the fifth month January took name.

The temple of Inv. Opt. Augustus Caesar first built, on the capitoline cliff or side of the hill, South-east: upon this occasion: It hapned, that in the Cantabrian expedition, as he was carried by night in a litter, the lightning frightfully glanced thereupon, and killed the servant that was the guide; and therefore he both vowed this temple, and also finished it to the honor of Thundering Jupiter. A temple also to Fortune was built not far from it.

The temple of Veiovis, stood between the castle and the capitol, in that part where now the chapels are to be seen of conservators. In o'd time they called this Idol-devil, Veiovis, because he was deprived of all power to help and do good. To him they sacrificed a fife goat: because he held arrows in his hand, most men thought he was Apollo.

Apsimu, that is to say, the temple of Mercury stood likewise upon the capitol hill, near a shadowy grove, in the very valley amid the capitol, and the castle. Called it is the temple Intercumbens, between two oke rows. This, Romulus erected; that what offender forever thither fled, he should be privileged as in a sanctuary, but Tyberius afterwards, supposing that this place ministered occasion of mischief, deprived of that liberty. This Apsimu, by report, the posterity of Hercules first erected. The temple (as also the mint-houfe) of Inv. Moneta, was built upon that plot of ground, where sometime stood the house of M. Manlius. This chapel, some report that Inv. vowed it: others, that L. Ciceroam the Pretor; and Ovid, that Camillus. Now was Inv. called Moneta, of giving warning; for that from the very place where afterwards the temple was set, there was a voice heard of Inv., admonishing them of the future overthrow by the Senones. In this place now standeth a Senators houfe of Rome.
The temple of Janus, ere of the Capitoline castle, stood in that place, where at this day is the goal and prison for malefactors and felons, toward the South-west over- gainst the Forum Romanum. This Janus upon the Capitol, Remus and Taurins devised to have two faces presenting therby the two nations. Others would have him to be portrayed a face for his cunning and providence: for he was the first that invented the rostrum crown; also boats; the skill of navigation; baken care and many other things, which Janus took that name ab undus, of going, for that he travaeth about the heaven and all things else. For which cause he also named Verminus. In old time they beleued there was but one Janus; but posterity in later ages, have imagined more.

The temple of Jupiter Cofcius, Dominan (after he was invollved in the empire) built and placed his own image in the lap and bosome of that god, which flood where at this day the Silemyer talpits are, near to the temple of Janus.

CHAP. V.
The temple of gods which have no certain place now in the Capitol.

Among those gods, whose determinat place assigned to them in the Capitol, is not known where it was, the first was Terminus; as to whom in all the world throughout, there is no proper place appointed. Now this Terminus was a rude and formless stone. Unto him Taurins first vowed temples; and some say, that Numa deidicated it. How ever it be, no doubt very ancient it was, as easily may be collected by that which followeth. But why, that in the Capitol was of men in old time reputed for a god, this was the cause; when Tarquinus Superbus determined to build a temple to Jup. the other consulted with the Augurs about the place, because he would begin nothing without the tughest Station of the birds. They flewed unto him the monus Tapinuis, but this place was already taken up with other gods, whose chappels there, were consecrated and hallowed. Then there were by certain Ierifices to be conjuered out from thence, for to give way to Jup. and to be tranferred into some other quarter. All the gods willingly yielded their places up to Jup. as their King, only Terminus, saied to be displaced; and remanied there still.

When he had finishid the temple and four-part of the roof which regardeth the laid stone, he was left naked and open for that god, as who neither ought nor could be enoiled, the augurs therefore being brought out and demanded, for what reason Terminus alone stood still with Jup., when all the other gods were gone? made answer, that thereby signified, this together with religion, their empire also was eternal. To this god they sacrificeth not but in open air and publicly abroad, as being the god and keeper of bounds. Saint Augustines witnesseth, that Mars and Jup. together with Terminus would not agree to give place to Jup. for that the dominion of Rome should not be bounded out, nor yet decay with age and continuance of time.

To Mars and Venus Ercina, Attius and Q. Fab. Max. being Dnnwirs, dedicated chappels upon the Capitoll, severed aunder by one vault or citern.

To queen Jum. C. Flaminius in the Ligurian war, vowed a temple.

To Opt. Taurius the K. consecrated a temple; for that she is the earth, and is the mother of all things, as bringing forth all, and receiving all again. The same Opt is called Maia, Fauna, and Bona Dea. This temple was blased with fire from heaven, as Livy telleth us.

Mars revenges, Augustus Caesar erected a temple upon the Capitoll, within the hill Saturniun.

To Faith, on the same hill, Attius Collatius dedicated another.

To Health, Concord, Liberty, and Victory, they builded temples; and many there were within the city erected to Concord.

To Fortuna Primigenia and Obsequenza, Tubulus dedicated a temple.

To Venus Xauda they also set up a temple in the Capitol, in memorialis and ever fling profane of the Roman dames, for willingly parting with the hair from their heads, toward the making of engines, that during the Galls war, were deviseid and made against the enemies.

Taurinus Superbus built a temple to Jupiter Sponsor, and Sp. Posthominus dedicated it. Like-wise to Jupiter, Piter, the old Romans consecrated a temple in the Capitol.

CHAP. VI.
Of the statues which either in old time were or now remain in the Capitol.

Of statues in old time were many fatory, and the same made of divers matter: some of marble, some of brasse, some of silver, and others of gold. Many of these were set up in the capitol to the immortal gods for divers causers, and namely, for their benefits bestowed upon mankind; which a long time were honoured and worshipped. To noble men likewise and such as had decreed well of the commonwealth, the usuall manner was in old time to set up statues and images in the temples, to provoke others by their example to do the like.

To Jupiter in the Capitol, Sp. Carvillus erected a statue in his temple, after he had vanquished the Samnians, taking the proportion or form thereof by the pattern of Jupiter Latiurne his image. From this mention, that this statue was written with lightning. He also set up another to honouring Jupiter.

The old Romans set up in the temple of Jup. Opt. Max. statues to Victory and Faith, to either of them one.
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For Nemesis also was an image erected in the Capitol, for that this goddess punished proud and faithless persons. She is named also Ramnusa of Ramnus, a village in Attica, where she was worshipped: & Adraste, of Adraste, who was the first that built a temple in the honor of her.

Unto Hercules, for his notable and famous acts, they erected many statues in the Capitol: and namely, Pub. Sulpicius and Pub. Sempronius one; & Q. Fabius Max, another, which he brought from the Tarentins by him subdued.

The images of good Event, and good fortune (the workmanship both of Praxiteles) were within the Capitol.

The image of Apollo with a diadem, and his Cælius thirty cubits high, in the making whereof were bestowed 140 talents, Lucullus translated out of Apollonia in Parthia, into the Capitol.

There was an image of Janus likewise in the Capitol, holding in his right hand the number of 300 and in his left of fifty five, to signify the dates of the year.

Two golden statues of Cæsarius and Politian, were by the Emperor Claudius dedicated in the temple of Jupiter.

The counterfeits resembling the rivers, Nilus and Tigris, half naked, were set up in the front of the temple of Conservatores: the one easy upon the shoulders, Sphyx; the other a Tygris; two wild beasts: both of them hold in their right hand Cornucopias, which fignifie plenty.

The personage of Hercules pourtrayed naked, of baffe and double goit, without beard, holding in his right hand a club, and in the left the golden Apples of Hesperides, was found near the Greek school and the beast market, in the ruins of Ara Maxima.

There be certain portraits also of the Parthian and Dacian victors, made by him, which were taken out of the church now called S. Martina, and high.

CHAP. VII.

Statues of famous and noble men set up in the Capitol.

To Scipio they erected in the Capitol a statue wearing a tunic; and another in the midst of the Kapitol, Portraits in regard of his victory over Antiochus, for an everlasting monument of his worthy deeds.

To Sulla was also a statue erected in the Capitol: having an image of a Citizen.

The one to Metellus, for he had preserved out of the temple of Vesta being on fire, the image of Pallas.

They erected an image to Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchus, in remembrance of a benefit of hers.

For that in a great dearth of corn, she served the people with fritattas and Modius. The same they did to Trebonius the Edile.

Fabius Maximus made for himself a cast or molten image, and reared it just by that of Hercules.

Unto Bruttius, for delivering Rome from the tyranny of Tarchonius, the Romans erected his image in the midst of the Kapitol, Portraits.

Domitian would not suffer any image of his to be erected, unless it were of molten silver or gold, and of a certain weight.

The Emperor Commodus took off the head from the colossus of Nero, & set upon it his own statue which he had in the Capitol. This Colossus is to be seen broken as it was, in the houses of Conservatores.

In the said houses of Conservatores, is extant yet the brazen portraiture of a she-wolf, at whose feet, Romulus and Remus, the first founders of Rome, are to be seen how they hung acaffer.

The image of Romulus and Remus remained in the Capitol, resembling two youths: the one standing upon the feet in fervile habit and attire: the other sitting like a shepherd or heardman, bending forwards with the body, plucking a thorn out of the sore of his foot, which rakelled and festered withall.

An infinite number of statues were in the Capitol, of gods especially, brought from other parts to Rome. For the Romans robbed the churches of foreign nations, for to enrich and adorn their own.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Capitoll cliff, Tarpeia rock, the stone of Carmenta, and the gate Stercoraria.

In old time, they called that place and way whereby men go up to the Capitol, Clivus; Capitollius: but where that place was in times past, learning opinions there be. Some affirm, that it lay toward that part of the hill which looketh to the Aventine, where now standeth St. Gregories Church in Velarium; others between the temples of Saturnus and Concordia, over to the arch of Severus, and at the Stalus and landings, called Senatoris Statula. Now the arch of Severus was raised at the foot of the Capitol hill, in the very head and top of Forum Romanum: under which they passed, that in triumph ascended up into the Capitol. The Capitol cliff then, was near unto the Roman Forum: which by the Romans was paved with flint: who also set up a gallery from the Chappell of Saturn unto the Capitol Temple close to the

Sanaculon
The Topographie of Rome.

Senaculum and the Curia over it, Corn. Tacitus writeth, that in former times there were many avenues and ways upon the Capitol, and thereupon arose so many and divers opinions concerning the Clivus Capitolinus. In the place of the feast Flora was in old time celebrated, whereof some tokens remain in this day to be seen. In it stood Miles' house, which was full of shields and other armor, Cicero maketh report.

That place was called Tarpey rock which standeth over the Forum Romanum: from whence in times past fellonious malefactors found guilty, were pitched down head-long, and wherein at this day offenders are punished.

Comment: Rome, regardeth Tyberis, just over-against the Senators' bridge.

The Dung-gate called Stercoraria stood upon the Capitol cliff aforesaid; thither was thrown out all the fifth rid out of the temple of Vesta, for to be carried away and soon after to be cast into the Tyberis.

CHAP. IX.

Of tables, of the brazen columns or pillars, and of the silver Goose.

CHAP. X.

Now that we have made declaration of the statues, tables, and columns, worth the noting something by the way would be said in the place, as touching the ancient housethere.

The court called Calabra Curia, Romulus built the Capitol, and covered it with tiles. Into this place the King-sacrificer was wont to assemble the Senators and people of Rome, that from him they might learn and know the dates of solemn games, plays, and sacrifices.

Not far from the said Curia was the cottage of Romulus.

And almost the same place stood the stately porch or gallery of Mesenius and Cononius. The Library also called Majorum, built stifically upon marbles pillars, and besides the publick court-yard.

There was an hallowed place likewise upon the Capitol from whence they gathered Pergamum or sacred herbs, to make garlands for the facials heralds and the Paterborasses: whereof they were crowned when they purposed either to make any accord and peace, or to proclaim war.

The first stone also was here found, which they held in their hand when they swere by Jupiter, pronouncing their words, if I made defaults with my knowledge, then let Diepiter cast me out of all that I have (saying the City and the castle) as I hurl from me this stone.

The Capitol had certain vats like cisterns, into which were thrown all things over-worn, or so old that they were good for nothing. The fixt steeds drawing in one team, were there to be seen, which Casus Cornelius set up, the twelve gilded shields likewise, made of that many where in the Edils condemned and fined the corn-mongers that hoarded and kept their corn. The shield also of Marsius, set out with the image of Isrumbas and the columns garnished with fine beast-heads of braze, whereof Livy speaketh, were here to be seen. Within the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus there was a short cloak or mantle and purpule worn, to which, of other purple garments were laid, they shewed the colour of silkes in regard of the excellent bright globes and lustre that it carried. A present this was (by report) given to Aurelius by Perseus K, who had it from the Espefe Britons. The lintell, cheeks and fall of the Capitol door, were made all of brass. The brazen tiles likewise upon the roof, Quaestor gilded over the place where Numus took his auguries.
chap xii

the temple of the city, or to the dich.

the saviour of man, and the peace of the

world, according to the people.

there was a temple called the temple of jupiter, having been

made in long years, and erected upon the mount of the

venus, which was before the temple of venus.

chapel, and the peace of the

world, according to the people.

there was a temple called the temple of jupiter, having been

made in long years, and erected upon the mount of the

venus, which was before the temple of venus.
there was an altar consecrated to Pan. But as touching the etymology and derivation of the name, as also of the situation thereof, there go diverse opinions: for as in times past the place was close hidden and unrequencnt, so now it is inhabited on every side; insomuch as there remaineth no mark and token at all where Lupercal was. Howbeit the greater part of writers affirm, that Romulus and Remus were laid to petil, and so carried by water to the place called after wards Romulanae, were under a fig-tree there, nourished by a she wolf. This wolf suck’d & kept in the den called Lupercal & from thence ran to the bank side under the fig-tree Romulanae, to the suckle the said babies, and to gave the name unto the cave to be called Lupercal, as it were, the lurking hole and den of the wolf. There be again that would have Evander to give the name to the same hollow cave: for he, as is before declared, was descendent from Arcadia, where the people after most ancient rites and ceremonies, do right devoutly worship Pan, the god of herdsman. Into whom also a mountain in Arcadia to him dedicated, was called Lyceum, for that he keepeth, saveth, wolves from the sheep, and preserveth the flockes and herds. This Evander therefore coming upon a time into Italy, and resting in these parts, consecrated both this grove and cave to Pan, and according to the manner of his country, there honoured him. In this said cave therefore rested was an altar, and a goat thereupon sacrificed unto him, as to the god and preserver of the flockes: and feeng that he was chas’d wolves from them, therefore the place wherein he was worshiptook the name Lupercal.

Now the feast Lupercalia was by Romulus and Remus instituted. For they having obtained of Numitor a plot of ground to build them a city on, in that very place where they had been, it forth, called all their companions to a feast and merry meeting: where, after they had killed sacrificers, and refreshed themselves with meate, and withall take their wine liberally to the full, they grew to diport, and in the merry fit clad themselves in the skins of the goats which they had slaine, and then fell to hopping and dancing full jocundly. Hereupon their potterie, celebrating the memorial thereof, held a festival solemnity called Lupercalia, which retained the name of the place where hitho they began. Hereof see more in Valerius Maximus, Servius & Plutarch in the life of Aetous. As for the fig-tree Romulanae, it was so called of the river Tyber, called at the Romam, Some would have it take the name of Romulus. Others of the milk given to the said infants, for part of the throat which dreweth milk it called Romna in Latins. This place was over against the house of the two lords Caesar & Domitian, on the side of the Mount Palatine, opposite against the new-place, called Circus Maximus. Romulus and Remus thus laid forth about Lupercal, and carried by the water to this place, were fostered for a while under the fig-tree Romulanae, in the place where the Comitian after was. The tokens of this tree remaineth unto this time of Augustus, as Ovid testifieth.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the new way, the streets Jugurth and Tuscan.

The street called the new way over against the temple of Jupiter Sutor, goeth along the valley between the Capitol hill and the Palatine, and reacheth to the Forum Romanum. This however it be called new, was well known to be most ancient, and is different from that, which Caecilia repaired under his bains.

The street Jugurth, otherwise called Thuraria, is leadeth from the gate Carmentalia, along the foot of the Capitol hill, to the Forum Romanum. In it was the altar of Janus Iugis, who was thought to make marriages, and to couple folk in matrimonies, and fir the it was that gave the name to Vico Jugurth.

Vico Tusculum begins at the Forum, and along the foot of the Palatine the way to Velabrum, the reason of the name was this. The Tusculans upon a time fighting against the Artekens, were by them overcome, and after many thousands of them slain in battle, the red being few in number fled to Rome: who taking delight in the pleasant seat of the City, & the commodiousness of the place, determined there to remain, Whereupon having a plot of land, & granted them by the Senat, between the Capitol and Palatine, they inhabited the same. Hereupon the street was called by them Tusculum, & many a 100 year after retained that name. In it afterwards there kept bawds and such kind of people, whereupon it grew out of credit, and left also the first name.

CHAP. XV.
The Arch of Romulus, the Senaculum, and the dwelling house of Ovid.

The old arches (which some think Romulus erected) continued a long time built of brick, neither would the Romans suffer that any man should make them of marble, to the end, that the memorial of their City founder, should remain more firmly in the minds of men. But in continuance of time long after, they decayed and fell down, in that very place where now is the church of Saint Mary of Grace, and were never afterwards redified. The Romans named that place Senaculum, between the Capitol and the Forum, wherein the Senat kept a consistory for counsell and conflation.
*^be Topogra^hie

io86

o/Rome.

the Capiiol, himfeU witoeffctb, evea whete as now tbe
Tbtt OviJr mMfion houfe ftood under
CbarchiS of S.MitrrjolConfolatiem.
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GAAP.

I.

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Tbt divert etymologies ofTtdatinf.

Lbeit the bill Palatine were along time inhibited before the City waibuilr,and namely*
Ev/vider, who iKo therein fct up a caftle:
fay VAkntia the daughter of Italttj; then by
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i
KK. and Emperors ; in(oinuchas
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City
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tein reafon of the name why it (hould be fo called, and which a man may be bold to follow, caa
hardly be fet down. Some would have it (o called, becaufe the Arcadians wandring v/ithEva/ider
diforderly, and the Palatines oat oftheRhettiKe territory (called likcwife Paiititimjctmc to that
mount and :t inhabited others of P^j/ftthe gre-it grandfather of £v(j»<^fr. Z-iw/ thought, that of
talanUHm a City of >4rc<«iM, it was (itlt called P*/<j«»«w, and afterward Palatine.Therc arc bcCdes, whoofPj/zi^Mthc wifcofL<ir/*«», fetch tbe original of the denomination ; or oi PaUtho,
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the daughter of Hjperl>orem, who bare Latinns unto Nercnlef, and inhabited this mountain t or
of PaUntit the daughter oiEvxnder^ whochcre was buried: ot of PoIm, who wai himlclt interred in it. Some there was alfo, of the bleating of {h;ep>which pafturcd there in limes paft, before the hill was by menfreqaer.tcd and peopled ,imagine it was lb named.-or elfa becaufe flocki
were wont there palare, that is, to wander and gcafe up and down. And hereupon it is, that N'aviHs called it Bdantitim, of liJatHs ; or ^oUntimm of * paUrt.TremeOiut calkjlb it the mount RmwHleBs, ot Romulus bis image, found at tbc very fboi of the laid bill. This may lufrice of tbe deri*

vationofthc Dime.

CHAP.

ir.

Sofpita, snd the mother of the god*
Liberty and theporeh thetetf,4t alf* the houfe «/Cafsius.

The temph tf/Viftcry, Ceres, Juno

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we have declared the reafon of the name ofPalatium ; we will go forwird to (htvt
the temples and hoafes of tbe moantain, like as we have done io the defcripiioa of the Cathat

p.tclbill.

When the Romans had performed fortunatly many martiall exploits, and oftentimes retutnci
with vidorie over their enctnieS) becauie they would not be found untbankfiili to the gods,unto
whom they werebeholden for their happy atchievements, and thereby afterwards miffeoftho
like fortanat fucceffe they confecrated unto tbe goddefle VtHory a temple in that pan of t ha Palatine, which looketh toward the hortyards and gardens of ManaNo^a in the very bottom of tbt
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Romam, L. Poflhumiutva ^Gdile Curule took order (or tbe building
mony railed by fines and penahies ; and when it is fini(bed,be dedicatol

defcent, hard at the gate
thereof, out of certain
it

to the goddellc FtSloria.

which Ctd.Poreius Cato vowed,
was the temple of Juno Sofpita.
Tbc Atca-iiafls, which with Evandtr came to the Palatine hill, built a temple alfo in Palatium
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Neet thereto there Wis

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temple alfo to Cfr« in the Palatine.
book of 5>^/Zf;< there was- a propoelie found, That the

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born (hduld be cbtfed oat of {/m//, in cafe the mother of the gods might be brought to
Rtmt from Veffinitt, Now a Rone it was, which the inhabitants of that countrey fo called. Sene
therefore were Embjfl. into-^y?-* as far as to ?ejfinus i town af Pbrjii* who brought with them
that Great mother of the gods in Iialj. Then P. Cormliut caried it from the lea into the Palatine,
and bellowed it into tbe tcmp!(» of ^«3»r^.antil fuch time as one was built of purpofe for hcr.Aftetwards.^.I.<t''«;and C.Claudmt the Cen(ors,took order for a temple to be made to this greaj
mother of the god£,Sc the lame fet out with ftatues.pillars and pavement of divers ftooes of great
price. And Juniut Brutus dedicated it. The piaies alfo and games called MegA/ejTsyV/betofOeer^
fpcaketbjwete firft inlfituted at the dedication thereof.
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chap,i/i.


Of the Chappell and altar of the goddess Viriplaca of Faith, and Jupiter Victor.

Not to those gods only that did good to mankind the Romans consecrated temples, but dedicated chappels to those all that did them harm, to the end that they should do less harm, and punish them more gently. For certain it is, that on the hill Palatine there was a temple & altar both consecrated to the Euergetes, likewise to Nemesis the goddess of vengeance, whose image before in the second book

Besides they erected a chapel of the Lares in the Palatine.

In like manner, there was a chappell in the Palatine, consecrated to the goddess Viriplaca; into which, if man and wife came together, although they disagreed and were taken out before, they returned home again good friends from thence, and all was well.

After that, Emes with his son, Acron, and daughter, Romulus came into Italy, they reared a temple to Faust, in Palatine; they which was dedicated notwithstanding the name of the daughter, and the name was written in the forefront of the temple; and therefore many years after, when Romulus and Remusrove who should give name to the City, the Senate and people of Rome reading the name of Emes, his daughter in the frontispice of the said temple, resolved to name the City after her, Roma.

Q. Fabius in the Sabin hill, vowed a temple to Jupiter conqueror; and afterwards built it on the Palatine hill, and there dedicated it.

CHAP. III.

The temple of Heliogabalus, Apollo and the Penates: the house of Orcus; the place of the Palladium, or image of Minerva; and the temple of Augustus.

Neronius Heliogabalus consecrated a god to the mount Palatine, which he called Heliogabalus, and built a temple in the place, where before flood that of Orcus or Pluto. But to win credit and name to this new and counterfeit god with great reverence and worship, he endeavoured to translate into this temple of his, the sacred cup of that great mother of the gods, the fire of Vesta, the image of Minerva, called Palatina, the head 1/4 cireogens, and all things else which the Roman, honoured above the rest. The Cæsarian and Jewish religion also were counterfeited, to this end, that no man in the worship of that temple and god, might alledge any pretence why he should not with good confidence to do Moreover, in the Palatine there was built a most ancient temple of Apollo. This chance to be overthrown by thunder and lightning; and when the foothsayers gave out, the great god misled it, and required another, Augustus Caesar rejoined a porch to the ruin thereof; and renamed the temple to new that there stood where in himself, when he grew aged, many a time sat in council with the Senate, and empanelled the decrees of judges. In like wise were pendent canopettes, branched with arms like trees, wherein the approved poets enrolled their writings. Certain marks and tokens of this temple are to be seen (although obscurely) near to the vineyard of Cestius, where the house of Tibullus stood. Unto him were instituted the Apolline games where read Ceres.

The temple of the City-protectors, called Penates, stood in that part of the Palatine which looketh into the North, even to Vesta not far from the Forum. In it were the images of the Trojan gods, in the same were portrayed two young men sitting together, and holding a bowl in their hand, in like manner, the crooked sugar-houses called Lantus, a river and lake. Besides, an earthen Trojan vessel of potter's work, Apollo, and Neptunus were there to be seen.

When the temple of Vesta was on a right burning fire, the image of Pallat being saved out thereof, was translated into Vesta, and gave the name unto temple of Palatæa, now St. Andrews church, standing in the same place.

Some report, that there was a temple built in Palatæa to Augustus Caesar of famous memory by his daughter Livia.

CHAP. V.

The Palatine houses, and the court of the Salii.

Hat Romulus and Remus being shepherds abode some time in these parts, the shepherds and cottages, which long time after were found here, made of flight wood & reed, do testify which of them in continuance of time decayed and fell down, the shepherds repaired with the like matter to their ancient form, that this perpetual memorial of Romulus and Remus, the City founders, what kind of persons they were, and what manner of houses they lived in, might be delivered to posterity. In the corner of the Palatine hill, which leadeth into the grand cirque or show-place, there stood (many ages) the cottage which they called Casa Romuli.

Tullus Hostilius, before he built his court dwelt upon Vesta, in that very place were afterwards the chappell of the Penates found.

Not far from thence, even in that part of the Palatine which regarded the Forum, Catullus (by report) had his house built, More
Moreover, between M. Scaurus his house and Caelium, there was but a small step over.

Cicero's house put, baiided of Cassius, was in the most frequent and conspicuous place of the mount Palatine, above the Church of Jup. Stator, near the Palatium.

Puting to teith, how the houses of Cassius the Orator, and Vitellius, in the Palatium, were in old time overturned.

One Captain Valatin, likewise had an house in the Palatium.

Also Tiberius, whereof we have written in the former chapter.

Augustus (born in the region about Palatium, in a place called Capitabula, the one heads; and where after his death, they erected a chappel unto him) dwelt first near the Roman Forum, above the round stairs called Scala monumental, in the house sometime of Calvus the Orator. Afterward he built the lately Palatine at his own charges and gave it to the City, and himself dwelt on the Patine hill in the small house of Horatius.

The Guild, or religious court of the Salius, built in the mount Palatine, chance to be burnt; and in the allies thereof, the staff of Romulus called Latina was found, without any hurt.

Palatins dwelt in an house standing over the Forum, which was called Suburra.

That the dwelling house of Turquinus Fiesus was near unto the Temple of Jup. Stator, may soon be proved out of Lives.

CHAP. VI.

Of the top of Vilia; the stones in Palatine, and other things in general.

The pitch of the hill called Sumam Vilia, was in that higher part of Palatium, which looketh into the South-east, whereas now is the Temple of Mary the new. Called Vilia it was, because in old time before the device of shearing sheep the shepherds were there wont to pluck the wool from the sheepe backs.

Augustus set up a library of Latin and Greek books in Palatine, and adorned it with the money raised of the most excellent brases of that huge colousus of Tufcan Apollo. He adorned thereunto a porch or gallery, which they called Palatinm.

In it was erected by the Senate, a statue unto Nereus; the Emperor, and a singular oratory.

In the same porch, the Romans also set up a statue unto M. Tullius, whiles he lived.

The Augusterum, which was a place where they used to take auguries, was upon mount Palatine. Apollo Palatinus likewise, the workmanship of Scopas, was in Palatium. Latona in the same was placed.

Thus the Emperor set up a golden statue in Palatine to Britannicus.

Moreover, the tree which grew out of Romulus his spear was in the Palatium. For he, after he had taken his auguries in the mount Arvernian, landed his spear from him into the Palatine, which sticking in the earth, budded forth leaves and grew to be a tree.

Likewise the bay tree, which the same day that Augustus was born, sprung with him and suddenly appeared, was in Palatium. Of this laurel tree, they that afterwards triumphed, were wont to wear their wreathed Garland.

The Palatine plains, whereof Cicero maketh mention in his Oration for Roscius, were in the same Palatine, and of them there remain yet some tokens, above the Cirrus max. not far from the vineyard of Federus.

In the same mountain also there was a place called Similia, and Jupiter parlor.

The most beautiful streets called Atrium, paved with Lacedemonian and Porphyry stones, were in Palatium. The streets also of Puteus, and Fortune's altars, were to be seen in Palatine. And there were the games and parades celebrated, which they call Palatinal.

CHAP. VII.

The Palatium now called the Green: the court-yard of the Palatium: and the old gate of the very Palatium it self.

How great a compass the Palatium took up in old time, how gorgeously it was built, how rich, how frequent and full of houses, the huge ruins the pictures, statues, and most precious pillars there found, do easily declare. For no man ever hath left in writing, who first built it to great and lately edifices, who after wards enlarged the same, and in it put many a place erected those houses. By little & little it grew to so great an height, as all writers should be ignorant of those antiquities: neither was any thing at one time done or at once, which seemed worth the memorial. For Historiographers are wont to deliver unto posterity those things only which are rare and worthy of admiration. The mount Palatine at this day is called Palatium major, and setting aside the Church of Saint Andrew, hath scarce two houses inhabited. The rest being either replemished with vines or foter pasture, ycleth Graves and food for sheepe, capes, and goats. So as it feemeth it may be called Palatium of the sheepe that sheep make, rather than Palatium.

This Palatium had also a place therein called Arrium, built in old time and allowed by August in it the Senate gate in council, because they might not assemble in any place unagurte or unhallow. Therein also rams were sacrificed.

The old gate of the Palatium was near the Forum, over-gainst S. Laurence Church in Miranda, some would have this to be the gate of Romulus, in old time.

CHAP.
The Topography of Rome.

CHAP. VIII.
The Temples of Janus, Augustus, and Faustina.

After the description of the Temples and edifices of Palatium, the third part of the city, now followeth a fourth: namely, the Roman Forum. Therein is the most sacred Temple of Janus, (for me thinks we do well to begin at Janus, who is counted the door and entrance as it were of all things, For Janus himself, who was therein worshipped, had four faces and from Palatia's city in Tuscany forced by the Romans, he was translated to Rome into the Forum, named after Transtrium. His Temple was built in that part of the said Forum which looked toward the Roman Forum. Procula latus, that in his days it was built in the midst of the Forum over against the Capitol, a little above the place which the Romans called, The three Delfines. Other Temples there were besides of Janus, and namely, in the Capitol near the theatre of M. Cecilis, with two fronts all of brass, and had two brazen doors; which in time of peace were shut; and against war, were let open.

The temple of Augustus was built in the Roman Forum. This was begun in the time of Tiberius the Emperor, but let unperfect. Caligula finished it. Above it, he made a bridge which joined the Capitol and Palatine together.

There remain yet to be seen certain monuments and marks of the temple of Faustina. Hadrianus the Emperor her husband founded it at the foot of the Palatine hill, where the brazen image of a bull (standeth) for her sake that she might be honoured as a goddess. The same his son Antoninus Pius, afterwards would have to be a temple for himself, or Jupiter Spenes, or else the Sun. At this day it is the church of St. Laurence in Miranda.

CHAP. IX.
The Temple of Cæsar and Pollux, and the Rostra.

No man doubteth but that the temple of Cæsar and Pollux was sometime in the Roman Forum before the Rostra, near to that above-said of Faustina. This fared house A. Posthumus the Dictator dedicated: and L. Metellus afterwards repaired and beautified it, with the Dalmatian spoil. In it, as in many other, the Senate used to sit in council, and therein were public Orations made to the people. C. Metellus adorned the same with statues, pillars, and excellent painting: wherein also he set up the portraiture and semblance of Flora, a picture of singular beauty. A table besides, which contains the records and monuments touching the free burghership granted to the burghers of Capua. The flees and greeks going up to this temple, Cledon afterwards plucked up, as witneth Cicero.

There was a temple or conclave place called Rostra, at the foot of the hill Palatium, over-against that before-named of Cæsar and Pollux, whereas now is the little chappel of S. Mary de Inferno. From these Rostra, were the sentences and acts of the Senate, brought and propounded to the people.

CHAP. X.
The Temple of Cæsar, Venus Genitrix, and Mars avenger: and the court of Venus.

Cæsar of famous memory had a temple neer his own Forum, at the broad-street called Sacra, behind the temple of Faustina. In it were set up as Saints, Victory and Cæsar.

In the same Cæsar Forum, there stood a chappel of Venus Genitrix, behind the said temple of Faustina. This, Cæsar vowed in the Pharsalia war, and dedicated it. After Victory in the war against Pompey, Cæsar enclosed the temple of the said Venus, within a court-yard and a cloister, which Hadrian afterwards repaired and built new.

Augustus Cæsar in the barrel of Philosophy, vowed a temple to Mars the avenger, which afterwards he edified in his own Forum, wherein were certain iron posts dedicated to Mars: and two statues, bearing up the tabernacle of Alexander the Great. This is thought to be at this day the church of Saint Martin.

CHAP. XI.
The Temples of Vulcan, Concord, Peace, Romulus, and Venus Cloacia.

The temple of Vulcan, Romulus founded, above the Comitium and Forum Romanum, at the bottom of the Palatine hill: but Titus dedicated the temple of V. Leo, as also of the Sun and Moon, of Saturn, Rhea, Vesta, Diana, and Quirinus. In the temple of V. Leo there was dedicated unto Vulcan the brazen chariot of Romulus, wherein he rode in triumph a second time. Therein remained also the statue of Coecles there erected. Many a time were Orations made to the people in this time.

In the yard belonging to Vulcan temple, Felixius, the font of a Libertine or enfranchised citizen, 303 years after the building of the Capitol, vowed the temple of Concord, if he could reconcile the States of Senators and Gentlemen to the people. Afterwards he built it of the amercements and penalties that he took of Writers condemned, at the foot of the mount Palatine, Opulent the Consul.
Conful afterwards repaired it anew. In it, Pliny testifieth that an altar ran blood for two dates.

Livia Drusilla in her open gallery, erected a chappel of Concord, in regard of the mutual and loving agreement between her husband and her; which afterwards Tiburius dedicated.

In that place where Drusilla first founded the said chappel of Concord, Vespasian afterwards with wonderful celerity and speed, (after the civil wars ended) finished the Temple of Peace, begun before by Claudius. A large building this was and four square, let out with most stately and fair columns, and of all other Temples the richest. In it Vespasian bestowed the holy vessels and precious ornaments of the Temple in Hierusalem, which T. had shewed in triumph. It had also the statue of Campaspe, and an infinite number of other ornaments wherewith it was decked and beautified. This Temple caught a fire, and at once iudiciously was consumed whole; and never was it known to this day how this fire came; unless it were (as some imagine) by reaion of an earthquake which hapned the same hour, the stones rubbed together and fruck fire.

An altar of Peace was by Augustus first reared; but in what place, the posterity knoweth not. The name, Agrippa afterwards enlarged and adorned, Between the Temple of Peace and Pantheon, there is at this day a most ancient Temple, and two pillars of the porch to it, which now is dedicated to the two brethren Saint Cæciliae and Dianæ, Some think it was the Temple of Romula and Remus, the name that Carolus the Conful, after he had subdued the Samnites, dedicated, and of the infinite many of spoils adored it.

That the Temple of Venus Cloriciae stood near the broad street Sacra, Ovid testifieth; Now the image of this Cloricia was found in a priory or draught, called Maxima, and Tatius consecrated it. And because it was not known what whole resemblance it was, it took the name of the place wherein it was found.

### CHAP. XII.

The Temple of Tellus, Salus, Victoria, the Sun and Moon, the house of Cælius, and the Armony.

Where the Temple of Tellus stood, some say it is uncertain; others think it was not far from the Esquilus, near the rising of the hill that leadeth to S. Peter's Church in Vinculis, where as now standeth the Temple of Pontecluem, Sempronius vowed it: for whiles he fought a battaille with his enemy at Asculum, the head Town of the Picenians, the earth quaked: and because he would pacify the goddesss Tellus (i.e., the earth) which he thought was angry, he vowed this Temple unto her. But it was in the same plot of void ground, where the house of Sprinias Cælius (who fought to be king) was overthrown. Near unto this Temple of Tellus, there was an Armony: whereof Cælius also made mention in a certain place. Within the said compasse, C. Junius Bubacchus the Conful, vowed a chappel to the goddess Salus, in the time of the Samnites war. The same was by him put forth to building, when he was Censor, and dedicated by him Dictator.

L. V. Junius in Edilis, cauased the Temple of Victoria near the Roman forum to be made, of the penaltys and fines taken.

In this place also was the altar of Apollo.

Some would have, that the Temples of Concord and Asculapius, were near the Amphitheatre, in the place where the gardens be of S. Mary the new.

The Temple of Mercury was also in the Forum.

The Temples likewise of Isis and Serapis were in the Burse called Emporium. And some think, that these were the Chappels of the Sun and Moon, dedicated by Tatius.

### CHAP. XIII.

The Forum of Trajanus: thoes things now thrown, or that have been herebefore.

Thus much of Temples, of holy and religious places, which seemed worth the noting, hath been briefly written. Now from hence forward we will speak of those things, which shall concern the honour and memorial of mortal men, and first begin we will with that excellent Prince Trajanus.

Forum Trajanus was built (with wonderful Art and industry of man) by Apollodorus, between the Forum of Nerva, the Capitol hill, and the mount Quirinal. The same workman built also (at the commandent of Trajanus) Meteora and Gymnasion. The roof of that Forum or Hall was of braies, within round about in every place the forms and images of horses; and military enigns all guise. Now were these forefaid images erected there at the cities charges in memorial of them that had deferred well of the common-wealth, or otherwise of some notable act.

The triumphant arch in like manner with many other monuments reared to the praise of Trajanus, adorned this Forum or hall of his.

The porch of this Forum, built upon most mighty and high pillars, and resting upon large chapiters, yielded so great admiration to the beholders, that they deemed rather the works of giants than men. Into this, Alexander Severus in the honor of Trajanus, translated most beautiful statues of singular men.

Trajan horse in like manner stood in the mids, bearing upon high columns.

In a coin also there is found the image of Trajan, with this inscription: S. P. Q. R. Optimo

Prin-
The Topography of Rome.

**Principis.** The Senate and the people of Rome to the best Prince, But hereof Lampadius writeth much.

He likewise is reported to have adorned the palace, made of sundry marbles, with pictures and statues within.

In the midst of the Forum, there stood the column of Trajan, built with winding stairs. This had round about it the summary of the acts of Trajan engraved and chiselled most cunningly, but above all the Dakes war: within there be 185 steps up to the top; and it hath 40 little windows to let in light into them that shall go up: 120 foot high it was; or (as Eutropius writeth) 140. In the lower or lantern thereof were the bones of Trajan kept within a golden ball. This pillar, Trajan himself never saw; for whiles he ware against the Parthians, the Senate dedicated it into him in his absence. But he in his return from the Persian, died in the way at Seleucia, City in Syria of a flux of blood. His dead corps was brought to Rome: and of all the Emperors, he alone (as Eutropius writeth) was interred within the City. The reason why his bones are left in that Column is this: The manner in old time was, for Princes and Noblemen to be buried under hills; but there being not mountains enough whereupon to raise sepulchres in every place, it hapned that such steeples and high pillars were set over their dead bodies instead thereof.

**CHAP. XIV.**

The Forum, the Palace, and porch of Nerva.

Next to our light cometh the Forum of Nerva, and is behind the Church of S. Hadrian, in the midst of it there stood a Column of brass of an huge signet; covered with plate of brass or copper, and hath within it light every way. This Forum was garnished with divers statues and Columns, containing the whole order of the acts of Nerva, This was afterwards called Forum Tranquillum, for that from it there was the way to the Forum of Augustus and the Roman.

There appeareth as yet some part of the Porch or gallery belonging to the Forum: for being consumed by fire, yet it left certain obscure tokens, witnessing, that in the same place was the Forum of Nerva.

Part also of the Palace of Nerva, built of four square stones and pillars, together with the Church of S. Blaes; are yet seen enclosed between the Comitium and the tower of Aemus.

**CHAP. XV.**

The Roman Forum, the Comitium, the prison Tullianum, and the Image of Mætiorius.

The Roman Forum, which also is called Latium, began at the foot of the Capitol, and reached in length to the Church now of S. Mary the new, which is in Eupha. But at the first the circuit and bounds thereof were much narrower. For from the head thereof abovenamed, it went no farther than the nearest foot of the mount Palatine. Many a year after, Augustus Caesar enlarged it.

The Comitium joined to the Forum, or rather it was a part thereof: for it beginneth at the gate of Palatium and endeth at the Church of S. Mary the new.

At the foot of the Capitol hill, South-eastward, Ancus Martius built a prison for malefactors to be laid up in. After him K. Tullius adjoined it to that part which is under the ground, and called that dungeon, Tullianum. Made it was of huge and mighty big stones, with narrow long holes for to receive the shadow, as it were, and resemblance of a light. The dungeon within was vaulted with stone, usy for darkness, and loathsome by reason of a strong and thinking scent. This whole prison was divided into two parts, the upper room and the nether. Caesar it was called in Latin Aequicorda, because it kept them there enclosed from coming forth.

Just before this prison there lieth a huge marble idol, which they call Mætiorius. Some think it was the Image of the bakers god, others of Jupiter, called Panarius, of the tumours that bear out like to loaves of bread. For the Romans in times past, when they were beleaguered by the Gauls in the Capitol, had warning by Jupiter in a dream, to make bread of all the corn that they had left, and to throw it into the enemies camp. Whereby the Gauls, desparing that the Romans could possibly be tamed with hunger, brake up the siege. Whereupon the Romans in perpetuall memorial of this benefit erected an altar and a statue to Jupiter Pistor.

This image is thought to be the remembrance of the river Rhenum in Germany, because it is upon a rock. But why it should be called Mætiorus, I know not, unless it be because it standeth in the Forum of Augustus.

**CHAP. XVI.**

The Secretary of the people of Rome; the arch of Septimius; the Temple of Saturn; Of the Treasury, and the mint-house where they coined many.

Behind the image of Mætiorius, over against the arch of Septimius is the Church of S. Martina: where, as it appeareth by an evidence engraved in marble, was sometime the place called the Secretary of the people of Rome.

Right against the said Church of S. Martina at the bottom of the rock Tegulae standeth the
The Topography of Rome.

ARCH of SEPTIMIUS, which in both the fronts thereof containeth the deeds of that Emperor both by land and sea.

Directly there followeth the Temple, sometimes of SATURN, now S. HEDERIUS Church. The said Temple was of great antiquity. Some report L. Longinus for the builder thereof; others L. TARTINIUS; albeit more likely it is that Longinus dedicated it. Longus wrote, that when Aspendinianus and M. Minucius were Cæfars, Numanus Plutarch testifieth it. The treasury of the people of Rome, no longer denied, but that it was translated out of the Capitoline this Temple. But why men in old times would have the treasure to be within SATURNI Temple there be divers opinions. Some say, because in Saturni daies there was no theft committed: for under him all things were common; no covetousness nor levvd person laid wait for his neighbour, but all things were administered with righteouness, faith, and love. Cyprian alledge this case, because Saturn was the first that in Italy ordained money to be coined. Moreover, in this treasure-house were kept the public ordinances. Also the books called PLANTINI, containing the five and thirty tribes of the people of Rome. Moreover, all the books of the Cities accounts: also the ancient writings and decrees of the old LATERINUM and the City debts. Furthermore, the standards and ensigns of war, ORDERED & besides, whatsoever was by the Generals and Captains after the conquest of Provinces carried in triumph, was thither brought. Lastly, whatsoever was expedient and profitable for the Common-wealth to be reserved, as laws, letters, and other common registers of a City. The Centurions likewise were put to take their oath in the Temple of SATURN.

Between the Church now of S. HEDERIUS, and that which sometime was the Temple of COFET and POLIX, stood in old time the work-house wherein they coined money.

CHAP. VII.
The golden Millarium, the bridge of Caligula, the ROFTRA and the CURIA.

MILLARIUM; a column, in times past at the head of the Roman FORUM, under the Temple of SATURN, near to the arch of SEPTIMIUS. A pillar it was so called wherein all the high-ways of ITALY were cut and engraved thereon, and from which the measures began and went on to every gate of all quarters. Caligula brought a bridge of marble through the Roman FORUM from the mount Palatine to the Capitel. A more flately and curious piece of work there never was throughout all the City: for the bridge was sustained with four colossal mighty pillars of most white marble: whereof at this day there are to be seen at the foot of the one hill, and as many at the other, in such manner as they were in times past by Caligula built for the bridge. In the midst of the FORUM, over against S. HEDERIUS Church there standeth a pillar, which is verily thought to be one of them that supported the brazen horse of DOMITIAN gilded all over. At the foot of this horse was the semblance of RHEA, a river in Germany; for that DOMITIAN the Emperor had triumphed over that Province. And this is the Image which afterwards they called MARSFRUS.

Of the beakheads of the Antis, ships, a pulpit was built in the Roman FORUM by the Romans at the foot of the mount Palatine, which Temple they called ROFTRA, that in the acts of the Senate should be made. Now of this ROFTRA there were two, the new at the bottom of the Palatine as is before said, and the old, near the CURIA in the Comitii. In this ROFTRA were laws published, canthes pleaded, and Orations made to the people. On the same the manner was also to erect the Statues for most famous and noble men.

In the most conspicuous place of the FORUM ROMANUM, before ROFTRA, upon a lion of stone was the portraiture set to POMPEIUS, the fosterfather of Rominius and Romus. For, he willingly did return the tryst between ROMINUS & ROMUS the founders of the City, there being there, whereafter they erected unto him his statue. Behind the ROFTRA was the iepulchre also of Romulus. Moreover before the ROFTRA stood the statue of HERCULES clad in a coat after the Eleancs habit, with a grim and stern comenence. Three flames also of SIBYLLA in the same place. The manner of the Romans besides, was to set up the heads of those that were put to death, there to be seen.

Two or more Council-houses at Rome were: one near the FORUM, built by the Temple of Peace, named HEBBLA; the other in the mount CAVIS, whereof we will speak hereafter.

CHAP. XVIII.
The lake CURTINS, the great sewer, or ditch, and the Doliola.

The lake CURTINS was in the midst of the Rom FORUM near DOMITIAN his horse. This lake took that name of M. CURTINS, who gave the Common-wealth, willingly of his own accord cast himself headlong, armed as he was, together with his horse into a chink of the ground in the midst of the Roman FORUM. Some would have it so called of MATIUS a Sabine, who through this lake escaped safe to his own company. The vault or sink called CASONEX, was made by the commandment of TARQUIN; for by reason that the hills were dug under, and the city flood hollow upon arches, it received & carried away all the filth thereof. At the Temple of FUS STATOR divided it was into three conveyances or channels, whereof two of them are now stopped up, the third runneth with most clear water by the Lake CURTINS, under the Roman FORUM, along the foot of the mount Palatine into VELABRUM, and from thence in a sink made of four-square stone, it discharge itself into TYLER. In old time there
there were many such vaults, and those for public use. But after the City was won by the Gauls & burnt, whiles every man made haste to rebuild his house, where he could meet first with a convenient place; they took no heed to the streets as they were before: so as neither the City was divided as aforesaid into quarters, nor yet the finks which in times past went under the streets were marked where they lay: but afterwards were conveyed under private mens houses, whereby it came to pass, that each house almost at this day hath a sink or privy belonging to it. Hereupon also it is, that this author, whole epistle or abridgment we write, hath not divided the regions of the City, agreeable to the old writers. But to the end that those things which he set forth down, might be sooner understood, and better remembered, he hath parted it into those quarters as now it standeth and when he sheweth in what part of the City any place in times past was, he declareth them in those costs which at this day are known to the Inhabitants. But as at first those finks were common (as I have said) so there were appointed publick overseers to look into them.

Near the forefaid great sink there was a place, which of certain barrels under the ground was called Dolida. This place was reputed so holy, that a man might not sit thereupon, insit were supposed to have been certain secret mysteries of Numus. And yet, there be that think verily the ashes of the French Senones were there belowe.

CHAP. XIX.

The Comitium, the Temple of Venus Genetrix, The Statues and Images that were in the Comitium and Roman Forum, Cæsar's statue and pillar.

When the Comitium was from what place it began, and in what part of the City it ended, we have shewed before, in the fifteenth chapter of this book. Called it was Comitium, and Cæsars statue, and the Roman and Tatius were wont to meet together in this place to make covenants between them. In which place afterwards, the Senate and people of Rome assembled, when they would decree any thing for the good of the C. W. and namely, when Consuls, Triomhs, Consulars, and such Magistrates were created, and other affairs concluded, whereof authors make mention in all their writings. That place was near the Senaculum, at the very foot of the mount Pala-trine. This Comitium was open above-head for many years: whereupon oftentimes, albeit assemblies were summoned, yet they were empeached holding for them, fearing some tempestuous weather toward. Long time after, when Annibals came into Italy, they set a roof over it: and afterwards Cæsar repaired it again. In this Comitium the places were many times exhibited. In the same (as Lee repor'teth) the books of Sibylla were burnt. In like manner, many lewd and outrageous acts were committed in the assemblies there, whereof elsewhere we will speak.

In the Comitium stood the statue of Capitols; which being afterwards carried with fire from heaven, was transfigured into the court-yard of Vulcan. In the canons and angles of the Comitium, were the statues likewise of Pythogoras and Alcibiades: Also in the alcant and stairs thereof, on the left hand of the curia stood the image of Accius, together with his helmet and spear.

The image resembling the Mother goddesses, was let up in the Forum. They that worshipped this goddesses were of this opinion, that the stone whereof the was made, could not possibly be confumed with fire: which they guessed hereby, for that albeit many fires were made in the night especially at her Image, yet it took no hurt thereby; and therefore gave they out, that there was such virtue therein, as I have said. And from hence it came, that in all streets almost they began to worship her and to erect altars and little chapels unto her.

The Temple of Venus Genetrix, as is shewed before, was in the Forum: Just before this Temple stood the statue of Cæsar, carrying a blazing star upon the head. In like manner a Column of Cæsar made of Numidian marble, so foot high there remained. Before the Temple of Cæsar there was the statue of Q. Marcius in horseman's habit; of Tremellius clad in a side-gown; of M. Attilus covered with a vail.

CHAP. XX.

The column called Mena, the pillar Horatia: the houses of Cæsar, Constantine, and Domitian, the Temple and court-yard of the said Cæsar.

In that part of the Forum was the column Mena, where stood the palace of Portius, Called Mena it was, of Mena the Censor: for he (when as he sold unto C. W. his house, and when Flaccus the other Censor gave order, that the palace aforefaid should there be builded, reserved in the sale so much space for himself, as pillar or column would take up: upon the which he might put out aloft to jut forth, made of joists and boards upon them: from which place both he and his posterity might behold the sport of sword-fencers. And this privilege he obtained: whereupon, others also, as many as might be allowed, were as industrious, and builded such columns in the Forum. There stood a rock of stone in the Forum, whereupon the spoils of the three twins Curtiis were hanged.

In like manner the pillar called Horatia. The houses of Cæsar, Constantine, and Domitian beautified the Forum.

Likewise the court and cloister of Minerva; and the shops of Bankers as well old as new.
The dead corps of Caesar was brought out of the Curia into the Forum, and interred in that place, where afterwards they built unto him an altar and Temple. Likewise in the Forum the manner of the Romans was, to lay down their Magistracy.

CHAP. XXI.

*Caesar's Forum: the Palace of Paulus, and his Library.*

Besides the Temple of Saturn, or the common treasury (whereof we have written before in the 16 chap.of this book) in the Roman Forum toward the North-east was Caesar's Forum, even in that very place which seemeth lower than the rest behind the Temple of Faunus, there was the Temple of Venus Caprina, about which Caesar made a cloister and a Forum, not of wares and merchandize to be sold, but for them that required thither for justice in law matters. In this Forum, among other statues (whereof there were many and tho' most fair and beautifull) he suffered his own to be made, all armed. The Forum it self contained but a small compass, but it was most excellently let out. The very level of the plot floated him in an hundred millions of Ases and above, Caesar purchased with 1500 talents; Paulus Amphilus the Colegiate of M. Marcellus in his Constipship, to be his friend and to stand with him, Paulus having received this sum of money built in the midst of the Forum near to the Temple of Caesar and Pollux, a most excellent and wonderfull Palace, of Phrygian columns which afterwards they named, Basilica Paula.

A Library also the same Paulus erected near unto his own Basilica.

CHAP. XXII.


The Roman Forum, whoe also of [Julius] Caesar and Augustus, were (as it is well known) near one to another. That of Augustus they affirm to have been at the image of Mars, in the most frequented place of the City: it was but in little compass, as the other of Caesar, but excellently well adorned with brave statues and other things. For it had the statues of Caesar and Pollux, with the victory of Alexander the Great; the image also of CÆsar, and of the victor that upon his helmet fought, Allo Apollo in ivory; and besides these other ensigns and ornaments of verse and valour.

In this Hall or Forum publike justice was administered: and the judges from thence were empaneled: wherein they debated in council, of wars, of triumphs, and other weighty affairs. From hence they used to go when they took journey into their Provinces with foreign command. Hereafter they that returned victors, brought the ensigns and tokens of their victory. This Forum by time decayed, Hadrian reified.

This Forum had two porches, wherein were the statues set out & decked in triumphant manner, Augustus dwelt in the street Sacra, in a house not so large and tairly, but marvellously furnished by his neere liue. And Augustus not able to abate this wastfull perticulity of riches, pulleth it down and laid it even with the ground: in the void plot and cour-yard whereof, was afterwards built the gallery of Livia; which also was called Claudia, Nero cut it down, but Domitian built it up again under the old name.

The gallery of Maximus & Faustina, adorned with divers and sundry marbles well built in old time; whereas at this day standeth the Church of St. Lawrence in Miranda.

CHAP. XXIII.

The washerwoman, called Sororium Tigillum: the street Cyprian, Securatus, and Patricius: the house of M. Antonius.

Sororium Tigillum was a place hallowed for the expiation and afoiling of Horatius for killing his sister, set up near the street Carina, to the honour of Jupiter.

The street Cyprian is near to the cliff or rising of the Capitol, which leadeth to the Church of S. Peter in Vinicula, so called of Cyprus. In it dwelt the Sabins first, when they were arraigned and made free denizens. Hereafter was Scylarus upon the wicked and defiiled act of Tull, whereof Livy speaketh. Some think this was one with the former: others say, it was divers from it.

The street Patricius was so called, because of Patricii, who were by K. Tullius commanded thence to dwell. For this was a place railed somewhat higher than others, from whence all the upper ground, they might easily defend themselves against the sudden violence of others, if it should be offered.

M. Antonius dwelt in that house, where sometimes stood the Temple of Tellus, After Antonius, the Church of St. Paulus was in the same place built.

CHAP. XXIV.

Bitha Gallica, and Aquemelium.

Bitha Gallica was a place in the heart of the City, where the dead bodies of the Frenchmen that held Rome were burnt and buried. It was in that part of the City where at this day standeth the
The Church of S. Andrew (in Bufr Gallica.) Now they call it by an awk name, Portugallo: and it is not far from the Amphitheatre. Varrus seteth the Bufr Gallica near the Aequinum. As for Aequinum, it was so called, because the house of Melina who fought to be K. was there laid level with the ground.

CHAP. XXV.
The street called Via Sacra: the arch Fabian and Vespasian.

This street beginneth at the old Curti, in the angle of Palatium near the arch of [Great] Constanti. Via R. Varrus seteth that it began at the Curti a and the chappel of Stervia. Whereby a man may gather that the Via Sacra sometimes went through the gardens now of S. Mary the new, to the Temple of Peace, the Forum of Caisar, and so directly up to the Palace of the Capitol. The name of S. Mary it took for that the Augustus when they came from the Capitol hill, went through it as they took their Augustior because monthly, they went in procession with sacred rites along that way: or last of all in regard that in there was a league and covenant made between Romanus and Tarit: At the head and top of it, Ancus Maximus in times past dwelt, near the chappel of the Lars.

In this street was the famous statue set up of Clod. The arch Fabian likewise, near the Kings Palace, fall by the Baglia of Paulus, was reared by Fabius the Centor, who subdued the Allobroges. In which arch was the statute with his arms, and other tokens of the victory cut and engraven. Fast by it, Scribonius Libo erected a feast and Tribunal for the Praetor, named Patred.

In the same street-way was the marble arch of Vespasian, (the ancientest of all others that are now to be seen) erected by Vespasian after he had won Hierusalem. In it were his victories cut and engraven, with the ark of the covenant of one side, and on the the other, his triumphs and spoils: and namely, the golden candlestick; the seven other lights, the two tables of Moses, the vessels of the Temple of Hierusalem; the golden table, weighing one great talent; and many things else, whereof Josephus writeth.

CHAP. XXVI.
Graciatia: Senaculum; the Curti: the Palace of Optimus and Porcius.

Gratia was a place on the right hand of the Comitia, as men go forth of the Comitia; where the Embassadors of forain nations being and to the Senat, used to stand and give attendance until they were admitted to audience.

The Palace of Optimus and the Curti stood near unto the Gratia. Above the Gratia was the Senaculum at the Temple of Concord. Called it was Senaculum, because the Senat or the elders were wont there to meet. In Greek it is named Σενακιον. Curti was in the Comitia, and some think it is all one with Senaculum; so called, because the affairs that required publice care were there debated. There was a Curti also of Priestis, where Church-matters were handled and treated of. Now this Curti where the Senat met, was a Temple or hallowed place: for neither might the Senat meet, nor act of Senat pats, but in the place let out and appointed by augury. Hereupon Curti Hostilis, Pompeius, and Julius, being professes places before, were by inauguration consecrated Temples. In this Curti was the altar of Victory: and upon the stairs of the said Curti stood the image of Victory, made of fine pure gold.

Cato the elder in the time of his Centorship, built (with the City money) a palace near to the Forum under the Curti, which after his own name he called Portis Basilich. The palace also of Romulus (as men think) stood where the Church is now of S. Mary the new. These places therefore which have been thus described in the fourth region of the City, joyned together in one place in a manner, and were all contained within this circuit, as you go from the Comitia toward the Temple of Peace, and the Church and gardens of S. Mary the new almost as far as the Esquiline.

The fourth Book.

CHAP. I.
The Temple of Janus and Piety: of the publick goal of Rom. Commons.

Seeing that four parts of the City are described, the fifth enueth: which in Indeth those places that comprehend Tybre, part of the Arventine on the right hand, and the rock Trigometum on the left: the valley also which lyeth between those very hills. Wherefore beginning we will at the memorable places, which are next after the Theatre of Marcellus and so run through the plain and levell plot of the City, and with f. st. first, whom men in our time believed to be the very door, and as it were the entrance of all things. Unto Janus Numis built a Temple at the gate Camenitaki (afterwards the chappell of S. Katherine) at the bottom of the Argileus, A A A A 3
close unto the theatre of Marcellus. This Temple had two doors: in time of peace they were shut, but in war opened by that Conflui, who, as the worthier part, was first created. It is found in records that this Temple was shut but for the third time by Auretius. But why in time of war it stood open many reasons are given and this is thought the chiefest, namely, an accident that befell when Rom. was preparing against the Sabins: for when the Sabins were now pofted of the gate Carmentals, and about to rush violently into the City, all on a sudden unlooked for there issued forth upon the enemies a plenemic river and stream of not flowing water out of the Temple of Juno, which stood near to the gate: whereupon they were driven to flee, and so the City was saved.

From hence it is that polity coming after, open the doors for Juno that he might be at liberty, when he is called forth, as it were, to help in time of war.

Others report that Taurus and Romulus both were the founders of that Temple: as when, the covenant was made between them, agreed together of that two-faced god as an indifferent and common witness to them both of the accord contract in between two Kings and two nations; and so erected unto him this Temple in that very place where now the ruins of S. Katherine's Church are to be seen.

Moreover there be who affirm, that Confi. called it Tiberium built it; but the variety of their opinions seemeth hereupon to arise: for that it is received and held for certain, that there were many Janus worshipped as gods by the polity whereas they in old time believed one: so as that which is spoken of divers is fully supposed, as said one, which may be seen before, whereas we wrote of Janus with four fronts or faces, whole Temple was erected in the Forum. For it is said, that Janus was the first who erected Temples and ordained divine service and ceremonies for the gods; and therefore in sacrifices deferred the first place.

Pourtrailed he is with a key and a wand; as who is the porter to keep the gates, and the guide to direct the wais,

Aurelius besides, brought his image out of Egypt to Rome, and in the herb-market built a Temple in the honour of him.

To Picta in the said herb-market, M. Attilius Glabrio dedicated a Temple in that very place where at this day standeth the Church of S. Nicholas in the prison: for even there Ap. Claudius the Demetrius by a decree of the Senate built a prison, for that the common goal (whereof we have written before) was not in use; and called it. The prison for the Commons of Rome: wherein himself afterwards being found guilty wrung his own death. In which alio many years after, a certain lady poor woman of baim and ofßure parentage, being newly brought a bed being apprehended for an heinous offence, was condemned to be starved to death. Her daughter, being a much woman and delivered lately of a child, made humble request to the gosser, that she might have leave to go to her mother: and when he had made fire to thrust before, whether she brought with her any food; and saw her have nothing about her, let her in: and so the went and came many times. At last, known it was that the prisoner within was nourished by the breast-milk of her daughter: whereupon the mother was delivered and let free: and both mother and daughter were allowed their bread ever after by virtue of a decree, at the Cities charges and in regard of that kindness and affection of the child to the mother, they consecrated this place to the goddess Dana, Ever IPPoPolet, that it was not the mother but the father in this manner was by the daughter nourished.

CHAP. II.

The herb-market: the Temple of Juno Matuta, and of Hope: the Oratory or Chappell of Numis; the Column called Lactaria: the Altar and Chappell of Carmenta.

This place hath the name of Forum Holitorium, for that therein is great store of herbs and plants without the gate Carmentals, wherein in times past was the old market kept: and at this day called it the street Montanaria.

Within the compass of the said market-place, C. Cornelius the Consul, in the time of the Gauls, vowed a Temple to Juno Matuta: which afterwards being Censor, he put out to building in that very place where afterwards stood the Church of S. Andrew, who named it in Montemus.

The same C. Cornelius built in the Forum Holitorium the Temple of Hope, and the same adorned with divers and sundry marbles: which afterwards Collinus consecrated. Many a day after, it was smitten with lightning: and in the end set on fire and burnt.

A Column also there was in the same market-place, named Lactaria: unto which the sucking bibles to be nourished with milk were preferred. The Oratory of Numis flood in the bottom of Argiletum, near the theater of Marcellus. The Altar Carmentalis consecrated by Evander to his mother Carmenta, flood before the gate Carmentalis.

In the same place also was the Chappell of Carmenta built by the matrons of Rome. At the first, she was called Nicafrata: but for that she delivered Oracles in verse, she took the name of Car-
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CHAP. III.
The fish-market, and Temple of Fortuna Virilis.

The fish-market standeth along the Tybre, near to the [Forum] Junium, between the Churches of S. Mary in Portico and Aegyptiacus, within the gate Carmentalis, not far from the Forum Boarium; i.e. the fish-market.

The Church of S. Mary Aegyptiacus is at this day near the Tybre, and a bridge of the said name. Some go about to affirm and prove that this was sometime the Temple of Mercury others of Fortune and Charity: but all in vain: for those Temples were not in this place, but in the fish-market as for this Temple of Fortuna Virilis, whereof we now speak, it was near Tybre. In it stood the statue of Fortuna, Tullius made of wood and gilt all over, which in a great scare-fire when all things else were burnt, remained only fate and found.

CHAP. IIII.
The Temple of Vesta, the Salins, and the arch of Coecles.

Near the Church of S. Mary surmounted Aegyptiacus, there remaineth at this day a most ancient Temple, now dedicated to S. Sepulchre, the frame whereof is circular, and the pillars are set round about and bear up the roof which being one entire piece of work, carrieth the whole Temple. Confess that it was in old time to Vesta, and Venus, taking that circulart platform, from the Temple which was at Alba made it with a lover in the top, having a hole to give light. However, if this goddess her self there is no image nor resemblance; for that fire, whereof the is the goddes, can have no certain and permanent form. As for Vesta, the Latines call her so, because she is arrayed with divers and sundry things. Of the Greeks she is named *iside, for that her force and power pertaineth to altars and shrines where fire is kept. This is not the Temple wherein the sacred fire is preferred: but that whereof we spake before, which Remulus built between the Capitol and Palatium.

Sulina were the store-houses of the fate which served the City; and they flood upon that bank of Tybre, which is the ford of Temple of Vesta, which reacheth into the Aventine.

The arch of Heraclea Coecles stood at the very root of the Aventine hill, where the rising thereof begins between the mount and the Tybre.

CHAP. V.
The Forum Boarium.

Here, from the beginning of this fourth book, are described those things which on the right hand of the Tybre were worth the noting. Now forward we will alter our manner, run through all the memorable things which are on the left side of that river: and first, as concerning the beast-market. The beast-market was near to Velabrum and Janus, between the mount Palatine and the Greek school, close to the Temple, now called S. Gregories Church. In it there was a most ancient image in brass of a bull, whereupon some think it took the name Boarium. Others, for that oxen were there: or because they used in old time to sacrifice there kind of beasts there: or else, for that Evander in that place killed an ox in sacrifice to Hercules, for killing Cacus and recovering again his kine and oxen. In the same place were kept the instruments where with the Ministers belonging to sacrifices, the sacrificers also themselves, were furnished when they went about their sacrifice. In this market-place was the first fight exhibited of sword-fencers.

CHAP. VI.
The Temple of Hercules Victor, and the altar called Maxima.

He round Temple of Jupiter Victor was built in the beast-market, near the Greek school; where sometime Evander reared unto Hercules the altar called Maxima. This Temple (as they say) was so religious and venerable, that neither flie nor dog would enter into it. For Hercules at that time when he distributed a dole of flesh to his followers and ministers in his sacrifice, prayed unto Myrthos | the god that gathereth flies. | He it is therefore that driveth away all fies from this Temple: and at the door thereof he left his club behind, which as soon as the dogs see they run away far off: and thus unto the days wherein Pliny lived it was free from flies and dogs. At the sacrifice and divine service of this Hercules, neither women nor bondslaves, nor yet freed men that had been in villainage might be present. At the last, this Temple was consumed in that fire which Nero the Emperor made.

And besides, Evander erected unto Hercules a statue, which was called, Hercules Triumphant, because so often as there was any triumph in the City it was clad with a mantle, and other habiliments of triumph.

All the time that Evander reigned Hercules had no more but an altar which they called Maxima: and this Evander reared unto him for killing of Cacus, and restoring his kine and oxen again, Upon
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Upon this altar he sacrificed the tenth part of the fruit of his kine: for Hercules had given out and promised, That they should live an happy life who dedicated unto him the tenth part of their goods. Hereupon cometh the name of DEMA Hercules, i.e. Hercules' Tithes,

CHAP. VII.
The Temples of Chastity, Prosperous Fortune, Matura, and Fores Fortuna: of the place called Vicus Publicus, Velabrum: and the sepulchre also of Acca Laurentia.

Near to the Temple of Hercules, well known it is that a chappell was built by A'mvs to Pudicitia Parvina, Gentilewomens chastity. Now the image that represented this Saint, stood in the meat-market. To the service and sacrifices celebrated unto this goddess, virgins that were Commoners' daughters might not come. And therefore a certain maiden of commoners degree, reared a chappell also to Pudicitia Plebeia. From the former and sacrifices thereof the Patriline virgins were like wise debarred. Many other places & Temples besides were consecrated to Pudicitia.

The Temples of Prosperous Fortune and of Matura, Servius Tullius consecrated in the meat-market: And that Fo/rune he called Prospera, which was not blind. In that place (say they) an Olive tree sometimes stood and upon a time when honey dropped and flowed from it, the Southerly vages gazed, wherefore a little coffer or box should be made of the wood thereof; wherein those lots were put and laid up, which by the direction of Fortune were either handled or shuffled together by the bands of young boys; as if such should prove happy Fortune, & excellent. Servius Tullius attributed all his acts whatsoever to Fortune, who being born of a bondwoman, had many times found good by her, and was in the end advanced to princely dignity. And hereupon he dedicated Temples to Fortune Primigenia, Mactena, & latera Benejux, and Venerio: as who would say, she ruled and did all. Likewise a Temple heretofore dedicated to little Fortune, signifying thereby, that nothing can happen unto us, it be not small but we must attribute it, as coming from the gods.

A Temple to Matura Comitata vowed in the Venetian war and dedicated it; which long before that time Servius Tullius had erected, To Matura and Fortune Primigenia the Romans did sacrifice upon one and the self same day; and like wise in one and the same day both their chappels were burned and consumed with fire together. Carullius the Consul caused a Temple to be made unto Fo/rune, and Forte Fortuna, near unto that of Matura, of the money railed out of the spoil gotten from the Tuscan.

The street called Vicus Pulchrius began at the Forum Boarium, and went from thence unto the Aventine as far as to the Temple of Juno. In this street near the said Forum was the Chappell of Velabrum, in that very place where now standeth the Church of Saint Gregory in Velabrum, so called.

Aventine hill was sometime separted from the other mountains by the Tyber between, for before that Tarquinus Priscus turned the chanell of Tyber, it brake out many times, and having found a lasting quicksilt beat upon the foot of the Aventine. And therefore of necessity, whatsoever would go to the Aventine was to make a fair, that is to say, by paying his quadrant, terry over thither in a Wherry. Hereupon there place is at this day called Velabrum, a teyriniale, i.e. terrifying over, where sometimes the Tyber had wrought out a fair.

Antius hath left in writing, that the sepulchre of Acca Laurentia was in Velabrum.

CHAP. VIII.
Vertumnus and his Temple: Janus with four faces : the house of Africanus: the Court or Palace Sempronius, and the wool-shops.

Men in old time called Vertumnus not only the god of buying, selling, and of fruits but also him that ruled mens minds, so named a Vertendis, for that oftentimes he turned & changed at his will and pleasure the purpodes and thoughts of men another way: divers. His Temple & image they erected in the Tuscan street near to the altars of Ops and Ceres. The festival days of this god, celebrated in the month of October, are called Vertumnalia. Some there be that have Vertumnus and Janus with four faces to be all one upon this reason, for that they affirm the Temple of Janus afore said was to be in Velabrum, whereas they built that of Vertumnus. But now that Temple whereof we have before spoken, upon four pillars beareth up one roof; and hath four gates besides, and in each forecourt twelve little windows, which signify the four quarters of the year, and the twelve months. In old time they put Janus before, in all sacrifices, and gave him that name ab evando, i.e. going and hereupon the entries and doors of houses be called Janae.

Near the image of Vertumnus, Pub. Africanus had a house, which Sempronius afterwards bought together with the wool-shops, and built the palace which they call Sempronius, near the Temple of St. Gregory in Velabrum.

CHAP. IX.
Argiletus the house of Cornelius; Equilium; the Chappell of Conreddry or sloath.

The Argiletus beginneth at the bottom of the Tuscan street, and endeth at the Theatre of Marcellus. But Fabius Pictor faith it beginneth at the head of the said Tuscan street under Carolus, between
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between it and the great Lifls, and to reacheth to the Aventine. The name it taketh of a kind of clay or lome, whereof there is plenty in that place: or else of one Argus, who being entertained as a guest by Eumander, laid await for his life, intending after he had murdered him, to be Kand reign himself, but the friends and company about Eumander did over him his trains, and he was by them slain unto him therefore Eumander reared a tomb even there, and consecrated the place.

Now Inma Argus is just by the Theatre of Marcellus. In this street were divers shops of artisans or artificers, and especially of stationers or book-sellers, and those they commonly called the Argiletian shops.

Cornelius Dominicus is said to have dwelt in Velabrum.

Aquincum is between Velabrum and the Capitol, near to the flapers and wooll-shops. The name arose hereupon, for that Sp. Melius, a Roman Citizen who aspired to be K, sometime there dwelt who being detected of that crime, was killed. His goods comissac and his house laid level with the ground, and the plot where it stood by the Romans was made a void-yard.

The Temple of Martia goddess of Idleness was under the Aventine upon the acent of the hill called Circus Paulus, in that part whereas folk go up to the Church of S. Proser. Hereupon the mount Aventine was sometimes called Murtius.

Moreover, some there be that in this place would have the Aflium to stand but we have showed before that Aflium was first built by Rom. upon the Capitol, but in process of time, after that so great riches and wealth was gathered and laid up there in the Capitol, and that otherwhiles the Senate used there to meet and sit in council; the Rom. thought it not with the fift for them that thieves, fellons, and other lewd infamous persons of all sorts, should come for refuge thereto, and there abide: and therefore they supposed it better for their security to translate this privileged sanctuary to some other place. Whereupon not there alone, but in many other parts afterwards there began sanctuaries to be set up, not at Rome only, but also in other quarters of the world.

CHAP. X.

Circus what it is, why it was so called, and for what cause: ordained.

The place where games & exercises of diport were performed, was called the Circus so named, for that the scaffolds were built in circuit round about to behold the puttings: and within that compass the said solemnities were exhibited: also for that the pomp was carried in them, and the horses ran about the goals there. Built it was round, but longwise like an arch or bow, having in the circuit about it steps one above another, with apt seats for the beholders, that one should not hinder the prospect of another: in the midst were two marks or goals distant alike one from the other. Also the barriers or curasses so called, because the horses thereon fell and kept in until the Magistrate gave the signal to begin the course.

Now the solemnities of games and plays are festivals in the honour of their gods; for ordained they were first, and still are observed and kept, either for their birth-days & nativities, or dedications of Temples: And at the very first veny were hunting and baiting of beasts, which they called (Munita) to the honour of Saun. But the stage-plays were due to Liber: the Circenian games to Neptune and Ceres. Thus these puttings were ascribed, to some these gods, and others to those; and in honour and memorial of them yearly solemnized. As for the games Circus, they were so called, because when they were to be performed, they had the bank of the river of one side, and swords set to slant the other. But of these games, plays, and solemn fights, S. iun. hath written at large.

CHAP. XI.

The great flow-place called Circus Maximus;

Argusius Prusen instituted first this large circuit for running of races, and laid the foundation thereon between the two mountains Aventine and Palatine. But Caesar was he that enlarged it, and made it more magnificent and stately. For being (as it was,) three furlongs and an half in length, and four acres broad; it is thought that it was Caesar and not Hortian, who let it out to that largeness: and this foundeth like to a truth, considering that in Turgaminus dies the City was not so populous, neither given so much to these fizzes and sights, as in the time of Caesar, and therefore the place required not so great a compass of ground. Now this Circus for three parts thereof to wit the two sides and one of the ends, had a ditch digged ten foot deep; and as many broad: behind that ditch were gallery built three stories high; and there had doors made beneath them, and above of timber: all which galleries had one and the same bales for they closed together round like a globe. Able they were to receive a hundred and fifty thousand men. See more hereof in Dionysius, Pliny, Livy, and others who have written of the Roman Edifices, this Circus Augustus adorned and beautified afterwards: for he made the barriers of marble, and guided the goals, and many other ornaments he let it out withall; Lastly, when it was decayed and lain down, Tossan reedified it, made it more ample, and trimmed it up. Year and after him, Heligobnus set thereto besides moff fair and goodly Columns, and garnished them with gold, and paved the very floor with Chyerehoa. But as touching the beauty of this Circus, Nisius wrote much. For, by report it was, that men referred to it, not so much to behold the exercises and maturities there, as the pleasant and delectable beauty of the place, Maximus therefore it was called, either because consecrated it was to, or
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The greatest of the gods, or for the excellency and sumptuousness of the games: or else because in comparison of other Circuses, to wit, Flamininus, and the other called Intimus, i.e., the imperial, this was the biggest. For Pliny hath left in writing, that it lay out in length three furlongs, and one in breadth, so as it would well serve for two hundred and sixty thousand men to sit within it.

CHAP. XII.
The Temples and Altars which we read to have been in the Circus Maximus, or about it.

Conses is reported to be the god of Counsell, either for that he concealeth mens counsels, or openeth them unto men. This God had an altar in the great shew-place covered over which, brokeneth, that counsell ought to be close and covert. For which cause, this altar as we read, was by the old Romans to him consecrated. For they, at what time as they consulted about the ravishing of the Sabine maidens, fearing lest they should have been detected before the time, dedicated this altar to this god, and erected the portraiture and image of him thereon. Which altar verified, either by some injury of the times, or through mens neglect of the gods, continued so for a time, as the end it was altogether unknown where it stood. At length found it was again, and at all other times remained covered, but in the time of heroic runnings, and then it was uncovered and set open. To this god was the feast also instituted, called Consedia. And those diaports and parties which they devised for the ravishment of the Sabin Virgins, were celebrated at this altar by certain Priests belonging to that god.

In like manner, Neptune, named the Chevalier, had a Temple in this Circus Maximus, which in the year of our Lord 1536 was found behind the Temple of S. Amissius, at the foot of the mount Pallatine, in the very foundations of the Circus: for such marks and tokens were there to be seen, that by good evidences it appeared that this was the very Temple of Neptune. For the honour of this Neptune, the games Circes were by men in old time solemnized.

All for genius the guide and director of secret plots, they directed an altar in the great Circus; over and besides these this Circus contained three other altars: one to the Great gods; a second to the Penates; and a third to the gods of heaven and earth, from whom all things rise and have their beginning. These gods aboveaid, the Romans called Genes, Penates, Presidens, and keepers of the City.

Liber, Libera, Coras, and Proserpina, had their Temples about this place called Circus Maximus, which Pothenius when he warred against the Latines, vowed: and the same man upon his return with happy victory built and dedicated them accordingly.

To conclude, in the same compass were the Temples of the Sun, and of Flora.

Moreover, a Temple there stood near this Circus, unto Venus; which Q. Fabius Gorgias the Col, caused to be made of the money raised upon the fines of certain wives that were condemned for playing fales with their husbands.

Lucinus dedicated a Temple to Juno near without the great cirque, not far from that place.

In like sort, Mercury had a Temple near this Circus Maximus.

In Pliny's dates there was seen in the Circus Maximus, the image of Fortuna Seica.

CHAP. XIII.
The Naumachy of the great Cirque.

Naumach is a place so called by dari feris ves ris maxieoni, i.e., for that in it they used to skirmish with ships. For there were places dug deep like ponds, where were represented some shows of naval fight for the exercise of the Roman youth, that they might know how to charge and annoy the enemy at sea also. And these kind of sports were exhibited and practised not in the cirques only, but also in the Amphitheatres.

CHAP. XIV.
The two Obelisks of the Cirque Maximus.

The Obelisk (as Marcellinus testifieth) was a very huge and rough stone rising like a spire or broch, by little and little to a mighty height: and that it might resemble a ray or fun-beam, its growth smaller and smaller in fashion of a steel, with four sides or edges, and in the top it is very narrow, and there made plain and smooth right artificially. In most of them are engraved and cut certain Hieroglyphic notes, and namely, such as testifieth either the founder thereof, or else other memorable matters. Of these figures and characters, the same Marcellinus speaketh in this wise: Moreover, the infinite variety of forms and characters, called Hieroglyphicks which all about we see engraven, the ancient authority of the first learning did set forth and mark so. Thus much faith he. Now they drew and portrayed therein sundry forms and shapes of living beasts and birds, and oftentimes devised new and strange resemblances, whereby they referred and kept for their posterity whatsoever was memorable and worth remembrance. This manner continued not in Egypt only, but also in other parts of the world, until such time as letters were found: and then this was given over. At first one letter implied a whole word, and one word went for a whole sentence. But hereof ye shall find much in authors that have written of these characters. Moreover, as Pliny witnesseth, these Obelisks were made of the stone Simies. Them they erected and consecrated.
Consecrated to the gods, and principally to the Sun: and therefore in hewing and cutting them, they resembled the sun-beams as we said before. The first that ever deviated these Obelisks, was Cæsar, Metères. At Rome were none of these Obelisks wrought and cut out, but brought thither from other parts, and for beautifull shew and to wonder at were erected. Therefore in the Cirque aforesaid, called Maximus, two Obelisks were seen, one standing upright aloft. So foot high: the other lying along in the Naumachiæ: it carried in length a hundred and thirty foot and 8 inches, besides the base or footstall, which Augustus translated to Rome out of Hieropolis City of Egypt: but when he would have let it up on end, it fell down and brake in twain. This was hewn out of the quary, by King Samos, in whose reign Pythagoras was in Egypt.

CHAP, XV.
The arch of Settiumus in the Cirqae. The place of the Tabernæ in the Cirque. The floorly house of Pompey, and the fountain of Juturna.

Settium having made conquest of Spata, brought great store of money into the City chamber: and of the spoils taken from enemies, he teared two arches; the one in the behalt-market, called Romanium. But the other in the great shew-place, named Circo Maximus. Upon these arches he set golden images, and other ornaments to beautifie them. The house and family of Settium was none of the wealthiest, but yet of great credit and estimation with the Romans. Among whom there was to great concord & unity, that 16 of them at one time went and agreed well together in one and the same house. For their (regular) provels and worthy acts they were allowed by the Senate and people of Rome a sancturied by themselves in all the new-places and Theatres, to behold all fights and matters of activity. About the Circo Maximus stood the fleets and brothel-houses, where sometymes harlots and naughty-packs kept such as made profecion of whores; but this place was afterwards laid even with the ground, and is now a void place.

The house of Pompey was near the Circo Maximus, and therein was the statue of Hercules erected. The fountain of the nymph Juturna, is yet (as some think) to be seen, boiling up in the Viaburis, near the common fink or vault called Maximus.

CHAP. XVIII.
The Septizonium of Severus.

Here should follow by course after the great Cirque, the last part of the City, namely, the mount Palatine. But because we meet with the Septizonium of Severus, and the arch of Constantine (before we come to Cælar) between it and the mount Palatine, something would first be spoken of them, especially being so excellent building, as they are. The Septizonium therefore is a mighty mount or terrace raised from the plain ground 4 square, compassed about with seven articles, that is to say, courses of rows of pillars one above another, yielding as it were so many porches or galleries; and in this order they are disposed, that the higher the pillars stand, the shorter they be. In the midst hereof that was a mile, containing within them certaine hollow places like cabinets. In the top thereof were bestowed and laid the ashes of Kings and Emperors deceased. Jul. Cæsar, Romule, nomencl this mount Sepodium, for the Greeks call places much frequented whereupon many waters lead, Hépodoi di vatri, i.e. that is, a way. Pythias calleth it Septizonium, of seven ends or porches. For in every end thereof the columns meet together in the head with marble transeases. Other beams there be besides, reaching inward from the mount to the itself, as every inch course yielded a glass like a gallery or walking place. Two of these Septizonia we read there were at Rome, to wit, the one of Tum in the street called Via nova, of right great antiquity, not far from this of Severus; of which at this day there is to be seen no shew or token at all. The other of Severus, whereof there remain stil one against S. Gregorii Church; 3 Zones of gutelles (as it were) of curious works for the beauty and Hatcheries of the pillars worth the seeing, and pleasant to behold. Reared it was in the broad street called Appia, and built by Severus himself. That which now is left thereof, leaneth out, as it seemeth ever and anon ready to fall.

CHAP. XVII.
The triumpharch of Constantine the Emperor.

These triumphant arches were erected for them only, who having subdued whole Provinces or conquered great nations, & obtained brave & fortunate victories, seemed worthy of triumph, and therefore upon that they are called Triumphant arches. Upon these arches for the perpetuall and everlasting memorials of these, were cut and engraved the portraits of the very places where the war was performed: the semblances of bricks and ranged battelles, if the service was on land; and of ships if there were at sea. Howbeit, until the time of the Emperors no man raised any arches; and in Plutarch's days they began shew to be builded; so that this of Tum is of all others most ancient. For before, their age, only statues and trophies were set up. But in prose of time following, many of these arches were raised: among which, that of Constantine is to be seen above the Tell, the corner of the mount Palatine, near the Theatre, beautified with triumpall ornaments, and
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The mount Calix in old time was named Quercus quantus for the number of oaks there growing: but afterwards it was to called one Calix Siberia, a Duke of the Tuscan nation, unto whom the Romans granted a place in that mountain to inhabit. For when as the Tuscan people, by reason of their multitude, and the strong fenced places which they held, were suspected, commanded they were to remove into a street which of themselves was named Tribusa. But such as were without suspicion, kept the hill Calix or Caelium, i.e. the little Calix; a place where sometimes the goddess Diana was worshipp'd: and at this day there standeth the Church consecrated to S. Evangel to the virgin. This mountain afterwards by Tiberius was named Angiostis.

CHAP. XVIII.
Celius the mount, and Caelius,

...and remaineth at this day in a manner found and whole without any hurt. This arch Constantine erected for himself upon the victory which he obtained over Maximenus at the bridge Milvus.

CHAP. XIX.

...The mount Calix being on the side of the mount Celius there standeth a round Church, now patronized by S. Stephen, but hallowed and consecrated in times past to Faunus. Faunus he was called, because he foretold things to come by voice and not by signs. The Albans in old time inhabited that part of the hill, where at this day the Church stands of S. Mary Dominica.

In the hill Calix stood sometimes the Temples of Faunus and Cupid, not far from the gate Nervas, where now is the Church of the holy Cross in Hierusalem.

...The Court Heliopolis was in two places of Rome, the one in the common Forum, hard by the Temple of Peace, where King Heliopolis first dwelt, the other in that place, where afterwards the Church of S. John and S. Paul was built.

...A place there was in the mount Calix called Capra Persegrina, toward the Northeast and the Egytus, where at this time the Church of the four crowned Saints is frequented.

...The house of the Laterans also was built upon the same mount, at the Palace or lately Hall of the Laterans.

...The Palace of Florius Constantinus, near the house of the Laterans, stood between the gates Celimentarum and Gabrinius.

...The Palace of Caelinius was built at the gate Nervas, and the Church of S. Holy-cross in Hierusalem.

In the street called Laterancens stood the statue on horseback of L. Vettius, some say it was made for M. Aurelius Antoninus, others for Septimius Severus.

CHAP. XX.
Of the Amphitheaters, and first of that of Statilius Taurus.

Now it followeth to speak of the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, but before we write thereof, it would be briefly thewed what an Amphitheatre is. Now this word Amphitheatrum cometh of the Greek, and so, i.e. of looking round about: for two prospectes joyned in one, make the form of an hemisphere or half circle. Some think that Titus devised the Amphitheatre first, but some avow and prove, that C. Caesar built the first that ever was in Marsfield: but by the authority of Suetonius it is proved, that Statilius tarred one Amphitheatre before Titus.

...In these Amphiteaters were prizes and rewards prodigous to them that would fight with beasts. Condemned persons likewise yielded there to the eyes of men a horrible and fearful sight to behold, for thither were those prisoners brought by the Lictors, within thatenclosure to wrestle and maintain conflict with wild beasts.

Moreover, the Emperors before they took their journey to any war or expedition, exhibited unto the people in their Amphiteaters fights of sword-fencers at the sharp for life and death, to the end, that the soldiers should be acquainted with fight, and learn not to be afraid of weapons, of wounds, no, nor of bloodshed, nor to draw back and avoid the peril of war to come for the novelty and frageness thereof. A great part of Statilius his Amphitheatrum, is yet to be seen near the walls at S. Crofes Church in Hierusalem. And at the same time he built it, when Augustus Caesar encouraged and exhorted the Citizens of Rome, every man according to his ability to beautifie and adorn the City.

CHAP. XXI.
The water conduits why they were devised; by what means waters were conveyed into the City, to what purpose, by whom first, and how many.

...The City of Rome in the beginning as hath been said in the first book, was but narrow of compass, and contained within small bounds: and the people for commodity and store of water fellated...
The Topography of Rome.

Chapter XXII.

The conduit or conveyance of Aqua Claudia.

Agrippa began two conduits, but left them unfinished when he died. Claudius, the Emperor of famous memory, took them in hand again, and in most magnificent manner made an end. To the one of them, namely, which beginning at the sources or springs called Carlinus and Curtius, was drawn to the City, he gave the name Aqua Claudia; the other, for difference sake of the two, conduits of Anio he called his own, or the new Anio; and distinct it was from that which is named old Anio. The water Claudia therefore was brought from the gate Nerva, along the side of the mount Calvisius into the Aventine. A part also thereof Carlinus derived into the Capitol hill.

Chapter XXIII.

Of those things which now in moun Calvisius are not known where they stood.

Brituses the Confal having expelled Tarquin, built a Temple to the goddess Ceres in mount Calvisius, to which goddess also, upon the accomplishment of his prayer and vow, he offered sacrifice. They in old time supposed that she had power over the vital members of the body, and to her tuition they committed those parts, and that she should provide them slate, they did sacrifice upon her alters, and preserved oblations.

Asrippina likewise began to build a Temple to Claudius Cesar, which after her death Sephas finished, and Nero utterly destroyed to the foundation: this also was erected in the same hill. Mamurra Forma, Master of Carri, and Carpenter in France, was the first Roman that adorned and set out his house which he had in Calvisius hill with marble rough cast. Moreover, the house of Claudius Centenarius stood upon the said hill. Also the house of the Tributes, who were two of the thirty tyrants. Likewise the house of the Junior Senators, wherein, when as all other edifices and buildings upon that mountain were confounded with fire, the image of Tiberius remained unhurt. There also is the tower of Ilissus, the market of hymns. In this hill was the great Macellum, the cave or den of Cyclops, the Solimanum, and the armory.
Now follow those places which are worth the remembrance upon the hill Calidus toward the Aventine. And therefore the way of street called Appia we meet with first, which taking the beginning from the arch of Constantine, teacheth as far as Brundisium: and because afterwards it was paved and repaired by Caracalla it took the name of Nova, i.e. the new caufey. But that which properly is called Nova beginneth at the gate of Palatine, and along the foot of the Palatine hill, over the great Circa called Maximum stretceth out as far as to the lowest fish-pool, where now standeth the Church of S. Sixtus. Many other streets there were, called Nova. Take heed therefore that in their names you be not deceived, and let ye think that to be spoken of, one which oftentimes was meant of many.

Between the Church of Sixtus, the fish-pools, and the ruins of the Antonian baths, there was the Church of its Antenitore, built by Antonius Bassianus.

The Temple of Honour and Virtue, not far from the street Appia, was vowed by the father of Marcus Marcellus at Cligidium in Gaul: and seventeen years after dedicated by his son Marcus.

Two Temples there were of Mars, one called the Temple of Quirinus within the City, next to the gate of that name, the other upon the way Appia without the City.

The river Almon runneth along the way Appia, under the foot of the Aventine into the Tyber. It beginneth ten miles from the City in the territory Maximum; which commonly afterwards they called the river of Appius. In this river the goddess named the mother of the gods, was every year wont to be washed by her Priests, called Galli.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Topography of Rome.

The waters Appia, and Nova, the Temples of Isis, Vertue, Honour, Quirinus, or Mars, and the river Almo.

Now follow those places which are worth the remembrance upon the hill Calidus toward the Aventine. And therefore the way of street called Appia we meet with first, which taking the beginning from the arch of Constantine, teacheth as far as Brundisium: and because afterwards it was paved and repaired by Caracalla it took the name of Nova, i.e. the new caufey. But that which properly is called Nova beginneth at the gate of Palatine, and along the foot of the Palatine hill, over the great Circa called Maximum stretceth out as far as to the lowest fish-pool, where now standeth the Church of S. Sixtus. Many other streets there were, called Nova. Take heed therefore that in their names you be not deceived, and let ye think that to be spoken of, one which oftentimes was meant of many.

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CHAP. XXV.

THERMES properly bath the signification from a Greek word, διαβόλος, which betokeneth hot. But we use to call those places which either having hot waters, or without them are heat with a florinth, appointed either to wash and bath, or to sweat, by the Greek name Thermes. That the Romans used in old to bath and wash themselves other than we now adaeas, is testified by many and divers authorities of writers: and for sundry causes they were wont so to do as yet the manner is amongst us, namely to scour away sweat, or to wash dust off, in like sort for health and pleasure: whereby it came to pass, that every man, if he were but of mean wealth, had in a manner a privat bath or hot-houle by himself: but the same were devised and contrived after divers and sundry sorts. For many publike baths there were ordained for the common people to use at their pleasure, Serv.Octavius inventeth first and made the pendant or hanging baths. But after that riot and superfluity abounded in excess, the bathing houses were built with wonderfull cost and magnificence, so as they seemed to keep no mean nor measure as appeareth by the very relics and ruins thereof at this day. And those places where they built these baths and hot-houles they called Thermes; which contained within them divers places, and an infinite number of rooms, bearing sundry names, and serving to as many ues. For some were appointed to heat water (and those were round built) from whence hot water was let into the baths, not to them only that were on the ground beneath, but also to those which were pendant and hanging aloft: which water after they had done washing being foul and good for nothing was conveyed by certain pipes and spouts into finks. They had other rooms also called Apoditeria, wherein they that were to go into the bath put off their cloaths and laid them by. In the same places were court-yards, having about them most spacious porches or cloisters, built with arched and embowed roofs most stately: wherein were marble pillars garnished with divers and sundry colours. In like manner pavements of stone, and walls seceled and hung with marble tables. Also close walking galleries groves, and swimming places, all for the pleasure and contentment of the people, where they might refresh and solace themselves. These delights so drew and allureth mens minds, as that they would wash oftentimes in one day, yea, and in these baths the Princes were wont to sup and bath with other persons whatsoever as it fell out. They had besides private baths to themselves most sumptuously built, and gorgeously set out. And namely, Antoninus Caracalla, at his own charges edified certain baths, which by his name were called Thermes Antonini. The huge ruins thereof are yet to be seen: some of the pillars still stand, others are throwen down. Some say, they were begun only by Antoninus, but finished and adorned by Severus. They stood about the foot of the Aventine, near the street-way leading to Aures, where now is the Church of S. Balbina. Under these baths there stood a most goodly Palace, built by the same Antoninus, but at this day there is scarce any example or thew thereof.
The fifth Book.

CHAP. I.

The Etymology of the mount Aventine.

The Aventine is of the Roman hills the fourth in order. The compas and form whereof, because we have already described in the first book, needeth here it is to repeat, but it remaineth to declare, how it came to called, what Temples of the gods, and what other edifices therein. The Aventine therefore, some think, took the name of birds which were wont to fly unto this hill; there to nestle: others, of a King of the Albans, slain and buried there. There be again who suppose, that the Sabines, who being by the Romans enfranchised citizens, there set up and made a god, gave the name to this hill of Aventine, a river in their Province. Varrus affirmeth that it was so called of a serpentine: For as it hath been said a little before, this mount was divided from the rest, and from the City by certain lakes and the Tyber, whereupon, they that would go to it used to ferry over in small punts or wherries. Some guess, that he came to have that name of repose unto it, for that the Latins used in great frequency to repair unto the holy Temple of Diana there. Remus also it was named of Remus who chose a place in the top thereof to sit, to worship the birds of Antony, and in the end there was entered: Romulus therefore commanded that it should not be inhabited, because he would have had it wholly consecrated to his brother. This hill Aventine Marius afterward compassed with a wall, and granted leave to as many as would there to dwell: howsoever, there be some that think that it stood void until the time of Claudius the Emperor of happy memory, as being an ominous place and unfortunat, by reason of foul birds that hasted it, and therefore not to be received within the walls. But the truth is, when the Romans grew populous, they joyned this mountain also to the rest of the City.

CHAP. II.


In the top of mount Aventine toward the Tyber, there standeth the Church of S. Sabina, that very place where aforetime was the holy chapel of Diana. The feast and holiday of bond-slaves was wont to be kept at Rome the thirteenth day of August, for upon that day Servius Tullius, whose mother was a bond-woman, consecrated a Temple to Diana in Aventine, and ordained it to be a festival day for bond-servants, who as yet were patronized by Diana. Some think that this chapel was built by K. Ancius of that money which the Citizens conferred and contributed, who lately had been translated thither from Polieum. This Temple was common unto all the Latins, wherupon oftentimes they retired thereunto. Very near unto that place stood the Church of S. Mary, called Aventine. But in times past the place was consecrated to the goddess Bonna, i.e. good. For Claudius a virtuous virgin or Nun, built a chapel unto her in the honour of Fauna, *sister of Fauna, a most chaste maid.

Upon the same bank and brow of the hill, where at this day S. Aurelia Church standeth, was some time the Temple of Hercules Conqueror. And near unto it another of Juno Regina, built by Camillus with the pillage got in Feii. In the ruin place of Decius the Emperors bains there was a Temple also of Hercules, where the Chritians afterwards consecrated a Church to S. Prisca.

On the side of the Aventine hill stood the chappell likewise of the Moon, as Ovid doth witness. Thus many of those buildings in the Aventine which had a certain place thereupon in our knowledge, the rest following were doubtless in the Aventine, but in what part thereof they stood, it is unknown after so long time; and namely, the Temple of Victory built by the Arcadians, and in honour of whom they offer sacrifices yearly, Minerva and Juno had their Temples there in the same hill, by the testimony of approved authors. To Liberty a Temple was built and dedicated by the father of T. Gracchus, with the money taken for fines and forfeitures. The cloister belonging to that Temple was by Atticus Faus and Cornelius Catulus restored and enlarged, and lait of all by Pollia also redified. Now this S. Liberty the Romans honoured above all others, and in defence and maintenance thereof, they ever shewed themselves most relitiose and constant.

Upon the same hill, Numa reared the altar of Jupiter Elicius, so called ab eliciendo, i.e. of fetching out secrets and hidden mysteries. In like manner there stood an old altar of Marseus in that hill; now they named Venus Marsea, of the Myrtle tree consecrated unto her; or as some interpret, because Venus, immediate and exceptive, maketh a man to be Marseus or Marseodei, i.e. slavish, foolish, idle, and good for nothing. The Temple of Juno Moneta was likewise built and dedicated upon that hill, Camillus in the same mount consecrated a chappel to dame Macta.

The wood or grove, also called Laurentium or Laurentiae, consecrated unto Jupiter, was there: in which Emperor Valentinian [the second] Son of Constantine, and Gallia Placidia was slain, as Pliny witnesseth,
The Topography of Rome.

CHAP. III.
Cacus, and his hole or Cave.

Cacus, by report of the Poets, was the son of Philemon, whom they believed in old time to breathe out of his mouth fire and smoke. This Cacus infected the places near unto him with robbing and spoiling. But more probable it is, that he was a most lewd and theewish servant of Eneas, and therefore the Arcadians called him Eneas, i.e., naught. A cave he hasted, as by very good conjectures, is certainly declared in Aventine toward Tyler, over against the Church of St. Mary Aventina, whereas the river runneth nearest to the hill, and where there hangeth over a vast and huge craggy rock, as if a place as might be to make a starting hole and cave for such an one, and near it is to the gate Trigemina. Him when Hercules had killed and sacrificed, he reared an altar unto Jupiter Inventor, near to the said cave or den.

CHAP. III.
The Armilustrium, and some other things in general.

Armilustrium was a place where soldiers shewed themselves and their armor, and where they used to mutter; where also in their arms they sacrificed and did service to their gods, with refounding loud trumpets. Some would have it to be in the Aventine, others in the Cirque Maximi, but that matters not much. Hither the soldiers used to repair when they were returned from war, and here they laid up their harness and weapons. For armor of their own and in their private custody the Romans had not, to use in the wars: but delivered all up to be kept safe either in the Armilustrium, or the tower or castle upon the rock Tarpeia.

In Aventine, near the Temple of Juno Regina, were the Scala Gemonia, that is to say, a steep place with a downfall; where wicked malefactors, drawn with a crook, were most miserably executed and killed.

There stood sometime this hill, near the Temple of Diana, the house of Pallas.

A part of this mountain was called Kemuria; which Kemus chose to dwell in: and being there by his brother Remus committed to the earth, he gave it his name.

The Senate and people of Rome built in this mountain, to the honour of Decius the Emperor; the baths called Decius, and others also near them called Variana. Moreover, the bins of Trajan were in this place, where now the vineyard of Francis Albertini is.

The caves of Remus and Pallas also were in the Aventine, as fables report, Julius likewise dwelt in the Aventine, as M. Catorecordeth.

The Temples and edifices of this hill all in general were (by report) burnt in the diies of Tiberius sometime Emperor.

CHAP. V.
The sheared hill, and other things within that compass.

The plain and level ground between Aventine, Tyber, and the City wall, hath four sides, but uneven; in which there rife a little hill, commonly called Tejcatius. The whole compass hereof will hardly be measured with 2000 paces; the height is about 160 foot. It resembleth in shew the form of a square; and the one side of it which regardeth the Tyber is broader than the other. Near to this hill was the glass-makers street (and the potters) of the carpenters habitation. And no man doubteth but hereupon arose and grew the mount called Tejcatius. For in old time, as Rome and elsewhere, as also in some places now adays, much vse there was commonly of earthen vessels made by potters; which even by this may be certainly collected, for that in Numa's diies there were four colleges or societies of potters: and these made clay, not only vessels, but also the images of the gods, and ornaments to beautifie and foster their Temples; pillars and walls were by potters work keaded in the outside, ray, the very dead bodies were beftowed in copines of baked clay. Since then, in great store of earthen vessels and potters work much of necessity must needs bebroken, which if they had been cast abroad in the corn-field and pasture grounds, would have made all barren and unfruitful; again, if they had been thrown into the water, would in time have choked up the channell of the current, and forced the river to swell and overflow the banks: Numa therefore commanded this kind of workmen to dwell in one place, and gave order to fling all that was good for nothing, as fish, ruff, ruff, and broken hearths into one place: whereupon, in process of time arose a mount which they called Tejcatius. Amongst these potters there was a place hallowed to Venus Myrtina, as we find in some records.

CHAP. VI.
The Pyramids; the sepulchre of C. Cestius, and the garners of the people of Rome.

The Pyramids were huge towers four-square, rising up in height, sharply like to a flame, whereof they have the name Sar; Sar, or fire. But Stephanus supposeth they were so called, sa propter, i.e., of wheat, because into that place where they were erected, wheat was brought out
of all Egypt: which made a great dearth of corn. There at the beginning were reared by the Kings of Egypt, whereby and to spend and consume their superfluous wealth and substance, whereof they had no use; for fear lest if they had gathered goods, and hoarded up a deal of gold, silver, and other riches, they should thereby have given occasion unto some to lie in wait to take their lives away: also, that the common people should not live in idleness. Afterwards, at Rome likewise they bestowed their money thereupon, for to make the world wonder, and to show their vain-glorious, There is yet one of them to be seen, standing upright at the gate Hustinian, enclosed within a wall. And commonly it is said that it was the monument of Magnifica of C. Cestius, one of the seven Septemvirs, called Epulonae. But Blundus would seem to prove, that it was the place for burial of the whole Colledge and Society of those Septemvirs Epulonae. Now were they called Epulonae, who had the power to ordain and make feasts and solemn banquets to the gods.

It is written, that there were 1,400 garrisons of the people of Rome, between the mount Teutonea and Tybre.

In the same compass of ground near Tyber was the lake or pool Hilarus.

Some also affirm, that there stood sometime in that quarter a little town called Copena.

CHAP. VII.
The sweated steeple, and the image of Jupiter.

By course the Esquilins should next follow; but because it lieth between the way Labicans on the Southeast side, and the valley (which for the breadth o' 400 feet encloseth that way) on the Westside will rehearse what memorable things forever there be in the Lobican way and the valley aforesaid before we come to the mount Esquilina. In our return therefore to the triumphal arch of Constantine, wherein we took before, we will as we go discruise of the rest. Near them unto this arch there appeareth the half circle or circumference of an old steeple made of bricks, which Victor calleth the sweating steeple: for that the report goeth, how sometime there gushed water out of it: whereby the common people, standing to behold the games and plays in the next scaffolds of the Theatre till they were thirsty quenched their drought.

In the top hereof stood the brazen image of Jupiter, because their ancestors in old time were wont when they made solemn leagues to use the image of Jupiter. But for that it was a trouble either to carry with them or to send the said image, especially if they were to contract and establish any accords in far remote countries, therefore instead of the compleat image they took the scepter only: which might betoken Jupiter the King of the gods, as well as if he had been there present full and whole.

CHAP. VIII.
The Amphitheatre of Titus Vespasianus. The Temples of Fortune and Quies.

Between the two hills Capitol and Esquilina was there an Amphitheatre. This Vespasian built first, and afterward Titus his son dedicated and beautified it with the bains, built near unto it with right great celerity and speed. This Amphitheatre was commonly called Colossmus, of Nero's Colossum, which was set up in the porch of Nero's house. In the same place of the Theatre were the pooles before time of Nero, whereof we will speak hereafter in this very book. This Amphitheatre they called also Arcaeges, the Sand Stowe, because the ground was spread over and laid with sand that the wrestlers might fall ioloter and take lefs hurt, also that the blond should be drounck up, to the end that the sword-siers in combat might not be afraid upon the sight thereof, and so with lefs cheerfulness and courage set upon their concurrence: and last of all, that the champions, whose bodies were anointed with oil, being betrayal with the sand, might with more ease take hold one of another. The whole Theatre and place it fell within (which during those days of the games was covered over with tent-cloaths) would receive 80,000 men. But hereof seemore in Pliny, Pompeius Latus, and other writers of the Romans.

Fortuna Placent built unto Fortune (after this Amphitheatre) to goody a Temple, as for stature and magnificence there was hardly another in all Rome comparable unto it. Besides it, there were many other chapells at Rome consecrated to Fortune.

Likewise a Chappell of Quinetis and rest was built in the broad street Lobicans.

CHAP. IX.
Of Esquilin.

The mount Esquilin as well by Varrus as others is divided into many parts; and each part there-
of took name of those captains who in times past, before the City of Rome was built, there in habited. For one was called Cestius another, Oppius and a third Septius. But hereof Varrus writeth at large. The poettery following changed those names as we shall hereafter hear. Some think that Esquilin took the name of Esquilin i.e. a watch and ward. For when Romulus had no very great trust in Tusculum, he used to have a standing watch by night; for fear he should be secretly forlaid and killed, or else turne out of his kingdom. Others suppose it was so named of hounds, who there used to call forth charger, and such refuce of light corn, to beguile and catch the poor birds.
The side of the hill toward the broad way Lucicana, which lieth between the Churches of the 40 martyrs of S. Clement, S. Peter in Vincenti, and S. Martín, was called by the name of Carina as long leemeth to tellifie. From that part therefore, because it was first inhabited, we shall do well to begin our treatise.

CHAP. X.
The Carina, he old Curia and the new.

These Carina, according to their model and form were houses like to keels of ships, standing within the Temple of Tellus. Their ruins are yet to be seen near the Church of S. Peter in Vincenti, i.e. in bonds.

Near to that place was the old Curia built by Remus: but the new was erected near to Compendium Fabricius, i.e. the Quarrefour or cross way of Fabricius.

CHAP. XI.

Here remain yet to be seen the tokens and prints (as it were) of Titus the Emperors bains, not far from the Church of S. Martin in the hills: for there be great cisterns to receive water, which at this day be called Septem Sole, according to the number of those cisterns: and so far reached the house of Nero, called Aurea, i.e. golden.

Not far from these in the year of our Lord 1506 one Paulus a Citizen of Rome, chanced to find in his vineyard the frame of Laocoön made by those excellent workmen, Agesander, Polyclitus, and Athenodorus, Rhodians who with wonderful cunning portrayed and cut most artificially in one entire stone, Laocoön himself, his children and the admirable windings and tendings of the serpents about them. And now at this day is to be seen at the Vatican, in the pala of Veltsian, near the said bains of Titus. See more of this you may in Pliny. As for the story it self, most learnedly and lively it is set out by Virgil, and there to be read. Behind these bains of Titus between Eait and North the ruins of others besides are thought very to be those of Philip the Emperor.

Above the bains of Titus, some let Hadrian bains; for that this place is yet called Hadrianum.

By the testimony of Lampidis it appeareth that Balbinus his house was in Carina. There also was Pompey's house, in which Lennas his freed servant taught grammar.

CHAP. XII.
The cliff Viribus, the house of Servius Tullius: the golden one of Nero, and that of Virgil, Metzenas his tower and hortyards: the Temples of Fortune and Felicity.

That part of the Esquiline, which overlooks the Church of S. Laurence in Fontanile, is named Comus Virbi: there also is the grove Fagutae, wherein stood the mansion house of Servius Tullius.

Nero's house called Golden took up all that space, which from that quarter wherein now Saint Gregory's Church standeth, lay between Conflammator and the Colosseum, the Carina and Esquiline. And it was in the form of a boat, and that it had about it three porches of a mile compass, a piece. It contained also a pool like another sea and was about and resembled a very City. There were to it belonging huts and hamlets country-like, vineyards, pastures, woods, and beats both tame and wild. All these the house and the porches were double guided all over, and set out with precious stones, and in one word there was nothing wanting that might serve for pleasure or prodigious riot.

In the entry of this house there flood an huge image giant-like, called a Colossus, 20 foot high, after Nero's death, dedicated it was to the sun, and then charged the name. Now men think it was called Colossus after his name who was the first deviser of all such statues.

Within the same house, Nero included also the chappell of Fortune. This goddes being made of the stone Phengites, when all the doors were shut, gave light to the whole house within: such rays of radiant brightness asareth this kind of stone from it, this goddes Scarens Tithisthraf consecrated, and of Seferenia standing corn, called her Sela.

At the bains of Colossus there is a street way leading up to S. Antonius Church, in Esquiline, where flood sometime a most noble tower of Mocaeas within his own hortyards: for these most pleasant hortyards were in the plain of Esquile. Here within was Priapus worshipped: upon which ill-favored Idol Virgil both placed much in verse.

Near the hortyards of Mocaeas stood the said Virgil's house.

The Temple of Fidelity, which took up a part of that plot where Nero's Gold-house should stand was by him burnt.

Above these gardens or hortyards of Mocaeas was raised a wonderful piece of work, called Agges Tarquini Superbi, i.e. Tarquinii Butwalks.
The Topography of Rome.

CHAP. XIII.
The Palace of Sisinnius; the plain and market place of Esquilin; the grove Querquetulianus; also that of Juno Lucina, and of Mars; the chappell and altar of Ill-Fortune.

The palace of Sisinnius in Esquilin, stood (as they say) where the Church of St. Mary the greater now is.
The plain or field Esquiline, near thereto of Macenas (called Inner monast.), among the hills, is between the foresaid bulwarks and the City wall. This plot of ground was in times past called Esquiline, because dead bodies were therein burnt. But when the thinking from thereof was no longer to the City, the Citizens and Augusti, far agens general concord, gave the field unto Macenas, where he made his goodly botzards and most dainty gardens. Of which Cicero, with other, speaketh much.

In like manner, the market place Esquiline was in the same hill. That side of the Esquiline which looketh toward the grove Querquetulianus, had in it the grove of Juno Lucina.

In the same Esquilin was the chappell and altar of Ill-Fortune.
In the way which goeth to the gate Intagriaga, even in the very bulwarks or rampiers of Tarquin's flood the arch of Gordan made of marble, garnished also and let out with ornaments of triumph. Of the ruins thereof was S. Gregorius Church in Domus built.

CHAP. XIV.
The cliff Suburrianus; the arch of Galienus; the bawbles or fish-market of Livias; as some would have it, Livianum. The present way; and the Trophies of Marius,

At the top or upper end of Suburra was the Clivus Suburranus, so called of Suburra, yielding an ease ascent from thence up into the Esquilin.
Anon you meet with the triumphal arch of Galienus the Emperor (where now standeth the Church of S. Vitus) making a goodly show of the Tiburtine stone, whereof it was made. Near unto it was the stall called Macellum Livii, or Livianum. This, as some think, took the name of one Macellus who being a notorious thief, and practising much to steal into the City, was in the end apprehended, and by the Senators condemned, and his house being seized as comfitat to the City was converted to a place wherein they sold meat and all other visibles; and so it kept still the name (as is said) of Macellus. Some are of opinion, that the said house was pulled down, and another built in the ruins thereof, which retained the name still of the former.
From hence begieth the port-way Prætoria, and leadeth to the gate Esquilin, in this way you shall meet on the right hand with a huge bank of brick, half ruinatupon which were erected two Trophies of marble; that is to say, certain posts, like Quintini, standing upright with spoils of enemies hanging thereupon, and they resembled men that were taken prisoners. It is said, that these Trophies were set up by Marius in his triumph for the Cimbrian war, which when Silla had call'd down and overthrown, C. Cesar (afterwards Dictator) erected again. The place of the inhabitants thereabout, is at this day called Cimbrum. As touching Trophies, look to read more in Plutarch' S. Meriis Max, and others.

CHAP. XV.
The house of the Ælius; the chappell Mariannam; the region or quarter called Tabernola; the bawbles and dwelling house of Gordian; the Palace of Caius and Lucius; also the Palace Livianum.

The house of the Ælius stood in that place where now be the monuments Mariana, and the chappell of that name.
The plain part of the Esquilin, between it and the mount Cælius, and the Basilica Lateranensis is at this day called Maria, in Mariana; and in old time, the region of Tabernola.
Near the Church of S. Enfchini, in the way of Præstina, was built the bawbles and habitation of Gordian. The ruins of those botzards are yet to be seen, whereby a man may soon give an estimation how fair, how lately, and large they were at first.
Between the gates Esquiline and Navi, not far from the wall, there be to be seen certain notable ruins; this they commonly call the bawbles of Galienus. But in that place stood, in old time, that beautiful and famous palace which Cesar erected under the name of Caius and Lucius his nephews, Hard by the Church of S. Balbina, whereas now is the Bear called Ætolam, stood sometime the Palace Livianum.

CHAP. XVI.
The water Martia or Trajana; and the Temple of Isis.

The current of the water Martia, passing by the gate Trajana through the plain of Esquiline, went as far as to the bawbles of Duciolan, unto the hills next adjoining. This in old time was called Ausonia. It springeth out of the spring Picaria in the mountains of the Peligni, and paffeth by the
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the Martians country and the lake Fucinus, and to runneth to Rome; the coldest and most wholesome of all other waters that run into Rome. This water Anxan Martius began first to bring into the City: after which, Martius named it Agrippa, and repaired the conduit thereof. It is read more in Pliny and Frontinus.

The Temple of Isis is by P. Victor placed in the quarter Esquilina.

CHAP. XVII.
Of Suburra, the house of Caesar and Livia: and the street Paccius.

Suburra is a street of all other most frequented; it beginneth at the Forum Romanum, and goeth forward directly by the Forum Nervae up to the hanging or rising of the hill called Cимвa Suburrae, whereof we have written before in this book: and it endeth where the way Transflunenda beginneth. Called it was Suburra, either for that it rained and bare up the Circus and the wall under it: or because it lay under the old City; or as farro thinketh, of the bourn or street Succoens. In this street Suburra was the house of Caesar, so long as he continued himself with a mean estate.

In it were sometimes certain stews and brothel-houses, as Martial writeth. The street Paccius windeth crooked from the hill Viminale, and endeth at the bains of Diocletian. Of it more hath been said in the former book.

The house of Livia likewise was in the same street, as Martial witnesseth.

CHAP. XVIII.
Of the Plant and the Temple of Sylvanus.

The mount Viminale is on the West-side of it hath part of the Quirinalis opposite against it: and the vale, lying between was named Suburra. The plain.

In the same valley in times past were the ten Tabernae; so called of the number.

The pit also of S. Proba was in the same hill; which Proba her self made near to the Church of S. Marys in the field.

At the foot in manner of the hill Viminale, over against S. Agatha's Church there stood the Temple of Sylvanus, as appeareth by many good tokens.

CHAP. XIX.
Of the hill Viminale; the Palace of Decius; the Laver of Agrippina; the bains of Olympias and Novatus; the dwelling houses of Q. Catulus, Graius, and C. Aquilus.

Viminales recketh the hill Viminale among the Esquilia. Viminale it was named of Jupiter Vminius; whose altars were in that hill; or else of plenty of others there growing. In the highest rising and ascent of that hill, there were, in old time, (where now is the Church of S. Lawrence in Pons Fabrica) the Palace of Decius the Emperor, as may be shewed by the ruins thereof.

Not far from the same place, toward the Church of S. Vitalis, were the laviers or washing places of Agrippina mother to Nero.

The bains of Olympias were situate toward Suburra; the tokens whereof are now found in the brow of the hill.

Likewise the bains of Novatus were built upon the hill Viminale, where the Church of S. Prudence standeth.

The hill Viminale had also three goodly houses of most noble personages; viz. of M. Crassus, Q. Minus Catulus, and C. Aquilus: the marks whereof are evident to be seen in the side of the said hill.

Upon the same hill in times past a certain festal or public sacrifice was solemnized, which the dwellers and inhabitants there, called Fagual.

CHAP. XX.
The bains of Diocletianus; the Library Ulpia; the plain Viminale; the gate Interagens; and the vale Quinquillans.

The bains of Diocletianus are to be seen all ruint on the side of the hill Viminale: and by their ruins a man may easily gather how stately and magnificent they were sometime. There were begun by Diocletian and Maximinius Herculanus: in the building whereof 40000 Christians were held to work many years together in most stately manner.

There were afterwards finished and dedicated by Constantine and Maximinius, new Emperors. Of the vain and superfluous expenses which the Romans laid out upon Bains, read Seneca, who depaineth out their wastfulness most excellently.

In the same bains was the Library Ulpia, which by Hadrian, or (as some think) by Trajan was thither translated; wherein were the linen records, and those huge volumes called the Ephiphanian books, in which the acts of the Emperors, and all the functions and ordinances of Senate were, as Pope witnesseth.
Behind these bains, from above the rampier or bulwark of Tarquinius Superbus, was the plain field Quirinalis, which spreadeth out as far as to the City wall. There is seen as yet the gate Intervalis, which albeit it seemeth more probable and like to a truth that it stood in the plain Lejavax, in that very place there was a pit or well of spring running water, which the neighbours dwelling thereby called the pit of the Vittarium, or the park pit, within which park they kept enclosed divers and lustrous kinds of wild beasts. The harbots and dens of these wild beasts are yet to be seen; wherefore it cometh that those places or parks which are set out and appointed for feeding of Deer, we use to call Vittarum.

The space between Decius's baths and Constantines arch is named the vale Quirinalis in which they lay; that Romulus met with Procris.

In the same was the sacred chappell of Fortuna Publica.

CHAP. XXI.


The hill which at this day they name Caballus was in old time called Quirinalis, as by many signs and reasons may be proved: so as no man skillfull in the Roman Notary, need to doubt thereof.

This Quirinal hill, the flat in order of the mountains of Rome, (as Varro tells us) taketh that name of the Temple of Quirinus; the other, of the Quirites, who coming with Tarquin from Cures, there pitched their tents and lodged. This mountain is shaped long, for it comprehendeth that little hill which is between the gate Collina and Colatina. Upon it standeth the Obelisk of the Moon, engraved with Egyptian hieroglyphick characters. In breadth, from the North Southward, it reacheth to a tower now called Constantium.

In the pitch and top of the hill above the Forum of Trajan you shall see the tower called Militarium: where in old time the pillouders of Trajan kept their standing guard, and gave the tower that name.

On the same ridge were the baths of Paulus built: which place at this day by a corrupt name, is called Bagnac-Poli.

In the descent and hanging of the Quirinal hill toward Suburra, stood sometime the chappell of Neptune, which appeareth by the pictures and other reliques there found.

From hence toward the North were the hot-houses of Constantine, as the ruins of the place do tell.

The house of the Cnudi was built in the street so called, and at this day the name it keepest still, but more hereof elsewhere.

CHAP. XXII.

The Temples of Saturn: the Sun, and Bacchus; Quirinus his Temple and porch; the old Capitol, the Chappells of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; the house of Pomponius Atticus.

In the Cornelian street (whereof a little before we made mention) were two gigant-like images, called Goliath resembling two old men, naked and holding Cornempias in their hand. It is commonly received, that these were the statues of Saturn and Mars; for that certain it is how their Temples stood hard by: and many evidences there are, besides the very ruins thereof, which testify so much.

Over-against the hot-houses of Constantine, upon the very brow of the hill, there standeth to be seen one half of a marble tower, which the people dwelling thereby call Mesha. This men think, was the tower of the Sun, by the ornaments there reared and set up by Aurelian: for this Emperor worshipped the Sun above all other gods; and therefore you shall see stamped in his coin this inscription: Sol Invictus, To the invincible Sun. His mother also, a Priest of the Sun, thereupon reared a Temple unto the Sun.

In the side of the hill near the foresaid baths are two horseteet standing; the handy-work of Praxiteles and Phidias. There were (by report) Tridevis the Kings, and translated to Rome.

That part of the Quirinal which boundeth upon Vultur Martia was called the mount and Temple of Clarian and Apollo.

Not far from there before this hill, there is another rising and ascent; where, by antique letters it is evident, that the old Capitol stood together with the chappell of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.

Over-against these places, enclinging toward the right hand, where now standeth the Church of S. Stefani, Pomponius Atticus dwelt in an house which came to him by inheritance from his grand-father, and was called Pompiliana. They write, that this was a most sweet and pleasant seat, by reason of a wood near unto it.

In the same place was built afterwards the Temple of Quirinus, kept always shut to signify that it was an unknown secret: whether Romulus were entered and lay in the earth, or were translated into the number of the gods in the ven.

There was a porch or walking place there of that name: where folks used commonly to meet, to dispatch businesse and contract epoufals.

CHAP.
CHAP. XXIII.
The path-way or causey called Alta: the house of Sabinus; the street and statue of Mamurres; the Court and gardens of Salust, and the field or plain Sceleratus.

The high causey reaching from the baths of Constantine to the gate Pviminalis along the side of Quirinalis was paved with four-square stone.

Upon that causey, at a place called the Pomegranate, Florus Sabinus had an house, wherein, by report, Domitius was born.

It is avouched in old time there was a street of Mamurres: and that his statue there stood where now is St. Sosian Church.

Not far from that Church was the Court of Salust, and his most neat and fine hortnyards, where the field called Sceleratus lay, and reached near the gate Collina. Of those hortnyards, as also of the hamlet Tiburtina, there yet continue some marks and remnants in the bottom of the valley, between the very hill and the way which bringeth to the gate Scelerata. On that little hill is seen the very house of Salust, which the people there inhabiting call Salustrian, Of this matter see more in Cicero and others.

Beyond the hortnyards of Salust, near the gate Collina, there is an high place like a mount-where in times past the vestal votary Nuns, such as were condemned for incontinency and incest, were buried quick; and thereupon all the plain about it was called Sceleratus, together with the way that leadeth thereto.

CHAP. XXIV.
The Temples of Salus, of Divus, Fidius of Fortuna Primigenia, of Honor, Hercules, and Quirinus; also the Senat-house of women.

The mount Quirinalis had very many Temples & Chappels, although the certain place where they stand is not so well known at this day, namely, one of Apis. That of Salus was painted by Fabius Pictor, and burnt in the time of Claudius. By Junius Brutus, Dictator, when he triumphed over the Equais it was vowed by him (Censor) put to making, and in his second Dictatorship dedicated.

Salustius, Divus, and Fidius, were the Sabinus gods, which, when they left their native country and home, with all their other household gods, they carried with them into mount Quirinalis. This god (torsoth) was in words and name three, in deed and truth but one, as they said. Thence three therefore had one temple built upon this hill, and were called by one name, Salustius. The opinion received of which godhead was such, that an oath was thought to carry a great power of sanctity and holiness, whereby a man in that threefold name and one Deity avowed and swore thus, Me-Divus Fidius, Dominus: a Prætor or Lord Chief Justice within the City of Rome, built a Temple upon that hill to Fortune Primigenia.

Besides, in that mount were the Temples of Honor and Hercules.

Likewise the Council-House of women was in the mount Quirinalis; at which in former times the wives and dames of the City met yearly upon certain solemn set daies.

Moreover, it is recorded, that the feast Agonalia was celebrated in Quirinalis.

CHAP. XXV.

Between the hill Hortorum (whereof you may read before in the first book and the chapter next following) and Quirinalis there is a valley four-square, but lying somewhat in length. In that part thereof which lies under the mount of Clatria and Apollo, was the Court called Archimomium. For the very Church of St. Nicholas, which at this day standeth upon that place is named De Archimomio.

Not far from it there is another place, to wit, Pila-Tiburtina: There stood the house of Martial, as he himlieth witnesseth.

Next to it followeth the round Circue (Floralium) where yearly to the honour of the godess Flora, the feast called Flora is celebrated. Now this Flora was a famous courtesan or trumpet at Rome, who having by her whoreship trade gathered a mighty deal of goods together, in her will she made the people of Rome her heir, with this condition, That every year they should celebrate the memory of her birth-day. But the Senate thinking this a ridiculous mockery, to honour and dignify so filthy a thing with such a remembrance, they devolved the goddes Flora, and called Florae, and upon those holidays, they seemed to please and content, that she would be good to the growth of trees and corn, and that they might do well in their flowing and blooming time. To this goddes we read that a Temple likewise was consecrated: Anon you meet with the work-houses where they make Minium, Vermillion, Near unto which was the Clivus Publicus.
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CHAP. XXVI.

The hill Hortolorum, the Temple of the Sun, and the sepulchre of Nero.

This little hill (Hortolorum) containeth but a few things worth the writing. Among which is the house of Pincius, a Senator, who gave the name both to a gate and a mountain, which in these days are called Mount Pincius and gate Pinciana.

The reliques and marks of his house are seen in that very place, near the old wall. And about the fame walls we meet with an huge building in form of an hemisphere or half circle, which men imagine, was the Temple of the Sun.

Upon the same hill over-against the tomb of Marcellus in the very port way Flaminia, built by the monument of Domitian stood Nero's sepulchre also.

Now this hill Hortolorum took the name of certain hortyards and gardens under it, which in old time, by reason they were continually so well watered were most fruitful.

Down this hill all they were wont (in times past) to descend into Campus Martius, who meant to sue and stand for any Magistracy.

The sixth Book.

CHAP. I.

Of the flat plot of the City, and the Theatre in general.

That it may be underfooth more certainly in what place of the plain and level part of the City every thing stood, let there be a straight and right line drawn from the Capitol, through Pantheon to Tyber, near the Church of S. Roch. So shall the City be in manner divided into two equal parts. The one shall lie from the front and side of the Tyber, the other from the Forum of Trajanus to the gate Flumentana, along the foot of the two hills Quirinale and Hortolorum.

Begin we will therefore at the Theatre of Marcellus, and recount the places in order, as hitherto we have done. As for Theatre in Greek word it is, and in Latine may be aptly translated Θεατρον. The first Theatres were appointed among the Athenians, and those in regard of husbandmen, who on festival days visited the Temples of the gods: afterwards at Rome they began to be taken up.

The first, and that the greatest of all others was built of timber by M. Scarrus: for, the concavity within would receive 8000 men. After it, were Theatres made to turn about and and shew their front one while this way, another while that. But as touching Theatres, see more in Cassiodorus and Vitruvius, who have written plentifully thereof, and namely, by whom they were first ordained, and in what manner built.

CHAP. II.

The Theatre of Marcellus, and the Library: the gallery and court of OStavia.

Aegius built many things under the name of others, as we find written by authors in sundry works. And among the rest was the Theatre of Marcellus his nephew or cousin by his father OStavia. A part hereof is yet to be seen between the Capitol and Tyber, where now standeth the palace of the Sabel. It was able to contain 8000 men. See more thereof in Aegius.

Hard by the very same Theatre was the gallery of OStavia, teared by the said Aegius for his father OStavia's sake. Therein were certain curious pieces of work wrought by Vitruvius and name, the ravishing of Proserpina. The portraiture of Bacchus & Satyrs, &c. Apollo, Diana, and the nine muses, the worksmanship of Timarchides. Within this gallery or walking place, Pnyx faith, there stood a chapel of Juno, and the image of the said goddesses. Fait by the said gallery flood the court or place of OStavia, and in it Capid portrait with lightning in his hand. It took up in times past as great a space, as at this day the Churches of S. Nicholas in Carcere, and S. Mary in Pincien.

After the death of Marcellus, OStavia his mother set up a library near his Theatre. Now the first that ever ordained. That books of all learning should be in some public places bestowed for to be read of all that would come: was at Athens Pnyx the tyrant, and at Rome Aegius Pollio.

CHAP. III.

The Cirque or show-place Flaminius, and the Temple of Apollo.

That this Cirque Flaminius flood in that place where at this day the dark stone-houses and cafes are build by S. Katharine church, the marks yet remaining tell us Flaminius was called, either because it was built about the plain called Campus Flaminius, or else by Flaminius the Cit, who was slain at the battle of the lake Trasimensicus. In it were the plays and games exhibited, which they call Apollinares: and therein the horse-racing were performed. To it the Senate used oftentimes to come down from the Capitol to sit in council. Neptune also had a chappell there.
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The Apollo Temple was in that very place, as it evidently appeareth, where now S. Mary's Church is under the Capitol, between the herb-market and the Cirque Flamininus, near to the gate Carmentalis.

CHAP. III.

The Temples of Vulcan, Mars, Bellona, Hercules, and Jupiter Stator: the column or pillar Bellica; the altar of Neptune; the gallery Corinthia; and the Colosse of Mars.

Within the Cirque Flamininus stood most famous Temples of the gods, to wit, of Vulcan, Mars, and Bellona, to wit, that which was toward the gate Carmentalis. Before the said gate there stood a marble pillar, which the Romans called Bellica, for it shewed when war was to be made. The Romans in old time used and retained this manner in proclaiming war: The public beadle, or one of the heralds, placed a spear with some other ensigns of war, in to that land upon which they meant to levy arms: But when after many conquests they had enlarged their empire and dominion, and that they were oftentimes to give defence to nations far remote and distant because they should not need to fling a spear or javelin, as I said before, in that land they did but stick one in the pillar abovenamed, on that side which regarded that part whether they were to make their expedition.

To Hercules the Great, protector and keeper of the cirque Flamininus, they built a Temple in the same place: for his statue was there erected in the very entrance thereof, on that side where now standeth the Church of S. Lucy in the dark Apotheke.

M. Fulvius built another Temple of the allowance that he had of the Censors' flocks, to Hercules Munorum: for he had heard in Greece how Hercules was Magnesius, the leader and companion of the Muses. The same Fulvius transfigured the images of all the Muses out of the town Ambraecia to Rome, and consecrated them under the protection and safeguard of that most potent and mighty deity, to the end that they might have mutual help one of the other: namely, the quietness of the Muses by the defence of Hercules; and the valour of Hercules, by the sweet voice of the Muses. This Church much decayed and disfigured by time, Martinus Philippus, Augustus, his father in laws, and his mother husband repaired.

In the same Cirque they would have the Temple of Jupiter Stator to stand.

There also (as they gather by certain presumptions) was the altar of Neptune, which in old time was ablaze.

Obelins reared a porch or gallery built and born up with brazen pillars, and thereupon named Corinthia. This stood between the Cirque and S. Nicholas Church, and was also called Chalcias, i.e. brazen or copper.

The Colos of Hecules of Mars, at the Cirque Flamininus, was in the Temple of Brunus Callinus.

CHAP. V.

The porch or gallery of Mercury: the Theatre of Octavius: his house, cloister, and gallery: and the Temple of Venus Victrix.

Between the Cirque Flamininus and the Tyber, in the very entry of the Church of S. Agnes in Piscina there is a porch or gallery, consecrated sometime to Mercury, or, as some would have it, to Juno. This being consumed with fire, L. Septimius Severus reedified. But the porch which standeth in the Jews street called Curia, they say was built by the Emperor Severus.

Between the gallery of Mercury and the mound reared by Hadrian, Pompey was the first that built a Theatre to continue. For all others before were taken down when the games and theirs were once done and past: and when need required, new were set up. A great part of this Theatre, when Pompey had finished, was covered with the roof. Afterward, Theodorick, K. of the Ostrogoths redidified it. This also received eighty thousand men.

Near unto this Theatre there was a court or natally Hall called Atrium, the same which at this day they name Saturnus; also the house of Pompey & a porch before it. These edifices of Pompey, at what time as Philip exhibited the stage-plays, were consumed with fire. Near to the same theatre the emperor Claudius of famous memory, reared an arch of marble for memorial of Titius Cesar.

In the forefaid Theatre (men say) was the Temple of Venus the Victress.

CHAP. VI.

The baths Agrippinae: Pantheon, and the portico thereof; also the Temple of good speed.

From the arch of Pompey, as you go northward, you shall meet with the baths Agrippinae, the marks whereof are seen in that place which now of the inhabitants there, is called Chamberla. Now, Agrippina they were named of Agrippa who built them: See Pliny hereof in his discourses of Nature.

Near unto the forefaid bains, there is a Temple of greatest antiquity, and among other old Temples of the city, the noblest of all the rest, which at this day remaineth in manner whole and found. Because it was dedicated almost to all the gods, they thought good to name is Pantheon. In form it was like the world, representing a sphere or globe. At this day they call it S. Mariæ the round. Of this
the temple, Pliny and others have made mention, unto whom I refer the reader. In the very porch and entry of this temple, and of all others, were the statues of Augustus and Agrippa. The images of Mars and Venus. At the lappet of Venus cer, there hung a pendant that most costly pearl of Cleopatra. Likewise there floated the image of Minerva, the handy work of Phidias. Moreover, Hercules at whose statue the Carthaginians in old time used yearly to sacrifice mankind. They ascended to this temple as in the rest, by many steps; for men in times past used to rear the temples on high and made but one way to go into them. A porch to this temple Agrippa joined a piece of work worth all admiration, which of some was called Prothesis. For this word, Porticus, betokeneth nothing else but an ornament or porch. The holy places, before the door, Herod also have authors written much. This temple first Hadrian the emperor of happy memory, and afterwards Antoninus Pius, repaired. Certain relics and remnants of all these and somewhat long, of Good-feeding temple, are evidently seen in the streets of Minerva and S. Eutychius. This god was long ago worshipped, that all things might fall out happily in the end. Portraied he was in habit of a poor man, holding in his right hand a charger, and in the left an ear of corn.

CHAP. VII.

The baines of Nero and Alexander: the Circus named Agon.

Bhind S. Eutychius church, between Panteleon and Lombard street, the remains are seen of the baines and vaults of Nero.

Nearer unto these Alexander built others near by conveyance of water into them, which they called, Alexandrina and their very few and scanty. Whereof Lamprius hath written much. Neer unto them (some think) were the baines of Hadrian: and they would have them to stand in that very place where now is St. Alphonsi church.

In the plain part of the City there appear most evident tokens of a long and spacious Circus, which they call at this day Agon. It took that name either of the games Agonalia instituted by N. Numa in the honour of Janus, which in that time place are represented the 9 day of January; or because all manner of such festivals and shows, called by the Greeks Agones, were wont there to be exhibited, some have it to be built by Nero or Alexander, upon this reason, that other ornaments of theirs were to be shewed there. For the manner of the Princes and Emperors was, ordinarily to bellow their monuments and memorials in one place.

CHAP. IX.

The temple of Neptune, Terentus: the Altar of Dis or Fl duo: the marish Capre.

On the side of Tyrce, where now S. Blase Church standeth, sometimes Neptunes temple stood. The same was rebuilt by Hadrian. Therein were the painted tables hung, were represented the shipwrickes, Terentus is a place in Marse field, so called, for that in it the altar of Dis was hidden; or because the water of the Tybre running thereby, eat away and wore the banks of that side: or lastly by occasion of Eunander, who arrived with a fleet in that place and there abode. There also in time of the Alban war, they hid the altar of Proserpina under the ground, that they only might have knowledge thereof, where it was.

In the same Marse field (some think) was the fen or marish Capre, where Romulus in a tempest which sudenly arose, was taken away. Of which matter Livy writeth.

CHAP. X.

The house Corvina: the bowm way or gate: and the temple of Isis.

The second part of the flat City, reached along the foot of Quirinalis, from the Forum of Trajan to the gate Flaminali, in which part near the Capitol, was the house Corvina, built by that name and family, and to this day keepeth still the old name; for commonly called it Marseelium Corvinae.

From that house unto the bars or rails in Marse field, extended the way Lata, retaining yet the antique name and there standeth the church of S. Marcellus in the broad way.

In the same way stood sometime by report, there apie of Iris near the rails above-aid, where now is the church of S. Marcellus. Now this Iris was a goddesse of the Egyptian, she was honord and worshippd allo at Rome, together with Osiris named Scrope, as whom the publick pliace in the quarter Flaminali, Iunon, Sraepen s bare the name, It happen in the temple of Iris that image was committed; whereupon the Emperor Tiberius cast the Priests of that temple to be crucified, & the place itself to be demolihs. Other temples of this goddesse there were at Rome, for Caracalla translaed all her sacred rites and ceremonies to Rome, and daily with exceeding great reverence observed the same.
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CHAP. XI.
The Arch of Camillus: the temple of Minerva; and the Swine market.

As a man goeth down from the broad-gate aforesaid toward the Pauheon, he shall see a most ancient arch. Some think (but untruly) that erected it was for Camillus: for many a fair day after his time, these arches were in no request and use: and therefore it belonged to some other L. Generall. Between this arch and Pauheon, Cn. Remmius built a temple to Minerva, wherein he comprized in a compendious sum, the memorall of his arts and exploits. Other enigneis also in the honour of the City of Rome, he there set up, and those he garnished and adorned. Whereof read more.

At the foot of the mount Quirinale, in the bort-yards and the Colonnemce, near to the sleete and rising of the hill which leadeth now into the mount Caffallis, there was sometime the market-place Swarumus, so called of selling of swine there. For Vero witnesseth, that in old time they had certain fet and appointed places for the selling of certain things, and thereof the market tooke the name. Thus of oxen, the market Boarium; of hogs, Poconium; of swine, Swarumus; of woods and herbes, Holitourum, was called, &c.

CHAP. XII.
Of the field called Martius, or Tyberinus.

Oraasmuch as in the former book it hath been sufficiently declared as touching Mars field, where it lay, it shall be needfull to make any repetition thereof in this place: but why it was called Martius, would be here in briefe consider'd. Named so it was, because it was consecrated to Mars: for when the Tarquins were expelled out of their Kingdom, what ground or standing corn they were possessed of, they divided amongst those Citizens who were not landed at all, reserving only this field Martius; because it was consecrated to Mars, that in it the games and places should be solemnized and the youth exercised, they thought that the fruit also there growing should likewise be counted sacred and secured, and so deemed it unlawful that any distribution thereof should be made, but threw it all into the Tybre, whereof stood the land called Tyberinus, of which we will speak in the last book. In this field therefore (besides the native beauty of the place and the delectable sight of the meadows) were erected the ornaments and statues of brave and renowned persons: yes, and out of the very Capitell (when the place began to be peftered and other-straight by reason of somany ornaments which hitherto were daily brought, many of them were from thence translated into Campus Martius. This field was called of men in old time, Tyberinus, like as Tybre also was named Martius.

CHAP. XIII.
The porch, the temple, Column, and Palace of Antonius Plus: the rails or enclosure called Ovilia.

Between the Sciarra & Pambone streetes, next to Saint Stephens Church in Trullo, there stoodeth a hately porch, which most men suppose was that of Antonius Plus, for that his temple standeth so neere. The Column alo of Antonius is not far off. This he raised of an exceeding height with winding and turning fairs, like that of Trajanus, whereof we have spoken before, between this Column and the porch, the said Emperor had (by report) a goodly palace. Between the said Column and the water Virgo, they say, the rails or enclosure within the Mars field stood, called Sepia. Now this place was enclosed within wooden rails, and strongly fenced with walls on every side, wherein the people of Rome when at the creation and election of magistrates they were to pass their voices were kept close: and for the resemblance of sheep pens, Ovilia of some they were called. By Livy they are set down, near the wales Forcicata and Flaminia.

CHAP. XIV.
The hill Citaturum: the Villa Publica, temple of Neptune, and the bridge in Mars field.

Between Antoninus Column and S. Laurence church in Lecina, there is raised a mount, called now Citaturum, for Citaturum: not it was a mount indeed, but because the people of Rome, when in the choosing of magistrates they were to give their voices, as they were cited, went thither as it were into some hill. Some say it was called Aceptorum, of taking the peoples suffrages: others Sepianum, for the vicinity of those Septia before said. This little mount, there be that would be to rise and increse by the ruins of some porch or lately gallery, or else of the common Hospital, called Villa Publica. For there was in times past a place called Villa Publica, a large building in manner of a court or hall; wherein were received and entertained all ambassadors of enemies, who might not be allowed either to enter into the City, or go into the publick lodging or Hospital called GraecoThalia.

Next to the Septia, M. Agrrippa (as Denis writeth) built a goodly temple with a most beautiful porch to it, in the honour of Neptune.

At this foresaid hillock called Citaturum, and the Column of Antoninus, there was a bridge built by
The Topography of Rome.

by the Sept., whereupon they that were cited, when they had given their voices, passed by and went their ways: and so were favored from the rest that were to give their suffrages, because they should not be entangled amongst them not be able to shew unto them, on what side they had passed their voices.

In the same Mars field, it is recorded that in times past stood the temple of Piety, even whereas now the church of S. Savior.

CHAP. XV.
The water Virgo: the lake and chapel of Intuiria, as also that of Piety.

The water Virgo, which retaineith still the pleasant sweetness to the taff in drinking, and keepeth yet the old name, beginning to gather to an head near the bridge Salarum, and being carried in a molyd deep gutter entrench in the City at the gate Colling, and so is raised to the hill Hortulorum: where, by arched work it is conweighed through Mars field, and yealds all the way to the habitants, water for their use; and endeth at the length in the hotyards of Lucullus.

Moreover in Mars field, there was (as men say) a fountain and well or cistern of Intuiria, sister of K. Titus, yielding most holome water. This water-Nymph, they avouch (and that right well) to have been called Intuiria, ajudicai, i.e. of helping; because she was thought to help the sick. The very place is at this day by a corrupt word, named Larreglio.

CHAP. XVI.
The arch of Domitian: the obelisk of Mars fl. Id: the Amphitheatre of Claudius the Emperor.

The triumphal arch, so dismembered (as it were) and bereft of all his ornaments, standing between churches of S. Sylvester and Lawrence in Lucium, and taking up a specie of the way of street Flamia, is attributed to Domitian the Emperor. And hereupon besides others pælations) they appropriate it to him, for this emperor reared many inarches in every place.

The Obelisk also there is in this Mars field, which Augustus transported from Hieropolis a City in Egypt to Rome. Besides, the native eniages and wonderful hieroglyphick inscriptions which it brought with of the own, therein to be seen, Augustus adjoined other ornaments no lefe or mirable. But hereof it is better to read Florio.

Claudius the Emperor built near the Septia in Mars field an Amphitheatre, which he decked adorned with fair statues and mottt beautiful columns.

CHAP. XVII.
The vale Martia; the palace: the porch of Augustus: the Naumachie of Domitian and the temple of the family Flavia.

The vale Martia taketh the name of Campus Martius: it lyeth between Tybre and the hill Hortolorum: within the which, in a place lower than all the rest about it, appeareth the Naumachie of Domitian; where in old time he exhibited shows of naval battles, in which place before-time likely it is, that Augustus had his Naumachie; which being cleansed and coursed by Domitian, retained afterwards his name. Read Suetonius.

Next to the Naumachie, was the temple (as it is thought) of the kinred Flavia. In this place, Julius Capitolinus proved that the porch and palace of Augustus was built.

CHAP. XVIII.
The Mausoleum of Augustus: and the two obelisks near it: also the tomb or sepulchre of Marcellus.

In the vale Martia, between the way Flamia and the bank of Tybre, hard by S. Rocher church, Augustus made a Mausoleum, to serve for a sepulchre as well to himself and all the Emperors, as also for his whole house and name. This building is like unto a tower standing at the gate called Populi, which flewe through it, till spoiler now of all the ornaments that set it out. Men would have it to be the sepulchre of Marcellus. And Augustus, named this sepulchre of his, Mausoleum, for the resemblance it had of that of Mausolus K. of Caria, which Artemisia his wife built for him. Read Caffodoro Sbrabo, and others thereof.

Close unto the Mausoleum of Augustus, were two obelisks, as the ruinous remnants thereof do tell of.

CHAP. XIX.
The way Flamia: the Trophees of Martius: other goodly ornaments of the field Martius in general.

Neus Flamia, the colleague of M. Ulpian, having vanquished the Ligurians paved the caulis and street Flamia. This was led from Placentia, through Narnia, Fucignum, Nuceria, Callinum to Fortunae temple, to Pisaurum, and so forward to Ariminum, Sec Livy and Suetonius.
The seventh Book.

CHAP. I.

Of the river Tybris.

It should follow by due course and order, to treat of Ianiculum and all that quarter of the City on the other side of Tybris: but because these parts are separate from the rest of the City by the river Tybris between; thereof also it is meet to say somewhat briefly. And first verily the reason of that name should be showed. Some think therefore, that the river was called Tybris, for she rose. For the Sicilians when in so old time they had overcome the Carthaginians in battle, and taken a number of them prisoners, employed them, for the better fortification or their own City, to cast a trench about it, and to let water thereunto: and this ditch in reproach of their enemies, they called Tybris. And the same men upon a time afterwards, when they encamped near Rome, gave this very name unto this river also, whereas before it was called Albula. Some think it was named so of Tybris a King of the Tuscanians, slain upon the banks thereof. Varro is of opinion, that it took the name of Tiberius, a neighbour Prince of the Veientians. In holy writings we read it Tybersius. In vulgar speech they call it Tybris: in poetry, Tybris. In old time it was termed Rumnun, as it were, gushing and eating the banks thereof. Also at one side of the City it was named Terentius, as a man would say, wearing the banks. It springeth from the Apennine, above Aruns. At the first it is but small and shallow, but before it entrieth into Rome, it having received 40 other rivers is increased to such a height; that ships of burden and the greatest hulks may come up in it as far as Rome. This river divideth Tuscan from Fabriana, the Sabines country and the Latins, entrench at the North part of the City, and so paffeth through Southwards, between the gates Hoeisena and Portusena, leaving Ianiculum on the right hand and the City on the left, and so near unto Habis is discharged into one main broad stream, and falleth into the Tyrhenian sea. Upon the banks thereof, as if they were consecrated to some divine power, it was not lawful to set up any building. Certain warders and keepers there were appointed, for the chanell and the banks. But of this river, Flumy and others have left much in writing.

CHAP. II.

Of the bridges built upon Tybris.

The Tybris, as is above said, being so deep as that it is navigable, and beareth the greatest ships, hath no flood in any place that can be waded through; and therefore necessary it was to make bridges over it, and so to join that part on the farther side of Tybris, to the rest of the City, Hecules, after he had killed Geryon, built a bridge, where afterwards stood that which they called Sublicins. Also before the foundation of the City, there was a bridge over Tybris, called Scasar, upon which they sacrificed men to Saturn by throwing them down into the river. But when Hercules afterwards had put down that manner of sacrificing, he gave order, that men in images made of reeds and bulrushes (which they called Arges) should be cast down in stead of them. But after the City was built, there were other bridges made to the number of eight; to wit, Miltius, Alius, Vaticanus, Ianiculensis, Coetius, Fabriican, Palatianus, and Sublicins. And all these, save the Sublician only, Tullius overthrew.

CHAP. III.

The bridge Miltius.

The bridge Milvius, which men now call Miltius, landerth upon the way Flaminia, a mile and more from the City. Built it was in the troublesome times of Silla, by Scaranus when he was Censor. Many a time they say it was cast down, and as often set up again.

CHAP. III.

The bridge Alius, now S. Angel, the Vatican or Triumphant the Ianiculensis or Aurelianus.

The bridge at this day called S. Angel, in times past Alius, took that name of Alius Hadrianus, for he built that brdg, and near unto it a temple, which they call Meles Hadriani. Beneath...
Beneath this is another which giveth passage into the mount Vatican and the plain thereof, and thereupon they named it Vaticanus: also Triumphalis, for that over it they went up in triumph to the Capitol, to give thanks to Jupiter and rejoice. The piles are yet to be seen in Tyber, over against the epitile or the Capitol of S. Spirit. The third bare the name Luculentus of Ianiculum near unto it, and Aurelianus of the port-way Aurelia, or the gate so called. Antonius Pius paved it over with marble, and being demolished in the civil wars, was called the broken bridge. Afterwards Pope Nysta the fourth redid it, and gave unto it his own name.

CHAP. V.
The brigdes Fabricius and Cestius.

Beneath the bridge Aurelia, one furlong, over against the Theatre of Marcellus, in the very middle of the channell of Tyber, there appeared a shell or island, this was united to the City by the bridge Tarpeus, so called first of the rock Tarpeianer unto it, afterwards Fabricius of L. Fabricius, who by that bridge conjoint the City and island together. The same at this day is called the bridge of four heads, taking the name of four marble images with four faces speece, standing at the entry of the bridge, but that bridge which cloeten the said island with the part within Tyber, was called Epodumiius or Cestius in times past, but now S. Bartholomew bridg.

CHAP. VI.
Of the Island Tiburtine.

Of this island beginning, we have treated before in the description of Mars field, Livy and Dionysius let down this story at larg. It resembleth the form of a bireme galle, and where it is broadest, it is not above a yard floor over, in length containeth about two stades or a quarter of a mile. This was in times past called Lyncaenia, and was hallowed to the honour of Aesculapius, whose image out of Epidaurus was thither brought. Of Aesculapius and his temple read Plato.

A temple also of Jupiter blandeth in it, dedicated by C. Servilius the Daunvmir, which had been vowed by L. Virius six years before the Gauls war.

In the same island were sick folk prented unto Aesculapius (in the field.) And neer unto the facade god, was a lazar-house, for that this god was the inventor and maintainer of Phystic.

In it also flood the chappell of Fanum, neer to the very river: burghcarly remain there any tokens theretofor. This Fanum (as men say) was reported to have been the first that consecrated chappells and temples to the gods, and for this cause, all such places consecrated to the gods were called Fanus. By the testimony of Cornelius Tacitus and Suetonius the name of the emperor Tiberius flood there.

CHAP. VII.
The Senators bridge called also Palatine, and that which is named Sublicius.

Beneath the abovenamed island, as it were a dart cast off, was the seventh bridg, Senatorum ponts, of the Senators, also Palatini, of the mount Palatine neer adjoining: and at this day named it the bridg of S. Mary in Egypro, by resion of S. Mary church neer by.

Now followeth the last bridg Sublicius, and which also is counted the most ancient of all others. This was first made of timber by Ancus Martius at the very foot of the Aventine mount: framed only with a floor of planks without any iron spikes and nails or props to floor against it: so as in times of war and trouble it might be taken in pieces one from another. Now Sublicius was called a Sublicius, i.e. great strong posts. But afterwards Aurelius Lepidus made it of stone, and thereupon named the marble bridg. Upon it in old time fat beggars craving of alms of the passengers. From it also lead and wicked malefactors, were thrown down headlong into Tyber. This bridg as well as other, was often demolished and built up again by one or other.

CHAP. VIII.
Of that side of the City which is beyond Tyber. The City and temple of the Ravenauns and Fors Fortuna: the baths of Severus: the hort-yardts of Caesars the water Alletina, & the medows of Matrius.

The region beyond Tyber in old time had the name of Ianiculum, the hill which overlooketh and commandeth the greatest part thereof. We find it also called of men in those days the City of the Romans, who with a fleet having sided the Romans, were permitted to dwell in the Ianiculum, for fear lest at any time that mountain and bold should be seized and kept by the enemies. Now for as much as this quarter was inhabited by bale people, such as followed vile occupations, they were in it but few things worthy of any remembrance. Severus therein built certain baies: Caesar made hort-yards and prepared also a fair pool called the Naumachie for ship-fight there. Also the temple of Fors fortuna, was (in Tib Caesar days) dedicated in that quarter.

The water called Alletina, was derived out of the poole Alletins, by the high way or course.
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Claudia into the foresaid Naumachia, and served all those parts. This water was also called by some, Anguis. See Frontinus, who hath written much of the Roman waters.

Marius, who willingly had exposed and offered himself to die for the love of his country, was for that good service endowed by the people of Rome with land on the other side of Tyber. The place at this day is yet called Prata Major. Neer unto the Arsenal and ship-docks on the side of Tyber, were the playes and games of Fishermen in times past celebrated.

CHAP. IX.
The sepulchre of Numa, and Cæcilius the Poet. The Tribunal of Aurelius, the Ianiculum, and the hot-yard of Marcellus.

That the sepulchre of King Numa was under the hill Ianiculum a chart of his, with his books long time after digged there, do sufficiently prove. See Livy, Suetonius, and others.

The Tribunal Aurelia, and the Arsenal was on that side of the Tyber, as appeareth by those authors. The hill Ianiculum took the name of Ianus who there dwelt. & therein was afterwards buried. He also built a town or City there, as they say, so called, This Ianiculum was also called Antipolis as Rome Saturnia.

Commonly also it is received, that Cæcilius the Poet was under the same hill Ianiculum buried. Martial the Poet, as himself testifieth in his first book, had most pleasant and delectable hot-yards in the same Ianiculum.

CHAP. X.
The hill and field Vaticane, the temple of Apollo and Mars, the Naumachia, the cirque hot-yards, and Obelisk of Cæsar.

The mount Vaticane and the plain thereto, were without the City, on the parts beyond the Tyber, and in that very place, where at this day is the church of S. Peter, and the Popes palace. Called it was Vaticana, of the god Vaticanus who chiefly instruct and inspiration was believed in old time that propheseys were delivered. And this god they called Vaticana, for that in power was the beginning of man's voice, as much for infants, so soon as ever they come into the world, presently pronounce and utter the first syllable of this god name. *W*.

The temple of Apollo was in Vaticane, in that very place, as men think, whereon at this day is S. Peter's or Parnells church, also another of Mars, wherein standeth S. Marzio in Februario, upon the portway called sometime Triumphalis, Cælinus writeth, that Julius Pánthus the Poet had hot-yards in the Vaticane.

The vale Vaticane is therealso to be seen, wherein Nero enclosed a compass of ground like a ring for to ride and race horses in. The conventicles also and wine-taverns there be adorned. Moreover, Nero had hot-yards in this place, which he let forth for divers and tunny punishments and tortures of Christians. All this place thus enclosed, he called the Cirque. Also the pools made for ship-fight, called Naumachia were there, and the Obelisk of Cæsar in the way Triumphalis yet to be seen standing upright.

CHAP. XI.
The way or streets Triumphalis, the water Sæbatina, the sepulchre of Scipio.

Of the Triumphall way, there hath been some mention made before. Called it was for, that the solemn pomp of triumph led to go that way up into the Capitol. Thus as well others was paved with flat stones. It went on still to the back porch of S. Cælestinus, towards the plain field of Flora: and so forward to the temple some time of Juno, now S. Angelo, and from thence to S. George's church in Valerian. In the pontifical hot-yards there be many antiquities found brought thither from other places: and namely, the prostrarea and counteret of Ilius, also of all forts of eunuchos living and encreasing there. Likewise of Tyber, with the yielding her tests to be sucked of the founders of Rome Apollo with his bow and arrows; the statue of Loue, wherein hath been spoken before, Cæsari hard by Venus. Many other things before appear in the gallery, and those hot-yards.

The water Sabatina, was derived to Rome from the Sabatine pool, called Angustilia: and afterwards when the conduit and conveyance thereof was by Hadrian restored, it was brought into the palace of S. Peter, to serve the priests there.

In Vaticane plains, not far from the mount reared by Hadrian, there flood a Pyramis or fleeces in times past, under which they lay P. Secundus Africanus lay entered.

CHAP. XII.
The mount of Hadrianus, and the mepitops called Quintia.

Elius Hadrianus reared a huge and mighty mount for his own sepulchre near the bridge Elius, overagains the Manoleum of Anguis. In which were bestowed both his own ashes, and afterwards the relics of all the Ancestors. This is at this day the fort of the Pope. The same also is called the tower of Crefoeemins, beseate one Crefoeemins, a furious captain, held it a long time, See more inProcopius.
CHAP. XIII.

Of those things which either have been, or remain now without the gate Flaminiana.

The first thing presented to our sight when we are out of the gate Flaminiana is the port-Way or cauley Flaminia: which, as we have before shewed, was by Ca Flaminius brought along as far as Ariminum. Within the City he paved it with flint or peble: without he laid it with gravel. And in that order b: all the port-waies laid about Rome. Upon this way Augustus made four bridges, whereof at this day there remain scarcely any tokens. Neer unto the cauley Caesar had a farm or manor house, which he called ad Gallinas. The reason of that name is, they were hens. To the way Flaminia, another named Claudia joined upon which were the Hospitalls of Ovid. To owe Amylia, made and paved by Licinius the colleague of Flaminia, leadeth from Ariminum as far as Bononia. Now two cauleys there were of that name, the one which met with Flaminia the other which Seamin laid and made, which went through Pisa and Lomn to the Sabini. In like manner there was a way called Tyberina and Casia, without the gate now called Prirdaria, which pulled along time by Su'trium, Terrella and Viterblino into the way Vulturnis. Certain places there be in the way Flaminia some what hallow and flat like fiddles, called therefore Costella. Without the gate Collatina there is a cauley of the same name;

CHAP. XIII.

Of those things that are reported to have been without the gate Collatina.

The port-way from the gate Collatina is called Salarum, because the Sabines at it brought salt into the City. There upon stood the bridge Salarum. And it reacheth to Nomentana. In it was the temple of Venus Erycina, vowed by Fabius the Dictator, and dedicated by L. Pertius. There stood the image of Venus Vercordiosa, so called for that the averted mens minds from wanton lust. Likewise the temple of Honor, and an altar in it. Finally, the monument or tomb of Lucinus the barber of Augustus.

CHAP. XV.

The things that either were, or at this day are without the gates Nomentana and Intragnaes.

Without the gate Nomentana, there beginneth a cauley of the same name, by which men goe to Nomentana. The same is called Egulsina, of the potters furnaces there standing. The goddesse Nana, which was wont to wait & attend upon funerals with dolefull plaints and lamentable moises, is reported to have had a temple without this gate. In like manner, other gods and goddeses, which are supposed to hurt mankind, they erected temples, but without the gate, because they should do the least harm: and namely, to the Frater, to Marian the revenger, to Nemesis and such other. Upon this way Nomentana there appeareth a most ancient temple of Bacchus about S. Agnes church, and over the same fandeth the bridge Nomentana, built by one Naletes an Eunuch. Between this way and Salarum, was a withdrawing house in the countrye of [Phanous] Nerus freedman, in which Ner was killed himself. Without the gate Intragnæes, was a tower or calls, called Caesar story, where the forrester of Diocletian kept a corps de guard. There also is a park called Vitarum, (now Vivarum) to be seen, where divers wild beasts were kept, more for pleasure and delight, then profit and use.

CHAP. XVI.

Of those things that without the gates Equequina, Nerva, Calimentana, and Gabinæ, either have been or now are.

From the gate Tiburtina, there goeth a way of the same name leading to the City Tyber. Upon it there is a bridg Mamaio, commonly called Mamulo and bearing the name of Mamaio Alexander the Emperours mother, who reposed it. A place there is by it called Ponteola, of a multitude of pits there. Also the bridg Lucatina, without the said gate fandeth over the river Anio. And without the same gate the two rivers called Anio the old and new do gather a current and run to Rome. Without the gate Egulsina are waies Labicana and Fratigina. In this way the water Apia hath his head and beginning, which by Appius Claudius was brought into the City. The water Trego likewise, which in time past was Hewed by a maid to the loudiers, is the way, and from thence is conveyed to the City. But the Roman waters see Fratigina, who描述erith rightly excellently, the source and beginning the convience and carriage, the end and use of every one of them. At the end of the way Calimentana, beginneth another called Campana, which cloeth with Latina, the Between the gate Calimentana and Latina, fandeth the gate Gabinæ. From which there
The gate Latina gave both name and beginning to the cauful Latina, which through Levicia, now called Val-monvine, and Latiuin reached to Campainia. In which there stood in old time, the temple of Pompuree, and the image of the god Medea. Of which writeth Paterinius Mure. To the said the water Turna gathereth to an head and current. From the gate Appia, beginneth a cauful of that name, named by Ap. Claudius as far as to Campa, whereof look in Strabo.

At the gate Campa, was the temple of Mars, the warrior, or Grandium; and therein the feau of Mars. Hard by the same temple the round Manulis brought into the City of Rome in an account, and presently there arose a shower of rain; whereupon he was called Manulis. In the way Capena, stood the oratory or chappell of Des boni; and next to it, they say, that Clodius and Naperini were slain. Neat to the gate Capena, was the altar of Apollo, the sacred grove of Honour, and the temples of Hecub and Minerva. Likewise of Tempel, built by Museella. Moreover, another of Ridotum: because Annibal having there encamped, was departed to depart from hence mocked and scorned. Upon the way Appia was the bridge Valentia, built by the Emperor Faram, and thereupon, near the hill Messica, stondeth the town Siniflilla.

This way had certain notable sepulchres, namely of Collatius, the Serviens, the Servillii, Tullus, of Emnis, Pompeius, the Horatii, and other. And in that part is to be seen the plain, whereupon the Horatii thought that famous combat to the utterance. In it also there is a water and wellspring, consecrated to Merucer. To it upon a time when the people of Rome ran, every man dipped therein his branch of laurel, and therewith beprinkled them that were not, with an invitation to Merucer; that as many as bad this aleration and sprinkling might be afficled of their finnes, and of perjurie especially. The grove alio of Egeria was this gate. The way Laurentina fell into Appia: wherein S. Sebastis (by report) suffered even in the very place where they used to loom the feaft Terminalis, to the gods of Meers and Bounds.

To the Reader.

For as much as Titus Livius is prolix and full of variety: and howsoever otherwise willing enough to force our language, yet most loth to forbear and forget certain Roman words, whereby so long time he had been acquainted also for that now and then he saith one in his English tongue and in his French and Italian another; whereby he may be thought either to trip or to have forgotten himself, and the fault imputed to his teacher in these regards (as we thought) I owed this much for their sake and courtesie with English Livy, as to satisfy them in that behalf. A swallof in fact, therfore I have digested: the one dwelling and leading readily to the most material and principal matters contained in the whole body of the History: the other expounding those things that may seem as first strange to the most: and with all, having here and there the reason of the same difference, hoping that as he will make them more familiar in these strange passages, so the reader in his prime shall excuse and acquit me of such blame, who have endeavored that he might deliver his mind in English, if not so eloquently by many degrees, yet as truly, as in Latin.
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A Second Index.

Containing the exposition of those terms in Livy which are not yet familiar in English, and of some places omitted in the Marginal notes.

Whereunto the Reader may have recourse, when he meeteth with any such difficulty in the History.

Aulus, the surname to divers families in Rome.

Aedit, certain inferior magistrates in Rome: who were of two sorts, Plebesi and Curules. Plebesi of the Commons only, two in number, more ancient: then the other, chosen by the people alone to second and to assist the Tribunes of the Commons in their right hands. This name they took of the charge they bad of temples, chappells, and oratories; altho' they registered the SAN:

Sions and acts of the people called Plebesi and kept the same in their own custody; and were clarks of the market; also they exhibited the games and plays called Plebesi. Curules were likewise elected, out of the order and degree of the Patric(i) called of the ivory chair wherein they were allowed to sit as officers of greater state. They set forth the great solemnities called Ludi magni, or Roman; were overseers of the buildings throughout the City as well publick as private, in manner of the equesti in Athens: they had regard to the Publick vaults, links, conveniences, and conduits of the City waters; looked to the Arsenals. Moreover, they had power to attach the bodies of great persons; and were charged to see unto the provision of corn and victuals. At the first, none but Patric(i) might be advanced to this place: but in process of time, Commoners also attained thereto. These as well as the Plebes were Sacra familia, inviolable.

Eurynius, they were, who being citizens of Rome, were by the Censors deprived of giving their voices in their Century or Tribe; paid all tribute with citizens according to the valuation of their goods; and served in the wars of their own charges: and either because are pendebant, or, aram non merchant, it leemeth they took that name.

Agmen quadratum: Agmine quadrato duxereis is taken in a three-fold sense. First, The same that uelabo exercitu: i.e. agmine; or, in fluend is: which signifieth the ordinary manner of enemies marching with banners displayed, either to a battle, or to the siege and assault of a fortress: and this manner of phrase addeth a grace only to the sentence. Secondly, To march or fight in a four-square battalio, though not always with equal sides & right angles: and the name not charged with the carriages at all. Thirdly, When an army is spread and displayed at large, enclosing the impediments or baggage in the midst, for safety and security.

Agges, were laws preferred by the Tribunes of the Commons, as well for division of lands (conquered from the enemies) among the Commons, as to restrain the possessions of the Nobles within a certain limit and compass.

Ambulans, the inordinat and excessive desire to be in office of state, appearing by indirect means; either to their friends and kinsfolks, or to the people: against which, many laws in Rome were provided: namely, Acilia, Babia, Amphilus, Lucida, and others.

Anicia, Anicia was a bucker of sweetmeats, that (as they say) fell from heaven into the hands of K. Numa in time of a plague: and he being advetised by Egerius, that it was for the health of the City, and ought to be kept safe; caused it more to be made unto it, so like, as they could not be known from the pattern: which hereby was preferred. The keeping hereof was committed to the twelve Sibyls.

Annales, were brief memorials, Chronicles, or commentaries, containing the names of consuls every year, the date of times, and all memorable occurrences happening therein. The high Priests, called Pontifices Maximini had the charge by their place to gather the same into tables; and to set them up in their houses for to be seen: and hereupon they were called Annales maximini, c Maximini Pontificibus and not of their greatness, as those huge volumes, named Libri Ephemerini.

App. Appius, a forename appropriate to the House of the Claudii in Rome.

Appius, a notable street or high-way, begun by Ap. Claudius, reaching from Rome, as far as Capua: and afterwards by Julius Caesar and Trajan, it was extended to Brindisi in Calabria. Of all other it seemeth to be the principal, by the testimonies of Papinianus the Poet, who writeth thus of it:

Appia condita ferebat Reginae vivi virum.

Called it was Triumphalis (as also the gate Capena:) because through it the triumphs ordinarily passed at the said gate.

Arax maximus, The great altar reared by Horace, 

leis, and took the name of a great heap of stones about it.
Arbor infelix, is commonly taken for a tree that naturally beareth no fruit.

Argillus, is, the bale or low part of a street in Rome, n regard of the upper end thereof, called Summum in like for as jamus summus & imus.

Area, is taken for some void place, whereupon nothing growth, area: et alia: Forum Romanum in Rome: Area quae pote de bove homen habens, and differeth from Campus, for that it is llei. Alter a plot of ground made level, and clean for to build upon: as in Sallustius 26. Forum Caesaris manibus inserviit, the Area wherof, (id est, the trimming and levelling of the plot) (colt) H-S. miles, in 100 millions of Setterii. Laft of all, the broad yards before temples, not covered but compacted about with columns; like a cloister, with an altar in the mids, be called Area.

Auriciae, were wisards or thouf-fayers, directed by the bowels and inward of beasts killed for sacrifice, called also Extifia, and in Greek (προποροντι), who prying into them was especial regard of the liver; whereupon their whole Art and learning was termed (προποροντι), albeit they observed also the heart, lungs, spleen, and kidneys.

Arc aner, usually in Latin is taken for a Roman poile, or coin in brafs, the tenth part in value of their silver Denarius. At firft it was a pound weight of twelve ounces: but afterwards, the Sextans, d' off, the six-part thereof, was valued worth the whole: and bowe- ver otherwise it altered in poile, it went always for 3 farthings or thereabout of our English money.

Angraevum, See Aupsia.

Aurei Romani, Peaces of gold coin current in Rome: in round reckoning equivalent to our spur-tolar of 15 sh. For 100 Seterii made aurum, which amount to 15 sh. 7 d. ob. the 4 part of mina, i. e. 1d. in silver, and of an ounce of angel gold.

Aupsia. Aupsiae were properly the observation of the birds, either by their singing and flying in the air; or by their gete, and manner of feeding in their caves: or coup; whereby their Angers & Pollari knew in their learning, the pleasure and will of the gods, whether they favoured their enterprises or no. The birds that gave sign by their voice and flying, they called Ofiines guais or canentes, as the crow, raven, and owland thereof came Angraevum, guais avium carinatis. Those that flewed ought by their flight & wings, were named Aletes or Pupat, as the buzzard, eagle, crane, gype, sian, and broad-winged fouls, tyrhspark. The good signs were called Sinifra aupsia guais insignia, quod fitan fori, whether they came from the left hand or the right. In pullets or chicks kept in cages, they observed whether they came forth willingly to their meat (for to abstain from it was thought unlucky) whereas their feeding heartily, was a good sign, and called solstium tripodium, guais terrapium & terrapodium, when some of the meat felleth out of the mouth, & serrum poeseis, beateth upon

the ground; as it mus needs doe, when they pecked either corn, or gobbets called off.

B

Auris, were certain wars-like engines for to bend out and level mighty stones, to batter and shake City walls, made with ropes and news and womans hair especially twined together; as appeareth by Veneris Caloca at Rome, unto whom, by occasion that the women of the City parted with their hair for that purpose, a Temple was dedicated. According to the weight of stones or ballses that this engin would carry, they were called Centenaria, or Talentaria balsse.

Auris, were lately edifices or halls at Rome: at first serving to plead in under covert, where they differed from Fora: and also to mini- fer justice, of fasaces, which signifieth a Judge, as well as a King: but afterwards they used to meet there in consultation; also to negotiate and trafficke: and there had not only benches and bars like law-courts, but shops also for the better fort of wares and merchandise.

Bellona. The goddess of war; whose temple stood before the gate Cæmeraltui, and near adjoining thereunto was a column named Beltas: from which the Romans were wont to lance a dart or javelin towards those parts where they intended to make war; whereas in former times they lent their heralds to the very confines of their enemies, to perform that ceremony.

Bignis, were the Roman Denarius, having the tamp of a chariot drawn with two horses, called Bignis.

Bustarca. The chief magistrates of the Buc- tians.

C

Cæsarius. The forenamer of sundry fa-

Caeceus, s miles in Rome.

Calends, was among the Romans, the day of the new Moon, which fell out with them ordinarily the frist of every month: fo named of se, sum, se, 1000 miles, a calendae, because the petty Pontify used then to call the people to the court Calebra, and there to pronounce unto them how many daies were to the Nones of each month, &c.

Candidatei, were they that flood in election and sued for dignities of magistracy: during which time, they wore whitier and brighter gowns than ordinary, that they might be the more easily seen and discerned a far off among others.

Captaghita, as well horse as foot, were they that were armed at al pieces with compleat harness: and such horsmen were named De- fenfores.

Cataphætu, were engines of war to flout arrows or shoots like offensive weapons, far off: and by that name was called not only the instrument it self, but the arrow or whatsoever was
was shot out of it: as Turneb, writhe in his 15 Adverbar, cap. 1.

Centurio, Magistrates of State in Rome: whose
charge was to value and estimate men's goods, and
enrol them accordingly in their several ranges. Also to
demise unto certain Farmers, called Publicans, the public
profits of the City for a rent, and to put forth
the City works unto them, to be undertaken
at a price. Likewise to oversee men
mannerly, whereby oftentimes they would de
prive Senators of their dignity, take from
gentlemen their horses of service and their
rings; displace Commons out of their own
trieb, disable them for giving voices, and
make them euerari.

Centuriae, were ranges and degrees of men ac
cording to their worth, as they were assized
and enrolled by the Centurio.

Centuriae comitia, were those assemblies and
elections, wherein the people of Rome gave
their votes and suffraiges according to their
behaviour & wealth by Centuriae, And such
were at all times most favourable to the no
bles.

Circeset Indi (as one would say) Circe-en-set.
For in the beginning before the great fights and
topless (called Cirques) were built; the
plot of ground wherein performed the
horse-runnings and other matters, was
flanked on one side with the river, and en
vironed on the other with woods. Vide Turneb,
Adverb., lib. 3, cap. 5.

Cirrophorus, A piece of silver coin in Greece and
those parts near and joying, less than Drachma
mo or Drachmarias: so called of the stall, rep
resenting a man carrying a panier or basket
with Holy reliques, in Cythedes, mystic-vars,
in Barthi orginis, or Cereri invitis. It is to be
true, that 7500 of them go to the Enboick talent,
which containeth 4000 Demarior, it is just our
great shooting: but if Drachmarias have propor
ionsum & solidum in toto, and that 4 Demarior
are 5 cirrophoros, (as Glaeon collecteth out of
Badus) it cometh to our teoton of 6
pence.

Clasius, supposed to be the image of Venus,
found by K. Tatius in the great vault or rock
conveyed under the city, called Clasius minima.
And for that it was not known what goddes it resembled, he gave it the
name of that place, Others say, it is written
Clasius, of the old word Clus to fight: for
that the Romans and Sabins (ready to strike a
battaille) were by means of myrtle branches
consecrated unto Venus, pacified and reconciled,
in that very place where afterwards
the said goddes was by that name worship
ed.

Componialis fexus, Paulus Manius, upon the
familiar Epitaphs of Cicero giveth this attribu
te to Scipio in the end of the third book of
Livy whereas in all editions it is, Compon
ialis. Now the fex Componialis, fexes (fitch he)
were tho old men, in whole nation and authority, men by their last will and re
framents left their widows or daughters: and
without whom they might not pass in De
militium viatorum per cessionem, be mar
ried according to the ceremony called Co
emption, whereby the husband and wife
seemed to buy one another.

Cohors, was ordinarily a band of 500 soldiery:
although once or twice in Livy we read of
Quadragena-cohortes.

Comitium, was a public place or Hall within
the Forum Romanum, where the people used
to assemble for audience of justice, pleading
of causes, and other occasions: whereupon
Comitia dies, were such days upon the
which they might to assemble and meet to
tgether.

Comitia, or Comices, were the solemn assemblies
of the people at Rome, summoned by the ma
gistrates lawfully; to choose officers, to enact
new laws or cancel old, by their voices where
there were three forts.

Curia, instituted by Romulus, Centuriae, by S.
Tullius, Tribuna, brought in by the Tribuns
of the people: and the first author thereof
was P. Velius.

Curiae and Centuriae, were Ambitians, per
formed with the solemnity of observing the
approbation of the birds, and the Senators,
Tribuna, were held by the Commons only, pese
que non erant ambientes, and required neither
Ambitians nor autoritatem, the allowance of the
Praetors. And as in Comitia Centuriae, the
richer and greater men had the advantage in
Curiae and Tribuna, the poorer fort (for the
number) went away with the better.

In the Curiae comitia at the first (until S. Tulli
us his reign) palled the election of the consuls, De
Cemvirs, Tribuns conulur, Centors, Praetors, and
such greater magistrates: and confirmed
they were by Curiam. Also, judgment of ca
pitall matters, & the laws named Centuriae.
In this there was one centurie drawn forth
by lot one out of all the rett to give their voices
first and that was called Prae-ordination. After
which were recalled to their suffraiges, the Cen
turies of the first and second Classis, and they
were named Primo-vocata: the rett which
followed, were called Secund-vocata.

Tribuna, served for the creation of Tribuns, Ed
diles of the Commons and other interior
magistrates. Also the laws as touching peace,
or enfranchising slaves, judgments penal and
fines, and those ordinances concerning the
good of the Commons, called Plebeiscite.
Some have thought amils, and Centuri and Tri
buna comitia, were both ones; but Curiae
were more ancient, and of greater rate as

Eccce 2 being
The second Index.

being Anfipican, and ex authority Parum. 

Herein only they agreed together and diffr ed from the Conftitutums, that in delivering their voices, the Tribes and Curiae were intermingled: whereas the Centuries were separated and gave their voice according to their degree, age, and ability in the Centurio's book. 

Congius, or Clums. A measure among the Romans containing 6 Sextarii, and every Sextarius about 30 ounces: so that Coclius received X. librales mensuras: as appeareth from the old pottuarias thereof in brasis, with these two characters, X.P.t. ten pound. Whereby in round reckoning it may go for our wine gallon of somewhat better. And for that great persons were wont at first to give dolo unto the common people, of wine or oil by the Congi; all other donatives and largesses of that kind, were afterwards called Confraria. 

Conf, one of the sovereign yeerly magistrates in Rome, succeeding in the place of the Fao, so named, a Confratorium either of asking counsel of the people and Senate in State matters, and withal giving his own advice and providing for the good of the real publick: or else of judging, for so Confidere lignifieth: as when we say, boni confultur. And Livy faith, that Proteres, Confules, and Judges, may be taken one for another. Two of them were usually chosen every year, as appeareth by the law Tables. Regio imperio duos fato: i.eque praenanda, Judicandro Confridendo, Proteribus fultu, judiciis, Confulest appetulator. &c., 

Corona, hath divers significations in Latin, Corona being cingere, to invest a City round about with armed men; and to give the audio from all parts at once, Sub corona vendere servos, to sell slaves in open market, either having garlands on their heads as the manner was, or environed about with a guard of soldiers, which also is called Coroa militus. Sundy garlands or chaplets there were moreover, called Corona, wherewith soldiers were rewarded by their captains, or the honored by their soldiers (besides those that were presented to Generals by their friends and well-willers: or offered to the honour of the gods:) as Ob. donatia or Coronation, which was a wreath of a cincngris called Coronam, given to him that delivered an army from fireight feeges, and was by the whole army bellowed upon that favor, Co=ret, made of oak branches, for him that in battle saved the life of his fellow citizen. Muralie resembled the battlements of walls; which he received of his captain, that first killed the walls and mounted over in the affault of cities. Cauffenfas, in form of a palisade or rampart made with pales or strong flakes; the honor of him who first entred the enemies camp, Naturalis or Rostrum, pourtraift with the ftrong, or beak heads of ships, called Rostrum, this reward that first boored the enemies ship, and gave the first means of a naval victory: These were the principal. For others there were not so ordinary: as namely, Exploratorius garnifhed and let out with the fin, moon, and other flars, belonning upon them that did special service in especial and discovery of the enemies quarters. 

Curia, were parishes in Rome, 30 in number instituted by Romulis. Certain halls besides, appointed for assemblies and convocations about Church matters and Religion, whereof some were old, called simply Vetos: others new, named Nova. As for Curia Pftitia, it was an ordinary ancient place of publick counsel within Rome. 

Curia, the Priest belonging to each Curia or par- 

fifith aforesaid: and Curio Max. the chief in- 

perintendent over them all. 

D

Decius, a forename: for Decius, although it was the gentle name of a house, grew afterwards to be a forename, as Paulus and likewise forenames at the first, came to names families, as Polybinius. 

D. Decimus, a forename likewise, as of that Brin tus surnamed Albinius, who killed e.g. 

Decurors, were magistrates, officers, or fellow- 

ships. ten in number. 

Decurors legitimus servandus, were ten men chosen to make laws in Rome; who afterwards usurped the sovereign authority, and tyrannized. 

Decurors马克rum, were certain Priefis, who had the keeping and peruing of Sibylius books of delitines, and thereout gave order for fa- 

rities and expanion of prodigies. 

Decurors: ten Judges or minifters of Justice, elected out of the great congre or couneil of the 100 Centumvirs, and they were called, Decurors de litibus judicandis: alfo they were to the Pretor or Lachic judge. 

Dilutor, a foreman magistrat above all others in Rome, from whom no appeal was granted, mere absolute and King-like: but that his time of rule was limited within six months ordinarily: fo named, either because he only said the word and it was done, or because he was Dilatus, i.e. nominated only by one of the Confuls, and not otherwise chosen, usually in some time of great danger of the state. He was called also Pretor Maximus: and namely, when he was made for the ceremony of striking up or driving a nay: alfo Magifter Populi, as Cicero 5 de fin. Moreover, he was sometimes appointed to ordain and hold solemn feaits, in regard that it had rained Stone. 

Dunurors, magistrats two in number, of divers 

sorts. 

Dunurors capitales, judges to sit upon life and death: from whom it was lawful to appeal to the people. 

Dunurors sacrarium, out of the Patririans, or- 

dained for dedication of temple, preparing the sacred beds for the gods, called Leii- 

fterius: and for the books of Sibylla: these afterwards were increated to five, and to to 

ten. See Decurors. 

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Dumnavi Naves, two wardens of the navy, ports, and sea-coasts.

E

Epulones, were certain Priests whose office was to prepare and set out the solemn feast for Jupiter called Epulion, and for other gods. Of them there were three, called Trimviri Epulones, and after seven, Septemviri Epulones.

F

Feciales were the Heralds: of whom there was a college of 20, the principal of them was Paterpartum, as it were their Dean. And according to Plutarch, he ought to be a man that had children of his own, and his father living: for having the charge of making peace and alliances, it behoved that he should be a person accomplished, and as well to look before as behind, not to weigh all to come: the one was signified by his father, the other by his children.

Fasti signified sometimes fasti dies; holidays: and in that sense Ovid entitulath his books Fastes, wherein he feteth down the ordinary feasts of every month. Otherwhiles they are put for law-dais, wherein the L. chief justice or Pretor might use these three words, Do, Dico, Addico, which betoken to give leave to the party for to plead, to miniter law and justice between plaintiff and defendant, and to pronounce the sentence and award.

Flamines, certain Priests among the Romans: they took that for name of Flamen, a file of woolen yarn, that they used to wear upon their heads. Three of them there were Pater, and thole were called Magnes, namely, Dialis, for the service of Jupiter, 2 Maristas, of Mars; 3 Quinctiales, of Romulus deified. Of Commoners were 12 more, called Minoris, deputed to inferior charges, and the meanest of them all attended the service of Pomona, the goddess of apples and such fruits.

Fortuna, a great goddess in Rome, entituled with many and sundry names.

Fortuna, a goddess of Rome, whose temple was in Transpontina region, where the she was honored and worshiped of idle persons, such as prostituted nothing, but lived of their rents only, and namely, for that the same unlooked for and unregarded.

Forte Fortuna, a strong fortune, so called for her power especially in battle. Publicly, when she favored the common-wealth, Moxelis, good to the male kind, and Mutethis, to the female, Virile, kind to folk of ripe years. Primi geniia, gracious to the first begotten or the eldest, Epulonia, either for running to help with great speed or aulant in horde-service. Obsequenstibus and easily instituted to accomplish all their vows and desires. Pervia, for advancing mean and obscure persons to wealth and worship. Seia, for the kind and leavenable ripening of corn and fruit. Prorsa, which was alwais present and vouchsafed her helping hand. Medea, when contrary-wife she was backward and evermore crost her designs. Vesta, for that many a one hath been by her enticements fared and entangled. Redona, Julius, Bene Spurerus, Re fugiatis, Propertis; Virgo, Calixtus, Converta, graci to Anivos, and, digna altissim, cæsa Vetrici, &c. See Alexander ab Alexandri, Mundanum.

Forum Romanum, or Lucreius, the great common place at Rome, wherein cauies were pleaded, and audience given to publick Orations. Under the name of Forum were other places also, and courts, as also markets, distinguished by their proper adjuncts, as Forum Boarium, Olturium, &c.

Frees, Whereof slaves were called Esclavus, was a kind of fork or gibbet which slaves carried upon their shoulders when they were scourged by their misters, either about the Forum or Circue: whereupon afterwards they were crucified and executed: howe'er, some think they bare it only for a publick shame.

G

Gabinus ejusmodi was a kind of habit and wearing of a gown after the Gabinus fashion, when it was call over the shoulder to backward, that it seemed to compass and gird round the whole body. In that manner the Consul clad, used solemnly to set open the dores of Iupiter Temple, before he went to the wars.

Genius, Genii were supposed to be mercators and paravirs, brokers (as it were) between men & the gods; or rather interpreters and Salsus, messengers between, of a middle nature between the one and the other, Calvis Rhodian, lib. 2, chap. 3. But according to Empedocles, each one was thought to have a spirit from the very day of nativity, unto whom they used to sacrifice upon their birth day, as to their protector. Also every place had their peculiar Genii, and then were they called Latas, as Rudeles, and paraviris in Ligii.

Galli, Priests of Cybele that gualded themselves in a frantike fry, and used in their service to her, for to strike and beat upon tabers and drums.

H

Aba, Besides the ordinary signification, signified the Centumvir or Decemviral juridiction in supply or assistance of the Praetor, for that they set up a spear to be seen at the place of judgement. Also it be toketh port-fale, when they sold either goods or slaves to him that would bid most at such a speare. Moreover, the putting forth of the Cities works, called "Burterius", to certain Publicans or undertakers by the great, at a price, and it was called Publius flatio.
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I

Aeneas is a God in Rome, sometime represented By Moses with two faces, signifying the time passed, and that to come otherwhiles Quadrifrons, & betokeneth the four times of the year having in his right hand a character resembling 300, in the left another, shewing thereby and five, according to the dates of the year. But in the plural number Bona, betoken certain halls or great four-square buildings, with four prospectts and cross thorough-fires, whereof were divers in Rome.

Index. Eight days in every month of an old word Iuda, to divide: for that commonly fall about the midst of the month, namely, upon the thirteenth or fourteenth days, according to Homer, Hymn 53. aed. August., found in

Interruption of water and fire, were they who for some crime were banished Which judgement, although it was not by express sentence pronounced, yet by giving order, that no man should receive such an one into his house, but deny him fire and water (the two necessary elements of life) he was condemned (as it were) a civil death: and this was called Legitim exilium. But voluntary exile was when a man to avoid the payment of a grievous fine, or imprisonment, went out of the way of his own accord, and left his own country.

Ingerrum, which commonly-intreand Acre-see-ment among the Romans, to be in measure of land the Baisy ground, and foundation of all other measures in that kind: like as, the Asis or Aulis, of weights: of which it bor-roweth the terms in sub-division and multiplication, whereof the least is Semi-jerseps. Now is the Sampulos in land measure fifteen foot square, according to which, it may beon be gathered, how much Ingerum containeth; considering it hath that name, a duovis altius lycintis: by which reckoning it betreeth 2880 foot of ground within the square. But for that, others think that Ingerum is much as un nons homo non die executavit, one dayes work of a yoke or team of oxen; for want of another fitter word (except I would call it a journal) I have expressed it by our familiar term of an acre, which is not much under or over a dayes work in plowing of oxen here in England.

Interruption, or Interrugy, is properly the time between the former King deceased, and the creation of a new: and he that ruled in the mean space, was called Interrugy. Which terms continued afterwards in the free state when there were no Kings, in the case of vacancy of head-magistrates.

II. This Character compounded of two capital H, and the letter S, thus coupled together, is Seftirium, that is to say, a silver coin among the Romans, consisting of two Ales and an half, and therupon it hath the name Seftirium, as a man would say, demis tertius, two, and half the third: and therefore you see the numeral note of two, and 5, for semiis, which is half. It is the fourth part of the Roman Denarius; and in value among us is three half pence farthing one. But Seftirium in the neuter gender, betokeneth a man as null Seftirius, i. a thousand Seftiries, that is Seftirium five times ten thousand Seftiries, and Seftirium is as much for you must in this matter of speech understand miles for the regimen of the Cenithecias.

But if you add unto Seftirium the numeral adverb, it sheweth the same Seftirium in the new above said: multiplied a hundred times so much as the said numeral beareth. For example, deces Seftirius, is deces Seftirium, a hundred times toid and as much to say as deces occres a millia Seftirium, which is a million of Seftiries in the primitive signification: whereby a man may loon reckon how much is null Seftirium and the rest, either under or over deces. The same is to be paid of Nummus and Nummus, for it is the same that Seftirium and Seftirium. Moreover, deces, miles, and such like adverbs, whether you put Nummus or Seftirium thereto, or no, is all one: so that by this form of speaking, qui bonum virot tici, is meant thus, his goods amounted unto two millions of Seftirie pieces. Thus much for Latin and other Historians and writers in prose: for I am not ignorant that Poets for the verisake confound these two words many times, and put Seftirium for Seftiria, as Georgius Agri-cola hath well observed.

Leper Indiges, Indiges were ofte calle, and quid multum vel indigem, because they need not things, nor quod in deus agentes, converting among the Gods, having been sometimes men: or by reason that they might not indigem, i. be named; or rather for that they were easy to be embraced, and left of all, qua si in leon dement & idice propiti i, the tutelary gods and protectors of this or that place: which I rather encline unto.

Institutum, was the way of civil jurisdiction and pleas for the time, upon some Tribunal troubles, as Turbell Gaiiscus. &c. Which vacation if we will be somewhat bold, may be called not unjustly a Law-seeed, as Solfistium the Sun-seeed.

K, Kain. The forename of many Ro mens.

L, Lucius. The forename of many Ro mens.

Latina, sc. servi. Certain holy days consecrated, by the Priest or Magistrate, as occasion required, and nocte clavis. The solemnity was published and held by the Roman Consul newly created, upon the mount Al banus to Iwper Latitus: and a sacrifice there
there offered which they call Latuar, for the health of the Latine people: at which, the manner was to give a dose of flux called Vestisaria to the Latine States.

Luttorium, is in some for declared in the first and two and twenty books of T. Livius: and is as much to say, as the solemn ceremony of trimming and letting out a bed, neither to pole but repass, according to the ancient manner: wherein they laid the images of their gods, set upon bolsters and pillows; the principal whereof was that in the honour of Jupiter at the Eppulum Jovis, whernpon Jupiter was laid, Juno and Minerva sitting of either side by him.

Lutus is usually to be underfoot in Lity for the bed whereupon they laid themselves at ease when they took their repose and Triplum is taken for Conclave, i.e. the pastor where they were wont to lie, because the usual manner was to set three high beds or pallets together: (whereof the room had the name) and a table raised somewhat higher from the floor, and placed so, as it served all three pallets, and was open at one side for the servants to come unto it, and either let meat thereupon, or to minister what was called for. Upon each of these beds thefeate or leaned ordinarily three persons; so as nine was the full number of guests at the board, according to the rule, No feerer than the graces: nor more than the minifters. For Hot race in this verse, Sapi tribus velit eum a coarent quateront, feemeth to glance at the niggregific of that which rather would want meat than guests, and so let twelve at the table which was but for nine, whereby also they were pent up together too togethe.

Lestis are usually taken for Empedors sent from one Prince or State to another. Allo for Lientenants in a army, having the charge of a legion under the General, and in his absence, the charge and command of all. Who likewise were sent as Nuncios or mesengers of credence from the Generals in the field, to make true report unto the Senar, of the success of their affairs. Moreover, they are oftentimes put for deputies-delegates, or commissioners affignant to the Cof. or L. General, in matters of state; having their principal directions from the Senar, but commissio to deal in the particulars after their own discretion: much like to those that are called Legati et a latere.

Liburni, the gods of funerals: and after a fort, the superintendunt over funepes; supposed to be Venus Epromiba. In whole Temple were all things to be sold necessary for the interring and burial of the dead. Whereupon they also who were employed to carry forth and bury corpless, were called Liburni as well as Vestillians in Greek υστιες and Χεσειες. It is put for death in Horace, when he saith, Non omnes mortas, movasque parvae, pustul Liburniam: and in Lity, as well for the ministers as furniture to funepes belonging. The Chappell to this goddes flood without the City, and a gate there was Liburni, at which they carried forth their dead. For at Rome they might not commonly bury or burn a dead corpus within the City, unleas it were upon a special privilege: and the law of 12 tables provided therefor in these expres words, In urbem non feculiu necunm: but in some burren part of their land, each man bestowed the ashes or bodies of their dead. The practice whereof is evident by many examples in histories: and at this day are monuments standing of their tombs teared near the great cancey Apia, and elsewhere about Rome. The considereion hereof, with some other circumstances of a place in the 3. book of Lity gave me occasion haply to translate amis, There hundred to be a great mortallity in Rome and the territoriy about it not only of men but of catel also, at what time as the Volcans and Equirans were encamped within three miles of Rome, with a purpose to give the assault to the City; but they were suddenly traken with a fear that they daut not approach neer, tellanor procul a sita quinomines innum, utercr memora curam, &c. where I have engilshed innumenem suntlib, tombs & graves near at hand, in opposition of sela aur- bi (Romans) procul ens: and the rather, becau'e it precipitously floweth, In deserto agro, inter tenem perorum atque hominum: where tombs may well be put for tombs and monuments, and (monuments) near at hand: as Lity and others do thake those words. But if any man would have it meant rather of the 7 hills of Rome commanding and overlooking those homles shorefull, I will not be against it, but rather my (superior) prophtes shall go with him, and pardon me I hope he will, it either there or elsewhere where I have seemed to nod and take a little nap, Nemius opere in longa satis ob respira forum ini: seeing that I have taken my self in the manner, and not slept until my neighbour awaked me.

Liburni in Lity are minifters or sergeants attending upon the magistrates of Rome: namely, Dictators, Consuls, Pretors: for those only were called somtime magistrates nd sequlas, as superior to the reit: so called (as Fesius thinketh) good ifes vormnum lugurator, for that they carried rods tied up in bundles; which rods were of birch, willow, hazel, or the Carpine-tree, (a kind of Plane or Maple) and within them stuck an axe, all to signify whipping and death. Those officers made way before those magistrates, and were minifters also of the execution.

Lity was the Angurs staff, much like a bishops crosteller, crooked at the end.

M

Agifer Equium, Master or general of the horlemen. This was an office or dignity among the Romans, incorporate as it were in the Dictator alone, who ever had the absolute naming and chusing of him: and ordi-
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P. Publicius, a forename to some Roman families.

Pannonial or Pannoniak, was a solemn diet or council, wherein all the states of Eturia assembled to consult of publick affairs.

Patres, were at Rome 200 Senators or Noblemen, councillers of state: chosen in this manner: 3 out of every one of the 30 Curia, and those make 90; 3 more out of each tribe, (which then were but three) and one by Romanibus himself: and as this number made the body of the Nobility or Senate at the first, to out of every Curia, he chose ten of the most performable and a chief yong men, to the number of 300, (which he called Celere) to guard his perthon. From whence came the order of the knights or gentlemen of Rome in a mean degree between the two estates of Nobles and Commons, as it was the seminary, to replenish the Senate, when the places were void, and to augment the number of them. These were called Patres Conscripti, Aedilci, & Seleth. And like as the former were named Patres Majorum gentium into the latter sort, Minorum gentium, alluding to the several ranges of the gods, who were some of them, Majorum gentium, such as ever were counted in heaven termed also Seleth: others, Minorum gentium, who had been men, and were after canonized gods. The offpring and progeny of the Patres, were Patris, in opposition evermore of Plebeii, Commons.

Porticus were either the porches & other fatel building before temples, as belonging unto them: or else goodly galleries and walking places apart by themselves under which men retired in the rain, and where they used to walk to cool themselves insummer.

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Pridies, booty, pillage, or saccage in the own kind, as it was gotten from the enemy, to wit, slaves, prisoners, beasts goods, armor, &c. Concordiae, the mony raised of such pillage or prey, fold.

Praetor, one of the inferior magistrates of Rome. In the City he ruled as chief justice: in the province he commanded as L. governor and deputy; and was General in the field as well as the Consul. At first, the name of Consul, Praetor, and Judges, was all one.

Praetextata, were those centuries in Consulari Centuria, which by lot had the first place in giving their voices: the rest that followed, were called Praetor-vocati and Prae- vocati, and delivered their suffrages in their course.

Praeventa togae, a robe embroidered of purple, common to men and women. Insigniss, insignes, & ornamentum. Cicero in Verem, 3. Whereby it appeareth, that it was allowed but to certain persons; and as, P. Manius written to, 6 forts.

The children of the Paritia until 17 years age. 1 All Senators upon festival days, 3 Wardens at the games or plays called Compristis. 2 All magistrates, as well as in the City, as in the colonies or borrough Towns in corporate, called Municipia, and Masters of Corporations, 3 All Priests, and among them, the Augusts. 6 They that triumph. And this differed from the rest, being wrought without gold and damask work.

It seemeth that these differed likewise one from the other, in the manner of the guardind clad broader or narrower, as also in the rich or deep colour, wherein they were called Dibaspia, or that some of these robes were all one purple, other but parcel. And whereas the gentlemen of Rome are laid Poor, poor indigere, it is to be understood either of ingeniis clarissimis, or else of some lighter colour, as the violet, and not of that rich red purple, which is scarlet, for that robe which was done upon our Saviour Christs, * one of the Evangelists called Fasciarius, and another two, Pollarus.

Pollarus, the Chickmaster or pulliﬁer: one that had the charge and overseeing of the farked chickens, kept in a pen or coup for Aspleida: who by observing their gellure or feeding betimes every morning, related what was foctokened thereby good or bad. See more in Aspleida.

Quadrans, the name of a coin, of the value of 1/4 of a denarius, of 1/12 of a quadrans, or 1/48 of a sesterce, and 1/240 of a denarius. Hereof you may read in the oration of Cicero, pro lege Mutila. Howbeit in my translation of Livy, I have sometime used Viz-pretor and Viz-consul, for Pro-pretor and Pro-consul: because that manner of composition frameth well with our terms in English.

There were the Demiur Romani, having the stamp of a chariot drawn with four horses, called Quadriga.

Quadrum, a piece of bale brass coin or poitae at Rome, the fourth part of As, which is a cue and a c.

Quaestors were inferior officers in Rome, as treasurers to receive and lay out the City-money, whereof there were Urban, Provinicial, and Cursorens.

Quaestorium, a plot or quarter in the Roman camp, where the treasurer lodged and other officers of the camp.

Quintus, the forename of sundry Romans.

Quinctenarius, the name that Denarius first, and Decimarius, sicarius faciundis. Their number was 15, and although they were no called by Syllas Dictator to 60, yet they retained till the name of Quinctenarius.

Quintus was a gate in the Roman camp, at which provision was brought in to serve the market. Read the annotation in the end of English Tacius.

Quintenarius Menenarii, were certain men, five in number, appointed upon occasion to discharge the debts of the commons, of called Mennas, a table set out in publick place; upon which they either cound or weighed their money.

Quintenarius resicendis, were five ofﬁcers at Rome chosen extraordinary for repairing of the walls and turrets of the City.

Quinquecens or Quinquatrus, were certain feasts and games at Rome, in the honor of M. Censor. They continued five days, and began the 26 day of March, and these were called Quinquatrus Majoris. For others named Minores, about the Ides of Jun, and that was the minstrels holiday, as appeareth in the ninth of Livy.

Quintilia, the month of July, before Julius Caesar.

Quirinius, was a festival day to Quirinia, appointed for them to sacriﬁce, who had neglected or misted to do divine service in their parish at the feast Forensis; and it was called the fools holiday; for that they were ignorant of the time of the former feast, or knew not their own Curia.

Quirites, the name appropriate to the citizens of Rome: and to they loved to be called within the City: but in the camp, if the General gave them that term, it was taken for a great digracy unto fools and men of arms.
Oractii, were light armed footmen, resembling our f of tarm hope; so called \textit{rerei}.

Dew. For like as there sallenth commonly a drizzling dew before a good flour of rain: so these \textit{Korvan} skirmished loolly, before the lega


donary fouldiers came to the battrial.

\textit{Roftra}, were three-lined pikes of brazen, set in the nose or back-head of war-ships to offend the enemy, as appeareth by \textit{Virgili}, \textit{Roftris} tridentibus: and thereupon by \textit{Spectaculis}, the staves of ships were so called. And for that the publick pulpit for orations at Rome, was reared and adorned with such, it also was called \textit{Roftra}.

\textit{Rudera}, [\textit{Cum milites religionem tolli rudera iace-rem.}] To make tense of this place, I have translated \textit{Rudera}, pieces of brazen money: for that I cannot see what should be meant by rubbish stone in that place, which was not demolished by \textit{Annibali}, for any thing that I can find but only robbed of the silver & gold within the chapel of \textit{Peron}, in that whereof were found \textit{aer} acruei: by reason that the fouldiers, who had some fience of religion & rouch of confidence (whereof their leader \textit{Annibalis} had never any) call from them \textit{Rudera}.

Now, probability is that \textit{Rudera}, is corruptly put for \textit{aer}, the latter end of the word: or we admit \textit{Rudera}: it is well known that \textit{Rudus} as well as \textit{aer} significeth brazen and brazen mony, as appeareth by \textit{Rudensulentum} the diminutive: for as of \textit{as came \textit{Esciulium}, so of \textit{Rudus} (no doubt) \textit{Rudensulentum}: and like as of \textit{Esciulium}, \textit{Esciulam}, a god of the Painims, father of \textit{Argenteus} (becauie copper & brazen money was before silver coin): so of \textit{Rudensulentum}, the gate \textit{Rudensulentum} in Rome, set out with brazen. Now that \textit{Rudensulentum} is put for a small piece of brazen coin, it is proved by the form of words in buying and selling, and in manumission (\textit{Rudensulentum servum}) which is all one with \textit{aer} \textit{brason} \textit{servum} or \textit{aer}. By which I collect that \textit{Rudera} in this place may stand for \textit{aer}, pieces of coin. For there went afore, \textit{aer} acruei, which \textit{Herod} putte for heaps of brazen money, and not for brazen images.

And well it may be, that the fouldiers upon some devotion, throwed into the Church their oblations of such mony as they had in their belts or bandoliers. This conjecture & construction of mine may serve, until some what may be made of rubbish stone, or better exposition come in place. The word \textit{Rudera} is true will bear it, and the context in all fence and congruity, doth require it.

S

\textit{Altare Dew} after a devout and reverent manner they bowed unto the Idols or gods of the heathen as they passed by, and withal, touched their hands: which \textit{Lucensint} theweth in these verses,

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\textbf{R}

\textbf{Ora}tii, were light armed footmen, resembling our f of tarm hope: so called \textit{rerei}.

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as such Senators were called Curules (for the rest, who had not attained to those dignities, they named Pedanes, as some think; for that they went on foot to the Senate or places before mentioned) so those magistrates likewise above-said, were entitled by the name of Curule. And Curules was that chair called either, of Curius a charioteer, for that they set thereupon within their chariots; or, quæbus Curux, because it was made crooked or curb-wise, like unto our folding chairs.

Senatur, A Counsellor of State, A name was of honor, and not of age, as the word implied: for to that place men attained often times very young, Senat was the body of that degree and common Council, opposite unto Plebs at Rome, namely, when it was erected and the whole people comprehended under Senaturs ordo and Plebein.

Sextarius, a small bradn piece of mony at Rome, which being the first part of Aœs, commeth to one half a lating.

Sextarius was the Basis of measures in Rome, as of weights: and look how As was divided into twelve ounces, so Sextarius into twelve cynthis, and in measures Sextarius was the sixth part of Sextarius, which weighed twenty ounces, much about a wine pint and a half among us.

Of Sibylla books so often mentioned in Livy, which being three in number, were bought of Sibylla by King Tarquin the proud; at the price of nine, after the had burned fix of them before his face; which books were kept diligently in the Capitol: and whereto the Decemvirs by their learning made report of the will and pleasure of the gods, see A.Gellius, 1 book 19 chapter.

Sigillum was the general name of all the ensigns in the field, but Agula more particularly was the main standard to a whole legion: so called, for that upon the top of a spear was reared and fastned an Eagle in silver at full relief, and the same sometime was gilded standing upon a base or foot of the same metal. The other ensigns, as well of cohorts, which were bands of five hundred men usually, as of centuries, companies of hundred's, named more especially Peculis and were generally called Sigillum, had the porcupine of Minotaur, wolves, boars, horses, dragons, with sundry other devices according to the fancy of the Colonels or captains, containing also the name of the cohort or Century, and the legion to which they belonged.

T

Aenetus Atticus, As well ponderale which was weighed, as numerale or nummariwm, which was counted in mony, was of two sorts: The les of sixty pound Attick, and every one of them consisted of a hundred Drachmae or Denarii Romani, if Minas then be three pound two thilings six pence, sterling, the les talent Attick amounteth to 287 pound ten thilings of our English mony. The great-
ter, or simply the great, talent, in Livy, is fourscore mina, and hath proportionem belli-

T. Timae, A forename to many houses of the Romans.

Testudo, A target-lence, which the legiiffany, made either in the open field when they were overcharged with their enemies, or in approaching the walls of Towns to give assalt. In the former, after they had enclosed within them their baggage and light armed men, they retired themselves upon their knees, with their targets close couched together over their heads, to avoid the enemies shot: and after they had well breathed they would rise up at once again, heath and fully to a new skirmish. In the latter, they had the like target-roof, but pent-house wise, one overlapped the other after the manner of tiles, and so they scaled walls without offence from above.

Templum hath in Livy three significations, 1. A sacred house or chapel dedicated to some god or goddes for divine service: as the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol. 2. An open place, from whence a man might see all about him, as having nothing to hinder his prospect, and which likewise might be seen from all parts, whereof is cometh the word Contemplaria, i. e. to behold. And such did the Augurs chafe for to take their signs of bird-flight. 3. Any place hallowed, although not for divine service, yet for debating of serious human affairs, as their Curia and Council-Chambers, yea, and the Rostra at Rome.

Theodoss, An Augurice or lucky word used at Bridals or weddings in Rome, like to this among the Greeks, "νερόφως, νερόφως, νερόφως" Hymen. O Hymenat, hymen, Ec. Canad.

Thenes whereof Livy writeth in the fift & ninth books, were certain petty chariots or dreyes of silver or ivory, carrying the images and ornaments of their gods in great pomp upon certain high daies: and they who led the horses drawing the same, wore their richest apparel, holding in their hands and training the falle reins stretched out at length in lenn wise, whereupon Fenix thinketh they took the name Thenes aisis Tena.

Trabea was a roial robe or mantle of cloth, all of deep purple or scarlet only, at the first: but afterwards, embroidered richly with gold. Livy leemeth to confound it with Fenix par- pura, Polia, Palmata et Triumphalis. And in truth, all one they were in the principal substance and matter thereof, namely, purple or scarlet but different in the setting out, being embroidered with gold, more or less: distinguished also with white among (for that was a royal colour) as may appear by the diadem, which was a white wreath, or band done about the head of kings, or in the manner of the work: for either it was palma an do
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called à lattitude clausuram, i. of the broad buttons of gold, and inferior lamina, to the breadth of ounces, as Fœmin thinketh: or brachiated and damasked with flour-work, like to the date-tree: or else pliing, of tifflew — or embroidery.

Triumphs of the Commons were certain Magistrates, Provosts, or Prentices, of the Commons, to restrain and keep down the excessive power of the nobility: chosen and confirmed by the general oath of the people, whereby they were Sacramentis, sacred or inviolable, and no violence might be done to their person. They had a negative voice, and power of inhibition, called Intercession, whereby they might cross and stop the proceedings of the Senate, or any magistrate, save only the Dictator: even the very Consuls, whom in some case they might command.

Triumphs military in Consuls authority, or Consualy, governed the state of Rome many years in stead of Consuls.

Triumphs military in the army, were Colonels over a thousand.

Triumphs earum, were the keepers of the City chamber or common Treasurer, as it were, the masters of the exchequer.

Triumphs in Rome, first three, containing each of them ten Caria: but afterwards they were five and thirty, containing all the natural citizens of Rome.

Triumphs mottovi, was a kind of ignominy and disgrace, when a man was dispirited by the censors out of his own tribe into another more bale than it, and named ἕτερις ἐν υμναμοις of which urbana there are three, Suburbanum, Eugeniana Palatina and Collina; into which King Servius distributed those that were mammielad, and Ritus afterwards forensis urbam.

Triumphs capitales: Three Judges delegat to sit upon life and death, touching felonious crimes, They were called also Quaestores peregrini. &c.

Triumphs Monetales: Three officers for the mint of mony, either brals, silver, or gold. They are represented in old coins by these five letters stamped thereupon. Α.Α.Α.Π. for άτερος παράλατος φάλλων, for that is to say, for the melting and stamping of brals, silver, and gold. They were afterwards four in number, and named Quaestores.

Triumphs or Tremitori nonnulli, Three overseers of the night-watch, for fire &c.

Triumphs Menestri, Three Commissaries depad for the time, and as occasion required, in stead of bakers or Butchers to receive a flock of mony, and to lay the same out upon extraordinary charges, as in the time of the second Punick war. When the City church was without mony. Which flock was put into their hands out of private men's purses, by way of a voluntary benevolence and contributio, as appeareth in the fifth and twentieth book of Livy.

Triumphs, [Extraordinarii] Three likewise to levy fouldiers and make men ready to bear arms (without the usual order of multiers) throughout Italy, upon some special occasion.

Triumphs coloniae dedicantes, three commissioners who had authority to enrol new inhabitants into any colony: also to set out and divide the City lands gotten by conquest, at their discretion among them.

Triumphs also there were three, Wardens to oversee the sacrifices, the oblations and offerings to the Gods.

Triumphs, certain festal plays instituted (as Fœmin thinketh) by King Tarquinius the proud, for to pacify the internal gods: upon occasion of a contagious malady that happened to women great with child, endangering both them and them, so he went with: which arose upon the corrupt feilte, sold abroad in the market of oxen and bulls, killed for sacrifices: whereupon the money employed about those solemnities, was called Taricum as.

Sacrataurium or Subsacraria, was a solemn sacrifice at the festival, review, or purging of the City every fifth year: and this was called Subsacrariae, or Sacrariae: It was performed by killing a bull, a ram, and a dove, At which solemnity all that were able to bear arms, assembled in order or battle.

Triumph, a solemnity in honor of them who have vanquished their enemies: so called, for that their fouldiers rebated, fio triumphps (as Varro thinketh) or of 354.40.65. for 354.40.65. one of Bacchus names, the first inventor thereof: of these equal three voices: because it was granted by the lustrations of fouldiers, Senators, and common people: as it may appear in Livy, by the triumph of L. Paulus Aemilius, who had like to have been disappointed thereof, by his own fouldiers.

Venus Ercinia. Ovid, 4. F. 36. a sculena notima colla tenet: she is so called of a promonitory in Sicily, called Eryx, where there was a goodly temple built in the honour of Venus: and afterwards at Rome also in memorial thereof.

Veriis Festenamini, certain licentious and unchaste songs used among the Paumans at weddings; the manner whereof, came first from the city Pessennium (as some think) or as others, Quin festum publicum accetre, because they were thought to have venue with witchcraft and forcery.

Vexilla virginum, were certain professed Nunse, to vow virginy, who had the keeping of the sacred fire of Vesta. Necta et deus, quam puram intellecte flamman. Ovid. This Vesta was brought from Troy with the image of Minerva, called Palladium, and other holy relics.

Viro tribunis, i.e. senators, were certain City works, for which the cenfores did bargain with the Publicans or undertakers, at a price.

Venice.
Verba, although it signifieth a special herb, called Verbum, is, in English, and in Greek, spes. Verba, because doves delight much to be above it: yet the word is attributed to divers other herbs put to holy use among the Paintings, which are called Sagittiz in Latine, and in Greek, sagittara. But Dioscorides described one for thereof which runneth by the ground, and groweth not so high as our vervin doth, and it feemeth to be that which the Physicians, Herbarists, and Apothecaries call Gramen, ἐποίησεν in Greek, de chien in French: and the cock graza in English: according to that faith Livy, Fe-
cialis ex arcens purum graminis herba attulit.

Victoriusus, sagittarum nummus. A piece of Roman silver coin, half Denarius, and a double Sestertius, having the image of Vict-
ory stampled upon it, either standing on foot crowned with a chaplet of bay, or else carried in a triumphall chariot drawn with four steeds, holding forth in her right hand the foresaid garland, as it is to be seen in divers antiquities of coin.

Veteres signifieth a place in Rome called Vet-
ere Curia in respect of Novis, or certain shops called Argentaria of bankers; in re-
gard of others also, named Noves.

A Table of all the Orations in Titus Livius, by way of division of the general into particular members, fitted for all sorts of speaking or writing, and digested according to the several places of the three principal heads of all Caues in Oratory, to wit,

the Deliberative, the Demonstrative, and the Judicial.

To reconciliation and peace-making, between Romans and Albans, by Metius Sestius.

Prince of the Albans to Tullus Hostilius King of the Romans. 14.H

Of Appius Claudius, a Tribune military to the people of Rome, for the continuance of war and keeping soldiers in wintering camp at the siege of Veii, against the Tribunes of the Commons.

Of L. Lentulus, the chief of the Roman Embassadors to the army and the Consuls that they would of their own accord yield themselves unto the Sammits at the place called Canina.

Of Decius Mus, the Conful to the people, that there might be Augurs and Pontifies chosen out of the Commons.

Of Acædus, the Spaniard to the captain of the Saguntins, for the sending back of the hostages into their own Cities, whom Annibal had demanded of all the States, and belowed in safe custody at Saguntum.

Of Minucius, the Matter of the house unto his soldiers for joining camp with Fabius, when he perceived that both he and his were saved by the prows of the said Fabius, after himself had unluckily fought against Annibal, 365.G

Of the Roman captives in the overthrew at Cannæ to the Nobles of Rome, that they might be ransomed.

Of Varro the Conful, to the Campan Embassadors, that after to great loss and foil of the Romans they would to undertake war with the Carthaginians, that neither Annibal might think himself conqueror, nor the Romans conquered.

Of Fabius Maximus, to the people, That the command in war being taken from Ocellius, they should consider what General should make head against Annibal, 383.G

Of P. Sulpicius the Conful to the people about removing the war into Macedon, and to aid the Athenians against Philip, 414.G

Of Africlinus, a Prince of Achaia to the Achæans, for the demands of the Roman Embassadors, that they would stand for them against Philip, 626.I

Of M. Porcius Cato, in maintenance of the law Oppia, which C. Oppius a Trib, of the Commons in the Punic war had made for restraint of women's apparel against the Nobles and Tribunes of the Commons, who went about to abrogate the same, 684.I

Of Annibal in the council of King Antiochus concerning the contracting of peace with King Philip, and the whole course of war, which Antiochus prepared against the Romans, 739.C

Of reconciliation by Q. Caecilius Metellus to M. Lepidus and M. Fulvius Conors, who for many years together had born a deadly malice and enmity one against another. 1088.K

Of M. Scribon for L. Aemilius Paulus, that he might have triumph granted over the Macedonians by him conquered, when his own soldiers withflood the same, for that they were scanted in the pillage: and Servius Sulpicius Galba opposed himself against it, 1226.H
Of Cneus Marcius Coriolanus to the nobility against the Commonalty and the Tribune in distributing the old provision of corn.

The fraudulent dissipation of Accius Tullius King of the Volsci, to the end that the Volsci might not be present at their solemn games, and so he might stir them up against the Romans.

Of M. Furius Camillus the Dictator, to the people against the Tribunes of the Commons, for going to dwell at Veii, when Rome was in a manner razed.

Of Appius Claudius against the Tribunes of the commons, that the laws concerning debt, the proportion of flint of lands, the elections of Tribunes military, and that one of the Comites should be of the commons, might not pass.

Of Titus Manlius Torquatus, that the Roman captives at the Cannian overthrow might not be ransomed.

Of Q. Fabius Maximus, surnamed Consul, that the Province of Africa might not be decreed to Scipio.

Of L. Valerius a tribune of the commons, in the behalf of women (agains the sentence of Cato) that the law Opini should be annulled, which was made to suppress the superfluous ex pense of women.

Of Tanquil the wife of Tarquin, Plenus, to Servius her son in law, that he might succeed in the place of his father in law deceased, who was murdered by two shepherds.

Of Tullia, the daughter of Tarquinius Plenus to L. Tarquinius his husband, to aspire unto the kingdom, against her father.

Of Accius Tullius a Prince of the Volsci to his countrymen, wherein he stirred them up against the Romans, for that they were commanded by them to depart the City, so as they might not be present at the public games.

Of the ancient Senators of Rome, for the putting down of the Decemviri, and restoring the Tribunship of commons.

Of the legs of the commonalty of Rome, which was gone into mount Sacro; by reason of the obstinacy of the Decemviri, who would not give over their Magistracy: that now having dispatched their business, they would return into their native country, to their own houses, wives, and children.

Of Valerius the Consul to the horsemen, that they would valiantly fight against the armies of the Equi and Volsci joined together in Algidum.

Of Horatius the Consul, College of Valerius, to his men, That if their hearts served them, they would set up such a shout, as at the charge of a battell.

With a grievous complaint, Of Caius Camulenus a Trib. of the Com. unto the commonalty, against the nobility, for the publishing of laws concerning marriage of nobles with commons, and that there might be one Consul a commoner.

Of Vettius Metius King of the Volsci to his people, against the Romans, that they would not with sword make way, where they saw them go before.

Of M. Marncrus Emilius the Dictator to his soldiers, being sconct with the strange fight of the burning fire-brands which the Etrusca and Veientians did carry.

Of Sextus Emilius a Decurion of horsemen to his soldiers, in a desperate battell, by occasion of the rashness of Caius Sempronius the Consul.

Of Camillus being banished to the Adrants, that they would take arms for the Romans against the Gauls, who had won the City of Rome, and all but the Capitoll.

Of Mar. Furius Camillus the Dictator to his soldiers, terrified at the great number of their enemies, to wit, the Antemnians, Volscians, Latins, and Hernicks.

Of Aulus Cornelius Cossus the Dictator to his soldiers, and to Quintus Capitolinus the Master of the horitie, against the huge multitude of the Volsci.

Of M. Manlius Capitolinus (after his imprisonment) to the Commons, whom by gifts and larges he had allured for the Nobility against supppressing and deposing the Magistrates.

Of M. Popilius a commoner consul and collegue of Scipio, to his soldiers: against the Gauls who had encamped in the Latine territory.

Of M. Valerius Corvinus the Consul to his men against the Samnites.

Of Pub. Decius a military Tribune, to Aulus Cornelius Consul, when there was no hope seen of escaping out of the hands of the Samnites.

Of P. Decius a military Tribune, to break in upon the enemy from the hill, which he had seized.

Of Mar. Valerius Corvinus the Dictator to the mutinous and wicked soldiers (who being fattend with the pleasures and delights of Capua, had plotted to dispossess the Capuans of their City) that they would not fight against their own country.

Of Titus Quinctius the Roman, chosen captain against his will by the mutinous Roman soldiers, that laying aside anger and hope, they would not make trial of the fortune of a battall against them.

Of L. Aemilius Scipio a Praetor of the Latines unto his soldiers, to demand of the Romans, that
that if they would have them to be in league and society, they should elect from among them one of their Consuls and part of the Senat.

Of Quintus Fabius the Dictator, to break upon the enemy, to revenge the death of the Roman Citizens, and to recover the Colony from the Samnits.

Of Virginia the daughter of Aulus Paccius, and wife of a Commoner Consul, to a laudable contention in vertue, at the dedication of the altar called Ara Pudicitiae plebeae.

Of Alcucus the Spaniard to the Saguntins in exceeding great departure of their state about the articles of peace which Annibals at the point of victory did impose upon them as conquered persons.

Of P. Scipio the Consul to his men against Annibals and the Carthaginians.

Of Annibals to his fouldiers against P. Scipo.

Of Cneus Lentulus a military Tribune to Lucius Aemilius Paulus Consul, to save himself by flight at the overthrow of Carthage.

Of Lu. Aemilius the Consul unto Ca. Lentulus, for fortifying the City of Rome.

Of P. Sempronius Tudancius a military Tribune to his fouldiers, who had esp. speed out of the Cannian overthrow, That they would make way by sword and valour through the thickest troops of the enemies.

Of L. Pinarus captain of the Roman garrisons at Albas to his fouldiers: for to prevent treafon and treachery intended.

Of L. Marius Septimius the General to his fouldiers, That they would charge upon the army of Afridus to revenge the death of the Scipos.

Of P. Scipio to the old fouldiers, to make war beyond Iberia.

Of Scipio to his fouldiers at the siege of new Carthage.

Of Perusus Care to his fouldiers, That they would recover by arms and profe the rule and government which the Romans had lost beyond Iberia.

(A cold exhortation) Of I. Quintus to his fouldiers at the siege of Lacedaemon.

Of Actilus the Consul to his fouldiers against Anticoius.

Of the Rhodians in the Senate, with a petition for reward, after Anticoius was overcome by L. Scipo with the help of the Rhodians.

Of Ca. Manius the Consul to his fouldiers against the gallogreeks, for that they had aided Anticoius against the Romans.

Of Perseus the Macedonian King, in regard of the hope of victory against the Romans.

Of M. Furias Camillus to the people of Rome against the Tribunes of the Commons, that leaving the ruins of Rome they would not go to Veii another City.

Of M. Valerius Corvus the Dictator, to the mutinous and rebellious fouldiers from fighting against their native country.

Of Paciuntus Calvius the Campan to his son: not to kill Annibals.

Of Vitius Vitius to the Campans, That they should not yield themselves to the Romans.

Of Metius Suetius captain of the Albans, to Tullus Hostilius King of the Romans, about peace making between Romans and Albans.

Of Tullus Hostilius King of the Romans to his own fouldiers, concerning the treachery of Metius Suetius.

Of the two Delegates, Valerius and Horatius, about the demands of the Commons, who through the Decemvirs fault were departed into mount Sicer, for that they having finished the time of their government refus'd notwithstanding to leave their Magistracy.

Of Apsius the Decemvir at the resigning of the Decemvirship.

Of M. Dumilius a Commoner, for hope of liberty after punishment taken of the Decemvirs.

Of Camillus to the Tuscian Senators, about sending Embassadors to Rome for treaty of peace.

Of Quintus Cincinnatus the Dictator to Aulus Sempronius the General, of the horfemen, concerning the manner of war against the Prencelis.

Of Camillus the Dictator to the Quirites, concerning the opposition of the Tribunes of the Commons.

Of the Roman Consul to the Campans that they should not take arms against the Samnits, with the answer of the Campan Embassadors.

Of Furius Camillus to the L. of the Senat, as touching the Latines subdued, and by what means they might keep them quiet in continual peace.

Of Scaurus Pothemnus the Consul, who was put under the yoke at Coldana, for the peace made at Caenius.

Of Aulus Cornelius Avitus the Facellial herald to the Samnits at the delivery of the five furies that undertook the peace.
Admonition

Of Annibal to the Spanish fouldiers, about removing the war. 327.B
Of Fabius Maximus the Conditor to Emlynus the Consul, concerning Vario, and the order of war-service with the enemy. 362.F
Of M. Fabius, the captain of the fouldiers to Annibal the Victor, that he would make use of his victory with the answer of Annibal. 374.I
Of Petullus the Campani to Pausania Calvisius, his father about the killing of Annibal, with the answer and damnation of the father from that wicked deed. 386.L
Of Annibal to his fouldiers against Claudius Marcellus. 514.I
Of P. Scipio Aferuscus King of the Maffihi, who fell in love with Sophonisba wife of Syphax, King of the Numidians and daughters of Ashurbal. 684.L
Of T. Quininius Flaminus in the general council of Greece, for making war upon the tyrant Nabis, by reason of Arges the noble City of Greece, which by him was held. 694.M
Of P. Scipio the Ambassador to Miltius the chief of the friends of Antiochus who was fled for that he refused conference with the delegates. 719.F
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Of T. Quininius to M. Atilius the Consul in defence of the Etrurians. 752.I
Of T. Quininius to the Curius about them reconciling with the Romans. 760.I
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Of P. Scipio Afeduscus accused for robbing the common treasuries to the commons; as touching his exploits. 986.L
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Of King Eumones in the Senate, for reward and recoumence of labour employed, and charges spent in the Roman wars antiz Antiochus. 818.E

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Of King Eumenas son of K., Attalus, for the Romans victory against Antiochus, with a petition of rewards for cost and labour expimied in that war. 781.I
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Of Philip the Macedonian touching the unfortunate estate of him and his children, 899.G  
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Of Lu. Aemilius Paulus concerning his wonderfull calamity and of his triumph, which was (as it were) a spectacle and mocking stock of this worlds mutability, 1113.F
OF the Volcicns to the Roman Legats, who after the loss and ruin of Saguntum, required of them to stand firm in league and society with the Romans against the Carthaginians. 494.N

OF M. Marcellus to his fouldiers, in that they abandoned their camp with that fearfulness, whereby they lost the opportunity of fight, which Hannibal refused. 637.

OF Aristobulus Praxtor of the Achicans against them: for that in their Councilly they were silent, and answered not to the Roman Legats. 630. I

OF L. Emilius Paulus to K. Perseus, because he submitted to the Roman Legats, with an admonition to his men of the change and alteration of this world. 1205. F

OF L. Virginis to his fouldiers, whereby he refused the majesty of a Decemvirihip offered unto him without his seeking. 122. H

OF Tito Manlius the Consul to the Latin Embassadors, requiring of the Senat, That one of the Consuls might be chosen out of the Latins, and that they might have a part in the Senat. 128. E

OF Icelius against the Decree of Appius the Decemvir, to the end that Virginis his Spoufe should not remain without her fathers house. 118. H

OF Lu. Virginis the father against Appius Claudius for his daughter Virginis. 119. A

OF Cornelius Cossus Dictator against Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, for that by his excessive gifts he had stirred up the people against the nobility. 224. L

OF Caius Fabius the Dictator, touching the rafhness of Rufus Minutius Generall of the horfemen. 221. E

OF P. Cornelius Scipio against Caelius Metellus and other young men of Rome, who plotted to abandon Italy for fear of Hannibal. 319. C

OF Tib. Gracchus to his fouldiers, of penalty to be inflicted upon those slaves who refused to fight. 495. E

OF Caius Junius a Tribune of the Commons, To Tempanius a horfeman, about Sempronius the Consul, who had shamefull abandoned his Camp in the war against the Volcicns. 194. M

OF M. Manlius Capitolinus to the gods, when he was led to prison for a sedition. 331. B

OF Lu. Papirius the Dictator, to Fabius Maximus General of the horfemen, for that against his Decree he had fought with the Samnits. 304. H

OF King Philip, and of Titus Quinctius the Consul, touching conditions of peace. 829. D

FINIS.
A SUPPLEMENT
OF THE
SECOND DECAD
OF
LIVIE'S ROMAN
HISTORY.

Written in
LATINE
AND
DEDICATED
TO
CHRISTINA,
QUEEN of SWEDES, GOTHs,
VANDALS, &c.

BY
J. FREINSHEMIUS,
Newly Translated into English.

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and George Sawbridge, 1659.
Supplement to the Second Decad of Livy's Roman History

In Latin

With the

Quellen und Quellenwerk der Geschichte der Hebräer, Ägypten und Assyriens.
To the High and Mighty Princess, and his most Gracious Lady,

CHRISTINA,

By the Grace of God Queen of the Swedes, Goths, Vandals and the adjoyning Provinces.

Madam,

T hath happily fallen out, that your wonderful Humanity and Learning, rarely to be found in so great a Majesty, have given me advantage of omitting one of these two subjects which usually are the Contents of Dedieatory Epistles. For I have so many reasons to declare why I present this Supplement to your Majesty, that if I were forced like wise to declare the Argument of the Work, to what End, and in what Manner it is contrived, I could not accomplish it without a long and tedious Epistle. But now those Your two Virtues I mentioned, have freed me of this Necessity, seeing out of your Humanity you condescended to read the Work while it was in Composing, and by your Learning more fully understood, then I or any other could expound what was superfluous, and what wanting in it. I will not therefore accuse the meanesse of my Wit or Learning, or any other thing, that is my Design hath no more happily succeeded, (Let those men pretend shortness of time, multitude of business or incommodities of sickness, who aim at other Glory besides that of Obedience) it sufiiceth me, I am conscious, that in writing this, I have observed the benefit of your Studies, and in making it Publick been Obedient to Your Will. For when in compiling the Relicks of Livy's History, which at that time you diligently read, I had finished this Work as a Bridge over a broken Passage, You were pleased (according to Your excellent and well known Goodness) to express your liking of my Endeavors; and, as Your Self thereby had reaped Benefit, so to judge them fit of Publick View, that others might likewise be profited by them. Wherein You manifested both your Wisdome and your Bounty: Your Bounty, in that what was solely intended for your own service, you were willing should be useful unto all: Your Wisdome in that, in this new beginning and encrease of Learning, which by your example and Help the North doth greedily receive and happily improve, you have encouraged other men to exercise their Wit and Industry in publishing more Accurate and Learned Writings, when they shall have understood with how much Candor and Clemency You accept this rude and unpolished Piece of mine. When therefore I fee not only those who are born unto your service, but many also of strange Nations most willingly entertain and execute your Commands: Should I at all be backward in my Duty, who, if not alone, yet amongst a few of your most Faithful and nearest subjects, am in a peculiar manner obliged by your Majesty? I am indeed His
The Epistle Dedicatory.

who created all things, neither from any other do I expect a True and Lasting Felicity; neither do I bear a mind inferior to so great a Hope: But as to the Offices of this Life I am by him bestowed upon your Majestie, as by infallible Arguments, to your self not unknown, may be demonstrated. Wherefore my constant and resolved Rule of living (which, if I attain not unto, as I am willing and ought to do, yet I aim at and endeavour) is, to attend God's will only in those things which are expressly commanded or forbidden; in Actions indifferent and arbitrary to be guided by your Majestie alone; which I the rather strive to perform, because I know it is your Pleasure. And truly this was a sufficient tie of my Obedience and Reverence, if you had not otherwise both by your Virtues and Deforts obliged me, both which are so ample and of so effectual an Influence, that it is hard to say whether in Contemplation of them I am more willing to serve you, or for other Reasons more strictly bound to it. I find my self now involved in a very doubtful Case, and on both sides much perplexed: For if I say what I have intended, as my desire is, and as is Just and Right, I may happily not be relished by your Majestie, who do more freely exercize your Virtues, and select your Favours, then willingly bear them repeated. And if, in the Mention thereof I shall omit any thing, I shall fall in my Duty, and Detract from Your Praises, which (with as fervent a desire and good will as I prosecute them) had Liberty to expatiate, I could in no wise according to th. ir Dignity set forth, much less be strengthened within the narrow limits of an Epistle. Nevertheless I am confident, that the Temper of the businesse (which your self cannot disallow) is agreeable, as to the present purpose, so to both our Dispositions. For I abhor Flattery as both your Majestie; neither am I more willing to speak any thing in such a strain, then Your self to bear it. And, according to your discerning Spirit, you are not ignorant that I am of this mind, that if I were in my choice whether to offend You in doing You Good, or please You by Flattery, I should without scruple chuse the former, which few Subjects can do and few Princes endure. Hinder not therefore my desires which cannot offend on that part: Give us leave to acknowledge what we have received; and if miserable men are freely allowed to complain, why should your Majestie forbid us modestly to boast of our Happinesse under such a Prince as Your self? Neither ought this, the only Reward of your good Deeds, or the Fruit of our Thankfulness, to perish; we then again a fresh receive benefits when we repeat them. But I see what is happened, whilst I beg leave to Write I loose both Time and Space. What therefore I am about to say, shall be into a few Periods digested, and I shall of every kind speak somewhat only in Summe. As to those your Virtues wherewith you have magnificently Adorned this Empire; that I may briefly declare what I think, I shall borrow a Sentence from our beloved Tacitus; in which Author, You know, Tibereius reproach-eth C. Caesar, That he had all the Vices of L. Sylla, but not so much as one of his Virtues; which may justly be inverted as to Your Majestie, that You have acquired all the Virtues of Your Predecessors, omitting what Vices were in them, infomuch as You have augmented their Ancient Honours by Virtues new and heretofore unknown to this Kingdom. I believe that former Ages wanted not excellent Kings, yet; however it came to pass, the Swetick affairs never ascended to any illustrious or durable greatness in their days; the Praise of that work properly belongs to the Gustavides, of whom not any one ever Reigned without some Memorable profit to the Countrie: for even the Error of some have proved of good use; the Case of Ericus and Sigismund instructeth Posterity wherein Kings may offend: and others are admonished by the severity of Charles, how unsafe it is, to provoke Princes to Anger. But what Pen or what Oration can sufficiently declare
The Epistle Dedictory.

The immortal benefits reaped from the two Gustavi? They were both so great, that if you compare them with others, you will easily prefer them before others; but if you compare them between themselves, you will rather conclude that this was Greatest and the other Greatest, then discern which of the two excelled. For it is a great Error and blindness of judgment to measure the Greatness of Kings by the outward Splendor of their Actions; and respect that only.

It happens often to these Stars on Earth as to those in Heaven, that some indeed are the greater though others seem to be so. But this is manifest, that God had ordained by two Princes especially to advance the glory of this Kingdom, even by Gustavus the Great, and his Daughter Christina. He indeed was the more endowed with Warlike Virtues, yet so as when he had leisure from the Field, he did most accurately and skillfully manage affairs at Home: God having reserved Your self, Madam, to a greater work, the Recoverie, Establishment and Ornament of Peace, hath every way accomplished You so great a Task; yet so, as while there was a necessity of War, You could not complain of anything wanting in Your self to the highest Praise in such an Employment. Whereas little is to be attributed to bodily exercise, You were found eminent in all those Virtues of the Mind which are required in the best Emperors, as Counsel in Perplexities, Constancy in Adversity, Moderation in Prosperity, Diligence, Wisdom, Faithfulness in all things; whereby after many and famous Victories, You concluded Peace with Denmark in the first year of Your Reign, and in the fourth year a most glorious and advantageous one with the German Emperor. Which peace how and by what means you have adorned, I cannot in this Hift declare; I shall only name the encreafe of the City, many Towns built and well conftituted, Justice established, the People eased in their Taxes, Manners amened, the Honor and Reward of Learning encreafed, the Universities enriched, Schools eredt, Merchandize flourishing, many Manufactures newly invented, the Ground manured beyond the Simplicity of the Ancients; your care and diligence adjoined toward the Commodity of Travel, measuring of High-ways, building of Inns, and indeed to all things which we fee, which we are sensible of, and the benefic which we enjoy, so that I may justly account those my Countrymen of Germany happy who shall hereafter rest under your Protection: whom I would have, with my self and all other Your Subjects, think no signifier of God's Anger or Favour toward them, then as he shall long preserve, or suddenly take away such a Prince from amongst them. If there be any who dare not lift up their Eyes by reason of the misery of times past, or are so binded by the Interposition of clouds that they could not hitherto behold this Bright Star, be comforted with its Aspect, and refreshed with its Heat: They may justly be encouraged to expect all things happy and prosperous near at hand, not only by the greatness of Jo Benigne and Favourable a Light, but also by the Constancy thereof. For the Splendor of it is not derived, as that of a Candle or Torch which failing, the remaining substance appears fouler, but like that of the Sun, True, and Purer, and Inmate, neither to be consumed by Time, or extinguished by Violence: which now shineth openly to those who dwell afar off, and will so dispell all Clouds from before their Eyes, that you shall find none so blind as cannot see it, or impudently injurious to their own judgments as to deny they see it. But though it be troublesome to me to draw my mind from this sweet and pleasing Contemplation, I shall not endeavour to comprehend the mention of these Virtues within the narrow Limits of this Paper, this Time, or this my little Wit, which ought in whole Volumes to be declared to all Nations and Ages. I shall make bold to be more Prolific in the Commemoration of your benefits below.
The Epistle Dedictory.

beffowed on me, as being not so well known to the World, and more properly belonging to the Causes of this Dedication, as likewise not unworthy Monuments of your Virtues. But I must first acknowledge the Providence of God which I have alwayes found most manifestly present in this business. When for many years in Germany I continued in such a condition of life (for many reasons thereunto persuading me), as not resolutely addicted to any particular Profession, yet ready to accept of any which should lawfully offer itself: in all that while no man determined my liberty with obligation to any calling. In the mean time I spent not that my leisure in idlenesse, but bestowed it in those Studies to the which (by what afterward hapned, I evidently understand) I was from my infancy ordained. The time now grew on, Madam, wherein I was to be dedicated to Your Majesties Service, and Benedict Skytte came to Argentoratus, whom Your Majestie hath deservedly honoured with many Favours, and lastly with the Dignity of a Senator. By him invited I came to Your Universitie, where instructing the Youth with care and diligence, though I had an earnest desire to see Your Majestie, yet I preferred the necessity of my present Office, before the sweetnesse of an happinesse not yet due to me. When I had now three years been debarred of any Conference with your Majestie, having lately taken upon Your Self the Administration of Your Realm upon occasion of a Funeral You came to Ubsal. And from that time I shall begin the Commemoration of Your Favours towards me. The last Office of Love was then performed to my Patron John Skytte Senator, whose praises according to the Dutie of my Place, I endeavoured to set forth in a Funeral Oration; and this was the first Speech I made in Your hearing: But when by the cheerfulness of your most Serene Countenance, You discovered both Your understanding of what was spoken, and Your Favour to the Speaker, I was so infinitely possessed with Pleasure and Admiration, that thenceforward I resolved to esteem You not only as a Queen of Me and Your Kingdomes, but Princess of all Virtues and Wisdom. The same Favour I received two years after, when as often as you came to Ubsal, you heard my Discourses upon any Subject you propounded. Intending afterward to accumulate more Favours upon me, You invited me to Court, not only beyond my Hope, but besides my Thoughts of any such thing: what You there bestowed upon me, can scarce by a long Oration be declared: You made me Keeper of Your Librarie, then which I know none so soon after its first beginning, more plentiful in Books, which hath been a main help to me in Compiling this Supplement. You gave me the Title of your Historiographer, that when you should think fit I might deliver to Pothier the Memory of things done or to be tranfacted. You afforded me Lodging in your Court, not only very convenient, but (which is rarely found in so frequented a Place) very private and quiet also, and a Stipend, which by experience I have found, very subject to Envy. And whereas these may be esteemed Favours of the highest rank, you have, by what after followed, caused them to be esteemed small ones; For when you desired the Knowledge of the Greek Tongue, that you might from their own Mouths understand the sense of the most excellent writers in Civill and Moral Wisdom, you did so by degrees induce me to the Office of your InstrucTions therein being ignorant of your Purpose, that at length I understood I had taught much indeed, when on the hidden I found you had Leant so much. By this your Art in that small time you could allow out of two years to such a Study (being a Queen actually Reigning, waging War, often holding Parliament, every day Council, and constantly disrafft with other business) you made such an improvement that after Trial in Polybius and Plutarch you read Plato also, and that with such understanding, that little wanting my help, you could hastily Translate him into Elegant Latine in most
The Epistle Dedicatory.

Significant Expressions, and of Your self observe and for true reasons Correct the Error of Translations made with the great pains of Learned men. Whereby I respected for great and various fruits of purest pleasure, as I could not but often ingenuously confess to my most intimate acquaintance, That whatsoever Time, or Labour, or Study, or Care I bestowed in this employment (for Trouble, I call my Conscience to witnesse, I never felt any) I thought all abundantly recompened with that reward I could every hour receive from you. For to omit other benefits, what an advantage was even in this, to be every day in the presence of so great a Prince, to be seen and countenanced by You, to obtain the Title, Place and Honour of a Favourite? Truly my Happiness seemed so great to me, that I began to be afraid of it. For though, by the Grace of God, I ever put off these my worldly accoutrements, as knowing I must one day leave them or they me, yet out of impotency of mind I might by too great happiness have grown insolent, but that by certain Arguments learnt in time to know that so great a fortune was not conferred as Due to any man's Merits, but as the free gift of your Grace and good will. And in this so high and great an Happiness there are many excellent Circumstances particularly considerable. I am tied only to my own Vocation, employed only in mine own Studies, that is, I am so free that I am not employed and wearied in any service not proper to my own Office and calling. Neither have you a care of my Time and Health only, but also of my Modesty and Bashfulness: I appear not but at the time of your Studies, neither then do I break in without command, to stand as an idle and dumb Spectator, vainly loosing time, or boldly venturing of my Liberty and Familiarity. Neither is my work base or vile, we do nothing which requires either Secrecy or Excuse; whatsoever will not betray his own ignorance must needs confess the employment on my part worthy of a man, on yours becoming a Prince. Hitherto I have related part of the Favours you have bestowed on my Person; it remains likewise I should acknowledge those Favours (as much more bestowed on me which you have conferred on others by my Intercession: In which confession I have cause to fear, that I shall not only contract Envy to my selfe, but give Occasion to others to accuse your Majestie, as being too Facile in granting what is requested. To these I shall answer, That I do indeed acknowledge and admire your Goodness, which hath far exceeded my Deferts, and that others also may obtain equal or greater Favours if they ask them with the same Respect that I have done: as first, I never desired anything but what was Just and Equal; nor secondly, any thing misbecoming the Office and Majestie of my Prince; thirdly, by all those Boons I have obtained for others, I know not that I am a penny the richer. But in this strait, wherein it is easier to think of more things then to write them, many things come into my mind which I am forced to pretermit. This I shall say, I am in doubt whether I am more beholding to your Majestie for small favors bestowed at my Request, or for the great ones; for as these carried the greater Price, the others did more manifest your Humanitie. That your mind capable of highest things would condescend to so little ones. We Read of a King, who when a Phyllophother asked of him a Groat, said, It was too little for a King to give; when he presently asked a Talent, said, It was too much for a Phyllophother to receive. Your Majestie hath more magnificently used the same Method, in Your smaller favours, regarding what was fit for me to receive, in the greater, what became your self to give. With the like Clemency You have had compassion on some miserable men (whom I therefore commended to Your Majestie because none had pity on them) and done that which I dare yet scarce speak, both for the Greatness of the Thing, and for the Greatness of the Thanks due, which
The Epistle Dedicatory.

cannot at present be expressed. But I may happily be accused of Folly, that I should think your favours may be more Elegantly declared or praiied by any man's Oration, then by your own Deeds and Works; or that I should think you stand in need of my Commendation for having bountifully remitted to the City of the Vangiones the greater part of their Taxes, by which benefit I believe the City was preferred, and shall do well and justly if they honour your Majestie as a second Foundress; You have hereby for ever obliged the Commonwealth of the Vangiones, and me in particular, making us your everlasting Debtors. For I know it who of Right oweth most to you, they who received the benefit or he who procure it at your Hands. Is there any thing can be equalled to, or preferred before what I have already said? Yes surely, even this. In that you have promised to make me a better man, not, as all men are improved, by Laws and Manners, nor, as many, by Example, but, as yet none, by Your care and Dilligence in Conversing with me: For you have promised to make Enquiry with me (that is to dire& and show me) how Wife and Prudent men ought to be qualified, and by what signs they may be discovered; which when I have learned, I make no question of being much better then now I am. And I so much value this your Promise, that I would not free your Majestie from your Obligation for half your Kingdom: And I shall not refuse, whensoever You Command, to declare the Reasons of this my Resolution. And to perform this, will, I suppose, be neither unpleasant to You, nor yet Difficult, seeing You tend forward to the height of that Wisdom, which even among the Learned you shall find more who pretend to teach then do indeed truly know & understand it. In this thing I may well boast whereby I am more happy, not only then ordinary men, but the servants of Solomon himself, who are justly esteemed happy in having opportunity of hearing his Wisdom, but would have been much more happy if he had taken peculiar Care to have instructed them in his own Person, which we read not he ever did. But I perceive that contrary to my will and the nature of my Argument, the every Paper admonisheth me to make an end. I shall therefore now be silent, humbly adoring your Majestie, and giving You to understand, That not only this Book is Dedicated to your Majestie, but my whole self with all my Soul and the Affections thereof, with what I am, or have, or can do, being for Your sake simply willing to do any thing whatsoever without exception, unless what is against Conscience, or beyond my Abilities to perform.

MAD'AM,

The Lord Preserve and Keep you.

At Holms the 15th of the Calendar of December. Anno Dom.1649.

THE
THE SUPPLEMENT
OF
LIVIUS HISTORY
By J. FREINSHEMIIUS.

THE FIRST BOOK.
In place of Livie's XI Book.

Collected out of Authors whose Names are in the Margin annexed.

The Power of the Samnites was now by many Battles much broken, neither was any doubt made of happily finishing the War, in case the Enemy in this low and weak condition were prevented of time sufficient to recollect and strengthen his Spirits. Therefore Q. Fabius the Consul, now in the heat of his Youth, and affuring himself the glory of putting an end to this War, having made a sudden levy, marched incontinently with his Army into Campania. For the Samnites being an hardy people, and by all their overthrowes brought rather into Defeat then Fear, while the former Consuls carried back the Legions to Rome attending on their Triumph, laid hold on that opportunity, and what with the Relicks of their former Armies, and some new Levies, had gathered together a considerable force, and because they knew the Plague was at Rome, and had heard that the present Consuls were men not much to be feared, either for any experience in Marshal affair, or for any great Authority they had, they grew confident, invaded, depopulated, and wasted the Territories of the Campanians whom they had always hated, but now more vehemently, looking on them as the Authors of the dan-
gers and calamities they now sustained. The Roman General had a heart no way misbecoming the dignity of his Fabian Family, but the small account he made of a Nation so often beaten by his Country-men, and his earnestness of being in action, did at this time quite bereave him of all Counsel and Deliberation. He marcheth swiftly towards the enemy, and having discovered the Samnite fronts, who upon flight of the Roman troops retired back to their own main Body, and judging this to be a flight of the whole, without any confideration had either of the place or the condition of his men, he commands in all haste that may be the Battel to be begun, as if the hope of Victory confided only in Expedition: But the Samnites having notice of their approach, were very circumpect, had leaved on advantageous places, marshalled their Army, and incensed the minds of their Souliers with their commanders Orations; and consequently the Event of the Battel was accordingly; for the Samnites being in good Rank, and well prepared, made no great busines to rout the Romans, being very weary with their journey and furious march, out of all order, as if they came rather to plunder then to fight. Three thousand of Fabius his men were lost, a greater number wounded, and only by the benefit of the Night was the total destruction of his Army prevented. Then retiring to a more commodious place, as well as in such a Confermation may be expected, they fortified their Camp, where there was little better comfort or confidence then in the field, the Weary had no conveniency of rest, the Hungry wanted food, and the Wounded had no application of Medicines, for issuing out with their weapons only, they had left all their carriage and baggage in the former Camp: A
So that the whole night was passed away with the Groans of the dying, and the Complaints of the living, every one with horror and despair waiting for the next day as their last. For being tired with labour, dilapidated with long watchings, weakened with wounds, terrified with an unhappy overthrow, and their number much diminished, they thought it impossible to refit the enemy, whom they were found and entire both in body and mind, and filled with hopes of Victory, they were not able to encounter upon even terms. Things being at this ill pafs, the Remedy (as it often happens) proceeded from the enemies misfortune, who daunted with the Rumour of the other Consul's approach, and fearing lest he might assault Fabius his Camp, the new forces would surround him, contended himself with what successe he had above his hope obtained, and diverted his course another way. The Enemy being removed, the Romans likewise betook themselves to a safer Refuge; when these tidings were brought to Rome, the City was exceedingly moved, not so much with the loss, as the disgrace of the busines, and took it deeply to heart, That the longest war they were ever troubled with, when it was now just at a period, should by the rashnes of one Consul be revived again, and that more formidable then before, by reason of the great hopes and confidence which the Samnites would assume in contemplation of this their success. Neither was this the ease of the Tribunes of people alone, whose proper ait it was by their frequent Orations to fill the Citizens minds with envy and hatred, but even the Fathers, upon discourses of the busines, pronounced very heavy and severe sentences, and a Decree was made by the Senate, That Fabius the Consul should be commanded at a certain day appointed to come and plead his cause at Rome. He was no sooner at Rome, but a swarm of accusers flew about him; and indeed the fault could not be excused, and what was only left of moment on his behalf, even the esteem of old Fabius, was made use of as an argument against him; for they thought him least of all men to be persuaded, who being extracated from so illustrious a Parent, and brought up in the midst of his Fathers triumphs, had, by his Impudence with so foul an overthrow, cast a stain not only on the Roman Glory, but on the renown of his own Family, and the many victories of his Ancestors obtained. Their minds being thus exasperated (that it was not likely the Defendant should have a fair hearing) were first by the confideration of his Fathers eminent Piety, and afterward with his Oration totally appeased. For he fearing least for this miscarriage his person would be removed from his Command, intifit not at all in excusing the Crime, but modestly recounting his own and his forefathers merits, defined there might not be in his old age so ignominious a Character imprinted on the Fabian Family: Neither did he require that for the sake of so many other Fabii, who almost from the foundation of the City, had by their virtue and counsel augmented the Roman Empire; not that for the sake of those three hundred Fabii, who by their own deaths, and almost the total losse of the Fabian Name, had protected the Commonwealth, the error of one single person should be forgiven, if it were found remediless, and that a greater commodity would accrue from the punishment then the preservation of his son. But whatsoever was in the young man to be feared, is already come to pass, whereas unless we cut off our own hopes, I cannot lay by an unjust, but by an untimely severity. Those many good deeds which his spirit and lively Genius, which likewise his virtue (by me, by your esteem, none of the worthy Turces, being discipline and directed) doth fairly promise, are yet justly to be expected. It hath turned to the improvement of many mens wisdom and circumspection, that they miscarried in the beginning of Affairs, who being admonished of their error, have often recompened small losse with larger success; and I doubt whether it ought not rather to be imputed to the Envy of Fortune then to any mans fault, that the constant felicity both of the Commonwealth, and our Family, is by a small dimention thus interrupted; though indeed it is rather to be accounted the good will then the envy of the Gods, by whom providence it is come to pass, that with this overthrow, not so fatal to the City as effectual to our intruction, we are put in mind of our humane condition, to abate that deadly pride which is usually the effect of excessive Prosperity: Whatsoever the matter is Countrymen, I did certainly foresee some ill luck when upon the Convention of the Senate, I did earnestly solicit you would not create my Son Conful. For when I considered that my Father, Grandfather, Great-Grandfather, and other my Ancestors had frequently, and my self five times born that Office, I began to mistrust whether the Gods or Men would willingly, and with so equal a mind, suffer the supreme Honour to continue in the same Family. And I with my prayers had then prevailed, or that you would be pleased still to continue the benefit before, left what against my will, you confer'd on my Son as a Token of Honour, prove an occasion of unkindness to my Family both, small, leave your feives be suspected of Rashness, for posterity will judge, that either you conferred the command on Fabius without cause, or that without cause ye deprive him of it, if by a contrary Judgment ye shall destroy your former Sentence. But if you will please to decree things more laurably, both your own Authority, and the reputation of the Fabian Family shall yet stand found, and his youthful folly, as it was committed with some losse to the Commonwealth, shall be amended to its greater emolument and profit. But who dares promise these things? Truly, Countrymen, I will, even I will engage my self to the Commonwealth for my Son, and happy may it prove to the Senate and People of Rome, and our own private Family; I will also go Legate to the Conful, and partake of whatsoever fortune he shall happen either to find or to make. My spirits are yet vigorous, neither, considering mine age, is the strength of my body much
In place of Livic's Eleventh Book.

...much decayed, I can perform a Souldiers duty, I can stand in Battel, and if to all things else I were impotent, yet with the Memory of my Former victories I can both terrifie the Enemy and Encourage our own Souldiers: and, which is of greatest concernment, I can with Councill and Caution temper and direct the impetuous Heat of the Confall's youth which is the only Cause of the late Misfortune. If I knew not the Disposition of my foame, and were not assured he would embrace any good direction, I would not certainly now near the end of my life hitherto led without Blemish, after the bearing so many Confluffals both to my owne liking and yours, after signal victories and illustrious Triumphs, I would not hazard all my Glory purfaced with so many years travel and danger, at home and abroad, by trufling it to the Raffines of one in confiderate young man.

This Oration did both move the mindset of all who were present, and also ingenerate a Confindence of better Successes for the future. Old Fabius was by an Unanimous content created Legate, all preparations were made with what diligence care and Expedition might be: and the Confla took the field with no les favour and Hope of the People, then he had lately returned with their indignation and reproaches. Henceforward both in their march and in their Camps nothing was omitted either of good Discipline, or what the art and experience of an old General could ordaine, and those Companions whom C. Fabius the Father had by good turns, or by the admiration of his virtue obliged to himselfe, were very ready to perform whatsoever was enjoyned them; the Souldiers also greedily to blot out their former disgrace, and confiding in the Counfel of a Leader, under whose conduct they remembered the Sannites to have been often beaten by themselves: and their Fathers did earnestly desire opportunity of encountering the Enemy. On the other side the Sannites were no les elevated with contemplation of their late victory, so that one Party striving to retain their purcha'd Glory, the other to repair what was loft, they joyned issue mut vehemently with the all force and might on both fides; And now behold the Romans in a worse condition then before, C. Pontius Herennius the Enemies General having hem'd in the Conful with a select band: when Maximus observing the danger his fon was in, setting spurre to horse hings himself into the thicket of the Enemies Troopes: He was followed immediately by a Parry of Horfe, who beside the motion of their Own Courage were ashramed to see one Old man assault with a resolution to overcome so many skilfull young Lads in the flower of their strength. This sudden storme govern'd the Fortune of the whole Battel; The Roman Leages animat with the boldneffe of their Cavalrie, at firft well received the Enemy, and straightway repell'd them: Herennius in vaine refifting, who, that day performing all the Offices both of a good General and a good Soldier, endeavouring to rally his fides to retaine the Cordary, and with stand the affailants, could neither hinder the Flight of his Men, nor afterward find opportunity of escape for himself. Four thousand Sannites were taken with their Generals. The Battel and the flight swallowed up 24000. The Enemies Camp was likewise firiz'd on with vast Wonder in it, which was quickly much encreas'd by Forrage of their Grounds, and taking in of Towns both by Horfe and upon Mercy. This great change of Affairs was wrought by the access of one only Perfon, informous that the lately Victorious army is now routed by the Conquerer's party, and the Confla carries away captive that General by whom he was formerly himselfe shamefully beaten, which was a pleasing Spectacle to the Romans, and a great Ornament to his Triumph, which by the ready good will of the People he made into the City the next years. While the Fabius thus order'd things in Sannium, the other Conful D. Brutus (whose Province was among the Falisci) had the like happy Success: For being affilied by Sp. Carvillus his Legate (for twas thought fit to joyne a Legate with him, as a man skilful in war, to one that had experience of the Enemy, against whom laft year he did fortunate manage Affairs) he did waft no small of the Richs of Exturia, and ovcrcame in a felt Battel the Falisci daring to encounter him. Thefe news being brought to Rome, when the time of the Convenceng the Senate was come, and it seemed not fit for the Common-wealth to withdraw the Conflas from their charges, an Interregnum was agreed upon: The Regent L. Posthumius Megellus, in a Court of his holding, was himself declared Conful; a precedent till that day unheard of, unlaff in the Perfon of Appius Claudius, which nevertheless no good man approved. But Posthumius behaved himself in his Magistracy with as much arrogance as he auffum'd it: Being vainly puff't up with the Nobility of his Extraction, and this his third Conflhip, he did utterly despise his Colleague for this year, C. Junius Brutus as one much below him, being but a Plebeian. When the Provinces came to be disposed on, he would not suffer Brutus to be compared with him, nor lots to be cast, out of all Order claiming the Administration of the Sannitick warre as his Due, informous according to his own Saying, he had in his two former Conslhips done great things against that Enemy. The Business being canvass'd with much contention in the Senate, when C. Junius percieved he was not able to maintain his Right against the Grace and Power of his Colleague, did at length declare he would defi'me, left by the discord of the Consls the Publick good might be hinder'd. The Petition did still continually rage both in City and Countrie, for which having tried all remedies now for three years, they could not either with their divine or humane applications allay it. Wherefore consulting either with the books of the Sybils or the Oracle of Delphos (for this allso is reported) they sent Ten Ambaffadors to fetch Asellapinsius to Rome from Eipidamus where it is laide he was borne: For though the Answer were doubtful, neither could the Fathers foresee the event.
event of things, they thought fit to obey the Gods who would themselves open a way for their fortunes to proceed by: A very strange thing then fell out, but of most undoubted truth, by reason of the sincerity of so many Authors affirming it, as likewise appears by the structure of the Chappel in Tibur then erected and consecrated. When the Roman Embassadors had delivered their Message, the Epidaurians enter'd them kindly, but because it did not appear what was convenient to be granted them, they were conducted to the Temple with liberty to convey away what should seem convenient for their use. The Altars of this God among the Gracians was most commonly in open and high Places; the Epidaurus also five miles from their City had a Temple of greatest Fame in those days, and very rich by the gifts of men who believed their health to proceed from thence. Being brought hither, while they stood in admiration Behold an huge Serpent creeping out of a secret place fills all their minds with horror and Devotion: For the Priests with great veneration cryed out, The God himself is in this Snake, and being sometimes seen in this shape, it always imports a good and beseftful Omen. Two days was he seen in the Temple and then again withdrew himself; the third day through the midst of the throng of Spectators and Adorers he went directly to the Port where the Roman vessel attended them, and entering into the Ship, he rolls himself up according to his spiral manner, in the Cabin of Q. Oulinius, President of the Embaffy. There is an antient story that the same Eflapilus having assumed the form of a Serpent was carried by Epidaurus to Sicyon by a Tackle of Mules, are Nicaora, the wife of Echtaenius driving the maim.

The Romans rejoicing at the good Omen, as having the God himself present among them, hoisted flag, and in a few days with a prosperous Voyage, crossed the Seas and arrived at Antium; where the Sea being troublesome, and their navigations hindered; the Serpent which had kept itself still and quiet all the voyage, creeping out the Ship, glided to the Port of the most eminent Church in that City, and there abode three whole days together: The Romans much fearing they should never draw him from thence, seeing he had not in so long time returned to his wonted fulleness; but at length having regained him with much cheerfulness conveyed him to Rome: The whole City ran out to the sight of so incredible a wonder; on the banks of the river as he passed by many altars were erected, incense and sweet odours prepared, and sacrifices flain. They were now full come to that place, where Tibur a little dividing itself, suffuseth an island to appear in the midst of it, when the Serpent forsoaking the Ship betakes himself into it by swimming, and was not afterwards any more seen by man; hence was the place call'd the Island of Efphalipus. The Fathers all agreeing that the Gods had chosen that place, decreed a Temple to be there erected to Eflalipus. The Richness whether by this remedy, or that it had otherwise run its full course did suddenly cease; the Temple was quickly enriched with many extraordinary offerings, and its renown wonderfully spread abroad by those who profited to have received help in their diseases from this God. L. Posthumius the Conful carried the same pride with him into his Province which he had exercis'd against his Colleague at Rome: For whereas Q. Fabius Garatus, the last years Conful, did by order from the Senate manage affairs in Samnium as Proconsul, Posthumius arrogantly writes to him commanding him to depart from the Province, inasmuch as himself was sufficient to wage that War. Fabius anfwering with the Decree of the Fathers, and that it was not safe for him to defer a business imposed on him by the Senate, the Romans upon this news feared left by the discord of the Commanders, the Common-wealth would be damned: Wherefore 'twas thought fit to send Legates to the Conful, to define in the Senate name that Fabius might be suffer'd to continue with the Army in Samnium. Posthumius having returned an abridg'd and broken Answer; added withal a speech of singular impudence: That during his Confulship, he was not obliged to obey the Senate, but they him, and that his actions might correspond with his words, forthwith dismissing the Legates, he marcheth with his Army to Comminium, which City Fabius did then besiege, revolting (if by no other means he could) by fight to remove his Rival: The Roman Arms had afforded the enemy a foul spectacle, if Fabius had relished with the fame he was affaught; but he being better temper'd both by nature and his Fathers documents departed the Province, having proferted that he yielded not to the Confuls fury, but to the good of the Common-wealth. Posthumius in a few days reduced Comminium, whence leading his Army to Venius, and taking that also, he carried about the War to other Towns, many whereof partly by force, partly by treaty were brought under his power. In this Expedition ten thousand of the enemies were slain, six thousand two hundred calling down their arms, yeilding themselves to the mercy of the conquerors. The Confuls achiwements were no way contemptible, but the grace of them were spoiled by his pride and insolence: Wherefore when he did by Letters advise the Fathers that the City and Territory of Venius was very convenient for a Colony therin to be planted, the counsel indeed was accepted, but without mention made of the Author of the Victory and the counsels, other men had the conduet of the Colony of twenty thousand men; for so I find it in Authors of no small credit: A great number indeed and almost exceeding belief, but that it seems reasonable, that in the midst of Nations, yet unbeseed they should think of placing a considerable force, as a double guard both against the Apulians and the Lucanians. Now the flubbornets of Posthumius, as besides other grudges and offences, it contrived him much envy; so it tended much to encrease Fabius his Favour and good opinion with
with all men, so, that when he came to the City, and had made relation of his performances, his triumph was readily affected unto. Being now Proconsul he did on the Calends of January make his triumph over those Samnites who are called Pentri: Old Fabius followed his Chariot on horse-back, whom the people beheld, and by their acclamations acknowledged not only an Ailiant, but the author of the Victory. He accumulated all the glory of the enterprise upon the people; Conful, using himself as the name, so the modestly of a Legate, beholding his sons honour with as much complacency, as when, being yet a little one he did in his own triumph carry him about in his Chariot. Part of the plunder was by the Conful divided among the soldiers, the rest laid up in the Treasury; and C. Pansa the Samnite being first led in Triumph was afterward beheaded: A flout man he was and of worthy memory, who in those days did a long time fulfil the Roman violence, gave them many considerable overthrowes, but of all the most flamable one at the Caudine Springs. He was reported to say, That he had beene referred to those days wherein the Roman should have learnt to receive money, he would no longer have suffered them to bear sway. It seems then the fortune of the City was not better defended by their industry in Arms, then their innocence of manners: In the mean time Pobliminus fretting no feis at the honour had beene granted his Rival, then that the like had been denied him, by weaknes of mind opposing his own contumacy, to the authority of the Fathers, did both exasperate the wound of his own spirit, and imitate those imaginations against him, which ought by modesty of speech and carriage to have beene allviaged. He abated not from complaints against his enemies, nor from reproaches against the Senate, and to spite the Fathers, he distributed the whole prey among the foiliours, and disbanded his army before a successeor could be fent him. He triumphed likewise contrary to the pleasure of the Senate, which, though some refer to his second Confuship, I believe more fitly agrees with this conjuncture, and it is so affirmed by authors of so mean credit in Histories. By these doings he drew new hatred upon himself, and he was no longer off office, but the two Tribunes of the people upon a fe day accused him: Besides what hath hitherto beene mentioned, 'twas objected against him, that before he march't armed Liu. Epit. 11, out of the City, he employed two thousand choice men out of his Legion to dig up a piece of ground, and detained them many days in this work, not remembering they were his soldiers, not his slaves, and were levied to enlarge the Publicks Land, not to manure his. Being earnestly preft with these Crimes, and in vain striving to clear himself, he was by the suffrage of all the Tribes condemned; his fuit was valued to stand him in two hundred thousand pieces of money. Now P. Cornelius Rufus, and M. Curius Dentatus entered their Confulships. Each of these with his Legions did wittily wait Samnium, depopulating their grounds, and ruinig their Cities, and in many fast battels having the upper hand compelled them to length to fire for peace, for having in fo many battels loft the prime of their Youth; and in Pentius the chief consul and conduct, they did by their Embassadors bent first to the Conful, and by their leave to Rome, obtain that now this fourth time a League might be renewed with them. 'Tis likely both the Romans even weary with bearing, were willing to conclude a difficult and miserable War, with the tranquillity of peace. I find the war with the Samnites to have begun when M. Valerius Corvinus was the third time Conful, A. Cornelius Cotta being his Colleague, and being through four and fifty Confulships, with various successes continued (only by some short-lived truces suspended) it held both parties in play with much trouble and vexation; whether Cornelius triumphed for this War was uncertain; as for Manius there is no place, for his fortune being more eminent in that he subdued other enemies, he triumphed twice in the same Confulship: For the Sabines a Warlike Nation, now grown wealthy with a long peace, were no longer moved with their own proper compation, and Entreaties of the Samnites; or whether willing timely to prevent those miseries (which having swallowed up their neighbours) they foreawake approaching to themselves, having put their young men into Arms, invaded some places under the Roman Jurisdiction: Against these did Curius lead forth his Army, and that he might both divert the enemies, and give the Sabines some tattles of the miseries of War, he sent part of his forces by privy journeys into their territories with instruction that spreading themselves as much as could be, bringing terror and vaillation on every place: This straight did soon dissolve the formidable Army of the Sabines, several Nupets running several ways to the defence of their own substance; so that the Conful had an easie Victory over the dispersed forces. In this Expedition they proceeded as far as the Adriatic Sea, gaining the poiffession of so much ground, and so many men, as the saying of Curius began to be famous, who (according to the genius of those times being more ready in deeds then in words) when he could not express every singular circumstance, in gross expres himself, That he had taken so much ground; it must needs have turned into wildernes, but that he had taken a proportionable number of men; and that he had taken so many men, they must of Illust: c.33. need not have perished with hunger, but that he had taken a proportionable extent of ground. When the Sabines sued for peace, not only that was afforded them, but likewise the Freedom of the City, (though without the suffrage of the Tribes) this favour was in memory of their old Affinity under Tatin. the late War not being carried on with any malignant hatred. Of the next years Confulship (underwent by M. Varterius Corvius, and Q. Catrius Notius) we have arrived to little understanding; only I find some Colonies about this time deduced to Castrum, to Adria (from whence the Sea taketh its name) and to Senna in Gallia; Nevertheless consider- ing those Regions were not as yet to such a purpose sufficiently fledt, I think fit rather to enclive
to other Authors who refer the beginning of those Colonies to after-times: But in the City for restraining many villanous and outrageous daily committed, there was a new Magistracy constituted under the name of **Capital Triumvir**, who were appointed Judges and Moderators to take cognizance of offences, to imprison the guilty, and, when occasion was, to inflict punishments.

The words of the Law in that case made by *L. Papirius*, Tribune of the people, I find to be these, *Whenever shall hereafter be Prætor to give judgment among the Citizens, let him require of the people three Capital men, and those three men, whoever shall be chosen, let them exact sacrifices, let them judge, let them be of equal authority, as by the Laws and decrees of the people they ought to exact, to judge, and to be.* In which clause commissio is likewise given of requiring Mullets or Fines, for in those days that piece of mony which was disbursed by way of punishment, was called a Sacrament, because (thet publick sacrifices being many, and the Treasury but low) it was delin'd to be expended in sacrifices.

Of the Taxes that year, there is no other memory left, but that two hundred seventy three thousand Citizens were rated. That this year Cenfor did likewise choose *Q. Fabius Maximus*, Prince of the Senate, there is a likely conjecture, which is otherwise confirmed, for that honour did constantly remain in three of that Family successively; as for example, *Maximus* received it from *Ambusius* his father, and transmitted it to his son *Gaius*. While affairs were in a great state abroad, they were troubled with discord and sedition at home. The Commonalty being far in debt, required a general discharge by publick authority for all debts and bonds paffed aforetime, without any satisfaction; this was an old divice, and for two hundred years and upwards variously agitated, even as any turbulent Tribune should exasperate them, or the Exortion of Ulurors move their indignation. Under the former Consuls, the fear either of the Peltigne or the Enemy did smother these contentions in some measure; but *Q. Marcus Tullius* and *P. Cornelius Arvina* being Consuls, and the year ensuing *M. Claudius Marscculus, and C. Naunius Ruflius* bearing office, they broke out most violent, for the appeasing whereof, more then for any other occasion, a Dictator was created, whom I take to be *Appius Claudius*, who was afterwards surnamed *Cæsus*, in as much as among ancient monuments I find him to have been Dictator.

Besides the hardships of unconcionable fury, the villanous luft of *C. Plutius* added fire to the peoples minds now already hotly disposed, causing them the sooner and more vehemently to break out into flame. *T. Viturius* (the son of that *Viturius* who being Conful was delivered red up to the Samnites for an unworthy League made with them) by reason of his domesfick calamities, overcharged with debt and not able to pay, was forced to yield himself slave to *Plutius*, patiently performing all servile duties. *Plutius* not content to have reduced to this base condition a young man of excellent Beauty, of a Confular Family, and likewise of great hopes, did moreover attempt to corrupt his Chastity, having before deprived him both of Estate and Liberty.

But *Viturius* disdaining and resolving to suffer any thing rather then commit so horrid a wickedness, was with most grievous stripes tormented, whereupon he thrust himself forth into the publick, and being by the multitude conducted to the Conful's Tribunal, he complains of the cruelty and luft of his Creditor, shewing withal the bunches and fresh marks of the lathers. The Conuls therefore judging it a business not to be neglected, informed the Senate thereof, where upon sentence paff, *Plutius* was condemned to prison, and by a Law in that case established, All men whatsoever through the whole City had bound themselves flaves for debt, were fet at liberty. I am not ignorant that instead of *T. Viturius* some Authors make mention of *Publius*, the son of a Colonol, who was one of the contrivers of the Caudine peace. Forty years before this, for the like cause, was a Law made for the annulling such Indentures; nevertheless the Ulurors growing so hard-hearted, and the former Law, by the patience of Debtors (refusing nothing in the midle of their penury) being by degrees neglected, 'twas though fit they should be admonished by so freth an example to provide more full and diligent caution for the future. But the people desiring to be freed not only from their Indentures, but from the Extortion of Ul money, were not satisfied with that Law though favourable to their revengeful minds. And (as in some more acute diseases, the pain is rather intended by a gentle application of medicines then remitted) not long after the matter was so Exacerbated, that when the Tribunes of the people with their great endeavours contended for a Law concerning Letters of Proteccion from Creditors, and that the Creditors did with equal force and animosity resist: The Commonalty after the example of their Ancestors, quitting the City, retired cros the water to Mounts *Janiculius*, resolvery never, without obtaining their requeset, to return to their own hot-hould-Gods. The Consuls finding little remedy against this tumultation (*M. Valerius Patrians, and C. Aelius Patrus* are thought then to be Consuls) they were fain to flie to the left refuge in disordered times, and create a Dictator, who was *Q. Hortensius*; he applying what the Time and the Cause seemed to require, and understanding the main breach of peace to consist in this, That the people were fenible of the violation of their Decrees, and the Publilian Law, thought fit to yield to the times, (though many strove against this opinion) and by a new Law made in the Eucule, he diligently provided, That whatsoever the Commonalty should ordain, all the Romans should be obliged unto. With these Lenitives the people being reduced to concord, and returned to their own house, the Dictator, either by the sudden force of his disfarte, or overwearied with care
In place of Livie's Eleventh Book.

care and pains, dyed during the time of his Magistracy, which had hapned to none before. 

Henceforward for a while there was less dilention at Rome; but the Dignity of the Empire began infensibly to decrease, in as much as the Commons not being guarded against the fraudulent proceedings of Ambitious men, and yet earnest to manifest their authority, accepted of any motions, and decreed many things tending to the disgrace of the Publick, and at last struck at the very Foundation. A singular Leffon to those who are involv'd with the guidance of affairs, seeing the vulgar, if their own private businesse proceed fairly, seldom meddle with things of an higher nature, not to provoke them by injuries and oppreffions of great ones to aspire to a Domination they know not how to manage. About this time I believe was the Law made concerning fufferages, which the Fathers, to the danger of their own Courts, were fain to authorize. For hitherto it had prevailed that no man executed any magistracy by the peoples votes, unless the Senate attented thereunto. 

The Improvident vulgar did for some time contain themselves within their former bounds, and though they seldom contradicted the Fathers Sentences, yet they were always feared as having power to do so. But then *Manius* the Tribune made a Law whereby the peoples Authority was much augmented, but the wholome, and honourable severity of the Senate much weakened. Wherein the Dictator being dead, some report another was chosen to administer affairs, to wit, Fabius Maximus: if so, this was his third Dictatorship. L. *Victorius*, C. F. C. N. is said to have been Master of his horse; for there was war at this time with the Volscians of the Etruscan Nation, which was very seasonable to clear Rome of the editions, and those who retained the spirit of the former Dictord. There was likewise occasion found of waging war with the Lucanians, who being troublesome neighbours, had by many injuries compell'd the Thurines (a City of that part of Italy called Great Greece) to betake themselves to the Roman Protection: And C. *Elusius* the Tribune propounding a War against the Lucanians, the people decreed it. The armies therefore were drawn into the field, and in each place things performed, the memories whereof, with the Annals of those who wrote them, is perished. The Thurines beffowed on C. *Elusius* a flatue and Crown of gold. Next follows the Conulfhip of C. *Claudius Caninus*, and M. *Emilius Lepidus*, whereof no memorable thing is delivered to posterity; only the Etruscan and Lucanian war seem to have been still in being. There is also on Record an Oration of *Curio* concerning the Lucanians, which is to be referred to one of his four Triumphs, for so often I find he Triumphed. But in what yeare, or illust.38

with what Magistracy involv'd, he manag'd those affairs is uncertain.

Burthens of greater weight were now ingendring, which were attended with a very considerable slaughter, for a war was now arisien between the Senones a people of Galia. They had often warre and often peace with the Romans; and now, after their last overthrow in the fields of *Seninus*, where, *Destus* having Devoted himselfe to Death, a great Number of their men were slain, had lien still for almost ten yeares; Only they had suffer'd their young men to be hired by the Etruscans against the Romans. But now marching into *Eturia*, with a greater power then they had usually done, they Believed *Aretins*. Now the Aretines had before this requested a league with the Romans, which being denied they did nevertheless obtaine a Truce, whome Termes was not yet expired. But herein did their chiefest Hope of succour confil, because the Romans always thought it mainly concerned them to have the Gauls beaten. Wherefore sending Embajdadors to Rome they craved assistance against the common enemy. In the mean time the yeare was gone about wherein C. *Servilius Tucca* and Lucius *Cæcilius Metellus* were Conuls, in head of *Cæcilius* some annals mention *Galba*; But the lesser Nobility of the Cælian family is thought not to have attained the Confular dignity till the yeare from the foundation of the City six hundred and sextie.

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**BOOK**
Cornelius Dolabella, and Ct. Domitius Calvinus being Consuls, when the Terrou of the Gallique warre began againe to move it selfe, and news was brought that many of the Tufcans had annoyed forces with the Senones, the Fathers thought the Danger of the Aretian a thing not to be neglected by them: And because they could neither recall Dolabella from the Volvisians, nor Domitius out of Lucania without great hindrance to their affairs, The Fathers ordain L. Cecilius Metellius the last years Consull, and now Praetor, with all haste to Leave an army, and raise the siege of Aretium; Nevertheless left the warre thould seem to be rashly undertaken, they thought fit to send Embassadors before, to Declare that Aretium was under the Roman Protection, and that the Gauls being in League with them would doe more justly, if they would not lead their Army against their Friends and Companions. The message being prorom'd among the Senones, Britomara a fierce young man of the Royall Blood, whose Father had been slain by the Romans amongst the Etrurian auxiliaries, burning with devise of Revenge, cau'd not only the men, but the Ensignes of their fac'd Office to be hewne and torne in Pieces. The Rumour of so horrid a fact being related in Rome and in the Camp of Dolabella, their minds were vehemently incendi'd, and warre prorom'd against the Senones; and Dolabella forthwith leaving the Etrurians, marcheth with his Army through the Sabines, and Picenians territories with very long journeys into the Countrey of the Senones, who terrifi'd with this sudden Invasion, now in the absence of their main strength, taking the field with a small and inconsiderable body were easily routed and overcome. The Consull giving the Enemy no Breath, Burns up his Townes, demolisht his Buildings, defoll'd the whole land, and having slain the youth and carried away the weaker multitude of Women and Children left very little signe that ever that Countrey had been inhabited by Mankind. Britomara himselfe being taken and punisht with various and exquitous Tormentes was reserv'd for the Triumph; At the same time things did not so prospcrously at Aretium; For L. Cecilius Metellus had ill fortune in his fight before the Town and the Senones, even Colonells with many other men of Note, together with the Praetor himselfe were slaine, and of their Legions and Auxiliaries about Thirteen Thouland were wanting.

But the Joy for this victory prevailed not so much with the Gauls, as sovcru and Confraction for the Lamentable Defolatation of their Country; Wherefore gathering together all their Country men then in Armes in Etruria, full of Grief and Anger, void of Counsell and hope, having no habitation whereeto to be receiv'd at home, (I know not what Fate drawing them to their destruction) in a heat of Resoluution they drive toward Rome, thus Computing, That there is no other way to recompence the defolatation of their own Country, but by forcing the Romans to see the like Ruine of their City, That their Spirits and Forces were now no whit inferior to, nor the cause of their March from Aretium of les importance, than that of their Ancestors who march'd from Clusium of the same Etruria and took Rome: With the like speeches incendiing themselves they Ruff on, by nature impatient of Delay, and now hally in their Counsels, that they might overwhelm their Enemies unawares; But travelling through an Enemies Country, they met with many obstacles, so that the Romans had Leisure to provide against this Fury. At length wandering through unknowne and unfriendly places, guided by no certaine Line, they light upon Domitius the Consull, and immediately joyne Battell with him; But their unhappy rashnes confounded both their Reasone and Discipline: many being slaine in Battel, the residue growing mad with Rage and despai're threateing in their own Bowells, those weapons they had in vain drawn against the Enemy. Inſomuch as so sudden and vehement a Judgement overtook a late most flourishing People for their villany in murthering Embassadors, that in the space of few months they were totally cut off, and ceas'd any more to be numbered among Nations, whose laws they had violated and Transgressed; For even the small Remnant of the Senones who had betaken themselves to their Neighbours, and Kimfens the Boii, were the next year by Dolabella the Consull with an universal slaughter clean swept away. For whereas the Boians and Etrurians were involve'd in these late disasters, and possellest with fear of the same Calamities they were at the Lake called Vadimonis in a fet Battell overcome, many of the Etrurians slaine, few of the Boians escaped, the very name of the Senones so utterly extinct, that...
that there is not thought to be left alive one Man of that Nation which had set Rome on fire. About this time I think it more probable that the Colony was planted in Sena, the Romans having now an entire possession of their Countrie, and quite taken away their Name out of that part of Italy. Nevertheless the Etrurians and the Boians next year recruiting their army with young men now grown up, ventured once more to try the Fortune of a Battell. Then it was I believe by L. Amilinus Papus that they were beaten, for his and C. Fabrius his first Consulship happe"d that year, and sl"c certain that Etruria fell to Papus by Lot. But in moal Annals yet extant, the Memory of these Transactions is swallowed up by the Inter-

vening of greater matters. For whereas the Romans had by so many continuall fights and victories very mightily encreased their Virtue and Power, all the free Cities and Nations in Italy being brought into feare, confirded in a great and most dangerous warre, joyning together all their Counsells and forces as against a Common Enemy, and Panderer. Neither thought they fit any longer to deferre their Designe, while now the Remnant of the Boians and Etrurians sufficienc to drack the Roman Powers. And first of all the Sammites, again breaking their League and openly joyning force with the Lucanians and Brutians commenced the Warre. But there were overcome by C. Fabrius in many pitch'd fields; especiallly in one most probable when they joynd their Battell near the City of the Thurines, which Statius Statilus had again frightfully beleaguered, where the Enemy was with a very great slaufter beaten, and their Camp likewise forced and taken. It is reported that while the camp was fireuously defended, A young man of large proportion of Body was seen to Ladders to the works, whereby the Romans being animated obtained a complete victory. Twenty Thouland are saies to be slain in the fight and in the Camp, Five thousand together with the General taken Pri"nions, and twent-

y Colours. The next day the Confull reverting to reward those whose valour had been eminent, and promising a Corona Vallantis to him who first entered the Enemies Camp. After di-
ligent Enquiry made after the man, the fouldier was not to be found (if he or he were a fouldier) who would claim this Honour, "Twas therefore believed and voiced abroad that Mars was the Author of this feat, and the Cause of Victory; And by the Confull's order supplication was made unto him, which the fouldiers with Laurells on their heads performed with great Joy and Gladness. The Tarentines had not as yet affiled the Accomplices with any open aid: for though they were the Principal Authors of the Confederacy, yet they thought it wiser to let the Roman forces be provoked and the Fortune of warre tried with other men's danger then their own. But this Diffimulation served not their purpose, for a meer accident provoking the Rarfehens of the Giddy rabble betrayed all their Counsells. Even at this Time, that part of the Italian shore, after the Manner of the Gracians (by whom Tarentus and molt of the other Cities were builded) did excellently delight themselves with fights, and stage plays: The Tarentines above others were molt Luxurious in this kind, infomuch as it is said they had more Feste and Solomons Plays then Days in the Year. It hapned they were then set at their sports in the greater Theatre by the Haven side, when L. Valerius (some say Cornelius) one of the Admirals of the seas was defcrying entering the Haven with ten Roman Vessells; A Fatal Errour to both Parties. For the Romans ignorant of all thinges betook themselves thither as to a friendly and amicable shore; The Tarentines on the other side Conscience of their own Pri-

vye practices interpreted this Navy to be fent with an hostile Intention. There was then present one Philipnarus whom for his loose Conversation the Citizens call'd Thais, He mentioning the articles of some former Leagues, said it was lawful for the Romans to faile pat the Pro-

montory of Lacinium, & that therefore they should go out and meet the wholesome Barbarians, and suppress their Pride wi"h a Michelle. The giddy Rout befotted with continual drunckings manifest their afflent by Acclamation, so that one scandalous perfons opinion in a matter of so great importance was generally received, and withowt further Consideration they take up arms, and assault the Ships: The Romans as not dreaming of any fuch Encounter, being ut-

terly unprepar'd to fight, betook themselves to flight. The Tarentines swiftly purifying, Five ships only made by their Ecape; as many being hemm'd about were brought into the haven, whereof four with the Admiral were drown'd and one taken. The Men, as many as were of age and strength fit for Warre, were flaine, the rest made slaves. Prefently with the same va-

nity they wage warre against the Thurines, accussing them, That the Romans came into their City pats by their mine; who though they were Gracians, had yet in the time of their diffents cho-

sen a Barbarous Nation to be their Protector, rather then the Tarentines their Neighbors and Kinmen. The City is taken and plundered, the Chief men call out and banith'd, and the Ro-
mans Garrison compounding for their own safety are dismissed. The Romans hearing the Newes, were according to the Greatnes of the Injury molt exceedingly incensed, yet thought it not convenient at that season to undertake a new warre: An Embassay was decreed to com-

plain of the Outrage, and inforcement was given the Legates to Require, That the Captive should be set at Liberty, the Thurines goods or the just value of them should be restor'd, the Ex-

iles call'd back, and the Accomplices of thofe Midstemeans delivered into the bands of the Romans. The Tarentines according to the Greeke Vulifie were wont to assemble their People together in the Theatre; whether the Embassesadours being with much Difficulty admitted, they had a

Rabble-route totally debaucht with Drunkens and Idenefs, for this likeness was a great Ho-

ly-day with the Tarentines. Ther'e when L. Pufibnnum the Prince Legate begin to declare his

B

Meffege
message, he was entertained with such mock and scoffs of the wanton multitude, that he carried home greater causes of hatred then he came to complain of. For they had him in such contempt, that not regarding anything else he spoke, when, as being a Roman, he chance to pronounce any word not so exactly according to the Greek manner, the whole company would burst out into laughter, crying out upon him and reviling him as a Barbarian, they jest and flourished at the Habit of the Embassadors, for they came in their gowns, and at last fairly thrust them out of doors, in vain claiming the privilege of the Laws of Nations. Now, what is scarce fit to be spoken, but may prove of good example to curb the insolence of popular licene, it is reported, That as the Embassadors pressed through the crowd of the Tarentines out of the Theatre, a certain buffoon, one Phoebiones (for in this the Tarentines were beholding to the good manners, the Names of their Jeffer were recorded in their Annals, though their Princes were forgotten) like an impudent Dog, puffed upon the sacred Vegments of the Embassadors. This might seem the crime of one only mad furious fellow, but that forthwith the whole drunken society did own it, and the whole Theatre re Reloaded with laughter, and clapping of the hands, as approving the fact. Pothinum lifting up his voice, he, accept this, O men, O Jeffer (if th') seeing ye before close things upon us we required not at your hands. And when he turned himself to the multitude shewing his defiled garment, they renewed their laughter, and began to dance, singing furious and reproachful Verses against the people of Rome, wherefore Pothinum again crying out, Laugh on, laugh on, Tarentines, while ye may, for hereafter ye shall keep sufficient: Whereat the Tarentines were nettled, Nay, faith he, to vex you the more, I tell you before hand, this garment I sold you much blood the washing. After this, receiving no other answer, they failed home. Now at Rome, L. Aelius Barbula and L. Marcus Philippos, had begun their Consulship, by whom the Senate being convened, and the Robes defiled, as it was, being shewed by the Embassadors, who declared to the Fathers the whole series of affronts and indignities heaped on them by the Tarentines: Their spirits were in an high manner incensed, and not so much as any scruple made of vindicating their reproach by Arms. But because they had already to deal with so many mighty Nations, they could not resolve whether now immediately, or hereafter to send an Army against the Tarentines, and the debate continued many days even from morning till night: Some were of opinion, That nothing should be enterprised before the other Cities, at least those near Tarentines were reduced; others contended, That the war should incontinent be commended; at last, number in their votes, it was decreed, That the business of the Tarentines war should be refered to the people.

The people with an unanimous consent agreed upon the War, and accordingly letters were sent to Aemilius the Consul, who was then gone to the Army into Samnium, That omitting all things at present, he should pitch his Camp in the Tarentine Fields, and, unless he could procure satisfaction for the injuries received, that he should prosecute them with a just and holy War. The Tarentines perceiving they had now no longer to deal with a few unarmed men, but a just and well order'd Army, roaring themselves out of their accustomed fortitudes, began seriously to enter upon counsel, what was to be done, in order to accept of the war was dangerous, to do what the Romans required in satisfaction was base, and to avoid both impossible: While their opinions were thus doubtful, one among the rest stood up and said, Why do we thus, O Tarentines, wait the time in vain alterations; the times are come which require Deeds rather then Words, which that they may be order'd to the publick benefit, there is need of free Speech and sincere Counsel. Neither am I much mov'd that heretofore, by a strange disagree incident to Free Cities, ye have been delighted with flattering and sugar'd Orations, though of ill consequence, because then, as in time of Prosperity, ye regarded not much what mainly tended to the good of the Commonwealth: But now the Roman Army is upon our Borders, and the fear of the enemy before our Gates, and this is sufficient to instruct us to prefer what is Profitable before what is Pleasing. Neither would I have you so interpret me, as if I stood up to hit you in the teeth with past misdeemors; for unreasonably to object old crimes is the part of an enemy, and one who wantonly insults over others infirmities; And an honest man that is careful of the common safety, will hide and excuse the faults of his City, unless the remembrance of them be of concernment to the avoiding some publick Calamity. For seeing we are but men, to pretend freedom from all error, would argue too much Pride: But often to fall at the fame stone, and not to grow wiser when the very event plainly chastiseth our ruffness, is not consistent with right reason. We have at one man's warning affaunted and domined the Roman ships, and presently with open war vexed our Kinmen the Thurrines, because they had rather be protected by the Romans, than swallowed up by the Lucanians and Brutians; moreover, we have suffered shamefull indignities to be cast on the Roman Embassadors; so that a war we might have avoided, a heavy dangerous war we are not provided for, hath in a most unlucky time overtaken us. Finally, the Roman Camps are now pitch't in our fields, and we as yet wavering in our counsel, deliberate still whether it be safer to accept a formidable war, or make a dishonourable peace. And I would to God at length, that laying aside all self-flattery, and forgetting self-interest, and aiming at the publick honour and profit, we might freely and truly consult together, there might certainly a way be found of making an honest league, or a safe war. But now I see you clearly divided into two parts, I may say factions, not taking counsel out of judgment or the state of things require, but every man by-
by asfbffed by his own inclination. For how comes it to pass that so few of the young men, and poorer fort stand for peace? and why do none of the rich and ancient men desire war? what other reason can be given of so equal a division in the City, but the that would fain in quiet reap the commodity of their Lands and Liberty, the other in time of war, hope for command and liberty of plunder? This is an old disease amongst us, neither of a long time hath our Commonwealth wanted such men, who even with the danger and detriment of the City have studied to increase their own private wealth. All which may happily be prevented (for I must speak what I think at present most conducible) if ye will neither buy peace on such false conditions as shall infringe the privileges of a Free City, nor yet truft singly to your own Forces in so difficult a war. Our Ancillors have often conducted the command and command of our Armies to foreign Leaders: Either out of Peloponnese or out of Sicily we have sent for Archidamus the fon of Agesilaus, afterward for Clennymus, then presently for Agisbelis. Even in our own memory were we inflerted by our Neighbours, our Fathers made use of Alexander the Epit: By which means they did not only themselves succeed prosperously, but left things in a flourishing condition to us. There is at this day the same friendship between us and the Epitros, neither are they now leffe potent in an Army and a Commander: And the benefit is fresh in memory, which Pyrrhus received from us, in that with our whole Navy we assisted him in his attack against the Corecyraus. Therefore esteem this not as my counsel, but as the counsel of the wiseft men who have heretofore happily governed this Commonwealth, which ye ought therefore at least to follow, because in the former example you may discern both the reason and ground, as also the idle and successor of it. And yet otherwise, there may be arguments most evident and sufficient to the fame purpose: There is no man amongst us so singularly eminent, to whom all the rest will willingly submit themselves, and what danger there is in emulation, when we have to do with a fierce and potent Enemy, ye are not ignorant. And whatsoever ye shall make General, either by his too great affection to peace, or by his ambition of carrying on the war, may wrong your affairs; not to say, that 'tis not safe to commit a war into the hands of any ordinary person against the Romans, an hardly stout Nation and inured to Arms. But the truth is, which none can doubt of, that Pyrrhus is not by any man exceeded in virtue and experience of Military affairs. But perhaps he will not come. Certainly, being a man desirous of action, and having no other war at present, he will not come himself, but bring a formidable strength, and that of no fresh-water soldieers. And if ye fear his encroachment upon your Liberties, ye may treat with him on such conditions as the Commonwealth may be secure. By this means ye may either obtain an honourable peace, or be gain a glorious one. Though indeed it be not the least of my hopes, that the Romans will rather beforehand deal with us on equal terms then admit of Pyrrhus into Italy, having heretofore feared a King of much lefs glory and renown out of the fame Epitros. This counsel prevailed not only so far, as to make them fee a probable way open to the publick safety, but likewise the assembled being divided into two contrary opinions, neither part being able to prevail over the other, they did all unanimously concur in this, as seeming indifferent to both sides.

'Tis reported, when the Rumour was spread about the Cipie, that a decree was made for the invitation of Pyrrhus that one Meton a covetous fellow, taking a dry wither'd chapplet upon his head, after the manner of Drunkards, together with his mind, entred the Theatre; the people according to their idle tumult, commanded him to sing and his woman to pipe, after a while silence being made, Meton crys out, To doe well, O Tarantines, in that ye grant Liberty to them that please, to sing and Dance; for when Pyrrhus once comes into the Cipie we shall scarce be allow'd to live after our own minds. The People being somewhat moved at this saying, and murmurs and whisperings arising: Those who were authors of the injuries against the Romans (fearing less if peacefull Counsellors prevailed they should be delivered up to punishment) having chid the people, That they would suffer themselves to be unworthy deriv'd by a rafte fellow, forcibly thrust Meton out of the Theatre, so that afterward without contradiction the Decree was ratified. But the Roman Cipul, hearing nothing from the Tarantines tending to peace, and understanding that Embaffadours were sent with presents to Pyrrhus, Orifus 4. 2 lets himself to the War, walteth their grounds, taketh their Cities lome by force, some by composition, and fills all places with losse, and terror. The Tarantines send forth forces to hinder the spoile, but, after a sharpe conflict, the Romans having the better, the Gracians are driven backe into the Cipie with great losse. Then Aemilius without reliance walteth and burneth the whole Country round about. The Tarantines terriffed with these calamities, (like a people, the more influent in prosperitie, the more deject and peacefull in adversitie) submit themſelves to the Government of Age, who was a constant author of maintaining the Roman friendship. Their desire and hopes of peace were much augmented by the discourse of some prime men who were difmiffed by the Confull, and declared his Humanity, with what In-dulgence and candeur he entertain'd those who were taken in several places of the Country, or in the last fight. But the confidence of Cineas was now come with Auxiliaries from Epirus changed their minds, and erected their Spirits. For Pyrrhus being a man of vall conceits, and in emulation of Alexander the Great, comprehending large Empires in his fancy, believed now a way to be laid open to accomplish all his designs, as if the Fates themselves had invited him.
The Supplement of Livie, Book II.


Tis said he was much confirm'd by the Oracle of Delphi, whole words were indeed of an ambiguous sense, which yet the Kings ambition did favourably interpret. For consulting about the War he was now to undertake, Aniwer was made, Peace enim Romanos vincere, that he should overcome the Romans, or the Romans him. But I think his chief encouragement was from the Tarentine Embassador who affirm'd, That one of their own Cities, with the help of the Locrini, the MessapiANS, Samnites and other the confederates, they could easily raise twenty thousand horse and three hundred and fifty thousand foot. With this strength, when he should once have brought the Romans under subjection, he hoped with little pains to attain the Lordship of all Italy, then a short cut into Sicilia would present him with an illand much at discord and void of a Ruler (the families of Agathocles being destroy'd) and this he thought he might claim by right of Inheritance, as having begotten Children on Lussa the daughter of Agathocles, these things happily succeeding he was resolved to make War with the Carthaginians. Tis reported that Giscus, a man of excellent wisdom, willing to have the King by his own confession acknowledge that his immoderate desires, whereby the enjoyment of his present felicity was disturb'd, were in reason to be restrained, asked him, What would he do when he had overcome the Romans? Pyrrhus then declaring how one victory would beget another, And what shall We do, while all these things are successful? Why then, faith Pyrrhus, we will enjoy the fruits of Peace, the benefit of safe and idleness. To which Cineas replied, And why, O Kings, cannot we at present enjoy the same things, while they are in their hands? whereas the undertaking of new Wars may utterly deprive us of them. But a second embassys coming from the Tarentines, Pyrrhus overcome by his own ambition, answer'd, That 'twas the custom of the Ephires to wage War, not only for themselves, but for their companions and friends. But to dissemble his more secret counsels, he articles very prejudicial with the Embassadors, That as soon as he had relieved them, he should be suffer'd to return home, and not be detain'd in Italy any longer then necessity should require. Then with all might and main intending himself upon preparation for the War, he cuteth a great number of long ships to be made ready, and likewise trims up others for transportation of men and horse. Now having Employed most of the Italian Embassadors (whom under a pretext of honour he detain'd as hostages and pledges) in levying men and conducting of forces, he sent the rest beforehand to Tarentum, with three thousand armed men and Cineas for Commander. By their arrival all hopes of peace were broken off, Agis his government abrogated, and by decree of the people the guidance of affairs committed to one of them who were now returned from Ephire. Not long after Mio being sent by the King, secures the Tower of Tarentus with a Garrison, and claims the custody and defence of the walls, with the very good will of the multitude, who were glad to see strangers undertake all the trouble and labour, while they safely enjoy'd their rest, they therefore cheerfully decreed Corn for the fouldiers and Mony for Pyrrhus.

In the mean time L. Emilius understanding of the Arrival of these beyond-sea fouldiers, that he might have the faiwer winter quarters, resolv'd to draw his faymly into Lucania. His journey was by certain narrow passages shut in on the one hand with the Sea, on the other with rugged and impassable Rocks. The Tarentines having intelligence of his purpoe, fall'd by that fторre with their ships furnish'd with Cross-bows and Slings, affaulting the fouldiers as they pass'd through tracts and open paths with filones and darts. But Emilius, not being able to help himfelf by virtue, forc'd his path by cunning; the Captives which before he had plac'd in the Rear, he now draws to that fide of the ranks which was obnoxious to danger, in pity of whom, the Tarentines fearing to hurt their own men, spared alfo the enemy. These things were done at Tarentus this year. At Rome C. Fabrius Luscius, who in his Confulhip had egregiously overcame the Samnites, and Lucaniates entered the Capital in Triumph. L. Marcius not many days after obtained the fame honour, being return'd out of Etruria with prosperous succes. The reason why, the Etrurian war not as yet being finifh'd, he was call'd out of his Province at fuch a time of year (for Fabrius triumph'd the third of the Nones of March) is not recorded. I conceive he was recall'd by the Senate, who being troubled with expectation of Pyrrhus, did from every quarter gather together what strength they could. The Proletari, the fith and lafl rank of Citizens, who of old were privilidge'd from going to war, were now lifted, and being not able by reafon of their poverty to provide themselves with arms, they were furnish'd by the publick, for at this time war being on every fide commenced, it was neceffary the Commonwealth should be defended by many Armies. These mens office was, while the Legions were otherwife employ'd, to guard the City with watch and ward, being difpofed in several flations upon the walls, and in the Market-place. Neither by all these contrivances could the imminent calamities have been averted, but that the fortune of a City ordain'd to Rule did in these most dangerous times produce men of fo great Excellency, as I know not whether ever the could boast of better: Men, not fo eminent for their Riches or Exlration, as truly ennobl'd by their Virtue and contempt of wealth. This Age had its Curi, Fabrii, Corvinius, men of no great Ancestors or Poflellions, but of molt ample fame, which they obtained by their upright example, exact skill in Marchall affairs, and an unfeawable innocenc of Manners; who were every where helpful to their Country, which had now need of Champions, which were able not only to refit the fword of the enemy, but to fcor the gold, having to deal with a King who was potent in both. In the mean time Pyrrhus, not waiting for the Spring, coming with
with two and twenty Thousand foot, three thousand horse, twenty Elephants, and a considerable band of slingers and archers, was in the midst of his Voyage so tossed with a Tempest, that he narrowly escaped being cast away. For the Navy being dispersed, and most of the ships dispersed, when the Admiral was in danger, Pyrrhus leap't into the sea, and with very great pains at length hardly swam to shore: But the strength and spirit of his mind did much help the weakness of his Body, together with the diligence of the Meffapians, on whose shore he was cast, who with all offices of humanity did foment and cherish him: with their alacrity likewise, some few ships, which had escaped the violence of the storme, being brought into the Haven, there were gathered together some few horse, with two Elephants, and under two thousand footmen, with this force he marched to Tarrentus, being met by Citoius who care'd with his soldiers to conduct him thither, and being entertained with much joy he took his relf for some days: In which space having observed the Manners of the City to be so order'd, that unless they were amended, there was no possibility of protecting it, but that rather the Patrons themselves would likewise be undone by it, he took no open notice at the present. But a while after, his dispersed ships meeting together, when he had strength sufficient, he shut up their wrangling places, and Porches, where the idle youths use to spend whole days in walking and fouldering; he forbade their Banquets and Drinking-matches, and reduced their solemn Games from Intemperance to a just Medioricity. 

After this he made a very strict Leavy of their young men, commanding his Prefiders to choose out three of the larger fab, he would make them valiant; mixing these among his own Companies, left being apart they should prove feditious, he trains them up with the same hardnes and severity of Discipline, threatening pain of Death on those who should fly from their Colours. Those who were not in arms he compell'd to be most part of the day in the Market-place; by which strange usage the Citizens borne and bred up in shameful Luxury were grievously perplexed, calling it a flavery to be thus serv'd against their wills, choosing rather to perish with idle mens and Lux. The offence was aggravat'd by the Insolence of some of the King's Guard who choosing Quarters at their own pleafure, possess'd them againft the will of their Landlords, using much licencé towards their Wives and Children. Wherefore many who were wearied out, forlook'd the City, and settled themselves in the Country, till at length that likewise was forbidden, the Ports being shut, and guards appointed. Then indeed the Tarentines perceiv'd that in head of a Companion they had got a Mafter, and what onely Comfort was left them, when they had any handfom occasion of meeting, they bewail'd their Condition with indignation and Complaints, and that more freely, when besides their other Paffion, they were heated with Winter there was not those who informed Pyrrhus of this, and some of them being sent for, were accus'd for having spoken dishonourably of their King at their Banquets: But one Man's simple and ingenuous Confession freed them all from Punishment, for fakes he, we fay'd these words indeed, and fhou'd have faid worse but that we wanted Wine; whereat Pyrrhus smiling, difmis them, being willing the fault should be imput'd to the wine rather than to the men; But not confiding either in the Minde or manners of the City, what men he observed to be of greatest Note for Authority or Counfell amongst them, he either found or made some Caufe arife to fend them to his Son Ptolemy (who being then fifteen years of Age he had left Viceroy in his Reigne) others by secret Ambush he cut off, and fome to make them fugifte'd to the People, he did with much seeming humanity, as if he held them amongst his dearest Friends. Of this number was Arifarchus a principal Man much beloved of the Citizens, and of great repute for his Eloquence, Pyrrhus perceiving him to be very Popular, upon a certain emergent Occasion commands him to faile into Epirus. Arifarchus (knowing it was present Death to disobey the King) and that to obey him was, though not of so fudden, yet of as certain ill Consequence) taking ship, after he had fail'd a little way, steer'd his course to Rome, where being received into credit, he inform'd the Senate of many Affairs of great Concernment: While Pyrrhus thus busied himself at Tarrentus, the Romans were no lefs careful in making Leav's for the warre, they had rais'd Money, and fent Fabrius to their Confederate Cities, either by his Authority or Grace to refrain them from Innovation in State: Those who were most fuppiet'd were kept in awe by Garrisons conveniently placed amongst them. For the strength of so many Nations combining themselves against one Commonwealth, and their expectation of so Warlike a King, had very much moved the humours of the Italians who were either diftrous of Change, or provoked with the perfwafion of Injuries receiv'd; which made the Romans the more diligent to provide for their own safety by a timely suppress'ing all Occasions of feditious Occasions. About this Time an Accident befell the Præfente Nobles very remarkable, for they being brought to Rome late in the Evening were for Custody's fake lock'd up in the Publick Treafury, whereby at length they understand the Deceit of an Oracle, which they did make ufes of to stir up their Countrymen to Rebellion, often averring, it was Decree'd by the Fates, That the Roman Treafury should be fupplied by the Præfente. The Fathers being already much perplexed, had further Intelligence that Fabrius was detain'd by their Confederate and Companions as a Pledge to fecure the fafe return of their hostages from Rome, and that Embaffadours were sent to incite the Etrurians, the Umbres and the Gauls againft the People of Rome; where at they were infinitely troubled as at a fact in it fole horrid, fo of ill Example, left in such a Dangerouf time the Roman faith and honestly should be call'd in question, and held fuppiet'd by, all
all the Italians. In the utmost part of the
Italian shore over against Sicilia is feared
the City of Regium, (by a Grecian name so called) very wealthy and flourishing in
those days: The Citizens thereof judging by the Arrival of Pyrrhus that a great and
terrible warre were enuie, and frighted likewise with the Carthaginian Navy floating up
and down in those seas, not trusting in their own strength, thought fit to send for a Guard from

Rome. The Romans sent them Four thousand foildiers (which being leaved out of the Co-
lonies of Campania, were call'd the Campanian Legion) under the Conduct of Decius jubellius
their Colonel: Thefe at their first coming were very faithful, and very diligent in defending
the City. At length seeing no warre approach neer them, and being by degrees debauc'd
with idlenes and imitation of the Greek Customs, they began to compare the Advantage they
had now in their hands with the hard and laborious life they had hitherto led; and with much
Covetouenefs and Envy did frequently discorsfe in all their meetings and quarters of the con-
venient Situation of the City, and the happiness of the Inhabitants. Decius was well pleas'd
with this, who being himself grown as Licentious, had long ago conceived an inward desire of
seizing upon the City. The design was favord'd by occasion of the present warre, which so
wholly took up the Romans, that they had no Leisure to mind the affairs of Regium; Besides on
the opposite shore were the Mamertines, An Example of the like successfull villany, and ready
no doubt to defend the like Treachery in others, especially being tyed with the Relation of the
same Common Country; For they likewise were of Campania, and of late years going to
warre amongst the Auxiliaries of Aegates, and being entertained by the Meffenians as
Friends, having flain and caft out the Citizens, poss'd the place themselves: sharing likewise
amongst themselves their houses, wives and Eftates. They called to mind also the Campanians
of old, who by the like wicked art got Capi from the Tufcans. When they had now agreed upon
the Busines, there was nothing left to be confulted on, but only the Manner, how safely to ex-
cute their Design, left in fo populous a City, the leffer number should be surprized and flain by
the greater.

Decius counterfeitt Letters as wrote from the Rhegians to Pyrrhus, to betray the
Roman Garrison to him; these Letters as if they were intercepted, are read to the fouldiers
in private, Decius bitterly complaining of the Perfidiousnes of the Rhegians; and some fould-
iers being refrub'd to it, cry out, 'Twas time to provide for their own Safety by the sword,
and that Distraction which was design'd to them, upon the heads of the Authors; and as the bus-
ines was fet, a Medelenger comes in with newes, That Pyrrhus his Navy was seen by the shore,
and secret discourses were had between him and the Rhegians.
The fouldiers now before their former
Covetouenefs, were much incendied with the Treachery of the Enemy, and fear of Danger; It is
therefore by Common Consent resolv'd upon, That the Townsmen shall be oppress'd unawares
and unprepared, that having flain the Men, all the Publick and Private wealth of the City shall
be disformt from the Legion. Behold now an unworthy and horrid fact; Decius having invited
some of the Prime men to Supper, against the holy Rites of Hofpitality, takes away their Lives,
others were every where flain in their own houfes; the greater part of the Rhegians being thus
murthered, the rest were banish'd their Country, even by those whom of late they had enter-
tained under the Name of Friends and Companions, for prefervation of themselves and their
Country. Execution being done, there is now a new face of Publick affaires; the houfes and
Eftates of the poore wretches like the Plunder of an Enemy, is divided amongst the Thieves;
and while the Blood is yet fresh and warme, the Matrons and Virgins are forced to MARRY the
murthers of their husbands and Parents; and the Cruel Perfidious Legion arrogates to itfelfe
the Title and Rights of the City of Regium. But it hath pleas'd God well to provide for
Mankind, that fuch rare examples of high Mifchiefe should prove likewise as manifelt Exam-
pathies of Vengeance and Divine Justice; Left we should onely by consideration of the success
be animated to the like Villany, and not by the Iftue and event be deter'd from evil doing, so
that no true Felicity attends the Wicked, neither can there be a greater Madnes, then for any
man to perfwade himself that he can grow happy by doing Mifchiefe: For suppofe there were
no Punishment after Death, which all wise men acknowledg to be the greatest, (for the folly of
ordinary men is fo great they will scarce believe what is before their eyes, much lefs be moved
with the terror of things unseen and affaire off,) yet let all things as to outward fwear fucce-
properly, nevertheless the Confequence of offences committed doth by secret wounds contin-
uously lacerate and torment the minde: The Name of the Living, and the memory of the Dead is
had in perpetual hatred and Deltination among men: and what is by ill meanes gotten, and
with care and labour prefervd is most commonly to their great Grief fallen away again,
neither God nor men suffering Wickednes to go long unpunish'd. It will not be amifs briefly to relate the
punishment of Decius jubellius, and his mad Accomplishes, as in these days it befell, for their Final
destruction after great variety of troublefome Chances, was deferred to the Tenth year, as shall
in fit time be declared. These Raccalls did not long enjoy Comfort or Tranquility amongst
themselves: The fear of the Romans and Pyrrhus they did indeed avoid, as by reason of the
present Conjuncture of Affaires, fo by holding strict society with the Mamertines, and relin-
quishing to Offend neither Party: For 'twas thought safest in their first beginnings to abstain from
warre at the present, while their New City which had so violent and sudden an Original, shou'd
have time to strengthen, compact and knit it felle well together: they saw that without Danger
they could not molest the King, and were in hopes the more readily to obtain Pardon from
the Romans, if they bore not arms against them. The first cause of dissension, as is usual among Thieves, arose from an unequal division of the Plunder. Decius in the sedition was cast out and betook himself to Messana, the Soldiers at Regium chose M. Cælius his Secretary for their Commander, and Decius carrying with him a great bank of money, was honour'd with the fame dignity by the Mamertines, though his fortune was neither prosperous nor of continuance, for it hapned, that being troubled with sore eyes, he caus'd some Eminent Physician to be sought out for him; the Divine Vengeance hereby overtaking the wicked man with most sharp and bitter punishments: A Physician was therefore brought unto him, who prov'd to be by birth a Rhægian, but because he had lived so long at Messana, his original was not only unknown to Decius, (who would never have trusted himself to the mercy of a Rhægian) but likewise to most of the inhabitants of the City.

He being mindful of his Country and resolving now to be revenged for its Calamities, prevailed Decius that the remedy he brought, was indeed strong in Operation, but of quick and most certain efficacy: So applying the medicine which he had temper'd with the Juice of Cantharides, and giving order it should not be removed till he returned to the Patient, without delay he tooketh this, and flyeth from Messana. Decius being along time sufficiently torment'd with incredible pains, seeing his Physician came not at him commanded the Medicament to be removed, which being washed off, he perceived himself to be farke blind. So that being now a blind Exil, infamous and dispi'd, he is refered to judgement, as if he were bound in Chains; by a wonderfull Method of Divine Vengeance, in that he received this Plague from one to whom he had trusted his health, even as he himselfe had by Cruelty and treachery circumvented those whom he ought to have protected. Tis fit such Examples as these should be recorded in History and transmitted to posterity, for the Benefit of mankind which is never sufficiently convinced how farre their Cunning practices are different from widsome and right reason: So that neglecting the Rules of Virtue, Honesty, and Fidelity, they doe for love of false and onely seeming good things by foul and villanous huffs involve themselves in true Evils.

**BOOK III.**

OW at Rome, part of their forces being kept at home for guard of the City, and for a reserve against the uncertain chances of war, the Armies and Provinces were committed to the charge of the new Consuls. P. Laevius Levinius was design'd against the Tarentines and Pyrrhus, and T. Cornelianus sent to finish the Etrurian War. Levinius, thinking it would much avail as to his own reputation, so to the Terror of the enemies to provoke them first; and that it was profitable to the Commonwealth, to avert the fear and inconveniences of War, as far as might be, from the Roman Territories; leading his Army into Lucania, did there fortify a Castle in a convenient place, furnishing it with a strong Garrison, both to retard the proceedings of Pyrrhus, and to keep the Lucanians in awe, whose treachery was feared, lest they should dare to revolt to the enemy. Pyrrhus having intelligence of the Roman Consull's approach, though his forces were not yet assemmbled together, judging it both dishonourable and hurtful now in the beginning of the War to manifest any token of Fear, with what strength he had at present, did forthwith march out to meet him. But that he might find some colourable pretence to draw out the business and gain time, he sent a Messenger with Letters of these Contents: Pyrrhus, the King wishest Health to Levinius, I understand that thou art come, forth
The Supplement of Livie, Book III.

forth with thine army against the Tarentines, but leaving it for a while, come thou unto me With a small Retinue, and I, taking cognizance of the quarrel, will compel even those who are unwilling, to yield one to the other in what is equal and right. To this Leontius answer'd, We neither accept of thee as an Arbitrator of our Controversy, nor fear thee as an Enemy. But thou seem'st to do very absurdly in alluming to thyself the Judgment of other mens Causes, who are all self guilty of a Crime, and shall not as yet receive due punishment for entring Italy without our consent. Know then, that I come not against thee, but the Tarentines, to try our Right and Title with a just Army, by the Indemnity of Mars the Author and founder of our Nation. And without delay moving his Ensignes, he sits down between the Cities of Pandosia and Herculae, in a Champian ground, being divided from the Enemies Camp by the River Sirens.

'Tis reported that Pyrrhus, walking down to the River to view the Roman Camp, when he was well and diligently consider'd it, said to one of his friends, Megascles by name, These Barbarians have marshalled their Army after no barbarous manner, but we shall soon try what metal they are of. Then having placed strong guards upon the banke, to hinder their Passage through the Forde, he resolved to expect the coming of his Companions; not only for the Reaon of War, hoping the Romans in an enemies Country would quickly be in want of necessary accommodations, but as much regarding the spirit and confidence of Leontius, whose admiration was by a new Tephomine encrusted with him, in that he had freely without punishment diffused those Spies, which were sent to view his Campe, telling them more over. That he had another Army bigger then this. In the meantime the Camp being so near, there were many Pickeereings and light skirmishes which tended nothing to the main chance. Almost fifty days being now spent in these light skirmishes, the Consul being moved with the fame reasons to halfe the light, as Pyrrhus was to defer it, affemblying his Souldiers together, gave them to understand his Intentions, and encourag'd them against the fear of a new enemy, extemping, as much as might be, the fame of Pyrrhus, and the Terror of the Elephants; at length preparing himself for all affayes, he resolves either to fight the enemy by Conient, or compel him to Battel. Therefore seeing Pyrrhus still continue in his resolution, he fendeth out beforehand all his horse, as if to forrange the Country, himself with his Legions in Battel Array, expecting till the tumult and noise on the other side of the River should give them warning. The horse fetching a compass far from the Camps, crost the River where no Guard was, and immediately advance to the enemyes stations on that side the River: The Epirots terrify'd with their sudden approach, bestook themselves to their Camp. Pyrrhus understanding the enemy was so near, marcheth in all haste to the River with his whole body of horse, consitious of three thousand, hoping the Romans in their passage through a blind Ford, striving with the firemen and eveneens of the ground and breaking their orders, might there be vanquish'd. But the Roman horse interposing themselves, Pyrrhus riding at the head of his Troops, conspicuous in his flaming armor, of singular strength of Body and Resolution of mind, he managed the fight every way correspondent to his Fame and Reputation. He so exactly order'd the whole Battel with his Counsel and Directions, as if he were free from all other labour; yet, as occasion serv'd, he would charge and fight in person, as if to him belonged only the Office of a Private Souldier, and that the care of the General issue were another man's business. In the mean time one Leonatus a Macedonian, having observed a certain enemy, who neglecting all others, intended himself only against the King, as he flew up and down the field, directing his horse to whatsoever quarter he spied him in, gave Pyrrhus notice of it, who answer'd, No man can avoid the Fate of Mortals, but neither this Italian, nor any other, shall grapple with me without my reward, and due punishment. He had scarce spoken the words, when Oplacus (so was the man named, a Captain of one of the Frentian Troops) wounded the Kings horse with his Spear, Leonatus likewise wounding his, whereupon the Kings friends round betteting him killed Oplacus, gloriously fighting for himself, and delivered the King. But this accident did much daunt the Kings party, as believing him to be flaine: Wherefore to confirm his Souldiers, as likewise to decline dangers intended against him, he changed his Armour and weapons with Megascles, and leaving him in the Fight, went himself to order and lead up the Regiments. The Roman Legions were now come up, and the Battel a long time fiercely continued with so doubtful success, that 'tis reported Fortune seven times changed, sometimes the Romans sometimes the Epirots turning their backs.

But the death of Megascles had like to have reduc'd Pyrrhus his affairs even to a most desperate condition, who being in the Kings armour was assaulted by every valiant Enemy who affected the Glory of slaying the King: And at length an Horfeman, Dester by name, having kill'd him, and taking off his Helmet and Gorget, with loud cries carried them to the Conful, thereby ingenerating a belief in both the Armies of the Kings Death. Hereupon the Grecians were full of Terror and Consternation, and no doubt had immediately quitted the Field, but that Pyrrhus affoone as might be, uncovering his head rode up and down, with a loud voice witnessing, That he was a live, and present amongst them, hereby taking away as much Confidence from the Romans, as fear and Delaire from his own foiards. Leontius perceiving the Time come, wherein to trie the utmost Remedy, gave the Signe to his Horfemen whom he had placed in Ambush, to fall upon the backe of the enemy. But Pyrrhus against this
In place of Livie's Thirteenth Book.

this Troupe commanded his Elephants to be led, which he had likewise referred for the last Term- nior to the enemie. This one Contrivance daft't all the Romans hopes, and gave the Issue of the Battle clearly on Pyrrhus's side. For the men themselves being enlivened at the vast bulk of their bodies, and the terrible strew of armed Warriors on their backs thought they had rather seen some strange and formidable Monster, then the shape of any Creature by Nature produced; and as for the horse, they being straightforward with the sight, smell and noise of beasts they had never before seen, did forthwith, confounding their ranks, flee every one what way was most open; and either flaking off their riders, or against their wills forcing them to flight, they ran upon their own battal, and filled all things with fear and tumult. The Reft of the Elephants following the perfuit, many of those that fled were wounded from those that flood in the Towers upon the Elephants, and more were kill'd and trodden under foot by the beasts themselves. The Conful making use of his bell, did as yet keep his main battel together, still, by the command of Pyrrhus, the Theffalian wing being sent amongst them, did rout and scatter them, not being able to resist. And no question but in the place they were hem'd in, they had every man been slain or taken prisoners, but that, besides the Custom of Pyrrhus, who thought it not General like too severely to press upon those who fled, left by despair of safety they should be provoked to make more sharp resistence, the evening likewise being far spent compell'd them to relinquish the perfuit. Fortune likewise favour'd the remnant of the unfortunate Army, in that an Elephant being wounded turned back and with its braying confounded the reft. This putting a Remora to the enemy, gave liberty to those that fled to crofs the River into Apulia, where they sheltered the melves in a fenced City against the preffent danger. I find that in this fight there were fourteen thousand eight hundred and seventy-five feet of the Romans and their friends slain, with two hundred and fourscore horfmen; there were taken in all eighteen hundred and twelve, in which number were eight hundred and two horfmen, there was lost likewise two and twenty Colours. Whereby I wonder the more why some Authors, who undertake exactly to relate this encounter, deny that any notice was taken how many were wanting on the Kings side, whereas Dionyfius writeth, that Livinus loft little leffe than fifteen Pincipall thousand, and that on the Victor's side thirteen thousand fell. But Hieronimus Cardianus, an impartial writer of those times, affirms, That of the Roman army there fell but few thousand, and of the Kings army under four thousand. But this is by all agreed on, That the Victory cost Pyrrhus the very Flower both of his Captains and Souldiers, and that he was heard to say, He was no less Conquer'd than Conqueror in that Battel. And when he offer'd the poopes and gifts to Jupiter of Tartessus, he confessed as much, inscribing that sentence in the Title, and when his friend complain'd, he replid, Of a truth, if I obtain such another Victory, I shall return one Epipus without e're a Souldier. I have likewise an Author that the King himself rec

Eurytos b. 3

Cicero, 7

To keep the bodies, they lifted themselves so fast, that presently they compleated the number of two Legions.
The Romans (who in their hardiest times had remitted nothing of their Confiancy), but as to the main issue of the warre always spake high; (as conceiving ample hopes) thinking this a most fitting time to give rewards and Encouragement to Virtue, decreed a Triumph to L. Aemilius Barbula for those exploits performed in his Consulship. He triumphed A. D. the fourth of the Ides of June, over the Tarentines, Sammites, and Salentines who were Auxiliaries of the Tarentines. But P. Valerius was order'd to draw the Remnant of his Conquer'd Army into the Setine fields, there to fortifie his Camp, and cause them to winter in their huts: About the same time the Senate disputing whether it were fit to redeem the Captives, resolved affirmatively: that which chiefly persuaded them, was I believe the Horsemens' Cafe, for they had stoutly maintained the fight during the absence of the Elephants, at whose approach the horse without any fault of the Riders yielded them up to Death, and to Bonds; upon this Errand were sent Embassadors of Principall Dignity, P. Cornelius Delabellus famous for his Defolation of Sena in Gallia; C. Fabricius Lusinus, and Q. Aemilius Populus, who two years since were Colleagues in the Consulship: Pyrrhus by Nature was Endow'd with humanity, the inexpressible Companion of great Spirits, and that he did encrease by his Ambition, according to the Vulturine Error, extolling all Virtues the servants to Domination, to which only being intertemperate fully, he did direct all his Counsells for the attaining it; And though he were not inferior to any Commander of that Age in Boldness of mind and the Arts of Warre, yet was he wont to try all means before he came to Blows; he would folicit the mind of his Enemy as he law most opponnent with Fear, or Desire, or Pleasure, or Mercy, or with equality and benefit of Condition. Therefore understanding Embassadors were coming from Rome, and judging so many Confiar men were not sent, but upon some Grand Affairs, he was in good hopes they would treat of Compounding a Peace. Therefore that their access might be the safer and the more honourable, he sent Lys. (by nation a Molopitan) even to the borders of the Tarentine Territories, to meet them with a Guard. Himself on Horseback with rich Caparisons met them without the Gates. And having magnificently brought them in, he entertain'd them with all Respect, liberality and plenty that might be.

They premising somewhat tending to Moderation of the mind, as how great the Inconvenience of Fortifiing is, how fatal the Changes of Warre, and that future Contingents cannot be foreseen, deliver their Message, That they came to receive their Captives, whether he would suffer them at a Certain price to be redeemed, or to be exchanged for Tarentines and others. Pyrrhus whose Culfom it was, not to tranfient any thing of moment without advice of his friends, convened them now together; and Miltiades Opinion was, That he should detain the Captives, make use of his fortune, and not cast the Warre till he had thoughtfully submit to the Romans; Given his Counsell was very different, for, speaking of the Confiency of the Senate and People of Rome, which they had often shown even in the hardest times to be invincible, he added moreover, As for other Enemies it is likely we may hate their manners or contempte their Armes, but with this Nation, O King, it is better making Friendship than warre, and it's convenient not only to return the Captives, but freely to dismiss them without Restorse; Neither is any delay to be made, but that you send back the Embassadors with Prellims, to conclude Peace upon equal Terms: For this I take to be the time, wherein with honour and Credit you may accomplish a Business (in my judgement) very necessary. For now your affairs having succeeded properly,
In place of Livie's Thirteenth Book.

you shall both more easily by Treaty obtain what you desire, and likewise seem for no other Canse but the same Greatnes and Goodnes of your mind, to offer Peace unto those whom you might by force have reduced into Slavery. And farre be it from Thee, but that They Disreare should proaper as they have begun, Yet We are but Men, and it Fortune change her side, neiter will it be easie a matser to Obtaine Peace, neither can it is with so much honour be treated on. When the reft a-greed in the fame Opinion, the King himselfe likewise assenting, commanded the Romans Em- Dce spud baffauidors to be called, to whom he spake in this Manner; Tenr Errand, Romans, seemeth to the Fur, Anfians, me very unnorfully, for having no Consideration of entering into Friendship With me, you require back the Prinse of Warre, whom being refufterd, you are ready presently to make use of againft me. If therefore you will intend your Minds on better Counsell, beneficall to both Parties, and make a League and Society with me, I will resolve all your Citizens and Companions in Armes without price or Random; otherwise if you continue hostility, I shall think it no wise part, to strengthen your Hatred against me with the hands of so many Valiant men. Neither is Money so fastible with me as to need any from the Romans which it would better become, if we were Friends, to be enriched by my bounty; Withall he commanded gifts of good value to be given the Emba- baffators, with promise he would bestow more and of greater Price. These things were spoken and Acted openly in the Presence of all the Embabilidades. But with c. Fabri'c'ius he had for- warded a longer and more serious discourse. Neither shall I think it unfit to relate what I find in good Authors. When therfore they had speech together in secret without witnesses, among other things 'us reported the King said thus: My desir is to have all the Romans my Friends, but especially your selfe, whom I esteem above all others, as moft eminent in Civil and Military virtues, onely one Thing I am troubled to find wanting in you, that having so flender substance you are not able to maintaine that Port and Splendour which justly attends Great men, as their Due: But I will not suffer you any longer to be fensible of this Injury, and dispise of Fortune, I will freely bestow so large a summe of Gold and Silver, as you shall easie exceed the Reve- nues of the Richell. For I am persuaded it belongs to my Place and Fortune, to relieve the hard Wants of Worthy men, who have endeavour'd more to obtaine Glory than Wealth: Truely I think it to be a faire and honourable Work, and that there cannot be, either a more illustrious monument of Kings Magnificence, or a more precious and Acceptable Offering unto the Gods: so that I shall rather think you do me a Courtefie, then receive one at my hands, if you will suffer your selfe to be relieved by my Plenty. Neither truly would I urge this to you if on my side onely the Bounty should seeme Glorious, on your side the Acceptance dishonour- able. But now I tempe you not to Treafon or the commissiion of any Fact misbecom- ming your Grave Manners; what Reason is there why you should with a refolute and obinate mind refuse a small Gift, with a free and Friendly intent offered? For I desire nothing of you, but, what may, of duty ought to be done by the beft of Men. and most tender of their Countries Good, that you would perwave the Senate to forlakhe their willful stubborness, and recall their minds to Equity and milder Counsell, giving them to understand the Truth; that neither can the Warre be continued without your great Lofs and Danger, neither can I (having promised help to the Tarentines, and proved victor in the first Battell) without manifeft breach of faith, and diminution of mine Honour relinquisht it. Neither indeed do I delight in fighting with you whom I judge fa'rite more worthy my Friendship then my Hatred, and had much rather return home into mine own Kingdom, where many bunifhes in the inte- rim arife, which require my presence. And for this I will give you what assurance you shall de- fire, whereby you may be satisfied concerning my Intentions, and resolve the Doubts of o- thers; if any shall think it not safe to tru't to Kings, by reason of the fault of some, who, hanging to their Agreements and Covenants so long onely as it seemeth for their Profit, when they perceive any benefit to be gain'd by Change, have chos'en rather to break their Faith then lose an Advantage. And when the Peace shall be concluded, there is nothing will please me better, or be more commodious to us both, then that you would bear me company into Epirus, where you shall have the Principal place among my Subjects, be my Lieutenant in Warre, and Partner of all my Fortunes. For I esteem no Poffession more precious then that of a Valiant and Faithfull Friend, and certainly the splendour of a Kingly Fortune, and the Majesty of Roy- al affaires will well become your great Mind. Thefe things if we shall in Common conferre, mutually helping one the other, we shall without any difficulty attaine to the greatest Happinenss that man is capable of or can imagine.

When the King had thus made an end of speaking, after a little distance Fabricius anwer'd,

Concerning my Vice, if any could be observ'd either in my military or Civill employments,
it is needefls for me to disserte seeing you have already trusted the Relation of others concerning it. Neither is it necessary to declare my poverty, that being the matter of a little ground and a small Cottage, I maintaine my self neither by industry nor the sweat of servants, but by the labour and exercitie of my owne Body, seeing this also you have truly learnt by the dis- course of others. But if, either on your owne accord, or following the Opinion of others, you judge me, by reason of my poverty, to be in worse condition then any other Roman, you are wonderfully deceived. For defpiling Riches, embracing Virtue, and doing my duty,
I was never sensible of any misery; neither in private or public usefulness did I ever repine at my Fortune. For what Reason have I to speake ill of fortune, unleffe I should impute it as a
crime to her, that I enjoy all those things which to greate and high spirits are most desirables, not only with the Rich, but many times before them? I am dignified with the greatest honours our country affordeth: The heaviest wars are committed to my Charge; I am entreated with the care of our most holy Devotions, I am call'd into the Senate, my opinion is asked concerning the most weighty affairs, I am commended and cheerfully imitated by many; neither am I of less esteem then the most potent man in the City; I seem unto others an example and pattern of attaining Virtue and Glory; to all this befalling no cost either of mine own or others. For in other places, where particular mens wealth is greatest, and the publick flock but small, the Magistrates sustain the dignity and splendor of their office by their own expense.

In our City the outforme is much different, no private mans fortune being on any side burdensome. All this great and glorious poms, wherewith our Citizens, who are chosen to the administration of grand affairs, are so magnificently set forth, is of publick allowance; which order maketh all men equal, so that the poorest man shall want nothing for the mainaining either the publick or his own grace, neither shall the richest in anything abound. Wherefore seeing, though I am the poorest of all, yet I do in no good thing yield to the richest of all;

why should I complain of Fortune? should I desire to be equal with Kings, who may hoard up vast sums and heaps of gold? But hitherto I have spoken in reference to my life in Publick, even in private also my indigence is so far from being a burden or inconvenience to me, that contrariwise, as often as I compare my self with the rich ones, my condition seemeth incomparably more happy, and I reckon my self among those few who have attained to so much Felicity as this life admits of, in which regard I mildly rejoice and give thanks to my Poverty. For it seeming to me idle and foolish to pursue after things superfluous, and that my little ground being rightly till'd and manured yeldeth all necessaries; I know not what end I should be solicitous of greater Riches. My Meat hunger makes sweet to me, and thirft my Drink; after labour my sleep is easy and quiet; my garments, if they defend me from cold, are of proof sufficient; and my household stuff, according as it is apt and fit for those ues it was ordain'd to, so it very well pleaseth me. So that herein also I should be injurious to accuse Fortune, that it hath not allowed me larger substance then nature defires, which hath neither ingenerated in me a covetousnes of what is too much, nor a dexterity of scrapping it together. Wherefore with this my poverty I judge myself more wealthy then the richest men, yea, then thy self also; for I have so much that I desire no more, whereas useless you thought your self poor notwithstanding your possession of Epirus, and all other your Territories, why came you over into Italy? But Riches you may object, gives one a fair opportunity of doing good to mankind, and that I am my poverty can be bountiful to no body. Truly this troubleth me no more then that in other things also I do not abound: That the gods have not endowed me with knowledge superbly excellent, and the Art of Prophecying and many other the like things, whereby I might benefit those who in these kinds want help. But if I freely communicate to my friends and fellow-Citizens those things which are in my power, and suffer every one in common to partake of what may any way pleasure them, I shall think my self free from that crime of being useless or unprofitable to mankind. Neither would I have you esteem those things small and contemptible, because others seem greater in your eyes, and therefore you are ready to buy men with large bribes. But, if for supplying the necessities of the poor, Riches were altogether to be desired, and that in this respect the possession of moneys were to be reckon'd as a part of Felicity, as you Kings seem to be perverted; which think you, were the better way of purchasing wealth, that I should now with disgrace receive it at your hands, or that I should, when it was in my power, have long agoe gather'd it upon most honest accounts? For my prosperous management of Publick affairs, hath given me fair opportunities of growing Rich; as often at other times, so especially when four years since, being Conful, and west with an army against the Samnites, Lucianians and Brutiens I overcame those large and fertile Territories westing and spoiling, when being conqueror in many Battles, I took by force and demolish'd wealthy Cities, whereupon the Souldiers being largely rewarded, and all debts paid which the Commonwealth had contracted with private men for carrying on the War, there was yet so much remaining that I carried into the Publick Treasury four hundred Talents. Now after I have scorn'd to acquire just and honest Riches by those spoils which I were in my hands, and by the example of Eustis Publicola (and others who have advanced the Roman State) have preferred Glory before mony, shall I receive gifts of thee, and embrace shameful and dangerous opportunity of growing Rich, having neglected a fair and honourable mean? And truly, that wealth I could freely, with pleasure, and good conscience have expended in just and honest ues, which I receive of you I cannot do: For that money is rather to be accounted lent then beower'd which proceeds from another's bounty, and however it be given and received under the specious pretence of hospitality, friendship or good will, 'tis burthenome to an Ingenious and high Spirit till it be reformed. And what do you think will be the issue of this business when it is known (as conceiv'd it cannot be) if the Cenitours, who with ample authority exercise the superintendence of Manners amongst us, shall (according to that power wherewith they are invested to enquire into the Lives of the Citizens, and punishe those who deviate from the Institutions of our Fathers) publicly summon me to give an account of the reasons, why I received any Gifts from thee?

Many
Many report that Pyrrhus, resolving at any rate to win a man of such excellent vertue, did yet more extremely tempt his Constancy, and after other magnificent promises, making a prof- fer of half his Kingdom could not therewith move him, but that till he perswaded to deny the Ac- complishment of the Kings desires, For, saies he, if I am an evil man, why do you court me? If good, why would you corrupt me? adding moreover, That this benefice would prove neither pleasing nor profitable to Pyrrhus if it should succeed, for if he should make use of his liberty, he would be hazzard both for the King and his Friends, as for his Juicice and Althentic, if the Epis- ruts once had experience of them, they would forsake the King and apply themselves rather to him, These things, and what hereafter I shall add, being by various Authors related, I thought nei- ther inconvenient nor unprofitable to collect and declare, that the mind and sense of those men may be known, who supported the Roman State in most difficult times, and improv'd so to that incomparable height of Glory and Empire it attain'd to: and that by a clear example it may be apprehended, what Virtues and Manners ought to be practis'd by those men, who would become objects of Admiration, and transmirt to their posterity a more flourishing Common- wealth then they received from their Ancestours. These things being spoken and heard on both sides, the King at present contented himself, but on the morrow, caus'ing Fabricius to be for- fe for, he prepared an Elephant before hand to frighten him, who standing at their backs behind the hangings, as they were discoursing, the hangings being on a sudden withdrawn, at the Malters command laid his fnout on Fabricius his head, making a molt horrid noise; but he, being a man of a sedtied spirit, gravely turning himself about, smiled, saying, Neither yesterday did your gold entice me, nor to day your beast terrify me. Afterwards being fett at supper, when he heard Cicero discoursing of the Grecian Philosophers of the Sell of Epicurus, that they esteemed Plea- sure the greatest good, and the cares of the Commonwealth the chiefest hindrance of Felicity: That the gods in their opinion led such a life free from the care of humane affairs, free from all afliances either of anger against the wicked, or favour to the good, giving themselves over wholly to idlenes and pleasures: Fabricius thereupon is faid to cry out, The gods grant that Pyrrhus and Val Maximus, the Sammites would practice this wisdom while they wage war with the people of Rome. These were the manneres of those times, this was the Emulation of great men, to excel not in wealth or Luxury, but in Virtue, in Counsel, in Patience, in the Love of their Country. Neither were these sudden Motions and fets, or speeches premeditated out of hypocrisy for the present occasion, but they did confirm the faith of their words by the constant Tenour of their Lives, whereby they are rather to be admired then imitated by our Age. The same Fabricius when all his silver plate confi'd of one Safe-cellar and a little ditt, which yet was falfin by an horning floor, the Sammite Embassadors prefenting him with a gift of money and very rich houfhold stuff, let his hands to his ears, thence to his eyes, nose, mouth, throat, and at length to his belly, saying, As long as I can command these, nothing shall be wanting to me, carry ye back your money to those who fland in need of it. After the fame manner he spent his whole life, infomuch as in all his Patrimony there was not fufficient whereby to raise Portions for his Daughters (an Honourable poverty) so that the Senate caufed money for that purpofe to be disbursed out of the Publick Treasury, being affhamed to let thofe Virgins paife without Dowry, whose Father was not affhamed to leave fo. The fame vertue and continence was found in other Princes of the Senate; among the reft Q. Fabius who had often been in Chiefie command, and having once borne the Cenforship denied to be made Cenfor againe, faying, It was not for the good of the Commonwealth, that the illift. The fame men should often be chosen Cenfor; he died with the fame fatisfaction both of his poverty, and the peoples Love, for after his Death they beleev'd fo much money that his fon Gurgis did felloe a dole of fefh upon the people, & likewise made a publick Feast. Curious out of the fame gallantry of mind refu'd the gifts of the Sabines as Fabricius did the Sammites; Emilio Papus, Gemon in Lelio who was in moft offices Colleagues with Fabricius, alfo Trib. Coranicus, and many other men of great note, by reason of their likenefs in manners, lived together in great love and friendship: So that the Poet seems to me to have conceived in his mind the Idea of those times, when he faid, The Roman State was upheld by men and manners of the old Roman. Pyrrhus Dei. 1. 11. seriously considering and pondering these things, was inflam'd with a great defire of compofing all differences with this Nation, and immediately returned two hundred of the Captives without ransom, and gave leave likewise to all the reft to go to Rome and visit their friends at the Feast of Saturn now approaching, relying only on the word of Fabricius, who promised, That when the Holy-days were past they should return, unless peace were in the mean time concluded. And such was the Gravity of the Senate, and the fidelity of every fingle Perfon, that at a Day by the Fathers appointed, they every man redelivered themselves up to Pyrrhus, having in vain urged their Country-men obfolute minds to Articles of Peace. For the Crafty King, Eteur 1. 18. 34 thinking this to be a nick of time for his purpofe, while the Romans being mollified with the fight of their dearest friends, and defirous of retaining them, might happily be the more ready to lay down all thoughts of hatred and hostility, resolved now to fend an Embaffege to Rome to Treat of Peace on those Conditions he had propo£d to Fabricius in Perfon. He defir'd the Tarentines might be comprehended in the League, That the other Grecians inhab. 18. 32 bis ing Italy might continue free, living according to their own Laws: That whatsoever the Allies Romans
The Supplement of Livie, Book III.

Roman had taken away from the Samnites, Apulians, Lucanians and Bruttians might be restored; and in Locris, the Romans should receive their Captives without Restrain. Cines of whom mention hath formerly been made, was at that time with Pyrrhus, a man as of great knowledge in Civil Affairs, so of very honest Principles, and who had by exercise improved his natural wit to a marvellous eloquence: For these his qualities he was very dear to the King, who often acknowledged, He had won more Cities by the Eloquence of Cines, then by his own Arms. This man being sent Embassador to Rome, with much cunning delay'd making his address to the Senate, till he had in Pyrrhus his name distributed many gifts in the houses of the principal men. Being then brought into the Court, when he had in many words, Extend the virtue of Pyrrhus, and his inclination towards the Romans, he discoursed of the Equity of the conditions he brought, infomuch that great part of the Senate were moved to accept them: because besides other conveniences, he promised, if they should deflect molesting his friends, he would furnish them with aid sufficient for the Conquest of all the rest of Italy. But, because the Consulification lasted many days ( the Fathers being very solicitous in a business of so great consequence) and thereby a suspicion and rumor was spread, that peace would be concluded, Appius Claudius, who by reason of his Age and blindhness, had of a long time been absent from the Senate, caus'd himself now to be carried thither in his Litter, where he no sooner appeared, but his sons and sons in law with all Reverence and Duty receiving him, conducted him to a place becoming his Dignity. Every one being silent both at the novelty of the thing, and with the respect they bore his person, and expecting for what cause, after so long absence and retirement; he should now come into the Senate: he beginning his discourse with the affection of his sickenes, said, His Blindness had indeed hitherto been very grievous to him, but now he was not only delighted in it, left he should behold those things which were doing, but was sorry that his cares also were not deaf; that he might not hear things so forfard and unwor:' thy the name of the Romans. For what is become of your noble minds? whether are your spirits fallen? Ye were wont to be of opinion, when ye heard the Fame of Alexander the Macedonian renowned as of an invincible King, that his glory was more to be imputed to his Fortune then his Virtue; that if the Fates had allotted him a Roman War, both the event, and likewise his eleemos amongst men would have proved far different. But now, behold how ye are degenerated from that your Magnanimity ye once thought ye were able to conquer the Macedonians, and now ye stand in fear of Molossians and Chonians, the perpetual prey of the Macedonians. Ye once contemned Alexander, and now are frighted by Pyrrhus, not the servant of Alexander, but his servants servant, who flying from his old enemies rather then seeking new, is come over into Italy with a resolution, shoul'd it please the gods, to obtain the Empire of Rome, with those forces wherewith he was not able to keep and defend his little share of Macedonia. Unless therefore we send him back well beaten, laden with great misfortune, affure your selves, any other Party, defferently flying and forsuing our Power, will greedily venture into Italy, as to a prey ready prepared to their hands. For what can be thought of, but that we are a cowardly flotful people, if Pyrrhus, being received into friendship, shall carry back a Reward for that Disgrace he hath done us, in as much as his 'means it is come to pafs that the Romans are become a Laughing-Rock to the Tarentines and 'Sammites.

This was the main scope of Appius his Oration, which did so inflame the minds of all the Senators, that, following him the Author of a severe Sentence, they with one consent decreed, That the War should be profoeced, that Cines should the same day depart the City, that Pyrrhus should be given to understand, That neither should he be admitted into the City, (for that also was desired) would they so much as treat of friendship and society, till he had quittd Italy. Alike by that decree by Appius his motion was made concerning the Captives, That they should not be led in War against Pyrrhus, neither should they any where be joined in the same company, but that being sent to several Garrisons, they should, as a nation of slaves, change their manner of living, that they who before lived on horse-back, should now be lifted among the feet, and they who were of the Legions, should now serve in light armature. That no man should recover his former order, till he had brought in the spoil of two enemies. 'Tis reported, when the Embassadors returned with this sharp answer, the King almonist in the wonderful confanty of the Romans, asked, What they thought of the City and of the Senate? and that Cines answer'd, The City seemed to be a Temple of the gods, and the Senate an Assembly of Kings.

After these Transactions, some think, Fabricius was sent an Embassador to the King: but they are easily convinced of Etour as by the Testimony of other Authors, so by a right Consideration of the Series of Affairs. There being now no hopes of peace, they converted all their thoughts to War, and built themselves on both sides all winter in making diligent preparations. These I take to be the Times wherein Pyrrhus is reported, for the avoiding the Dangers of thrift-wrack, and a more convenient passage of the Italian and Epirus Succours one to the other) to have had thoughts of making Bridges between Hydrains, where Italy gets farthel into the sea, and Apollonia, a Town situate on the adverse shore, some fifty miles distant: For that is the Bredth of the Sea in those places between the Gracian and Italian shoares. M. Tertius Varro is said afterward to have made the like Attempt, when, being Cn. Magnus his Lieuent
In place of Livie's Thirteenth Book.

In the war against the Pirates, he guarded the Sicilian and Ionian seas with his Navy.

In the midst of these doings Tib. Cornelius, the Consul Triumphant A. D. of the Calends of February. This year was a remarkable Centurion in that a Lustration of the army was then first made by one of a Plebian flock. There were cossed two hundred seventy-eight thousand, two hundred twenty-two Citizens. About these times it was that Q. Fabius Maximus was

to be chosen Prince of the Senate; and by conjecture we gather, his son Q. C. Garus was

his army at that Time. Cn. Domitius certainly was, for he stultified the Army, and his name is

famous for enlarging the Privilages of the People. Pyrrhus in the beginning of the spring,
calling together the Forces of his Confederates, marched into Apulia, where he took many

Townes, some by Force, some by Composition. Against whom the two new Consuls P. Sil-

pius Scaevus, and P. Decius Maius went forth with two Armies pitching Camp against Camp,

near Asculum a City of Apulia, of the fame name with that City of the Picenter. No doubt

was made of Fighting, but they were many days hindred as by a deep Torrent running be-

tween them, so by mutual fear on each side. The Romans were troubled with remem-

brance of the former Battell wherein Pyrrhus was victorious; The Epriots were daunted at

the Roman obstinacy, but chiefly at the name of the other Consull, so to fall to the Enemies

Legions. For it was given out that P. Decius after the Example of his Father and Grand-

father would purchase the Victory with his Death; and the issue of those Battells where-

in they died, did make the expectation of the Decius Devotion to be terrible to all

men.

Pyrrhus thinking it a matter not to be neglected, assembling his foullidiers together, Thus

instructed them. That the Event of Battels was not in the Power either of the Goddes

Earth, or of the Infernal Deities, who were invoked by that Charme, that they ought not to

believe the Gods to be so unjust as to alter the fates of the Gods, and bellow conquests for one

mad-man's sake; that victories are not obtained by jugling tricks, and superstitition, but by

fighting only; as appears by the Testimony of the Romans themselves, who come not into

the field with troops of Priests and Prophets, but with Legions of armed foullidiers to oppose

the Enemy: But because the ignorant are commonly more terriified with these superfluous

delusions, then with true caules of feare, he shewed that this feare might be prevented, by

shewing the Habit wherein the former Decius had Devored themselves, and warning the fou-

lidiers if they met any Man in the like accomtrement not to affult him with any weapon, but

to take him alive. He caused likewise a Message be sent to Decius. That he should forbear

playing the fool amongst armed men, neither should his Plots take Effect, that if he came alive

into his hands he should perhaps endure more torments then he was willing. Thus answer'd he

the Confuls. They had Confidence enough in their Army; neither had any need of so disaste-

rous a Design, which that he might be assured of, they gave him his Choice, whether he would

come over the River interjacent; or Expeulf the Romans on his side the water; that they would

willingly withdraw their forces to give him a safe passage over, or if he would retire, they would

bring over their men, that on each side encouaging with their strength more, demonstration might

be made, that they repose all their hopes of victory in their men, and their Courage, and in no

other thing: Pyrrhus was affmmed of betraying any kind of fear or Doubt; he accepted

thereof the latter Condition and gave the Enemy Liberty of foording the River. The

Terroure of the Elephants was not now so great to the Romans, as being accustomed to see

them, so having had Experience that their fions might eaily be cut off, as one was in the

last fight at one blow by C. Minucius the foremost Mukeman of the Fourth Legion. But now

they bethought themselves of later guards and Defences; They cauasd horses cloathed with

Iron plates to draw Chariots, which were likewise full phat with spears fastned in Iron foackets;

the Chariots were placed so allidiers who with darts or fire should avert the fury of the Ele-

phants. The Legions with this furniture having pass'd the River, Pyrrhus in a singular and

Excellent manner martial'd his Army, according to his Cufion wherein he was thought to ex-

ceed all Commanders of his Time. Obeying therefore the Nature of the place, which by

reason of the Ruggedness of the Ground, and the multitude of Oiers thereabouts growing

would well admit of a foot Army onely; he placed his horse and Elephants in the Referve. The

Right wing he strengthen'd with his own foullidiers and the Sainmte Auxiliaries, The Brutas-

ian Lucianans and Salentins he placed in the midde, the Tarentines, whose virtue he leaft confidid in,

he order'd in the midde. The Conful's main body confidid of their Legions, some of the light

Armature being conveniently intermixt, and with the like Difcretion they dlignified the Or-

ders of their Referves. The horse were distributed into the Wings, being no hindrance to the

Foot fight; and yet upon occasion offered, ready for Action. The Armies being equal, not

only in Courage but: in number ( for they were forty thousand strong on both sides) disputed

the business with as much heat and animony as could be expected, and the Victory uncning to

neither side, the night broke off the Fight. The next Morining Pyrrhus when he had guarded

the most difficult places, forced the Romans to defend into a more even and open ground; there

he had some use of his Elephants, which being suddenly brought into that part of the Battell

where the Chariots were prepared against them, they frighted the horse (even as it happen'd in the

last figh) and cauasd them to fly; but to the Foot they did little harme. The Report of this

Fight is much different from that of the former, for some Authors affirm, The Ro-

manis
The Supplement of Livie, Book III.

Plutarch

The Romans had the upper hand, their victory being occasion'd by an accident, for the Apulians (who were by the Kings Order sent against those who came to surprise the carriage) by their departure seeming to fly, by a mere error and false fear could all the Kings forces to quit the field and fly instead. The number of the slain is likewise expressed, That on Pyrrhus his side twenty thousand, on the Romans side five thousand were Wounding, that the King with a dark shot through his side was grievously wounded, and that in vain endeavouring to say the flight of his men, was by his Life-guard brought out of the field one of the left, that on his side three and fifty colours were left, on the Romans eleven, and that the fabricius the other Consuls Lieutenant was likewise wounded. But contrariwise, others say, This Battel had the like event with the former, though the Romans by reason of the vicinity of their Camps sustained not so much loss, but that they did conselusally fly, and left six thousand, and men that Pyrrhus left three thousand five hundred and five, as is in the Kings Chronicles registed by the Testimony of Hieronimus.

And not only variety but Repugnancy of Authors serves me rather to incline to those who report the event of this Battel to have been doubtful for 'tis ordinary after an equal encounter for each part to contribute the victroy to themselves, which by the negligence or Impudence of others is committed to writing, Doing very ill to deliver to posterity for true and undoubted, those things which are grounded on idle report only, or for affection are partially related. Wherefore their history feemes more probable who affirms, That there was but one Fight were Aculum, and that, after an hot dispute and much blood shed, the Sun being now set, the Kings wound and the life of the Baggage did with much ado break off the fight: That then both Armies founded a Retreat, when on both sides there were slain about fifteen thousand, and that this was the time when Pyrrhus answer'd out who congratulated his victroy, If the Romans are to be vanquish'd we are undone our selves. And indeed the sequel confirms this Opinion, for Pyrrhus retired to Tarentus, and the Consuls, making no pursuit after the enemy, distributed their forces into winter quarters in Apulia, whereas the time of yeare gave them leave, and Reafons of War might well have perfwaded them, to have profecced so glorious a victroy. Moreover I find not that these Consuls made any Triumph, and many think that P. Decius in this Battel devoted himselfe, who dying as did his Father and Grandfather, yielded himselfe the Third facrice, without intermission out of the fame family, for the good of the Common-wealth. Which as I had no thoughts to gain-fay, So should I not have related in the general silence of all Histories, but that a grave Author M. Tullius Cicero in his bookes of Phylophony more then once make mention of it. The fight at Aculum thus ended, the rest of the yeare was quiet and free from all warlike Expeditions, only the whole time spent in Conflagration and preparations. Pyrrhus, having left molt of his old forces, friends, and Commanders, sent into Epirus with order for a supply of Men and money for next yeare. But before that Nation could be set forth, new hopes arising alter'd the Kings Counsells. Pyrrhus had sometime the profession of Macedonia, welling it out of the hands of Demetrius, and again to't by the Power of Lysmachus, Now while Pyrrhus waged war in Italy, Phocion Cassius being slain by the Gauls, there seemed a new wave of invasion into Macedonia, being deluitive of a Prince and the slate of affairs in Confusion. This Reason persuaded him not to leave Epirus naked of soldiers, lest it should be obnoxious to the injuries of the Gauls who now opprest the Neibour nation on Macedon: But Pyrrhus did not as then there his Oourse homeward, being upon other Occasions (as shall be related) call'd into Sicily. The winter being past over in these Cares the New Consuls came to the Army C. Fabricius Lucius, and Q. Emilinus Papus (who before had born a Consulschip together) which Pyrrhus understanding drew forth his forces, intending to obverse the Marches and Counsels of his enemy. Their Camps being not far distant, there happen'd an Accident very remarkable, and by most men related much after the same manner, One Timochares an Ambracian, who held a good honourable place in the Kings favour, secretly came to Fabricius, and promised him, if he would give him an answerable reward, to Poyfon the King; which he thought was easy for him to accomplish by his sons, who were Cup-bearers to the King. Fabricius; no way delighted with the Trefon, informed the Senate of it. The Senate not discovering the Trefon of Timochares, who had (by what means ever) intended the Roman profit, sent Embassadors to Pyrrhus, who should only in general warn him, That he should look well about him, and take heed of what mens service he made use of, and engage into their faithfulness and honesty. Thus Fabricius Anius relates the busines. But Claudius Quadrarius in stead of Timochares make Nicer the undertaker of this Poyfoning, and that notice was given not only by the Senate but by the Consuls, reciting also the Letter of the Consuls, wherein they discover Nicer's design, That they are unwilling to signe by craft, or with money, and with the King safe from Trefon, hoping he will become an Illuminns Ornument to their victroy and Triumphs.

Some Report it was the Kings Physician who treated with Fabricius either in person or by Letter, and that upon his discovery, he was hang'd. As there may be doubt in these Circumstances, so no question they are deceived who say that Curius sent the Physician to the King. Tis said that Pyrrhus at this time wonder'd at the experience of so great Vertue in Enemies, cry'd out, This is that Fabricius, who can with no little difficulty foresee from the Rules of Physic and Honesty, then the Sun be turn'd out of his Counsels. He did immediately, left he should be Overcome with Kindneffe, return the Romans all the prisoners he had, and sent Curius again.
In place of Livie's Thirteenth Book.

to obtain peace and friendship. It seemed dishonourable to receive a gift from the enemy, where- by they might be thought to have abhorred wickedness more for gain then for the love of Ver- 
tue, they therefore sent back an equal number of Tarentines and Sammites that their captives 
might not be received gratis. This publick abstinence was to their greater Credit seconded by the 
verite and resolution of private persons, when the gifts of Pyrrhus (which Cicero in 
Great Number and those very precious had Carried to Rome for both sexes) were refused not 
only by the Men but by the women. For when upon the refusal of some, he professed to 
others, and others again, there was not so much as one man or woman to be found to mean 
courageous to open a door for the Receipt of a Kings gift. The Former answer was now again 
returned to the Embassadors, That until Pyrrhus had quitted Italy, they would esteem him an 
Enemy to the people of Rome. While Pyrrhus was much perplexed at these passages, not knowing 
how to prosecute the War with any cheerfulness, nor willing to depart Italy with any loss 
of Reputation, the Sicilian affaires did seem to him, the management whereof (after 
long and doubtful deliberation) he resolved to undertake. For so he thought the Roman 
war might with credit be declined, and the command of a most Rich Island, obtained, 
he had also an earnest desire of being revenged on the Carthaginians, as being first provoked by 
them. For to suspicute the Kings designes had a little before hand lent Magos with a Navy of 
hundred and twenty ships, laying, The Romans ought by Foreign aid to be effsied against 
a foreign enemy. And though the Romans united not their affilience, making answer, That they 
were not wont to undertake any War but what could be managed by their own forces; Yet now 
this fourth time was the League renewed between the two Commonwealths.

To the former Articles it was added, That whether the Romans or Carthaginians made peace 
with Pyrrhus, it should be specially excepted, that they might affit one the other, which forever 
of them were provoked to war; And, that when either had need of the others help, the Carthaginians 
should provide ships, each party pay their own soldiers, the Carthaginians aid the Romans 
by sea, but not be compelled against their wills out of their ships. Which being agreed upon, 
Magos went to Pyrrhus under pretence of treating of peace, but indeed to discover the Kings 
Councils, whom the Carthaginians had understood to be invited into Sicily: And they offerd 
their Navy to the Romans not to much out of any good will or care of their safety, but further 
to involve Pyrrhus in his Italian War, let he should spoil their successe in Sicily which flour 
ished to prosperably. They had then also guarded the passage into Sicily with a numerous 
flote, pretending the siege of Rhegium, but indeed resolving to hinder Pyrrhus from transmitting 
his Army. For these causes did he wholly apply his mind to the Sicilian affaires, which fill 
ated him with great hope, as by the state of things, so by the frequent Embassies which came one 
after another out of the Island, affirmed, That he was desired by the prayers of all men, as the 
only remedy of their calamities wherein they were more sharply afflicted than the most miserable 
Nation under the heavens. For after the death of Alcmaeon, more lamentable than undefend 
ed, one Meno, born at Agrigentum, a City of Sicily, who had poison'd the King, endeavouring 
to usurp the government, was by Hiero the Prior expelled the City, and fled to the Carthaginian 
forces: Hence arose an heavy war and unfortunate to the Syracusians, by which never 
the less Hiero, in particular strengthened himself, and turning his forces against Priestises 
of Agrigentum, he held the Island long time in trouble, till by the boldness of one Themo he 
was deprived of his Domination which he had held for nine years. Themo endeavouring to re 
tain the Sovereignty, was refilid by Sosistratus a Syracusan Nobleman. These two along 
time contended, Themo poising in Naxus, an Island which is part of Syracuse, Sosistratus 
exercising the Tyranny in the other parts of the City. When at length by those discords they 
faw nothing but destruction likely to ensue, with one content they decreed to fend for Pyrr 
hus, who being the son in law of Alcmaeon, and next in succession, as having a son by 
Laurence, was thought fittest to bear rule, as being able by his courage and his forces to settle 
their affaires. Moreover, the principal men of Agrigentum and Locuntum, offering the Go 
vernment of their Cities, and consequently of the whole Island, unanimously intreated him 
To come into Sicily as soon as may be, to receive them with his presence, being wearied with lab 
houring under the heavy burden of an Barbarous slavery. For the Carthaginians having wasted 
their grounds, had befriend the City of Syracuse, both by sea and land, with a Navy of an 
hundred ships, and an Army of fifty thousand men. Pyrrhus therefore without delay lenthed 
Cinius before (whole wisdom and faith he much trusted to) to agree upon Conditions and 
Articles of friendship with the Sicilian Cities. At his departure he comforted his Italian con 
 federates, promising, That if they were opprest by the Romans he would in speed come out of 
the neighbour Island much encroached with new forces. But when he was about to leave a Gar 
son in Tarentum, they taking it in ill part, desir'd, He would either perform his promised affi 
lance on those conditions he was call'd on, or that at least he would leave their City free. They 
could obtain neither, Pyrrhus returning no other answer, but commanding them, To carry his 
lesire. The Epyt King being thus employ'd, the Confuls had the easier war against their other 
enemies. I find they had about this time good successe against the Etrurians, Lucians, 
Brutians and Sammites. It appears there was not great matter done against the Etrurians, in 
that there was no Triumph made for that war, neither was the whole nation, but few Cities engaged, 
who re-infused against the Romans those arms they had so lately laid down, being solicited 
by the Sammites, who found themselves left naked by the departure of Pyrrhus. Among the 

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other
other nations as the war was more heavy, so was the Victory more illustrious over them. C. Fabricius the Consul (his Colleague, as is imagined, being gone into Etruria, inasmuch as upon the Epirots departure one Consular Army was thought sufficient) overcame the Lucaniens, Brutians, Tarentines and Samnites: Some Cities, among which were Heraclea, he drew into Covenants, and over those people he triumphed before the Ides of December.

An Assembly of the people being held, new Consuls were chosen for the year ensuing, P. Cornelius Rufius again, and C. Fabius Brutus again. Other Nobles were Candidates with Rufius, but by Fabricius his favour he was chosen. Wherein Fabricius considering the times, prefer'd the publick safety before private quarrels; For by reason of their difference in Manners there was Enmity between them two, Fabricius being of proofe against Mony was guided only by his care of the common good; Rufius more greedy of wealth than ordinary, many times order'd his counsels and actions to his private gain. But being otherwise Industrious and a good Commander, Fabricius judged him to be prefer'd before his Competitors who were far inferior to him in Martial affairs. 'Tis reported, when Rufius gave him thanks, Cicero de O. that being at enmity with him he had help'd him to the Consulship, especially when so great a War was on foot; he answer'd, 'Twas not much to be wonder'd, if he had rather be pifi'd, then sold to the enemy. For there was great War remaining in Italy, and Pyrrhus finding all things goe according to his desire in Sicily (whether he now was gone) 'twas reasonably fear'd he would quickly return a more formidable enemy by the Acte of the Strength of so Noble an Island.

BOOK IV.

H I L E these things were doing in Italy, Pyrrhus having shipp'd his Army and Elephants, failed from the Tarentine Fort into Sicily, after he had continu'd two years and four months in Italy. Being conducted by Theneus, who met him with his Navy, he was receiv'd by the Sicilians with wonderful cheerfulness, freely delivering up into his hands their Towns, their Forces, their Money and their Ships. Being thus in a short time possesse of the dominion of the Grecian Cities, he did also by force of arms extort from the Carthaginians all whatsoever he held, excepting only the City of Lilybaum, which the Carthaginians being help'd by its convenient situation, defend'd against all his assailes. Whence justly conceiving great and vast hopes in his mind, he resolved, leaving his eldest Son the Patrimony of his Father, to settle the other two, the one King of Italy, the other King of Sicily. Both the reputation and virtues of this King were indeed at that time very great; and the Sicilians having for many years sustaine'd both foreign and civil wars, and a plague worse then both, the tyranny of usurpers, seem'd willing with joy to entertain any indifferent Prince over them. But when, a little after, he proceeded to raise moneys against their wills, and put to death some of their Nobles, he contracted much hatred, which was encreased by the covetousnes and arrogance of his Officers, whose vices did every where as much wrong him as his own; therefore next to the first and principal care Kings ought to have, of being themselves Egregiously good, 'tis for their honour and safety to make a choice of virtuous Favourites, seeing private men are blamed only for their own faults, but other men's crimes are imputed to Princes. But these things
things hapned afterwards. Now at Present, while their Zeal was hot, he was with the highest Honour and magnificence received, first by Tymarian Prince of the Tauronimitians (for in that part of the Iland he landed) then by the People of Catanea, and so passed with his foot-Army to Syracuse: His fleet he commanded to be brought about not farre from the shore, ready prepared for fight, as thinking the Carthaginians would not suffer him to approach the City, without hazard of a Battell. But it hapned, that a little before Thirty of the Carthaginian ships were upon other Employment gone from the Navy, which because they were not return'd the Admirall refueld to venture on the Fight with the Reft. Wherefore Entring without Resistance, Themist and Pitystratus yielding Possession, he took into his hands the Publick Treasure, an hundred and twenty Covered ships, Twenty open ones, their Weapons, Engines, and all other Furniture for Warre.

In the Interim came Embaftadors from the Leontines, whose Prince Heraclidas offered the City and all his Forces. Four thoufand Foot, and five hundred Horfe. Neither were other Cities flower in their Submifion, but came in driven as it were by a Torrent of Fortune. Pyrrhus treating them all with much Humanity, and gaining their Good wills, sent every one back to his own City, entertaining now more ample Hopes in his mind, intending if affairs proceed fo favourably as to pass over into Africa, Things went not so well with his Confederates in Italy, for Milo, who was left at Tarquent with part of the Army, was not able to protect them from the hostility of the Romans, now in the abfence of the King and his main Strength. But as yet it was well for them that the Romans deferring a while the Tarquentine warre, both the Confuls converted their forces againft Samnium. The Samnitians (feeing their Fields burn't, their Caffles purpliz'd, the whole burthen of the Warre to fall on them, and that they were forfaken by their Friends) being inferior both in strength and Courage, forfaking their Townes and Villages, betook themselves to the high and craggy Mountains, carrying with them their Wives and Children, and what things of most value they could in fuch a Tumult and fear convey away. Among the Romans besides the Emulation of their Commanders, there was arisen great Negligence and Carelefsnes (the Indifpenfable Companion of Prosperity) caused by their own Conftant good Succes, and their Enemies Fear. Hereby they suffered some Loss and more Disgrace; for their Souldiers confidently creeping up craggy and difficult passages were beaten back and destroy'd by the Samnitians, who had pofted themfelves of advantageous places; many were slain, being overwhelmed with Stones and Darts, or tumbled down the Precipices; others having no convenience either of retreating or ftriving were taken alive. This Accident caufed the Commanders to divide their Forces, for each laying the blame of the Miffortune upon his Colleague, bafled he could have managed the busines better if he had been alone. C. Junius with his Legions remained in Samnium, P. Cornelius drew out his forces againft the Lucanians and Bruitians, where carrying about the Terror of his Armes, waiting the Grounds and burning the Villages, he had occasion'd great Efforts. In the utmost parts of the Italian Shore, towards the East and the Ionian Sea, where the promontory of Lucanium strethches forth it felle, is feen Croton of old very famous, and now also confiderable for it's Wealth; Through the midft of it in those days ran the River Eufpus, on each fide whereof the Multitude of Buildings were encondized with a wall of Twenty miles circumference. This City the Conful not daring to beafure, had thoughts of obtaining by Treatery, for he was put in hopes by many of the Roman faction there, that if he would timely advance his forces to the walls of it, being now deftitute of foreign Aide, he might eaflily take it by the help and afliftance of thofe who were weary of Pyrrhus his Dominacion, but it hapned about that time that either out of fear of the Enemies Neighbourhood, or fulpcion of Treafon, which is feldom long hid, the Crotonians had procured aid from Milo: Nichomachus came to them with a ftrong band of Lucanians, who iffuing out upon the Confull (not aware of any thing, but confidently coming up to the walls without fear of Danger) beat back with the hauftter and wounding of many of his Men. Rufinus defiring by Coufell to remedy that losf he had by his Rafhnites futfain'd, on ficut purpofe encraft the Rumour of his Overthrow, and that he might feem bruenk with the greater fear pretends to defift from his Enterprise, commanding the Baggage to be pack'd up as for a fudden Departure; This News was quickly bafi'd about the City (as from a Camp fo meft needes be) and besides a probable caufe of the busines, their Credulity was help'd forward by their desire to have it fo, when on a fudden (their minds being already thus inclin'd) a certain Captive (being thereunto laboured by the Conful, in hope of Liberty and further Reward) comes into the City, as in this haffy departure of the Romans he had taken opportunity to Ecape: He informs them that Cornelius Rufinus, having not strength enough to force Croton, was gone to Locri, being invited by some who promifed to betray it to him. By and by comes another who confirming the former news, added moreover, That the Romans were now on their March. And while they discover his Raffhnes and Troopes moving that way which leadeth to Locri. Nichomachus being deluded by this Wile, marcheth swiftly with his forces the neareft way to Locri, intending likewise to defend it, which when Rufinus by fecret Meffengers underfood, he turneth back prefently to Croton, as upon better advice, fo with better Succes then before. His diligence was made prosperous, not only by the security of his Enemies, but by the favour of Fortune alfo, for a thick mist chas'd to surround him, fo that he was almoft within the walls with his
Victorious army before the Crotanians underflow he was returned. The joy of this victory, of it selfe ample enough, was abundantly creased by other as glorious successes; Fortune seldom observing a mean on either hand. For Nicomachus receiving himself to have fall into a remediless Error, not knowing what to doe, as he returned to Tarquinii, was met by Rufius, lost great part of his men, and very hardly escaped himself with the Reit; When not being content to defend one City he lost two. For the Locris likewise being animad with this successe, having slave the garrisson Pyrrhus left among them, with the governour of it, whose opposition they could no longer endure, betook themselves to the friendship of the Romans. Notwithstanding this Processe of affairs, the Sammites and other nations were not so far deflected, but that still they resolved to endure the work that Fortune could bring upon them, encouraged, before their own innate obstinacy, with their Hops of Pyrrhus's Returne, hearing the news of his victories in Sicily. For Pyrrhus (that we may relate his actions out of Italy also, which were performed in those times and places, having influence upon, and being joyzed with the Roman affairs) having felted things at Syracuse and Leonitium, went about the same time with his Army to Agrigentum, meeting Messengers by the way with News, that the Carthaginian Garison was thrust out of the City, and that the Ag农药tines yielded themselves and all they had into his protection; which accordingly at his coming they did. For Soffratus (who had delivered up Syracuse to him) together with the City, presented him with eight thousand foote, proper young men, and eight hundred horse, a force nothing inferior to the Epirets Pyrrhus brought with him. Thirty other Cities, which Soffratus had the command of, did by his means submit themselves to the Kings discretion.

These things thus transacted, he sent to Syracuse for all forts of weapons, engines, which were of use in the siege of Cities. For now his design was to assault the Cities under the Carthaginian Jurisdiction, having an army of thirty thousand, besides fifteen hundred horse, and the Elephants he brought over into Sicily. The first he took was Horaecia, where was a Patrick garrison, then Azone; After which the Selimusians, Halcyanzans, and Egeians following his fortune forsook the Carthaginian party, giving an Example to many other Townes in the same quarter of doing the like. The Erycines, confiding in the number of their Auxiliaries and strength of the place, he was resolved with all his power to assault, having therefore order'd his men, himfelfe armed, coming up toward the walls, Vowed a Vow to Hercules, if that day he should manifest himselfe to the Gracians a Warriour worthy of the Race he came of and the office he bore. After the figure was given, and that the defendants, with a cloud of arrows being drawn from their fittations, gave way to the placing ladders upon the walls, the King himfelfe first of all men entred into a mott noble fight against all opposers, tumbling some down with his shield, slaying others with his sword, and terriflying all with the greatness of his Courage and strength; neither was this fight more glorious to him, then in every consideration of prosperous; for without receiving any wound, with great honour he gaine the Citie at that one form, his foildiers being no leffe animated by his Example then fearfull of his danger, for both which reasons they fought with the greater contention. He then did facultie to Hercules according to his vow, and for many days exhibited Plays and Shows of severall kinds in great Magnificence and Pompe. In this year I find there was a Triumph at Rome over the Lucanians and Brutians before the Nones of January. But I wonder to find it ascribed to C. Junius, seeing Rufinus his Province was amongst them, and that he took two famous Cities, and that other Authors title him a Triumpnal Man.

Rome being not very severe, considering the progress of Pyrrhus his affairs, was otherwise much terrified with Prodigies and Pestilence; The molt horrid Omen was, that the Flame of Jupiter Capitolinus being litten with Thunder, the head thereof was strucken off and carried quite away, neither could it be found but by the act and care of the South-fayers. The Plague likewise committed great slaughter amongst them, taking away man and beast by a common Murrain; but was molt formidable in Abortion, for there was no young ones almoft of man or beast which came forth safe and entire, infomuch as it was believed the anger of the gods would confume all living creatures. Which Affidiction made the other Confulship of Q. Fabius Maximus Gagus very wherein, he had C. Gennius Elephius for his Colleague. And yet they left not off their war against the Sammites and Lucanians; and two certain arguments are there that they made great slaughter of their enemies, for the same year Q. Fabius the Conful Triumphed over the Sammites, Lucanians and Brutians in the Quirinals, and those people sent Letters to Pyrrbus and Embassadors, declaring. They were utterly undone without speedy help, that they could no longer sustaine the power of the Romans, but must of necessity prevent the uttermost extremity by yielding up themselves. This thing much inclined Pyrrbus to depart the Iland and transport his forces again into Italy, seeing also his affairs now to be more dificult in Sicily, by reason the affections of men grew cold; and, by the consideration of some injuries received, were turned into hatred against him.

Which his resolution, and the series of enuing affairs, that they may the better be under-
Camp to Panormus it self, which received its name from the fair and ample haven which leadeth to it: This he took by force, and having likewise taken a place called Epityrite, seated in a pleasant mountain, but upon hard passages, between Panormus and Ervy, he had now the possession of all the Carthaginian Province, excepting only Lilybaem. This City was lately built by the Carthaginians, as an habitation for the Mantians, whose town Dionysius the Tyrant had in the Punic War demolished. Wherefore the Carthaginians, seeing that of all their dominions in Sicily, their hopes were confin'd to this only place, resolved with their utmost strength to defend it against the preparations they understood Pyrrhus made for the siege of it. Wherefore bringing in thither a considerable strength of Souldiers, with plentiful provision, as likewise amunition of all forts (which they had opportunity enough to do, having the command of the seas) they diligently adhibited all care possible to fencet it on every side: Especially where it lay open to the land they erected many Forts and Towers, encompassed with large ditches: Their work was the sooner finifhed, in regard the town being for the most part of it built upon the Rocks of the sea, needed no artificial Bulwarks in those places. Now, though they made great preparations for the War, and had hired many forces, as from other Countries, so from Italy also; yet they sent Embassadors, promising, If they could obtain peace upon equal conditions, to assist him with mony and ships. Pyrrhus would hear no mention of money, defiring only to retain those Cities he had taken, seeming willing to allow them the possession of Lilybaem. But the Kings friends, and the Sicilian Princes enforcing him, That so long as the Carthaginians held Lilybaem, (as a ladder ready prepared whereby to scale all the rest of Sicily) the Island would never be void of the fear of them: caused him to return an answer, That there was but this one condition of peace he would agree to, to wit, That they should clearly quit Sicily, and suffer the sea to be the bounds of either's dominion. The hopes of peace being thus broken off, he draweth his forces forthwith toward the City, and Marching his army not far from the walls, in such order as those who were tired might (by turns) be relieved by fresh men, he began the assault. But the Lilybatsians having a sufficient number of Souldiers to defend them, and being provided of Engines and Ammunition kept the City safe. For the Carthaginians had brought in so many Catapults and Scorpions that the whole compasse of the walls was not able to receive them.

When therefore a flower of all forts of weapons and darts overwhelm'd the Kings Men, playning many and wounding more, they defied from their Enterprise. Pyrrhus likewife set himself to work to make Engines of Battery, beside those he brought from Syracuse, and digging Mines under ground, he attempted all arts belonging to a siege: But the Carthaginians stoutly refiting, when he had for almost two months wearied himself in vain, and saw that the beleaguer'd hadfree eregrate and regrefse at the fea, the City could not be taken, he broke up his siege and employ'd his forces other where. For some Greek Cities, besides other heavy oppressions, being compelled to pay tribute, implored his affiurance against the Mamertines, living upon the fea coaft. Pyrrhus therefore leading his Army in halt, when he had taken and flain some Mamertines he found gathering Taxes in those places. Encountering their main body proved Conquerour, and took by force and demolifh'd many of their Garrifons. And hitherto the King by his Illinftruous performances had obtained great Power and Honour, having beside his other Vertues, with his singular Humanity not only won, but deferved the Love and Afection of the Cities. But this so great Fidelity, which one would think so firmely grounded, was in a moment defroy'd, as by that Levity of Mind which was never wanting in this people, and by the Intemperance of his friends, so chiefly by the Kings own fault. Who, being in adversity irreprehensibly good, was puffed up with pride in his prosperity, in which Condition Mens minds are indeed generally found to be weakeft. When therefore, as we have said, he esteemed a Fleet necessary for the accomplishment of his undertaking, and that though he had many ships, yet they were not well furnish'd with Sea-men, he very much offended the City with a Thirft Presf of Sea-men; being now on a sudden changed, and from his former gentleness proceeding to proud commands, threats and extreme punishments; these things nevertheles were tolerated, as having the pretence of publick good. But, when they faw those very men to be flain, by whose good will and affiurance chiefly he had obtained Sicily, many people, not by degrees, or interposing delays, but on the sudden changing their minds, revolted from his friendfhip, and applied themselves (as for every one was most opportune) to some to the Carthaginians, some to the Mamertines. So that cruelty, when it is alone is always grievous, doth then become utterly intolerable, when being exercised against the well-deferving, it contratteth (before the hatred properly due to it self) the deteation of an unthankful and pettifond mind. He seemeth to have brought himself to this necifity of governing by violence, being too much over-ruled by the naughty Afections and counsels of his own men, for unto them (being no whit better) did he bellow the riches which were fequeftr'd from the friends and kinmen of Agenocles. The chief Magiftracies of Cities he committed to his Penioners and Captains, not according to the statues and customs of the Cities, nor for the due time precrib'd, but in what manner, and for as long as he pleased. Law suits, and controversies, and all the whole administration of publick businesse he afflicted to himself, referring many to his Familiars and Favourites, who were hateful for their avarice and luxury, a like intent upon gaining and spending mony by wickednes, who being greedy to satisfie their own bift, make no diffinition between
between Right and Wrong. Mens minde being hereby is cens'd they begun to muturm after ward openly to Complain why they had reported of their former Condition, if now the very same things were to be born Wish'd that in vain was Pyrrhus invited and receiued, if he studied to imitate those manners he came to punish, that no injury can possibly be of so sharp and aprehension, as that whereof is the Author who ought to have been the Averger. And now many began not very obstinately to move sedition, and cause a Revolution of things, whereas as he hearkning to pernicious Counsell, chose rather to encrease cauou of Offence, then take them away as what evil was by Injustice committed, were by Cruelty to be mended. In the meantime the Carthaginians, observing that Pyrrhus was not so very strong in his own Country forces, and was daily less affected by the Sicilians, conceiving hopes of recovering their lost Province, had sent over an new Army which found bulifs enough for the Epiporens, many flying over to them who flowd in fear of Pyrrhus's cruelty. Pyrrhus under pretence of the Pyrnick War, introducing Garrisons into the Cities, resolved by false accusations of Treason to take away the lives of the greatest men, thinking afterward the more easily to keep the people in awe. At length he aimed at Thescri and Sofffratus, the principal men of the whole Island, by whose affiliation chiefly (as we have declared) he obtained the command of Sicily. Thescri was slain, Sofffratus fled to the enemy, affording him no leffe help and authority to the calling Pyrrhus out of Sicily, then he had before to the bringing him in and continuing him there.

Upon this many Cities revolving, greater part to the Carthaginians, some to the Mamertines, Pyrrhus his affairs were reduced from a molt flourishing Condition to a very narrow and evil state. In this Conjuncture the embassage of his Italian confederates came not unwelcome to him, complaining That having loft all things, they had very few Cities left which were able with much ado to keep the Enemy from entering their walls. This gave him a faire and honourable Pretense of departing, that he might seeme, not expelled out of Sicily by the Carthaginians, But to return into Italy for the Relief of his oppriffed associates. Being now jut going, when he seriously considered the feitution and wealth of the Island, and disposition of the Inhabitants, O (faith he) what a fair field do we leave the Romans and Carthaginians to fight in for Supremacy! And his Prefage proved true, as was witnessed by the wars suddenly ensuing, wherein so many Navies were destroyed, and Armies routed.

But the Enemies Courage increasong with their Fortune, Pyrrhus had neither a faire departure out of Sicily, nor a quiet Voyage to the Tarentines in Italy. The Carthaginians assaulting him in his Passage crofs the Sea, sunk f彭ty of his ships, and made the rest ufeles (the Epiporens almost utterly unskilful in Maritime affairs, being not able to grapple with men of fuch Experience therein) So he fled out of the Fight with Twelve ships into Italy, who had come thence, with above an hundred, besides a greater number of ships of Burthen. But gathering together these fouldiers who made a shift from the Overthrow to escape to fhorre, he had presently a strength so great that he conceived hopes of taking Pargum by force. But being beaten off by the Carpantians who defended it, he presently fell into a great danger. For as he led his Army through bold and difficult passages, the Enemy out of Ambush fell upon his Reare, and flew a great Number of his Men, with two Elephants. 'Twas no contemptible force, neither for Number nor the quality of the Warrantions, which thus affaulted them; they were little lefs then ten thoufand old fouldiers, moft of them Mamertines, who trufling in their friendfhip and cognation with the Rhapsians, having underflood that Pyrrhus intended to return for Italy, had crofsd the sea before him, and in hope of prey had privily disposed of themselves in advantageous places to make a sudden irruption upon him.

Pyrrhus, according to his wonted Boldnefle fighting in the front of his Battel, received a wound in his head, which when he was gone alide to dié, one of the enemies of large stature, and gellant in his Armour, advancing before the reft of his Fellows, challenged him with a loud Voice, bidding him, If he were alive, to come forth. Pyrrhus burning with anger, and Terrible in Countenance, the blood running about his face, his men not being able to hold him, made a sudden affault upon him, and with a blow on his head struck him to the ground. 'Tis reported, his sword was fo well temper'd and his Arm as fo strong, that at one stroke he clef't the Man in funder, even from the head to the bottom of his body, his parts on each side divided falling to the ground. The enemy terrified with the strange novelty of this spectacle, and admiring him as above the ordinary Ranke of Men, left off the fight. Pyrrhus, being rid of this trouble, had notwithstanding little joy. For, inasmuch as he now loft part of his Carriage, and that the wealth he had gather'd by the spoils of the Sicilians, was loft in his left fight with the Carthaginians, he was in great want of moneys, fo that his fouldiers murmuring for pay, knowing not how elsewhere to provide it, he was compel'd to feize upon the Treasury of Proserpine: Her Church at Locris was in those days most famous for the Reputation of its holines, which town, when Pyrrhus had taken by the assistance of his faction within it, he committed many horrid facts by slaughter and rapine, more then the just revenge of his ılan Garrison did require. But there being nothing left which men would or could contribute to him, he laid hands on the holy money, being urged thereto by his worst friends, who had most commonly been the authors of every pernicious counfel: there were Euvagor the fon of Thedorus, Balcer the fon of Nicander, and Dinarchus the fon of Nicetas. They did not only per
Pyrhus, telling him that all things must yield to Necessity, but were themselves instruments in the sacrifice, digging up a vast summe of Gold, which had many years been preserved in vaults under ground. Pyrrhus rejoicing faid, there is nothing more foolish than unfeasible Devotion, and not to accept of Money ready prepar'd is the part of a mad man. And putting it into his ships he gave order to have it carried to Tarentus, himself going by land.

But this his fact was not more foule in the Commission, then it was unhappy in the Issue. A Storme suddenly arising upon the change of Wind, in the night time, turned about the ships in the dark; breaking one into pieces, and forcing others into the Maine. The ships which conveyed the Holy Money being shattered and torn into pieces, were sunk with all the men in them but the money it selfe lying upon some loose planks, was by the waves carried to the shore very near the Temple, from whence it was the day before taken. Pyrrhus underlandering the Accident, commanded the money to be diligently gather'd up and returned to its former place, thinking thereby to appease the Angry Deity. Nevertheless hencethoward he had no better success. Fortune Eluding all his Designes whatsoever, even those which were upon good advice, and Virtuously undertaken. Which he did always after constantly impute to the Anger of the Offended Goddes, as Proculus the writer of his History, and himself in his Commentary do affirm, and when the thing was newly done, not being able by many Sacrifices to make propitiation to Proculus, he put to death all the Authors of that unhappy Councell, the instruments of the Fact, and every one who had but lightly confented to the Commission of it. And these being executed according to their Deferts, Pyrrhus prosecuting his Design had afterward a quiet journey to Tarentus, The Romans being still more affrighted with the Plague, and fearing a new war upon Pyrrhus his return into Italy, attempted all Means both Divine and Humane for their Relief. 'Twas an old opinion, that the Peitience might be prov'd by the Dictators stricking in of a Naile, for the Experiment of which hopes 'tis probable that P. Cornelius Rufus was chosen Dictator, for as the greatness of the Calamity might-well provoke them to try all Remedies, so we find that Rufus was the year after taken notice of by the Cenours, when he had been twice Consull and twice Dictator, neither can there be found more certain monument, or a more convenient place for that his Dictatorship. Against the sicknes providing what Remedy they could, their Chiefeart care and diligence was required in matter of Armes, especially in regard of the Difficulty in raising Men. For besides the length of the Warre, the continuance of the Peitience had made men weary of entring into action, infomuch as the young Men did with wonderful Obliination decline the service. But the severity and constancy of C. M. Curius Dematius the second time Consull overcame this their wilfulness, for he now had entred the Magistracy with L. Cornelius Leonus his Colleague. When therefore in the Capitoll he first began his Leavy, because no man answered, he caufed the names of all the Tribes to be call'd into an Urne, and the Pellian Tribe coming out first, he caufed the first man of that Tribe whose name was drawn to be immow'd; and when he refr'd to appear, he fequester'd and sold his Goods, when afterwards he appea'd to the Tribunes complaining of the Consulls Injustice, he sold him also, saying, The Commonwealth had no need of such Citizens who knew not how to obey. The Tribunes nevertheless did not relieve him, and afterward the example being judged very wholesome grew into Cutilome, that when a Leavy was rightly and duly made, he who would not be a foildier should be told for a slave. Others being terrified by this Precedent did the more readily give in their Names, and having fill'd up their Legions both the Consulls marched into the Enemies Country; Leonus into Lucania, Curius into Samnium. Pyrrhus having intelligence of their motion, muster'd his army at Tarentus, and found himself almost twenty Thouland strong in Foot, together with three thousand Horse.

With these and the choice young men of the Tarentines he entred Samnium, but found not the Inhabitants so obedient as heretofore, they came not in so freely and readily as they had done, not only because their courage was over-weighed with the great and many losses they had sustained, but because they were jutly exasperated, imputing all their calamities to Pyrrhus, which they had not suffer'd, not had he by his departure into Sicily betray'd his Italian associates. Nevertheless he gathered together so great a strength, that he sent one part into Lucania to baifie the other Consull, while himself encountered Man. Curius, thinking if he once overcame him, he should easily complete his Victory over the rest. But the Roman very well understanding, that there is no Battalia comparable to the Macedonian Phalanx, when it hath Rome to spread and expatiate it self, kept himself in craggie and difficult places; and because he expected help from Lucania, and that the Auguries alfo and Entrails of Beasts promised no good success, he declined fight as much as might be: so much the more earneft was Pyrrhus to engage before the two Connullar Armies were joyn'd together. Chosing therefore out of his Army those who were most forward, he refolvd to affault the Roman Camp in the night time, when he might not be discover'd. But while he prepared all things for his intended purpose, he fell into a deep sleep and dreamt, that the greater part of his Teeth fell out, and that an abundance of blood flowed out of his mouth; in consideration whereof being much perplex'd, he intended to delit from his enterprise; but his friends earneftly persuading him, Left he should never again have the same opportunity offer'd him, he gave order to advance. Near the City of...
Mileventum (for that was the name of it in those days) are Mountainous and Woody places, which by degrees stretching themselves into somewhat more even ground, at length end in a very fair and open plain which is called by the name of the Tauromenion Fields.

Now Pyrrhus beginning his journey from the lower grounds up to the hills and woods, when his lights failed, was wilder for want of knowledge in the ways, so much that (the day breaking) he was discovered from the Roman camp. The Romans being moved at the unexpected approach of the enemy, yet, (because there was no doubt made but fight they must, and their sacrifices now proving more favourable) with the Consul's conduct cheerfullydffed out, and falling upon the foremost of the enemy, (who were far from the Main body, and in very good order) drove them backward, killing no small number of men, and taking some Elephants which the enemy left behind. This success encouraged Curius, to follow his Fortune and descend into the open field in Battle-array prepared to fight. Neither did the Epirots make any delay. The encounter was very fierce and furious on both sides, but the Romans having had the upper hand in the late skirmish, were much fuller of Courage and hopes. The Epirots giving back, Pyrrhus now again fought Refuge from his Elephants, and thereby (one of his own wings flying) he forced one of the Romans Wings to retire even to their Reserve. There had the Consul placed a strong force (resolving upon this occasion to engage himself) which he commanded, being now fresh, to renew the fight, and beat back the Elephants. Former experience had taught them an easy and ready way to oppose these beasts, that they were sooner diverted by fire then the word: Against them therefore were provided Iron instruments involved in much Pitch and Tar, which, being let on fire, were darted upon the backs and Towers of the Elephants, and whether they light on the skin of the beasts, or on the wood of the Towers, they fluck fast by reason of their hooked sharp points. Thee instruments and divers forts of darts, being flung from the upper ground, drove the Elephants into fury, partly by terror, partly by the pain of their wounds, so that their masters not being able to govern them, they rushed back upon their own battle, filling it with fear and slaughter. The beginning of this Rout is reported to be by a young E Hebrew, which being wounded in his head, sent forth a querulous noise, at which known voice the Dam was first startled, and she increasing the tumult, at length the rear were all in confusion and turned into flight. Very remarkable was this fight, both for the number of the slain and the fruit of the victory. For Pyrrhus being hereby utterly overthrown, neither did the rest of Italy long hold out, neither, after Italy, was any other Nation and King able to stand against them. 'Tis said the King in that Battle had thrice the number of the Romans, even fourscore thousand foot, and six thousand horse; of these they report the most fifty, and thirty thousand were slain, who report the leaves, fifty six and twenty thousand; thirteen hundred were taken prisoners, and eight Elephants, Pyrrhus with a few horsemen escaped to Tarentum. The Camp of Pyrrhus being taken, as it caused admiration, so was it of great use to the Romans. For they hereofore, as other people, ordered their Camps (scattering by companies in the manner of Cottages: Pyrrhus is held to be the first who rightly measuring and dividing spaces, contained the whole Army within one Trench; and by his example the Romans being allisted, and adding what they thought convenient, attained to that most perfect manner of pitching their Camps which afterwards they used.

This year was very famous, not only for their happy war abroad, but by reason also of Domettis affairs, and the notable severity of their City Discipline. O Fabricius Luscinus, and Q. Emilius Paetus, being Censors together, took away from many the Publick horses, and passed by many in calling the Senate. But most remarkable was Cornelius Rubens his note of Inflammy, who having been twice Conful and twice Dictator, was ejected the Senate by the Censors, and this reason given of his Punishment, That they found in his house the weight of ten pounds in plate to serve at meals: And in this Condition not only himself but his Family for a long time remained, whereof not any one attained to the highest honours, before Sylla the Dictator.

Such was the Parimony of this City in those days, and afterward so great the extravagancy, that it was by the Fathers condemned as an argument of intolerable Luxury, what their children would shortly esteem but a base and contemptible piece of householdfilsuff: Every mans estate being ceded and valued, the Army was purged by sacrifices; there were cessed two hundred seventy one thousand, two hundred twenty four Citizens. Both Confuls entered the Capitoll in triumph, first Curcius, whose triumph was the more illustrious, as for the fame of his Exploits, and great joy of his victory, so did it exceed in pomp and splendour. For heretofore their triumphs being over poor People their neighbours, were set on only with broken arms and Gallick waggons, nor any spoiles led but flocks and herds of Cartel but now there was a worthy shew both for the variety of Nations which were led Captive before the Chariot, and for the Beauty and Magnificence of the spoils. Epirots, Thessalians Macedonians, Apulians, Lucilians, Bruttians were led Bound, there were carried Painted Tables, the works of choice and rare Artificers, Gold, Purple, with other beyond sea rarities, and the influxion of the Tarentine Luxury. But the most wonderful and joyful spectacle were the Elephants with their four Towers on their backs. (for the rear were dead of their wounds) This was the first time they were ever seen at Rome; the common people called them Locus-Bulls, giving them their name from the creature they were hitherto best acquainted with, and their deno-
In place of Livie's Fourteenth Book:

denomination from the place they first saw them in: within few days after was the other Con-
fuls Triumph nothing so gallant, though his performances were not to be despised; he had
overthrown the Samnites and Lucanians, and taken many Townes, but in comparison of Curious
his Glory the Esteem of these things were not so high. Among the rest who had Rewards be-
flow'd on them for their Courage, he gave to Sex. Cornelius Murenda a Crown of Gold out
of the spoiles, because by his help chiefly a Certain Town of the Sammites was taken. While
the Romans thus enjoy'd the comfort of their Victories, the Enemy was in a far different
Polture. They had been long weary of Pyrrhus his Domination, but now after this unhappy
fight, their minde were so filled with fear and Indignation that they could take no Rest.

The King having been a long time averse from the Roman Warre, now utterly despairing of
the Conquest, thought of nothing more than how to get safely and honourably out of Italy.
But keeping his Counsell to himselfe, he encouraged his Associates, That they should not be
cast downe by one unlucky Overthrow, that they had not receiv'd so much loss by the last fight, as
by the former they had caus'd to the Romans, who notwithstanding could not be prevailed to Peace
upon equal Conditions; That now they should imitate the Roman Constancy, and referre them-
selves for better Fortune, and all would yet go well; That there is yet strength sufficient left, where-
to maintain a long Warre; That in Greece he had many Patent Friends, from whom he might
certainly expect succour. Neither were these things incredible, For he had already, especially
by Polyomy (who was then King of Macedon) been manifestly afflieted, he being then in great
Estimation both among Greeks and Barbarians, being much honourd by the Erohians (then
a most powerful Nation) as also by the Macedonians and the Kings of Lylyum, having obliged
some by Counteries, others by Fear. Yet all his boating was more with intent, to retain his
Confedermes (now ready to revolt) in Fidelity, till the less were open for his Return, then
to continue the Warre in Italy, or that he put any Trust in Foreign Aid. Sending neverthe-
less his Embassadors to the Kings of Asia and Macedonia, of some he crave dons, of
others Men, of Antigonus (who was then King of Macedon) he crave dons both. With these
hopes keeping his Associates firme to him (having in the mean time undertak'd provided all
things for his Departure) his Embassadors now return'd from Antigonus. Attembling there-
fore his own and the Italian Princes, he read unto them not those Letters which now he receiv'd,
but others which came before from Antigonus, promising plentiful Alliances sud-
denly to be fent; By this Craft having deluded both his own Associates, as also the Romans
who garrition'd neer him, the night following without any hindrance he hir'de falfly, and
made the Cerrmanian Mountains a Promontory of Epirus. But that he might seem not dis-
honourably to have relinquish'd the war, and ingender a belief of his Return after he had
accomplish'd the Design he was call'd aside for, he left behind him Milo to defend the Castle
of Tarentum, and that he might not onely by hope of Reward, but by fear of the like Punish-
ment, continue faithful, he gave him a Lease whose cover mas made of Nicator his skin,
whom he had put to death for his Trefon against him. Leaving therefore with him a garrition
of focondiers, with the Reit (to wit eight thousand foot, and five hundred horfe) he return'd
into his Kingdom, having been six years abente. At Rome not knowing but that Pyrrhus Pyrrho's
would renew the warre, they did at their Assembly choose M. Curius Consull again, because
he onely having had good succes against the King, was thought like to carry on the warre with
great Authority, and bell fortune, of the Patricians Mr. Cornelius Murenda was chosen,
being promis'd by his late purchas'd honour, and the Commendation of his Counothersmen,
under whose command he was left year; These being made Consull, reconven'd the heat of the
warre against the Lucanians, Sammites and Broonians, who defending themselves rather by the
Difficulty of Places then by Armes, gave no occasion of any Memorable action like the for-
er. Neither was Curious his Glory hereby diminisht; every one still judging, that that
Valiant K. Pyrrhus did not fo much for the overthow't nation'd, as hearing such a Captain as
Curios now again coming forth against him, To him therefore was attributed the Glory of
having chajed Pyrrhus out of Italy, and finishing the Warre. In that year which followed
Curios his Third Consullhip, there came Embassadors from the Alexandria Kings with
gifts to Rome, and in the Consullhip of C. Dorfo and C. Claudius Canina, Ptolomes Phila-
delphiis hearing of Pyrrhus his flight, fent to concert with the Romans, and to defire to
be Esteem'd their Friend and Associate. The Romans thought it very honourable that their
Friendship was bought by Kings so Potent and farre distant, therefore courteously receiving and
entertaining the Embassadors, they agreed to enter League with Ptolomes, for the Confirmation
whereof, and to return the like Kind office to the Kings; they fent Embassadors to him chosen
out of their Principal Men, of the Consulls &; Fabius Gurgus, and with him C. Fabius Epit Livic,
Piller, and Numerius Fabius Piller, and O. Oulinius. Thrice being gone, the Consull
had good succes against the Italian People, who fliil out of Necelcity and Defpair kept up
their Armes. The Triumph which Claudius Canina made in the Quirinalis over the Luca-
nians, Sammites and Broonians, is an Argument, that his Actions were of the greater Confe-
quence: But the Joy of all this Prosperity was somewhat diminu'd by Sextilius a Velthall Vir-
gin, who againt the Rules of her Order being found guilty of Incelf, was thought to provoke
the Anger of the Gods.

F. But

Plutarch

Livie

Plutarch

Stratagemati.

Livie's

Epit. 14.

Ep. 92.

Ep. 92.

Stratagemat.

Livie's

Epit. 14.

Ep. 92.

Livie's

Epit. 14.

Livie's

Epit. 14.
But appealing the gods by Sacrifices and Ceremonies, they turned the punishment on the head of the delinquent, and buried her alive at the Colline Gate. While the same men were Confuls there were Colonies planted, Cufa among the Volsciains, and in Lucania Paffium, which the Greeks call Petdoma; this city the Lucanians had taken from the Sybarites, and from them it lately came under the jurisdiction of the Romans. The memory of the year following is more notable, as putting an end not only to the war of the Samnites and others, but of the Tarentines also. L. Papiarius Curso, and Sp. Corvillus the second time Confuls, having Lucania, Samnium, with the Bruttians and Tarentines for their Provinces, did by their wisdom and worthy deeds fulfill the expectation of all men, for indeed this pair of Confus was on purpose chosen in hope of finishing the War this year. The Samnites being conquer'd by Corvillus the seventy first year after the war first began, did now with greater faithfulness receive the conditions of Peace imposed on them. Lu. Papiarius with great slaughter having overcome the Bruttians and Lucanians, compelled them to sue for peace. But (as it happens in one main war against many neighbouring People, the confines of whose Territory were interchangeably mislead) Papiarius had to do also with the Samnites, Corvillus with the Bruttians and Lucanians, and both of them with the Tarentines. Neither were the forces only of the Tarentines routed and put to flight, but their City also recover'd into obedience. Which business ought to be the more punctually related, because, besides the Victory of a most famous City, it comprehends the death of Pyrrhus, the subtility of the Carthaginians, and the first beginning of emulation between them and the Romans.

Pyrrhus, in two years since he failed from Italy, left a Garrison in the Calle of Tarrenus, thereby to begot hopes of his return, which afterward being more confidently expected by reason of his success in Macedonia, did strengthen the minds of the Italians against their present losses. For being a man of a fierce flattering spirit, not able long to rest, he had made war upon Antigonos, because he sent him no assistance into Italy, and overcoming him in a set battle, had almost driven him out of his Kingdom. Whence the Romans were in perpetual fear lest he should return into Italy with a more numerous Army, and renew the war more heavily then before. But his unexpected death did suddenly cut off both his hopes and fears of all men. For being inatidably desirous of increasing his power, under pretence of releting Cleomenes in his Kingdom of Sparta (being then at odds with Arcus) he entred Peloponnesus with a purpose to keep it in his own hands; and though he did in vain assault their City, yet he affrighted the Lacedemonians with great calamities: In Arcus, in the mean time, there being two Factiones, Arischippos the head of the one called in Antigonos, Arischis Patron of the other invited Pyrrhus to his relief and for the pulling down his adversary. For Antigonos was also come into Peloponnesus to afflit the Lacedemonians against the common enemy. In the same night at divers Ports were both the Kings forces admitted into the City by the Argives. Pyrrhus understanding his men were hard put to it, entred the City himself, and beholding a Brah Statue of a Wolf and a Bull as fighting, was presently possest with an opinion of his approaching death. For he was informed by an ancient Oracle, That that place would prove fatal to him where he should see a Wolf and a Bull fighting; he was therefore resolved to draw back his forces and retreat out of the City. But the Elephants and fouldiers coming in to his succour, meeting Helenus the son of Pyrrhus, quite stoped up the passage, so that some striving to go out, some to come in, the enemy likewise foresight upon those who gave back, the Argives, Macedonians, Epirots and Lacedemonians who came along with Arcus, some Elephants also, all crouding and being croud one by another in narrow streets, caused great fear and tumult amongst them.

Pyrrhus in the midst of all, every where endeavouring to protect his own, and beat back the enemy (giving advice, crying out with his voice and lifting up his hand) was by a certain young man of Arcus lightly wounded with a spear. This young man's mother a poor old woman (fitting amongst others upon the houfe top to behold the fight) when she saw Pyrrhus in fury and violence fetting upon him who wounded him, being affonified at her son's danger, suddenly snatcht up a Tile, and with both her hands flung it down on the Kings head. So miserable and void of honour was Pyrrhus his death, then whom that Age brought not forth any man more worthy, either for Courage of Mind, Soundness in Counsel or Skill in Marshall affairs, besides many other endowments both of Soul and Body. But by his Ambition he destroy'd the fruit of all his Labours, and defaced the Ornaments of his Virtue; he would have been much more happy if contented with his own fortune; and certainly the most potent Prince living had he used as much Wisdom and Circumpection in keeping what he got, as did Valour and Industry in the acquiring.

This news, being brought into Italy, did diversely, according to their several Affections, cause joy in some Cities, and sorrow in others. Other People who were at their own disposal, bought their Peace of the Romans upon what terms they could. But the Garrison of the Epirots, and Mile governor of the Calle restrained the Tarentines from using their Liberty. Between whom, by degrees of the lighter injuries and Reproaches, at length brake out open Enmity; so that the Tarentines being on each hand pressed with great Difficulties, having the Romans their Enemies without the walls, and the Epirots within, sent Embassadors to crave succour from Carthage. The Carthaginians, who possesed great part of Sicily and with the Coast:
Coasts-Towns of Italy rather in their own hands then the Romans, readily came with a mighty Navy, pretending only to call out our Milia, but resolving, if they gained Tarentum, to maintain it against the Romans. When therefore L. Papirius the Consul was also come, Tarentum was shut up on all sides, the Romans beleaguering that part of the City and Castle by land, the Carthaginians besieging the same Castle by sea. The Romans, in this state of affairs, being on no lese licentious left the Carthaginians should take the Castle then that themselves should loot it, subtly attempting all means of victory, treated with Milia by Convenient Messengers. That if by his means they obtained Tarentum, they would suffer himself, with all his Men, with a more convenient force, to depart with bag and baggage. Milia, finding nothing at present more convenient for him, deals with the Tarentines. That joining Councils together they might deliberate on their Common safety: and at length persuadeth them, To fend himself Embassador to Papirius diligently to conclude on Articles for all their Benefit. As they had willingly hereunto assented out of weariness of Care and dangers: Milia accordingly, being gone to the Consul, with whom he had secretly contriv'd his Designe, brings back better present conditions, and a most certain hope of making an agreement not to be repented of. The Credulous Tarentines hereupon with much security and confidence lay aside all care and Circumspection, giving Milia opportunity of delivering not only the Castle, but also the City it selfe up to the Romans. The Carthaginians no what contented with this Event, nevertheless pretending, Themselves friends to the Romans, and that the only cause of their coming was to Expel Milio, hoisted and returned. 

Some Authors affirm that the Romans forwarned the Carthaginians, That if they intermeddled in the Tarentine affairs, they should make a breach of the League, and that they not only lighted this admonition, but sent Auxiliaries to stand in Battell against them, upon which account chiefly the War brake forth between the Romans and Carthaginians in Sicily, though the Carthaginians, willing to cover their fault by Perjury, took Oath, That they did nothing With evil or delictful intent. As I will not deny but that some such passage might happen between the Generals, or that the people commonly disfoure to, while the Romans brook'd not the others presence, and the Carthaginian endeavoured to keep close their design, so I think there afterwards arose more probable caules of that War, in that it brake not out on the sudden. And that it was occasioned chiefly upon the Mamertines account, while the League was entire between the Romans and Carthaginians. The Conuls returning home, were received with the joy and falutes of all, and triumphd in great Pompe, with much Goodwill of the People. In the mean time C. Fabius Gurges, and the others who were sent to Alexandria, relate in Senate the Refult of their Embassage. They were receiv'd and Entertain'd with all kind of Hospitality and Benevolence, that great and Magnificent gifts were sent to them at their first arrival, but much greater at their departure, that it seemed to become the Roman dignity and abolition, modestly to refuse the first, that the other, which were by all means to be received, they had, before they did any other business, added to the publick Treasury; that as Alexandria, when being invited to publick feasts, they had Crowns of Gold sent them according to custom, they did for them make twice as much as receive them, but in the night time put them upon the Kings Statues. The Senate wonderfully rejoicing, both at the Success of their Journey, and the Gravity of the Embassadors, giving them thanks, That they had by their Conduite render'd the Roman Manners venerable to Foreign Nations, commanded the gifts they had convyenged into the Treasury to be restor'd them. The people likewise decreed the like, saying, The Commonwealth would be excellently well managed if the half means of growing rich by Publick employments were taken away: And the Quoers, according to command, willingly restor'd the money to the Embassadors worthy of the reward of their Abstinence, did with as much credit receive the Egyptian gifts as they had refused them. C. Fabius, who was prime Man in the Embassy, was, I believe, in this consideration also preferred before so many Egregious men, and chosen Prince of the Senate by M. Curius and L. Papirius the Censors, being now, by reason of the Nobility of his Family, his Fathers Merits, two Conulshipps, and as many Triumphs, Inferior to none in Honour. The fame men being Conuls, M. Curius the Censor was at coft, out of the enemies spoils, to bring the water of the River Anyn to Rome: So much scouring to encrease his private wealth by them, that being on a time by some ill-willers taxed of having perverted the publick mony, producing a piece of wood which he was wont to use in facrifice, took Oath, That of all the enemies plunder, he never brought nothing else into his house. He was a man indeed of high deferts, as for the greatness of his Exploits, so for his many Illustrious examples in other Virtues, as we shall by the by manifest, by relating some of his Actions and Sayings: For I count it not unworthy or unbecoming the Officce of an Historian, to recount those things whereby those who are hereafter to undertake the management of publick affairs may be no lese instruct'd in the attaining Felicity by Virtue, then by Military counsels and performances. In the Subire War (when there was such plenty of spoils that Fabius the writer of the History, thinketh the Romans then to have had the first taste of Riches) Curius, claiming nothing of so rich a victory, but the confidence and fame of it, continued in his former poverty and hardship of life. For when the Grounds of the Enemy were appropriated to the Commonwealth, he distributed to every private Person but forty Acres by the Man: And the Senate allotting him a greater portion, he being contended with the fame Measure he had meted to others, said, His
HE most potent enemy of Rome being now after many battels vanquished, and peace settled throughout all Italy, The Senators entred into Consultation how to make a good use of their Victories. They concluded to fine all Nations who had born Arms against them; the loss of part of their Territories, taking a more severe revenge of the Tarentines, by how much the more wantonly and intemperately they had offended; they were therefore commanded to refrain all those Arts and Ships, their Walls were demolished, a Tribute imposed upon the City, and nothing granted them but Peace and Liberty. There was now nothing of an old score more to be intended, then to punish the Treachery of that Legion, which circumventing the Rhegians by craft, had now for ten years possessed their City. They foreseeing that the Roman affairs proceeding so prosperously, their wickedness would not pass unreavenged, had very diligently taken care for whatsoever belonged to strengthening the City, and provided all things for their own defence, being very conscious that what is obtained by cunning and violence, cannot but by the same arts be maintained. Besides their own innate Fiercenesse, they much confided in the friendhip of the Mamertines, and were puffed up with their success against the Carthaginians and Pyrrhus, whereby they had sufficiently made experiment of the strength of their City, and the courage of their own minds, having quickly repulsed the enemies from the siege. They foresaw therefore to such an height of Rebellion, that daring to take Grotio, which was by some betrayed to them, they flew the Roman Garrison and demolished the City. Wherefore L. Geminus the Consul, who was that year Colleague with C. Quentellus, had commission to execute vengeance upon them, and the Rebels being confined within the Walls, the City was besieged. But while they strongly resisted with their own and the Mamertine forces, the Consul, having suftained some incommodities, and became want of necessary provisions, was affiicted with Corn and men by Hiero, who was at that time Prince of Syracuse. For he, being offended with the Mamertines, did likewise hate their associates of Rhegium; he was likewise moved by the encrease of the Roman power, to preoblige them to future benefits, as occasion should serve.

The Citie being at length forced to yield, the Mamertines were by the Consul disabled upon certain Covenants, the Runaways and thieves, many whereof had fled thither as to a sanctu-
In place of Livie's Fifteenth Book.

ry., were put to death: The Legionary fouldiers were carried to Rome that the Senate might paffe Judgement upon them. Herein was shewed a notable Example of publick feverity, for the Senate decreed, first, They should all be secured in prison, and afterward, be led to Execution: And when M. Fulvius Flaccus, Tribune of the People interceded for them, declaring, They ought not to take the Liver of so many Citizens, contrary to the Laws and Customs of their Forefathers, The Senators perfitting in their Resolution neglected the clamours of the Tribune, and Justice was accordingly executed upon the guilty. But let it by no where appear they might contract an odium, and the sorrow of the vulgar people be aggravated if such a multitude should at one time be put to death, they did every day execute fifty,ift? scouring, then beheading them. Moreover it was ordered that neither their Bodies should be buried, nor any Mourning made for their Death. Decius Jobilus (who had lived unto that day, after the Loffe of his sight, that he might die with the more griece) took away his own life in prison. Following the greatest number of Authors I have reported the whole Legion, even foure thousand men, to have been beheaded in the Market-place at Rome; but I think it more probable what is related by Polybius, That but three hundred of that Legion came alive into the Romans power, that the Ift, at the taking of the City, desperately fighting, chose rather to be slain, as well knowing that after such hainous widenes, nothing could be expelld upon surrender, but more torments and a cruel ignominious death. The City of Rhegium with all its former Rights, Laws, and Liberties was restored to the ancient inhabitants, as many as could any where be found or enquired out.

This act of Justice did much increase the Reputation of the City of Rome, and thereby was gained no leffe Love from all the Italians and neighbouring People, then their arms had caufed fear. In the Confulship of C. Genunius, and Cn. Cornelius there was war with the Saminites, a people of Umbria, inhabiting the Appennine Mountains: by what reason provoked, or in what hopes trusting, they now oppofed the Formidable power of the Romans (thole writings which are remaining making no mention) I am not able to Divine: Likewise the whole Proceedings of the war are utterly lofl, and of the memory of these things, nothing else is come to our knowledge, but that Cn. Cornelius Triumphed over the Saminites. Tis reported there was a molt sharp winter in thefe Confuls time, in fo much that the Sap being chill'd Trees withered; That Tiber was covered over with deep Ice, and that the Cattel perifhed for want of Fodder; so great and vehement was the coldnefs of the air, that moniftrous hills of snow lay unmeltd in the Market-place for forty days togethere. The thing being unusual in that Climate, and by many look'd upon as a Prodigie, perplexed mens minds with wonderful terror, their fear being not long after much enacted, when C. Oenius Gallus and C. Fabius Pictor being Confuls, many strange unheard of fights were seen, and many more reported. At Rome the Temple of Salus with part of the walls was fmiten with thunder and lightning; three Wolves before day brought a carkaf half eaten into the City, and being themselves feared by the noife of men, left it in the Market-place torn into pieces limb from limb.

At Faemii the walls were fayed to be often struck and cast down with thunderbolts, and news was brought, that in the Caelinian fields, the earth opened, and fire suddenly brake out, which flaming for three whole daies together, burnt five acres of ground to ashes, inforrnuch that not only all the fruits on that place were bllef, but even the Trees died at the very Roots. Those things caufed more fear then mercy at Rome; No great matter ensued, but that a War was made against the Picentins, which were the next year finifhed, added likewise that province to the Roman Jurifdictions. Now in the City began the Coining Silver, (their wealth being increased by their victories) whereas before Bralia only wasfued in all Exchanges; but then pennes and half pennes were made of Silver, which went for ten, and five pounds of braffe; there were likewise fiffer pieces which being esteemed at two pound and an halfe of braffe, were from their value called Serviores. It was called, Moneta, because it was coined in the Temple of Iune, to whom that Name was given, by reafon the did Moee, that is, adornm the Romans when in the War of Pyrrhus and the Tarentines they Confulted about their wants, That money would not be wanting to those, who observed Justice and prosecuted War. The Confuls C. Galus and C. Fabius went forth to apprehend Lollius the Samnite, who having been Hostage at Rome had privily escaped, and now poftellinf a certain Callife, committed Plunder and Pillage round about, flirring up the minds of his Countrymen to Rebellion, when they were fcarce well composd by the latt peace.

But he with the forces he had gather'd (being for the most part unarmed) could not long reftil: The greatest difficulty and danger was in the Province of the Carcines (a part of Samnien near the Frentaner) where the Romans affaulted a well fenced place, the Receptacle of Lollius his spoils, and from great hopes falling into great fear, did at length obtain the Victory. Some of the Garrison upon condition of Pardon, let the Romans into the walls in a bright Moon-thiny night, and the Townsman multuring themselves together upon the tumult; when they first began to fight a great drift of snow fell and took away their fight: This accident was a great help to the Carcines against the Romans, who were ignorant of the Pillages, in fo much that they were in very great danger, and now ready to give back and retreat (which in the dark could not have been done without much los) when on a sudden the Snow ceased and the Moon shone out again, and then being freed from blind fear, they did by their courage make way to Ve:
Victory. These combats were the cause why the Picents were not vanquished in those Consuls time.

But the year following P. Serniprenius Sophus, and Appius Claudius Censor the son of Caesar being Consuls undertook the War, and happily finished it. About these times was a Colony planted at Ariminum in the Picene grounds, which belonged to the Senones of Gallia, and another at Mataventum in Samnium, but changing the Name, which seemed Ominous, they called it Beneventum. The Sabines who were many years agoe admitted into the City, had now the liberty of Votes granted them. Claudius had also business in Umbria, where he took Carthage and sold the inhabitants for slaves. But because the war seemed not very honestly to be managed by the General, the Romans preferring Justice before their own profit, decreed, That the Camerites should be sought out and redeemed, that they should be received into the City, have a place of habitation allotted to them in the Aventine Mount, and their ground restored to them.

Greater was the joy for the Picentine Victory, which was thought worthy to be Coincd in their new Pieces of silver, that it might the more publickly be known, and the Memory thereof transmitted to Posterity. Q. Cassius the son of Quinctus, by order of Senate, took care for coining the Money, representing on one side Picus the son of Saturnus (for he is thought to be the Father of that Nation) on the other side a Roman Magistrate reaching forth his hand to a supplicant. And that, by subduing of that Country, a great access of strength was made to the Romans is Maniffest, in that three hundred and threee thousand Picentins subjected themselves unto them. For that War the Conuls, as they deferred, did Triumph, but Sempronius his Glory was the greater, in that with more dangers and hazard he had fought against the stronger enemy. For a sudden Earthquake, being very prodigious, happened, as the battles were set in array now ready to encounter, But the Conuls composed the fouldiers fearful minds, by an oration very fit for the occasion, telling them, The enemy was no less troubled with necessary devotion then themselves, that theirs would be the Illory who first flashed off fear, voluntarily charged the enemy before he was well come to himself. And vowing a Temple to the Goddess Tellus, if he would grant Victory to the Romans, he began the Charge, which was as Couragiously received and fo great a slaughter made, that, 'tis reported, the leffer half remained even of the Victorious Army. After this which (as other the Townes of the Picentins, so likewise) Arculums the Metropolis yielded it self to Sempronius, and by its example the whole Nation submitting it self in obedience, obtained peace of the Romans. All that part of Italy being now subdued, which lieth toward the Sicilian and Ionian sea, there remained only the Sallentins to be brought in, who live upon the utmost coast where the upper and Ionians seas meet, to these therefore as by a Contagion did the war proceed from the Picentins, M. Attilius Regulus, and L. Julius Libo being Consuls: The quarrel was pretended because they had received Pirrus into their Havens and Towns when he came first out of Epirus. But indeed the much truer caues of the war were thought to be the Convenience of the Haven of Brundisium, where ships may go in and out with the same wind, the ease passage from thence into Illyrims and Epirus, and that they esteemed it very opportune to have the same Bounds both of Italy and their own dominions. Both the Conuls triumphed for this war in one day, which was the eighth of the Calends of February.

Having overcome the Sallentins in a feat battel, they took Brundisium, the most famous Town in those quarters; other successe also they had, being aiffilid, as is reported, by Pales the Goddes of Shepherds, who of her own accord, as a reward of the Victory, desired to have a Temple dedicated to her in Rome. The greater part of the Sallentins being vanquished by these, the war was finished and the victory completed by the next years Conuls, who were Numerius Fabius C. F. M. N. and D. Junius, D. F. D. Nepos Pera. To these both the Umbrians and Sallentines yielded themselves. All Italy even between the River Po and the sea being generally settled, the Roman greatnes began to be famed and taken notice of by the neighbouring Islands, and the Continent adjoyning to the Ionian and Adriatic sea, casting in some hopes, in others fear.

For they who by violence and injury to their neighbours enlarged their own power, feared the Romans would prove an hindrance to their proceedings, the others contrarywise looking on them as a Succour, sent to them from heaven against the Oppression of their adversaries. The Apollonians were the first, who sending Embassadors to Rome craved their friendship; their Citie is casted threescore furlongs from the sea, being built by the Corinthians and Croceyans, having a very commodious haven, where the nearest passage is from Brundisium into Greece. The Illyrians and Macedonians are adjacent to them, so that against strong and Covetous neighbours they had much adoe to preserve their own liberty. The message was wonderful welcome and with much humanity received by the Romans, not so much for the wealth of the Citie which was but small, as for Future hopes in that they thought a way laid open and occasion given them of greater dignities hereafter: Insomuch that very sever punishment was inflicted on certain noble young men who upon a quarrel arising had strucken the Embassadors. Q. Fabius was not proceeded either by the Dignity of his office, for he was then Edile or the greatnesse of his Extraction, but was delivered up to the Apollonians for his offence. On Apolonius who was likewise Edile, was given up for the same crime, the Senate decreed, they should by He-
In place of Livie's Fifteenth Book.

Heraid to be delivered up into the hands of the Embassadors that a Quaestum should be drawn up, and them to Brundusium left their friends and Kindred should receive them by the way. This was a great testimonie as of their publick faith, so of their wildome; for having a desire to draw foreign Nations into their friendship by the Reputation of their Justice, it much concerned them most precipitely to punish the injuries done to those who first came to enter into their Society. Neither would any thing have proved more destructive to their designs that the Appollonians should have repented themselves of their act, and others of their example. And hence saying that custom, which was constantly in after times observed. That they who had bruken to the Embassadors of a free City should be delivered up to it. But the Appollonians, when they were brought into their City, wisely considering they should gain more by Clemency and humanity than Revenge, sent them fair home again. This year each Consul triumphed twice. D. Junius the fifth of the Calends of October, Numenius Fabius the third of Nones of the same Month on the Saturnines, a people of Umbria. Again they triumphed over the Sallentines and Meffapians who had affliicted the Sallentines, Fabius on the Calends of February, Junius on the Nones. And this was the Conclusion of all their Italian Wars; For what was acted in Volscia next year, Quintus Fabius Gurgus the third time Consul, L. Mamilius Vitulus being his Colleague, was not so much a war against a hift enemy, as vengeance inflicted upon flames in behalf of their associates.

The Volscians, the richest people of all Etruria, did implore the Romans assistance against those who were formerly their serva. For by very ill and foolish advice (whether it were, that thereby they thought to increase their strength so much broken in the late wars, or that themselves trembling in delights were loath to trouble themselves with the labour of Arms,) they made their servants free of the City, and committed the Militia into their hands. Afterward they began to be chosen Senators, and to bear Offices of State. In short time oppressing the old Citizens, and usurping the whole power of the Commonwealth to themselves, they did most insolently exercise their Liberty against their Mella who gave it them. It was now grown common to Ravisa Virgins and honest Matrons by force, to heap Compliments and Indignities upon Parents and Husbands, crying for justice according to Law; and all things were confudely hurried according to the pleasure of the vilest most petulant Knaves. And that we may not pass over in silence arace Precedent, to what issue the healy-impiudence of flavish minds will proceed to when it hath gotten power, they made a Law, That the Liberties might have license of Conspilation with the wives and daughters of their Patrons, and that the Maidenhead of a Virgin designed in marriage to a true Freeman, should first be provisit to one of their Order. Wherefore the old Volscians being neither able any longer to endure these miseries, nor by their own power to repulse and avoid them, secretly confuling together, resolved to send Embassadors to Rome. They having by publice solicitations prevailed that the Senate would meet in some private house (for they law unavoidable ruin over their Heads if the business was known) they did by a very forcfull distrist to make them acquainted with their sad condition, wherewith the Fathers being moved to compasions, promised them assistance for the recovery of their lost Rights.

But these things which were thought to be agitated in secret, were by a Samaritaine discovered to the parties complained of; For he, a guest to the master of the houfe where the Senate met, being then sick, was by forgetfulness left in a place where he overheard all their discourse and betrayed it. Therefore the Embassadors, after their Return from Rome, were called into question, and the whole business being found out, were with other prime Men of the Cittie cruelly put to death. The Romans, now having a justice-caufe of War, sent 2 Fabius the Consul with an Army against them, whom, daring to encounter him in open field he put to flight, and flew a very great Number in the Pursuite: The Reill who betook themselves into their place of defence, he resolved with counter-wrotes to beleige. But they making strong resistance, The Consul (as there were frequent Pickering and light skirmishes) unawares venturing too far in the flight, received a wound whereof he dyed, which the besieged understanding, made a Sally with the greatest strength they could, hoping if they suddenly assaulted the enemy now in trouble for the los of the Consul, to force them to break up the siege. But the event of the battel was contrary, for being roughly received by the Romans, they were beaten in again with loss.

In this fight I suppose Dicelius Mus to have had the Command; for he might happily have been Fabius his Lieutenant, and after his death be chief in managing the War till a succesor was sent. And hence I conjecture it comes to passe that some negligent Historians have ascribed the Death of Dicelius Mus both the beginning and finishing of this War. Ca Cornelii L. F. Cn. N. 540, 54. C. 56 Blaflus and C. Marcus were created Censors that year, and this laft having before born the same Office, was from this his Magistracy called Concerus. The moderation of this Marcus was very remarkable, who being involv'd with Power which he sought not after, assembled the people together, and in a grave speech chid them, That they had twice intrusted that Office to the same man, whereas their forefathers did in this very consideration limit the time of it, because the power was too great. Hereupon a Law was made, That the same man should not be made Censor for the second time. The same year the number of the Quaestors was encreas'd; in former times there were but four, two for the City, and two to afflict the Consuls abroad in the Wars. But after ward
The Supplement of Livic, Book VI.

HAT Cartage was built by the Tyrians of Phenisia (besides the constant agreement of old Histories) the perpetual friendship of those Cities while they flourished, as also the manifest likeness both of their Language and Manners doth clearly testify. ’Tis reported that Elisa (who was likewise called Dido) the daughter of Agenor the son of Belus, flying out of her Country (by reason of the hatred the bore to her brother Pigmaleon for the unjust slaughter of her husband Sicelo) entred that Creek of Africa, and possest that Peninsula where Cartage was afterward built; her small beginnings promising little hopes of so great power and wealth as afterwards was obtained: For ’tis believed Dido purchased no more ground then might be compassed with the hide of a Bull or Ox, which being cut out into very slender thongs contained a larger space, then the sellers did imagine, and it was sufficient whereon to erect a Castle, which from thence is thought to be called Byrsa. Afterward seeing (many placing their habitation near them for Traffick fake) they began to look like a City, and that the Africans were willing to entertain among them men for rich and very gentle and quiet, they hearkned to the counsel sent from Utica (which was also a Colonie of the Tyrians) which advised them, After their example to build a City. So it was agreed, That the Africans should afford them ground, and that the Phenisians in recompense thereof should pay a yearly Tribute.

The work being finished, Dido gave it a name in her own Language, Cartobas; the Greeks called it Carceno, and the Romans by an error in Pronunciation, Carthago. This City having Loving Neighbours, an Indtiligent people, and what was above all, a Wife Queen, did in a short time wonderfully increase. These things seeme to have been aedt some few years before the foundation of Rome; for about so ancient a Circumstance Authors do not very well agree. But as Elisa her life was notable for variety of Chances, so was her death very remarkable. Jarchas a Petic King of some African Province, sought to marry her, threatening upon refual to raise war against her. But as she was averse from marriage by reason of her singular Chality and love of her former husband; so the very well understood that in these tender beginnings of affairs, a war would prove fatal and destructive; therefore taking time to deliberate, as if she had at length overcome her own Resolution, and were inclined to marry the African, caufed, a
\[\textbf{In place of Livie's Sixteenth Book.}\]

\textbf{Piles of wood to be erected before her intended marriage; whereon to sacrifice to the Infernal gods in behal of her husband Sicius:} And after many sacrifices offer'd, she did at length alched the pile, and killed her self with a sword the brought with her, her love to her Husband and Subjects exceeding the care of her own health. The Carthaginians returned her what honour they could, and while the Commonwealth flourished, worshipp'd her as a Goddess, raising a Temple in the place where the lived calling her Dido, which in their language signifies a \\textit{Virtago}.

When after her death no man was thought worthy to succeed her in the Kingdom, the City be came to be governed by the Power of Nobles and Commons. The Name of Kings still remained, but they were like the Macedonian Kings; but that the honour was not to any Certaine families annexed, but conferred on any Prime Man who exceeded others in Virtue and Riches. Tho' he had the management of Wars abroad (whereof the Romans called them Pretours and Dictators, comparing their power with the usagio of their own Commonwealth) at home they were Princes of all publick Consultations, with their advice the affairs of the City were ordered: Things of heigheft concernment were referred to the people, their sentiment decided all controversie between the Kings and Senators: They also had authority to alter the Laws made by the Kings and Council, if they seemed contrary to the Publick, which any man had Liberty to question. Which too great power of the Commons being augmented to an intolerable height, by flattering Parasites and Orators, did in after time infinitely wrong and obftruct the Carthaginian affairs. Moreover in the Senate there were thirty of the more Antient appointed as a supreme Council, and these had greatest authority with all Men. There was likewise a Superinpector of Manners, invested with the same power as the Roman Censors, to maintain publick Decency and Discipline. In process of time, after many victories, their greatness being increas'd, they chose a greater Number of Commanders for the War: Among which \\textit{Mago}, the most Egregious both in courage and fortune, having left behind him two fons well educated and instructed in the art of Warre, and they also to their more numerous offspring, as it were by hand, delivering the same skill and knowledge, it was thought fit by some means to curbe the too great power of that family; to this purpose an hundred men were constituted to passe sentence upon the Generals themselves: Their power was very formable, as for the largeness of their Commission, so for the continuance, which was during life, whereas even the Kings now, were not for fo long a time but yearly created, whom at home they commonly called \\textit{Soffictes}, that is to say, Judges, much like to the Roman Consul. But when the \\textit{Censores} or hundred men behawed themselves with much influence, Hannibal by a Law reduced them into Order, it being decreed, \\textit{That the Judges should Yearly be chosen, and that no man should continue in office two years together.} Their gods and holy Rites they brought molt of from \textit{Tyris}, some they did afterwards add. \textit{Piso} they chiefly adore, and \\textit{Fornax} not a little, in whole honour they erected a Magnificent Temple in the City: \textit{Apollo} s house was likewise very rich, covered with plate of Gold, wherein was a famous statue which after the Ruine of Carthagin was carried to Rome and placed in the great Show-place called \textit{Circus Maximus}. But to \textit{Tyrus} every year sent a flap, with great care well trimmed, with the Tithes of their yearly tithes, and spoils gotten in War.

From the same Founders also they derived another molt horrid Rite, to offer an human sacriifice once a year to \textit{Sacrifone}, whom they called \textit{Belus}; the Relicks of which Barbarous Cruelty could not be quite abolisht by the Destruction of the City. The other Manners and Customs of the City were more civiliz'd by their conveniency of Commerce and Traffick, to which, by nature, and Education from their Forefathers much addicted, they did apply all their studies and Counsels. Hence by an unavoidable mischief the Love of Riches corrupt'd their Courts of Justice, made Vertue a servant to money, inflamed the Peoples minds with Covetousnes, and infected them with a forbid custom of Cheating and Lying, forcing the Commonwealth wholly to give it self up to these arts. In so much as it came to passe that as little Faith was had in Carthaginian Contracts and Covenants, so the chiefest part of the publick strength consist'd in ships, their Infantry the main support and pillar of all Empires, was had in no request, Their Horse very little: As often as they waged War by Land, they made use of Mercenaries, who had no true Love to the Commonwealth, whose faith was to be bought with money, their discord troublesome, and their conspiracies peregrious. Which error was so Capital, that before the utter destruction of the City, no other enemy but this did ever bring them so near to final ruine.

Neither did a lesser crop of mischief spring from this, That their Magistrates and Publick Officers did by mutual conveyance exercise Extortion and Purloin the face without punishment; so that this the leffe to be wonder'd, that a war arising between these two cities, the Romans proved conquerors, when as the Senators in all hard times added their wealth to the publick Stock, and the Carthaginians made a gain of the Commonwealth. But these vices grew up together with the City, so that at first being weak and little they were pretty well born withal, afterward for a while the greatness of their Empire, and the singular virtue of their Commanders made them the leffe tender, by whose means chiefly, I find, was both obtained and established the happiness that ever attend'd Carthage. Their first beginning in Arms was against the Africans, requiring Tribute for the ground the City was built on, neither could they extort that right out of their hands but by many battels: hereby they enlarged their Empire, and the belt planted part of Africa was reduced into subjection to them. Their command of the seas gave them fair
fair opportunity of falling over into Sardinia and Sicily; the one was rude and Barbarous, not able to resit, into the other they were invited by its Beauty and Fertility, which was, by reason of the Inhabitants perpetual discord expos'd to the injuries of the most Potent. Out of Sardinia into Corsica their passage was short, and they did the more easily possess the Island as being not very rich.

But in Sicily for a long time they fought with various Fortune, obtaining many victories, and receiving many overthrows: *Amilcar* the son of *Hanno* when he had carried over three hundred thousand men, was vanquished by *Gelo* and *flain*. With which calamity being terrify'd, the Carthaginians did abstain from Sicily, till being call'd over by the *Egetians*, who were oppreFFed by the Selinuntians, they sent thither *Amilcar* the son of *Geso* the son of *Amilcar*; he destroying *Selinuns* and *Himera*, did again encrease the Carthaginians power in Sicily. *Imilce* did at sea vanquish *Lepcis* the brother of *Dionysius* the elder, and the Sicilians Admiral, he took and sunk an hundred ships, and flew above twenty thousand men, he surpriz'd many Cities, and took also part of *Syracuse*, but a sudden Peltitude arising which confounded most part of his Army, forced him to return home with very few men. Neither did they yet despair of gaining Sicily, but in few years after sent out *Hanno* with a fleet, commanding him to fight *Dionysius*. Afterward *Magos* being invited by *Locris*, when he was in the City of *Syracuse* it fell with three hundred thousand foot, he was call'd out by *Timoleon*; afterward the same *Timoleon* in a very great battle overcame *Amilbal* and *Amilcar*, having in their army seventy thousand men, and forced their Camps likewise. But they had not a quicker and greater turne of fortune in any war then in that against *Agaclides*, who being beaten in Sicily, besieged in *Syracuse*, having no manifee hopes of safety, did yet of his own accord carry the war over into Africa, where having overcome the Carthaginians in many battels, and cauld the Libyans every where to revolt, he brought them into very great danger and fear; and returning home again he expelld them clearly out of Sicily; till at length the death of the King, and the confusion which followed upon it, again gave them hopes, and opened them a way to regain possession. After this (as we have faid) they variably fought with *Pyrrhus*, proving at length to be the superiours.

In the mean time some Cities also in Spain became Tributary to them, whether being called to the affidtude of the Gades against some oppreFFing Neighbours, they sent relief to their Kinmen (for Gades likewise was founded by the Tyrians) and reduced some adjacent Regions of Spain into their own Jurisdiction. This was the posture the Carthaginians affairs were in when they took up arms against the Romans. But the *Syracuseans* and their King *Hiero* possesFed the greater part of Sicily which was not subdued by the Carthaginians; the residue was held by the *Mamertines*. They while they were in League with the Roman Legion at *Rhegium*, and could have affidtude from them, were not content to secure their own Territories, but invaded thole of the *Syracuseans* and Carthaginians, forcing many Cities to pay Tribute to them to avoid plunder, wastings of their grounds, and other incommodities of war. But when *Rhegium* was taken, and their companions worthily expected, being bereav'd of that help, they were not able to uphold their forces great & small; and having lost whatsoever they held out of *Messana*, were now at war with *Hiero* for the City it self. Concerning which King *Hiero*, I think it not convenient somwhat at large to discourse, because he in these times being first an enemy to the Romans, afterward for many years a companion and friend, was of very great moment in the settling of affairs. For in him was found singular happiness, great virtue, and most eminent wisdom; and in those days the power and state of *Syracuse* did with him flourish and with him fall.

This man not being help'd forward by any wealth or glory left by his Ancestors, owed all his fortune to himself, promis'd from a low estate to vast power, not as many, by accruing great men, or by the slaughter and banishment of his opposers, but by wonderful modesty both in attaining and in exercising his power, as well knowing there is no Kingdom so well and firmly establis'd, as that which is in such a manner order'd, that it more concerns the Subjects to fear the los of it then the Prince.

Having reigned therefore four and fifty years, in such a time when two most potent Cities on each hand did with most sharp contentions, fight for the dominion of the world, troub'd with no War abroad ( unleas in his first year) nor assaull'd by any Treacon at home, he died being above ninety years old, his fenes being at that age entire and his body found, as a certain argument of his Temperance, being not only beloved by his own people, but had in great Emption both with the Romans and Greekians, when he would often have divell'd himself of the Principality, the Citizens did openly prohibite him; And his son *Gelon*, who, at above fifty years of age, died before him, did all his lifetime, even to the last, with constant faith and obedience honour him, shewing a rare example of Moderation, in that he chose rather for ever to want a Kingdom then lose his Father. This *Hieron* was by his Father *Hierocles* (who derived his Pedigree from *Gelon* an antient Tyrant of Sicily) expos'd to the mercy of the world; forasmuch as he being a Noble man was fluxt to bring up a child which he had begotten on a servant. But being defev'ted of all human succour, the Bees for many days fed him, put honey into his mouth as he lay upon the ground. *Hierocles* being much affect'd with this Prodigie, and the aniewers of the Southfayers, who affirmed, That hereby Kingly power was pre-signified
signified, took home the Infant, acknowledged it for his own, and in hopes of his future greatness took diligent care for his Education. As he was learning his book among his equals, "tis reported, that a Wolf suddenly appearing in the midst of the boys took his book out of his hand: when he first entred into the Wars, "tis said, An Eagle pitch'd upon his shield, and an Owle upon his spear; which was thought a signe of wisdom and strength, and by reason of the Kingly bird, of highest honour and dignity. But he himself shortly gave more certaine evidence, of being exceedingeomelitteness and strength of body, but much more illustrious and beloved for his wit, Temperance, Gentlenesse, Justice and Moderation; having often fought single Combats sometimes in the Battel, sometimes against private Challengers, he was always Victour, and by Pyrrhus frequently rewarded with many Military Gifts for his valour, and Pyrrhus his Kinwoman Neroes was afterward married to Gelos the son of Hiero. Pyrrhus being driven out of Sicily, when (according to the ill temper of those times) a diffusion arose between the army and Cite of Syracuse, Artemidorus and Hiero were, in the Camp near Menagia, by suffrage of the fouldiers chosen Commanders. By the advice of Hiero, and the help of his friends, some fouldiers being privily lented into the Cite reduced it into their Power; where Hiero shewed himself a gallant Man, and fit for the government of any Realme whatsoever; For, of the several factions which were therein, he neither flew nor banished any one Man, but by his clemence, Moderation and upright Counsell fo compounded their differences, that he was chosen Pretor of Syracuse with the good will and affection even of those against whom he came, as much as of those men who invited him thither. He with his whole heart as sincerely tending the publick good as his own (having observed an ill Culltome of a long standing in Sicily, That the General could no sooner lead his forces out of the City but there was either some sedition raised in the Army, or some innovation made at home) began to consult with himself, in whole hands to enthrall the City when he should be forced to go out to War. He married therefore the daughter of Lepcis, who was very popular, of great authority among the Citizens, of eminent honesty and faithful to his truit.

Having thus provided for Domettick affairs, he devised a remedy (very necessary indeed, but not altogether praiy-worthy) against the inofercy of the mercenary fouldiers: For drawing out his army against the Mamertines with such men, that met him near Centuripe, he order'd his battell near the River of the Cyromofians when they met, that he left a good distance between the Citizens and the Mercenaries, then commanding the Mercenaries to begin the fight, as if he and the City forces would on some other side charge the enemy while they were already busied. The Mercenaries by this means being surrounded by the greater number of Mamertines, were flain; himself (having thus employed the enemy) marched fair and fastly with his other forces to Syracuse.

Having in this manner purged the Army of those who were ill disposed and enclined to feditious, he diligently trained his City forces, hireth new Auxilaries, and now having the good-will of all (the most inofercy being removed, and the rest not daring to murmur) he order'd the Government according to his own pleasure. In the mean while, the Mamertines proud of their late victory and grown more fierce, rashly, and without fear invaded and spoiled the Syracusan Territories. Hiero now confiding both in the City and Army, forthwith marcheth out against them, and pitcheth his Camp near the enemies City, almost empty by reason of having sent out every way so many Troops. The Mamertines understanding the danger, suddenly return home to the relief of their City, with all their forces joyed. Hiero removing his Camp out of the Mamertine Fields, taketh the City of Mille, and in it fifteen hundred fouldiers, thence gaining by the way some Cattles, he marcheth to Amelcium (which is seated in the midst between Aegrium and Centuripe) which (though it were well fenced, and protected by a strong Garrison) he forced and demolished, the fouldiers he received into pay, and caufed to fight under him; the grounds he divided between the Centuripines and Aegrynians. Being animated with this successe, he again invaded the Mamertine Territories, taketh Aegrium upon composition, but the Abacenines and Tyndaris voluntary surrender themselves to him. He then took the Cities on each hand next to Messana on both the coasts subjext to Hiero, (for the Tindarians inhabited toward the Etrurian Sea, the Tauromenians, who were at this time in friendshipp with the Syracusans, toward the Sicilian Sea.) The Mamertines therefore being frighted, sent out their forces under the conduct of Cio their Pretor to oppose the enemy, who now was lodget near the River Longanus in the Mylen field. The battell being begun, and the fight along time doubtful, Hiero suddenly fending in fresh Troops upon the flank of the Mamertines, made the Victory his own. For before the fight Hiero had placed together two hundred Meffianis Exuls, valiant men, who hated the Mamertines, with four hundred choice men of his own Army, commanding them, To go about the hill Thorax, and by a sudden incurrion to fall upon the enemy on the other side, which they routy performing were the caufe why the whole Mamertine Army fell by the sword.

Cio, seeing all lost, and deiring nothing more then to dye, was taken prisoner, fore wounded, and conveyed into the Syracusan campe, finding the Prediction of the Entrailers and Southfainers true in another fene then he expected. For before the Battell the Prophets looking into the Intelettes of the sacrifice promis'd, He should lie in the Enemies Camp that night: Which he eftimating an argument of victory too late found himself deluded by another
interpretation, with grief and sickness cast down, when the next day among other horses he espied that his son rode upon in the field, conjecturing thereby his death, he resolutely pulling the cloths and plasters off his wounds made way to his own death. The Mamertines, understanding their overthrow, grew full of despair, and were now ready to present their humble supplication to the Conquerors, when an unexpected accident prevented them. It happened that at the same time Hannibal, the Carthaginian Precursor, was in the Lipari Islands, which are adjacent to Sicily. He having intelligence of Hiero's victory, fearing left (the Carthaginians being utterly vanquished) the Syracusan power would grow too great for the Carthaginians, came suddenly over under pretence of congratulating with Hiero for his victory, and hinting him from directly marching to Messana, did himself make first entrance, and when the Mamertines were now ready to yield, did not only possess them with hopes of retaining their liberty, but left a strong Garrison of his own soldiers amongst them. Hiero understanding himself by this artifice deluded, & being not sufficiently prepared for a siege, made now more difficult, returned to Syracuse, where being received by all with very great joy, he was by an universal acclamation elevated King, which Title he afterward retained with the content both of the Citizens and others of the Island without.

When Hiero was retreated, the Mamertines having a little space of renewing confidence, began to deliberate upon their present condition, but were divided into two factions, some thought it not to be disputed, but that they should commit themselves to the protection of the Carthaginians, which as for many other reasons it was convenient, so having admitted their Garrison, was little less then necessary. On the other side, was said, 'The Carthaginians were no less enemies to the Mamertines than Hiero, that without doubt their purpose of defending the City was not out of good will, but desirous of Dominion; That of a long time they had aspired to the Empire of Sicily, neither were cast down from their bold hopes by loss of Armies and Navies, no not by wars in Africa, and fear of their own fate at home; That therefore without exception they must prove Vassals if they commit themselves to those who have so strong a Navy, and possess greater part of Sicily it self. That 'tis therefore no way expedient to desire aid from the Carthaginians, a covetous, unfaithful people, who will lay heavier burdens upon them than they could bear from the Syracusans. If the Punick Garrison came only with intent to preserve the City from Hiero, they may now upon fair terms be dismissed, having done the work: But if they have some other Clandestine design, it behooveth them with the greater care to prevent the danger of their deceitful friendship. That they should rather implore assistance from the Romans, as a people invincible, of unquestionable faith and sincerity, who will have neither occasion nor necessity of keeping Messana under their jurisdiction, as having not a foot of ground in Sicily, nor any use of sea affairs, and consequently taking no care therein. That they would abundantly consent to keep Italy secure from Hiero and the Carthaginians, having made Messana strong as an obstacle to their further proceedings. That therefore they should continue to rely upon the Roman faith and the other Nation; that indeed they could neither without bullet or any convenience change their former counsels, having already sent Embassadors and obtained hope of succor and relief. For as for the Mamertines before their last battle with Hiero, beginning then to distrust in their own strength had craved assistance of the Romans as their Kinmen, and the people being perplexed by the Confuls who were defirous of employment in the Wars, had decreed that aid should be sent to them; but the Senate out of shame to be counted authors of the business, did defer it. For they who had lately so severely punished their own Legion for the wicked surprise of Rhegium, if they should now assist the Mamertines, who had by the like treachery obtained the mastery of Messana, they saw they should clearly lose the reputation of their Justice and Fidelity, which by their former act they had acquired. But now having heard of the Mamertines overthrow, and not doubting but if they were forsoaked by the Romans, they would apply themselves to the Carthaginians, with one content they ordained to lend them relief. For in the Senate many had before inclined to this opinion, as foreseeing that otherwise Messana quickly, and not long after all Sicily would come under the Carthaginian power, which if it when once came to pass, they should be forced to fight with the Carthaginians for their own possessions in Italy.

For this danger would prove unavoidable, as well by reason of the infafluous desire of Rule in those who are potent, as by the convenient situation of the places. For Italy, proceeding in a long track between the two seas from the Liguarians and Venetians, to the Bruniants, is there divided from Sicily by a very narrow Channel. For there is no doubt made but that the Regions in old times were a continent, afterward divided by the sea, whether the grounds being low were easily overthrown, or whether some earthquake or strength of the Tides cut off the Ilemus. From hence many think that Town to be called Rhegium, because things which are broken, are by some fuch word nominated in the Greek Tongue. 'Tis therefore very credible that the first inhabitants of Sicily came out of Italy, as may be conjectured by the very name. For the Opici are said to have built a City on the adverse shore over against Italy, which because it was feituate in a Creek of the sea bearing the figure of a Sythe, they called it, I believe, Sicilia, which the Grecians afterward coming, called Zancle, both those words in the several Languages signifying a Sythe. From thence, as often it happens, the name was derived to the whole Island, Which was by many called both Zancle and Sicilia.
This Island far excelleth all others in the Mediterranean Sea, both in extent of ground, and fruitfulness of soil, yielding abundance of Oyl and Wine and Corn of the belt, adorned with many, and those very great Cities, even to wonder, and if you consider the Commodity of the Havens, and Situation of the whole Island, there is scarce to be found in the world a place more fit for the chief seat of an Empire: For, being near adjacent to Italy, on the contrary part it looketh toward Africa, on another side lyeth Sardea, and on exit it hath Peloponnesus devided from Greece by the Ionian sea: On every hand the voyage is short, and the passage easy for ships whether bound outward or homeward. And truly, though other reasons were alleviated, yet the only caule of the War between the Carthaginians and Romans, was, without doubt, the great desire each of them had to be Masters of this Island. The Romans found fault, that the Carthaginians contrary to the league had affixed the Tartessians; the Carthaginians on the other side charged them, for having entered into Confederacy with Hiero against them. But to fix a great a power were now both thefe Cities advanced, that it could not be avoided, but that at some time or other for some cause they must needs find occasion to fall out. For as Trees planted at no great distance, for a while do not much hinder one the other, but being grown to some bignesse bereave one the other of Juice and nourishment from the earth, and at full growth enterwinding with both root and branches mutually destroy one the other: So rising Empires cannot long be at Amity and friendship, but, in lawlowing up what is interjacent between each others Domains, desire to try the superiority between themselves, neither being able to put a limit to their own ambition or to enlarge their Territories without removing all Opponents.

To these causes may be added the great power the Comminality had in each City, together with their earnest desire of undertaking the War. In Carthage the vulgar fort did much prevail, and now in the encrease of their City, growing rich by many Commodities, were willing for gains sake to have war upon war. The condition of the Roman people was not much different, for having in the former wars sustained damage in their estates, they hoped by the riches of Sicily to recompenfe themselves, and therefore, according to that power they had lately extorted from the Senate, did approve and confirm their sentence who perjured the war. Hence a-appearing the Conful being commissioned (whereas otherwise the major parte of the Senate had attented, over-powering the votes of those who would to old Rules) without delay fenth Claudius CTONs, Tribunes of soldiers beforehand with some few ships, to observe an opportunity, and if any were offered, to walt over into Sicily. When he was come to Rhegium, not daring to hazard his ships because he saw the seas obstructed with a greater fleet of Carthaginians, he entered into a Thiberians vessel and crossed over to Messana; there discoursing with the Mamertines as the present occasion required, being ready to over come the contradiction of the Carthaginians, he returned without having done his business. But awhile after understanding there was a difference at Messana, some pleading against the Roman assistence, the greater part bearing ill will to the Carthaginian Garrison, he again crossed the sea, and among other things to the present purpose told them, 'Hic dum est, non esse in libertate, the Carthaginians answer a, your Romans, not trouble themselves for the liberty of a City which was under their jurisdiction, the Carthaginians had already out of their good will taken care that the Mamertines should not be compell'd to be subject to the Carthaginians: That therefore he might depart, or else gave some other reason of his being at Messana. Claudius denied, The City was free so long as a Foreign Garrison continued therein; every other pleasure.'

To this when no man returned any answer, the Carthaginians out of pride, the Mamertines for fear holding their peace, he cunningly and readily proceeded, Tois plaus, faid he, by this general peace, that the Carthaginians cause is unjust, and that the Mamertines are desirous of liberty, otherwise neither would they be forborne to justify their own Right, and the same; if they conferred with the Carthaginians, having no cause to dissemble, would freely and openly put their minds. At this there arising a kind of a noise in the assembly, many prating his speech as true, and indeed agreeing with their inward thoughts; he (thinking he had, for the present, sufficiently moved the Mamertines and tried the disposition of their minds) went back to Rhegium. And not long after, having made ready his ships, he attempted to pass over, but being much inferior to the Carthaginian Commanders, both in number of vessels, and skill in sea affairs, and being beaten back by the violence of the Waves, in a sudden storme arising, he returned to his port, having lost some ships, and hardly faving the Rest. But being nothing ternished with this misadventure, he new triennion his ships, resolving upon a better opportunity once more to make trystal of Fortune: When behold messengers came from Hannu (Governour of the Mamertine Garrison, and Guardian of the seas) bringing with them all the ships and men which the Carthaginians had taken in the former fray: Hannu's design here was to cast all the blame of the breach of Covenants upon the Romans, he therefore also complained, That they had by force attempted to fall in those seas which were in the possession of the Carthaginians; and furthermore perjured them to have a great care of preferring peace and maintaining the league.

But hearing that Claudius would not admit of any conditions unless they would withdraw their forces out of Messana, and that again he endeavoured to cross the sea, he vaunted, That he would not offer the Romans so much as to wash their hands in that sea. Nevertheless he could
not prevent Claudius, who offering the Nature of the sea, laid hold of an opportunity when the wind happily helped the Tide, and arrived in Sicily without opposition. There calling a Council of those Mamertines he found in the Haven, he persuaded them, To call Hannover to them, as if they had some business at present to consult with him about. For Hannover, not much confiding in the Townsmen's doubtful minds, had with the fouldiers posseffed the Caffle, neither was he willing to trust himself in any of their Assemblies: Yet fearing if he betrayed his Diffidence he might encrease their complaints, and by his absence give them occasion to join with the Romans, he came to discourse with them, where the time being fpan out with difputations and wrangling, the Romans, with the Mamertines their approbation, laid hands on him and caft him into prison. So being circumvented by craft, and frightened with menaces, when no other condition would be accepted, he was compelled to reftore the Mamertines their Caffle, and draw away his Garrison. The Carthaginians upon intelligence of the busineffe, were above measure exasperated, and (whereas otherwife they used to punish their Commanders for evil counsels though they prospered) exclaiming both againft the folly and cowardize of Hannover, miserably crucified him, and immediately fent both fea and land forces to Messana with another Hannover, the Ion of Hannibal, to order affairs in Sicily: He drawing his forces together at Lipara, marched to Selinum, where pitching his Camp, he left his foot army and went to Agrigentum, and (having fenced the Caffle there) he drew the people, being friends to the Carthaginians, into arms againft the Romans: From whence being returned to his Camp, Embaffadors came to him from Hiero, who being no whit content with the Romans arrival into Sicily, thought this the fitteft fea-reafon wherein joyning forces for a time with the Carthaginians, both they and alfo the Barbarians in posfeflion of Messana might be driven out of Sicily, Having therefore had discourse with the Carthaginian General, they eafily agreed to enter into confederacy againft the Romans, who had fupplantated both to their equal loffe, each of them having failed of their hopes of Messana: "twas ordered they fhou’d joyfully besiege Messana, and suffer no part of Sicily to be fubjed to any power but the Carthaginians or Syracusans. So the Carthaginian Commander with his whole fleight moved against the Mamertines, having first fent an Herald to charge the Romans, if they would be ferved friends of the Carthaginians to depart Messana, and within a time prefixed to quit Sicily. The ships were commanded to keep their flation about Pelorat, the foot army fortified their Camp at a place not far from Messana, called Cunibla, in the Greek townque Eorul. Hiero likewise, according to agreement, came with his Syracufan Army, and laid siege to the other side, about the Hill Chalcidice, to the Cote, being round begirt, could not safely receive succour either by land or fea.

About the fame time, when the Herauld brought back no peaceful anfwer from Messana, the Carthaginians, partly out of anger, partly out of diftrust, cruelly put to death all their Mercenary fouldiers which were Italians by Nation. Thofe things were no fooner heard at Rome, but the Conful Appius was forthwith fent with a strong Army to Rhegion, thence he fent fome before, to treat with the Carthaginians and Syracufans breaking up the fiegé, in the mean time, feeing the feamen of Troyan guile, he was very folicitous and intent in contriving how to prevent any fuch further attempts; The Conful's Embaffadors brought back no friendly anfwer from the Carthaginians, but were by Hiero with an accurate ordination ftrapply reprehenfed, he firft having recounted the many good offices he had done the Romans, proceed faying, 'I am in doubt, Romans, whether I fhould grieve for my felf or for you; I indeed have lofT friends of you somewhat worse then I took you to be, but ye have loft that Reputation of Julitce and Inceftity for which ye were fo famous among all Nations. With the Mamertines ye never had any friendship or Society, ye had heretofore League with the Carthaginians, and lately entered into one with Me. Being now willing to breake these Leages, can ye give an account, by what injury from us, or merit of the Mamertines ye are therein provok'd? But because the Carthaginians are able to fpeak for themselves, omitting what concerneth them, I fhall at prefent put you in mind of things in refence to my felf alone. The Mamertines your good Country men, did, as you know, receive pay under the Syracufan Banners, and being difmiffed for their Returne for Italy; after they had been entertained as friends and Companions by the poore credulous Messenians, committed a moft horrid fae, as hath not been remembered by man, flaying in the night time their Land-lords, and keeping in their own power, their goods, wives, children and the Cite itfelf. Which unleffe your felves (being of the fame opinion with other men) had judged to be a moft vile and execrable villany, you would not fo severely have punished the fame fae fact of the Campanians committed upon the Rhegians, by the Mamertines Example. By the fame indignity therefore wherewith ye were moved to take revenge of wicked villanies, by the fame am I moved not to let the Mamertines go unpunifhed, espe-iously feeming they have fince committed fo many Robberies almost all Sicily over, burying as it were the memory of their firit offence with others afterward committed. For (to omit other things) in that they deftoyed the Cities of Camarina and Gela, then under the Syracufan protection, is reason sufficient why I fhould with a full and pious War profeff the boldneffe of fuch moft impudent Men. If ye therefore undertake to defend them because, being born in the fame Italy, they are as it were your kinmen, how much more juftly might you have fpared the Rhegians which were your fellow-Citizens? When in the taking of Rhegion I helped you with Auxiliaries and Provisions, how fhould I poflibly then Divine that ye would hereafter hinder
when I should upon as just causes believe Messana? But what need I of many words? if you have any care left of your reputation and faithfulness, if any sense of honesty, at last if any shame, I sought not to doubt but that you will with your forces rather affiit me in my just cause then oppose me. But if the consideration of these things seem light unto you, however the event of war be doubtful, 'tis most certain all the world will plainly understand, 'That the Romans were incited to bare arms against us, not out of any colour of Justice and Equity, not by any injuries received (for that ye can no way pretend) not out of any pity or good will to the Mamertines, but merely by their own ambition, and inordinate desire of adding this noble Island to their Empire.

When this answer was returned, Appius having observed that to shew a Navy guarding the passage could not without manifest danger crost over, plotted a very subtil and cunning device, he said, He did by no means desire that Hiero should be alienated from the Romans, that the war was not decreed against him, neither could be prosecuted without the people command. And at a trucmgem day therefore appointed he commanded his Sea-men to be ready, having their ships prepared for the voyage as if he would fail home. Now he was not ignorant that there were many both Carthaginian and Syracusan fooldiers in the Rhegian Fort, under the pretence of being Merchants, by whom he thought this news would quickly be conveyed to those who would have it true. And it hapned accordingly as he had foreseen, for he no sooner had entred into his ships on a clear Sun-shine day, and sailed along the Italian shore, but presently news was carried to the Carthaginian fleet which guarded the seas, whereupon they now not fearing the enemy would make any attempt that way, left the passage open, failing their shorely alike whether it pleased them. The Conful, who had forethought it would to come to pace, feared his course backward in the night time, and arrived in Sicily with his whole Navy, no body so much as observing, much less hindering his coming.

It was a bold Enterprize and full of hazard, for an army unskillful in sea-affaires, in the night time, blindly to venture with rude and illbuild ships through a sea dangerous in itself, though it had been dark, nor any enemy to be feared. And the exploit was thought worthy to be made known to posterity, by a new Cognomen thereupon given to the Conful. For, because he made use of ye vessells, made of the Trunks of trees, for the transportacion of his fooldiers, he was, in admiration of the fact, by the simplicity of that age, named Caudea, which signifieth the trunk of a tree. For the Roman having no use of sea affaires, had neither any covered ship or long boate, or good skiff in a businesse of such concernment as this was; but made use of those Triremes which the Tarentines and Locrians had lent the Eleats and Neapolitans, together with little vesells of Trafick of fifty Oars. But Appius landing not far from the place where the Syracusans had pitched their Camp, encouraged his fooldiers and declaring to them, The Vittory would be certain if they came upon the Enemy unawares, immediately proceeded to assault their Camp. Hiero being awakened with the sudden tumult, marched out with what forces were ready. for a time the fight was very sharp, the Roman fooldiers were beaten back, but the Legions stoutly standing in it. Hiero was overthrown, and with his men fearfully retreated into his works. Appius having command unto the Land, determined to be plunder'd, entred into Messana, freeing the Mamertines from great fear, and filling them with better hopes for hereafter. Hiero seeing himselfe beaten before he could see the enemy (as himselfe afterwards confessed) and suspecting that the Carthaginians had betrayed the passage over the sea, when he had revolved many things in his doubttul mind, began to be in fear of the main chance, and in the dead time of the night he drew his army out of their Trenches, and marched directly without halting to Syracusa. When he was gone, Appius thought it to make use of the terror of his late Victory in vanquishing the Carthaginians also, and having ordered his fooldiers to refresh themselves in time, marched out in the dawning of the day to assault the Carthaginian Camp, which was pitched in a very safe place, by nature and art diligently fenced, for on one side the sea, on the other side deep Marshes and Bogs enveloped it in the form of a Peninfula: That narrow space of ground where was passage to firm land was fenced with a strong wall against all assaults. Here the Roman sooldiers beginning the storm, could not prevail against the strength of the place and multitude of enemies, but being beaten back with darts and stones (as in the form of a City) they were forced to retire without having done their work.

Many times it happened in war that ill success in the beginning giveth occasion of better fortune, while they who are worrited endeavour with better advice and more courage to make up their loffe, and the enemy on the other side being bewitched with a flattering opinion of felicity, and taking no heed against future chances, are carried away with rathaness. as at this time it came to pass to the Carthaginians, for they not being content to have repulsed the enemies, illured out of their Camp and pursued them as if they had fled, thinking the Romans had yielded not so much to the difficulty of the place, as to their virtues and courage. When therefore they were come out of their works, the fortune of the fight changed with the place, and a great number of them were slaine, some fled into the Camp, others as they had convenience into the Cities round about, neither durst they any more for out of their Place Camp as long as Claudius was at Messana. The Conful, considering the nature of the place and difficulty of its situation, thought it no wisdom to make a second assault, and seeing his
time to be spent in vain thereabouts; leaving a strong garrison at Messana. Invaded the
Territories of the Syracusans and their Confederates; and having without opposition wasted the
Grounds, he conceived such confidence, that he marched up with his army even to Syracus;
itself: Where the Battel was very doubtful, and at one time the Consul was in great
danger, and had certainly been surrounded and taken, had he not suddenly betook himself and fent
to Hiero, to treat on Conditions of peace. Hiero likewise sent a friend of his to consult about
the business, and the difcourage being on purpose drawn out in length, the Consul had time to
bring his men into a place of greater security: The Syracusans likewise following the same ex-
ample, had many treaties of peace with the Romans, and indeed an agreement had been made,
but that Hiero was unwilling to be the author thereof. In these affairs the greater part of the
year was spent; then the Consul returned to Messana, where leaving some forces to protect
the Mamertines, with the rest of his men he crossed over to Rhegium: From thence he went to
Rome to his Triumph which he made, over the Carthaginians and Hiero King of Sicily, with
great joy of the People, as being the first over a Foreign Nation. This was the flight of the Romans
designes by facts, and such was the success of their undertakings in Sicily. But these things and
the actions of following times are much corrupted by the ambition of writers, the chief whereof,
Philius Agrigensis, and Fabius Pilor, the one striving to advance the Carthaginians
Glory, the other the Romans, they both neglect their duty, and the truth of History:
Whole Leytivy Polybius deferredly reprehends. For if even in private causes it be held an accurr-
ced crime to circumvent any one by false Testimony, the author of an history is certainly to be
esteemed more foully pernicious if he corrupt the acts of Princes and Commonwealths with fal-
thood: He ought to value truth more than any earthly Commodity or his own life, and the
lefe deferte pardon in that he cannot allege so much as any faire pretence for his Lyes, for
if he durft not for some causes freely speake all he knew, he might certainly without danger
have held his Tongue. While Claudius in Sicily vanquitheth Hiero and the Carthaginians,
the Romans, who had not put off the ffaith of fervants, and reverence toward their masters, he distributed
into severall feants round about.

This war was likewise thought worthy of a Triumph, which the Consul made in the Calends
of November, over the Volitains. While the fame Consuls were in office a Lustration was
performed by the Cenfor, Cn. Cornelius and C. Marcius, and there were required the names
of two hundred ninety two thousand, two hundred twenty and four Citizens; a very great and
almost incredible number to one who shall confider how many were loft in the wars, which hard-
ly ever ceased from the foundation of the City; and how many were also fo followed up by the
Pilfeine and Malignant defeases as raging as the war itself. Now indeed the Commonwealth was
made invincible and not to be overcome by any clamour or slaughter whatsoever, by the wise
advice of Romullus (which was constantly obserued by pofterity) in daily admitterg new people
into the City, in muchne that neither all the losses received by Polybius, nor their many ship
wrecks in the first Punick war, nor the fights of Thrasocris and Carne in the second, were able to
much to affift it, but that still the did rise more cheerful, free and valiant out of all her trou-
bles.

But in Greece the Lacedemonians who were also very famous for their Discipline and Valour
in war, not any whit inferior to the Romans, because they forbade strangers to coinhabitt with
them, were not long able to uphold their Dominion, nor long after to maintain their Freedom;
when in the Leuctrian battell they loft not much more then a thousand men, their Empire pre-
fently fell to the ground; and at Selinus with the loss of not quite fix thousand, their Liberty
was taken away. But the Athenians, inhabitants of the fame Peloponnesus, admitting freely a-
ny neighbours into equal privileges with themselves, did confirute a very fair and flourishing
Commonwealth, and likely to have continued, had not fome few of them, to their own and
their Countries deftruction, madly provoked the Romans, whole power then was grown formi-
dable to all people. Such divers events are necessarly conuenent to divers institutions: For
as in nature it is agreeable, that those bodys who are to a compebnt measure daily refтренished
with whoU-me food, should be stronger and longer lived then those who content with their
own natural ingenite moisture defpite all nourishment from without: so it stands to reason, that
those Cities should better flourishe, who admit into themselves and make their own what in any
other place they find to be excellent, then thofe, who by a foolish arrogancc, defparing whatso-
ever growth not in their own foil, deprive themselves of many good aaffhants in obtaining
and preferving their power and sovereingnty.

This year gave a beginning to a cruel custom, which afterward was frequently and moft in-
temperately fuperfited, That the blood of man shou'd become a publicke spectacle of pleasure,
bearing profously for the fake of any mean and wanton spectator. The authors of this barbar-
cous vylum were M. and D. furenti Bruttii, who by a ftrange kind of piety, intending to ho-
 honour the Afles of their dead father, did with great favour of the Citizens exhibit a Fencing-
Shew. But this injury to mankind was moft fervely revenged by a Pellicence, which all this
and
and the next year did furiously rage. Concerning which when they had consulted the books of the Sybils, 'twas found the anger of the gods was the cause thereof. These affuring therefore a suffocation that their Religious affairs were not rightly handled, the Priests by diligent observation and investigation, found that many Chappels and Temples were converted into the use of private men, and that Caprum, a Veilal Nun, was guilty of Incest: she prevented her doom by hanging herself, but he who had corrupted her, together with those thievants who were privy to the fact, were executed according to Law. The holy places were redeemed out of private hands to their wonted use. So having cleared the City in matters of Religion, the Fathers applied their minds again to the care of the Commonwealthe; and because Eturia being appealeth, there was no communion in Italy, they ordered both the new Conuls to be sent into Sicily with the Legions into M. Valerius Maximus the eldest son of Marcus, who in the mean time the office was called Meffula, and M. Otho Silvius Crassus, C.F., M.N. These having safely transported their forces were attended with the fame good fortune. For when after their taking the City of the Adranites by Storm they had laid siege unto Centurius, there came Embassadors to them from the Alcinians, offering to deliver up their town. Thence the Conuls, marching through several parts of the Island, sometimes with their force, joined, sometimes aunder, as they faw cause, overcoming both Carthaginian and Syracusan, as often as they durst flend to the hazard of a Battle, spread their fame and Terrour round about: And such was their happinesse in following their fortune, and fo great their force, that in a while after they were reckned fifty six Cities which had committed themselves to their Protection, in which number were the Tauromentinians and the Caraganians: Out of which Cities the Conuls leaving what Auxiliaries they pleas'd, did daily increase in strength, and, pitching the Camp nearer unto Syracuse it self, consulted about the siege of it. Which thing Hiero maturely considering, when he began to distrust in his own and the Carthaginian Forces, and withal thought the Romans were belted to be trusted, he resolved to enter into League with the Romans; and in order therunto sent Embassadors to the Conuls to treat of Peace. Neither were the Romans at all averse from making friendship with Hiero to separate him from the Carthaginians, especially because thereby they might more easily supply their Legions with Corne for food. For the Carthaginians having command of the seas, they could not have Provision from Italy, by which incommodity the former Conuls reaped more trouble then from the enemy. But, when Hiero was once united to them, the Kingdom of Syracuse being very fruitful, would plentifully afford all the Necesaries. The Peace therefore was concluded on these Articles, That what places or prifoners Hiero had taken from the Romans or their allies should be return'd without ransom, and likewise pay an hundred talents of silver; that he should without molestation reign over Syracuse and all Cities under the Syracuse Jurisdiction, the chief whereof were Are, Leonism, Megara, Eorbus, Neini, Tauromentinium. The Embassadors being thence sent to Rome, the fame Conditions were there confirmed, and the Senate decreed that Peace should be maintained with that King, and after a few days Ca. Afinae, Catilina, Crassus propounding it to the people, they likewise affented. This League, being made for fifteen years, was perpetually kept enviable: Hiero bearing much Respect to the men Greatnesse and they so bountifully requiring his good affection, that neither of them had a mind to repent of their friendship. Hannibal the Carthaginian, being come as far as Xibonius with his sea forces, to raise the siege of Syracuse, having intelligence of the Peace, returned with greater hift than he came. The Romans being now strengthened by Hiero their associate and fellow foilder, made no delay, but quickly reduced many Cities from the Carthaginian Jurisdiction. From Adrars, a fenced village, and Messina, after many days siege they returned without effecting their Purpose. But the Segelians they received into protection, when they had flaine the Carthaginian Garrisson and voluntarily revolted to them: Among other Confradurations, they said they Loved the Romans for Kindred sake, deriving their Pedigree from Aniues after his flight from Troy. And not long after the Alienzans came into the Romans: But at Hilarus, Tersius and Metela they were faine to use force and Engines, and therefore dealt the more severely with the vanquished party. Whereupon the Tydardians being terrifyed, seeing themselves next to danger, and help far from them, Entred into Conflabation about yielding themselves to the Romans, but were prevented by the Carthaginians; for they, feting what was in hand, fent away the chief of the Cite as Holderas to Libyeum, and took in good fortune of Corne, wine and other provisions. About this time the feverity of Ottacilius Crassus the Conul was of much advantage to the Roman Discipline, for those fouldiers who were taken by Himbad, had safely, for safeguard of their lives, submitted themselves to bondage, he cau'd to continue without the Camp to receive the firit charge from the enemy, that fo, having no fencce but their own courage, they might be the more valiant, trufiting only in their own courage, and not to any security of the place they flood in.

After these and other exploits of no greater moment, winter now approaching, the Conuls disposing severall Garrisons in convenient places, returned into Italy and to Rome with the residue of their Armies. There was a Triumph decreed to M. Valerius (who made success and pins had been most remarkable) over the Carthaginians and Hiero, which was performed the sixteenth of the Calends of April. Among the spoils was brought a Clock, which is therefore taken notice of, because it was the first which was seen at Rome, it was taken at Catina, and by
Valerius placed upon a Pillar in publick near the Roftra: He also on the side of the Court built by Hostilius set up a Table, whereon was painted the Battel wherein he overcame Hiero and the Carthaginians, which before his time was not done by any man, but afterward by many. This Valerius had his Surname Metella from Melissa; but I wonder that some Authors of no small note should imagine it was derived from his taking that City, whereas the feries of affairs both evidently demonstrate, that it rather proceeded from his delivering that City from the troubles it suffered (after Appius Claudius his departure) from the Carthaginians and Hiero, removing the one enemy and reconquering the other.

In the mean while the Pellence still raging, a Dictator was named for the knocking in of a Nail, who was Cn. Fulvius, Cn. F. C. Maximus Centumalius, he chose for Maller of the Horla. Q. Marcius, Q. F. Q. Philippus. In the same year the Aefernian Colony was planted, whereas the year before one was deduced to Firmum, or as some will have it to Caflum. After this L. Polyaemus, L. F. L. N. Megellus, and Q. Mamilius, Q. F. M. N. Vitulus were created Consuls, and both of them had Sicily allotted for their Province: There were but two Legions allowed them, which were thought sufficient, because now having Amity with Hiero the war was more easie; they considered likewise that provisions would be the better procured if the Army were but small. The Consuls having transported their forces into Sicily, and being joyed with their associates, passing by things of lesser moment, thought fit with their whole strength to besiege Agrigentum, which City the Carthaginians had plentifully furnished with all manner of accommodations, intending it for the Magazine of their wars. For they seeing Hiero had forfaken them, and that the Romans made Sicily their chiefest care, they thought it behooved them to make the more diligent preparation for the war. In the first place therefore they sent the greater part of their forces into Sardina, to lie in wait against the Italian shore, by that means to divert the Romans from Sicily, or at least to compel them to fend the smaller forces then otherwise they would have done.

But being frustrated of their hopes (for the Romans had strength sufficient, both wherewith to guard their own Coasts, and invade Sicily with a new army) they hired many Mercenary fouldiers of the Ligurians and Gauls, but more out of Spain, whom, together with great plenty of provisions, they sent to Agrigentum; resolving to make that their Magazine of Corne, and the Receptacle of their Armes, being, by reason of its conveniency of situation, and multitude of buildings, fitter for such occasions then any other City of Sicilie of their Jurisdiction. The onely feas of War therefore being about that Citie, the Romans, having confin- ed the Carthaginians within their works, pitched their Camp within a mile thereof. The grain was then ripe in the fields, and because they foresaw the siege would prove long, the fouldiers sent out to reap and bring in Corne, wandered somewhat too far and more careless then ought to have been done having an enemy fo near. The Carthaginians omitted not to make use of this occasion, and had indeed given a great overthrow to the Romans, but that they regained as much by their courage, as they had lost by their negligence. For, when they who were sent out to forrage were not able to reft the affault of the Enemy, the Carthaginians purfued them even to the Camp, where defiving their forces, some prepared to forrome the works, while the others maintained the fight with the guards without. Then, as often at other times, the Laws of warfare duly observed and the incorrupt forest Rigo of the Roman Discipline fave them from an hazard tending to the destruction of their whole army. For (it being a deadly crime among the Romans for any cause whatsoever to forfake their fiation) the guard without, knowing it was no poupoe to fly back, though they were much overpowred in number, maintaine the fight with wonderful courage, loosing many of their own men, but killing more of the enemies, till the Troupes had time to arm themselves and come to their Relief, to the Enemy being there repulfed, and those who had now almoft entred the works surrounded, the Romans made a very great slaughter of them, and pursu'd the reft even to the Citie. This accident made both the Enemy more fearfull of IFuing out, and the Romans more wary in their Forrage. Henceforth the heat of their Contention being not fo great as before, (for the Carthaginians seldom made a fall, and then only in manner pickeering and light skirmishing) the Romans thought fit to divide their forces, and plant their Camps on both sides of the Citie, on the one side near to Heraclea, his Temple, on the other in the high way leading to Heraclea. Their Camps were fenced with Trenches on both sides, toward the Citie, against their Sallies, and toward the Country both to secure themselves from any invasion, and to hinder Relief from entering the Citie. The space between the two Camps was guarded with many companies of fouldiers.

In all these affaires they were much assisted by the Sicilians, who lately had made friendship with them, of whom together with the Romans there were an hundred thousand. They brought provisions as far as Efetius, from whence (it being not far off) the Romans fetched it into their Camp. Whereby they had very great plenty of all Necessaries. At this flay the siege continued for almost five moneths, neither much prevailing over the other (for they attempted nothing but light skirmishes) till at length the Carthaginians began to have the worst on't. For a great number of men, little lefs then fifty thousand warers, having been so long shut up in one town, had spent almost all their corn, and saw no likelihood of procuring more, the Romans guarding all the passages, so that they were much affifted both with their present mi-

Zonars
fere, and expectation of future. Therefore Hannibal the son of Gesco (who was Commander in chief at Agrigentum) by many messengers craving relief against hunger and other dangers, Hanno the elder was sent into Sicily with some Elephants and Souldiers which were for that purpose rais'd. His Army consisted of fifty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and three thousand Elephants, with which forces he failed to Libyachs, thence he marched to Heraclea, whither forthwith, with some messengers promising to deliver up Erbesius to him: Being by their means made master of Erbesius (from whence the Romans hitherto had all their provisions) he seemed to have effected a business of great moment, as much afflicting the Romans now for want of necessaries as they had done the Agrigentines.

And now the Romans began to consult about raising the siege, which they were very near giving over for a desperate business, had not the King of Stracche, by trying all ways, made a shift by flesh and to convey to them some corn and other commodities, whereby their present want was in some measure relieved. Hanno considering the Romans now to be faint with hunger and other infirmities following it, whereas his own men were well and lusty and in perfect strength, approached near the Romans, resolv'd, if occasion were offered, to fight them. Marching therefore with his fifty Elephants, and whole army from Heraclea, he sends his Numidian horsemen before to play about the enemy Camps, to provoke the Roman horsemen, and, if possible, to draw them out into ambush. The Numidians according to order carelessly flying about the Conful's Camp, the Romans issue out, beat back those who opposed, and pursued them as they fled out of order, that way which they knew Hanno to be coming. The further they followed the pursuit, the more difficult was their return to their own works, insomuch that many of them were lost after they had met with fresh forces, which cau'd them who fled likewise to turn and fight. Hanno being by this much encouraged with hopes of the main Victory, placed himself upon an hill called Taurus, about a mile and a half distance from the Roman Camp; nevertheless the battle was deferred longer then was expected between two Armies to near one the other; sometimes the Carthaginian, sometimes the Roman unwilling to hazard their whole fortune in one battle, while Hanno was desirous to fight, the Romans contained themselves within their Trenches, because they were exceeded by the enemy both in number and carefullness, being themselves terrified and dejected with the loss their horsemen had sustained.

But when they (seeing their associates troubled and daunted at this their fear, the Enemy on the contrary grow more confident, and thinking it better to fight with the Carthaginians then enquire such want) were resolved upon the Battel, then Hanno began to fear, and decline the encounter. Two months were thus spent, nothing of greater moment being performed, but light skirmishes which happened every day. At length, being moved with frequent entreaties from Hannibal, who had daily sent out Messengers, and by lighted fires given him often notice, that the besieged were no longer able to endure hunger, and that many were thereby compelled to flee to the enemy; Hanno was resolv'd no longer to defer the battle, giving order to Hannibal at the same time to issue out of the City. The Confuls having intelligence hereof, kept themselves very quietly within their Camps; Hanno the more curiously presented himself in Battel array, marcheth up to their very Works, boldly provokes them to fight, reproaching them with fear and cowardize. They on the contrary being content to repulse the enemy from their Trenches, neither ranged battel against them while they flood, nor pursued them when they retreated. When things had been thus transacted for some days togethers, and the Carthaginians were fully perswaded the Romans durst not venture on any further action, L. Posthumius the Conful widely made use of the enemies security and contempt to his own good. For silently ordering his whole battel within the works, when the Carthaginians according to their enticements came up to the works, he issued out with a few and held them in action with light skirmishes from day break till noon, then the enemy withdrawing themselves, he brought forth his Legions and made a charge upon them.

Hanno, though he saw a necessity of fighting contrary to his expectation, hauing entirely into battel, maintained it doubtful till the day was almost spent. But the Romans, having on purpose well exercised their bodies and prepared them to fight, were not so much troubled with heat, thirst and Labour as were the Carthaginians, who, before the battel, being weary with fasting and standing all day, the longer they fought, were the lesse able to resist by reason of the weakness of their Bodys. At length the Mercenary fouldiers who stood in the front were no longer able to endure the brunt, and did not only give back themselves, but falling in disorderly upon the Elephants and other Regiments behind them, routed the whole battel and caused them to fly before the enemy who so hotly charged them. Things were managed with the same success in the other place, for Hannibal, issuing out to fight, was beaten back with the greater loss, and forced into the City again. The Carthaginian Camp was taken, three Elephants wounded, thirty f lain, eleven came alive into the Romans hands: The men had the same fortune, for of fo great an Army very few escaped with their General to Heraclea, they who were shut up in the City, seeing no way or means of safety left them, were afflicted with very great terror and despair: When Hannibal following the bell cou'd his ill fortune had left him, observing that the Romans, what with weariness of their late fight, and joy of their Victory, kept not their guards so strict as heretofore, about the third watch of the night went out of the Town with his Mercenaries, and having crossed the Trenches filled up with boats stuffed with
He gave not much Credit to a Runegado, yet thinking it a buginice not to be neglected, did lend a Choice Brigade of Souldiers upon the Design; the Gauls came accordingly as they had been received by Hannibal, and the Romans suddenly arising out of ambush to receive them, there was between them a very fierce and cruel fight, wherein every one of the Gauls were slain, and because they died not unrewarded, Hannibal was doubly pleased, both that he was rid of his insolent Mutineers, and that he had cunningly punished them to the uttermost loss of the enemy. At Rome, in the mean time, M. Curius the Praetor propounded in the Senate, the lesson of the water of the River Aricton to the Cittie, which work M. Curius the Centurion had designed out of the enemies spoiles, but several impediments arising, the business for nine years deferred, was now again confulted about, and two men appointed as Supervisors, Curius and Fulvius Flaccus, but Curius dying within five days, the Glory of finishing the work was attributed to Fulvius alone. About the same time Hamilcar came from Carthage into Sicily as succourer to Hannibal. For the Carthaginians, when Hannibal returned after his overthrow, received him with Ignominry, fined him in his fix thousand pieces of Gold and removed him from his Government. Some Authors being desirous of the likenesse of Names, have delivered, that this Amilcar was Father of Hannibal who managed the second Punick War against the Romans; but not rightly, for Hamilcar the Father of Hannibal came into Sicily with command, being but a young man, at the latter end of this War, but his great fame prevailed, that the Acts of another so known Amilcar were ascribed to Amilcar Barca the most Noble and Egregious of that Name. Hamilcar therefore the succourer of Hannibal being the Romans far stronger then himself in their land army, durst not assault any In-Land Cities, nor descend out of the Mountains and difficult places into the Campagnes: but having a strong Navy whereby he was doublest Master of the seas, didse negligent use of those his Forces, and, having sent Hannibal againe to plunder the Coasts of Italy, himself falling about the Sicilian shore, easily recovered many Port Townes which had joynd themselves with the Romans. Whereby it came to paife, that the Romans easily taking and defending the Inland places, the Carthaginians the Maritime, the Paece and hopes were on both sides very equal, and it was hard to Judge to which of these two Nations the Victory of the whole War would encline.
BOOK VII

OUR years were now expired since the Carthaginian war began, neither had the Romans any cause to complain either of their own courage or fortune; for they were Victors in every battle, both over Carthaginians and Syracusians as often as they durst encounter: They had taken many rich Cities by storm, and others upon Articles submitted themselves; but as long as they waged war in an Island, they could not at their pleasure send provision and recruits when need required. And the Carthaginian ships with free and unexpected arrival being themselves secure, did not only molest and vex the Sicilian Cities upon the shore, but likewise wasted the coasts of Italy, both to the loss of the Roman Empire, and likewise to their disgrace; whereas the African shore was clear and free from the enemies invasion. The Senate therefore and people of Rome diligently consulting upon the matter, did resolve to prepare a Fleet, and fight the Carthaginians not only by land, as hitherto they had done, but to try their fortune at sea also. This was the very first serious thought the Romans had concerning sea affairs, which they accomplished with as much Courage and good Fortune, as they had conceived it with Wildom and Resolution: Insomuch as the Empire of the whole world might well be judged due to the Romans, who being willing by sea to encounter a people most skilful in sea affairs, wanted neither Boldneffe to attempt it, nor Diligence to manage it, nor Contancy effectually to perform it. For the Romans to that day being so utterly ignorant of sea affairs, that there was not a man amongst them who ever had seen one, neither had any one Man of War of their own, or any Carpenter who knew how to build one, yet having with great confidence undertaken the design, they did in a very short time both learn to fail and ventured to fight and overcame those people who for many ages had had experience in sea affairs.

The care of building the ships was committed to Cn. Cornelius L. F. Cn. N. Scipio Asina, and C. Duilius, who had newly entred the Consulship. They had one Carthaginian ship of five Oars, which Claudius took with his foot army (at what time he was studying to passe over into Sicily) while in heat of fight it came too near the shore and was grounded upon the sands in a shallow place. The Consuls ordered the whole Navy to be built after that Patterne, and so diligently prosecuted the work, that in three score days after the timber was felled, they had three score ships standing at Anchor. But the Consuls hastened their expedition no lefs by their wit, then by their Industry. For (being neither willing to hazard to fight with men unskilful at the oar, nor yet to frighten the time allotted them for action in training up and exercising men on purpose) they contrived a device, which though it may at first seem ridiculous, yet in the use and event proved exceeding Comendable. Thit, while the ships were in building, their Men should sit on shore and there be taught their office how to Rowe. For being placed in the same order as they were to observe in the ships, and a Boatswaine being let in the midst of them, they were commanded, at his word given, to move their Oars, and again to forbear, even as if they were failing.

By this exercising themselves in fancy only they were so improved, that when the ships were ready, after a few days real paines-taking, the Consuls were willing to trust themselves and
and the safety of all their Legions to their care. When lots were cast for the Provinces, the Land Army fell to C. Duilius, the Fleet to Cn. Cornelius; who, taking along with him seventeen ships, sailed before hand to Methana, to make preparation for the coming of the Fleet, which he ordered suddenly to follow him: but before it came, he fell into the hands of the Enemy, which came to pass by the cunning of Bodes, Hannibal’s Vice Admiral, and his own Credulity, giving credit to some Lipareans, who were suborned by the Enemy, to put him in hopes of taking the City of Lipara by Treachery. There being circumvented by the Carthaginian ships, he neverthelesse resolved to encounter them, and seek his safety by fighting: but that Bodes by another fraud, trained him and his Colonells into his own ship, under pretence of Treating on Conditions of Peace. They were no sooner come but clapt up in chains, the others being hereby terrified did without blowes yield themselves up, Bodes gaining all the Vessels, sent the Prisoners to Carthage. Soon after the Carthaginian Commander committed the like fault to his greater shame, in that the fresh example of the Consuls incapacity did not learn him to be more circumspect. He had underlooked that the Roman Navy falling by the Italian shore, was putting forth to sea, and that they could not now be farre off. Deeming therefore, as near as might be, to ob serve it, that he might accurately know the number of their ships, their swiftnes, and in what fashion and plight their new made Vessells were in, he failed forward with fifty ships, not foreseeing any danger, his ships being confusedly mixed without any order, as when they ride in Harbour or any safe place: At the turning therefore of a certain Promontory, suddenly falling into the Roman Fleece, which came prepared and falling in good order; he was vanquish’d before he could prepare himself to fight, and having lost the greater part of his Navy, himself likewise being in great Danger, he very hardly escap’d with the rest. The Victorious Navy, understanding Cornelius his might, sent Meffengers to C. Duilius to give him notice of their approach, and prepared themselves for fight, having intelligence that the other Carthaginian ships were not farre off. While they did diligently consider the inconvenience of their own Vessells, that they were rudely made, and farre inferior to the Carthaginians in swiftnes, it came into the mind of a certain ingenuous man to invent an Engine, whereby to lay hold and keep fast the Enemies ships, which Engine they afterward called a Raven or Crow, the fashion of it was this. There was a straight round piece of Timber, four ılls long, some nine inches Diameter, having at the end thereof of a pully or windlake, to which, being fixed on the foredeck, there was fitted a bridge, six ılls broad, and four feet long, made of planks fastned together with iron nails. In this Engine there was left a long hole whereby it might be fasted to the piece of Timber, by the space of four ılls, even the whole length of the Timber. The other end of the bridge or ladder, which was not inserted in the Timber, being of two ılls long, was so fastned by hinges, that it might be pull’d up or let fall; to the end of the bridge was affix’d a strong sharp piece of iron, with a ring at it’s head, whereas a rope being tied, through the pulley of the timber, it might be drawn down into the Foredeckes; then as they lif’t, by the Rope they could draw it up, or let it fall down, with its sharp piece of iron laying hold on and keeping fast whatsoever it fell upon. In the mean time the Conful C. Duilius, committing his foot Army to the Charge of his Colonells, came to the Navy, and understanding that the Enemies spoileth the Region of Myslaiet, fasted with his whole fleet to that shore. The Carthaginians were glad of this, affuredly proming themselves victory over Inland-men, altogether unskilful in sea affairs, whereby they became an example. That no Enemy whatsoever ought so to be despised, as to cause one to omit ordinary discipline, and grow secure. Hannibal the Admiral, who had conveyed his Forces out of Agrigentum, was in a Vessell of seven oares on a side, which formerly belonged to King Pyrrhus, the other ships followed him: not as to a fight, in any distinct order, but, as every one thought fit, making haft to their despicable Enemy. But when approaching neerer, they saw the Engines hanging at the foredecks of the Roman Ships, wanting at the novelty of the busines, they paus’d a while; at length the most Courageous men laughing at the rude invention of an unskilful Enemy, the foremost ships with all the violence that might be flew upon them. Then the Crows being let down, into what ships soever they light, so pier’d the planks thereof that they held them fast against their wills: The Roman Foulers, if the ships were fastned side to side, did on every part leap in and assault the Enemy; if they were joyned one by one in the foredecks, they went two by two over the bridge annexed to the timber, with so much the more facility, because on every side of the bridge a little fence knee high, made their passage safer, and their footing more secure: They who went foremost, holding their bucklers behind, defended their faces from the Enemies darts, those who followed held their shields down to the little fence, so guarding their sides, and enter ing the Enemies ships; so that the fight was not performed with the Beakes of ships, but with swords and hands, like a set Battell. The Romans therefore excelling in strength and Courage, had an easy victory over men lightely armed, and trufing more in the nimblenes of their ships; than in their bands; They quickly forced thirty Carthaginian ships, among which the Admirals frigot was taken, but Hannibal leaping out of his ship, when it was now taken, into a Cock-boot escap’d Captivity, and sending a truly friend in post-haste to Carthage, to prevent the News of his Overthrow, did thereby cunningly decline that Capital punishment which other wise had attended him. His friend entreing the Senate, as if all things had been well,
well, asked their Advice, whether they thought it fit that the Roman Navy should be fought with? and every one unanimously agreeing, That there was no scruple to be made, and that the business should not be deferred; he told them, 'Tis already done, and we are beaten; whereupon, no body daring to accuse the Fact, whereas every one in his own Person would have been Author, Hannibal escaped the sentence of Death, but was deprived of his Admiralship.

The rest of the Carthaginian ships, (for the greater part was left) after the Flight of the Admiral, were very much troubled and doubtful in Council what to do; they were ashamed to fly having received no harm, the Enemy not so much as pressing upon them; on the other side to set upon the Roman Ships they were afraid, by reason of their Engines. At length falling round about, and finding on every side the forbreaks of the ships opposed against them, with those formidable Engines, having used all the art they could, they desparing of the victory went their way.

'Tis reported that fourteen Carthaginian ships were sunk in that fight, one and thirty taken, with seven thousand men, three thousand having been slain. With this success did C. Duilius Orafius, 47. fight with the Lycian Islands, where the Romans got much prey, but much more ample Glory and Renown. The Conful taking charge again of his Land Army, Marched to Segesta, and delivered it from danger, it having been brought even to the utmost extremity by the Carthaginians: after that he took Macellum by storme, Hamilcar never daring to encounter with him: so having confirmed the minds of the Associate Cities Summer being past, he returned to Rome. After his departure the Carthaginian affairs began again to prosper. For the Romans after seven months continuance were safe to raise their Siege.

Then again many Townes were taken by Hannibal, some by force, some by Treachery: which though it was no good news at Rome, yet the loss was counted small in respect of their Navall Victory. For the Roman courage having already approved it self invincible by Land, they had great cause to rejoice, that by this Fight they had gained reputation of strength by sea also. Whereupon wonderfully encouraging themselves as to the whole Warre, they judged the Author of this their New Glory worthy also of new Honour; Duilius therefore was the First who ever made a Navall Triumph, which was on the Intercalary Calends over the Sicilians and the Carthaginian Navy. They likewise bore with him, when, not content with this Honour, he did without all precedent affume another to himself, that returning from supper, a light Torch was carried before him while the Minstrels Sang; A Beaked Pillar likewise was by decree of the Senate erected in the Market-place, of white Pisan Marble, which is yet to be seen (but many of the Letters worn out with Age) containing the Number of ships taken and drowned, the Summ and Weight of the Money taken. There were taken of Gold three thousand seven hundred pieces, of silver above an hundred thousand, of heavy Brah six score hundred thousand pounds. The Triumph being accomplished, Duilius called an Assembly, wherein L. Cornelius, L. Fo. Cn. N. Scipio and C. Aquilinus M., F. C. N., were chosen Confuls. The Senate ordered their Provinces to be Sicily, and the Navy. The Admiral had permission, if he thought it for the Publick good, to touch upon Sardinia and Corsica. This Charge happening to L. Cornelius, having prepared his ships he failed away.

This was the first Roman expedition into Sardinia and Corsica; the Islands are so near adjoining that they seem but one and the same, yet much unlike, as in the temper of the Air and Soil, so in the Dispositions of the inhabitants. Sardinia as bearing the shape of a man footing, was by the Ancients called Ichnufo and Sandalites; afterwards 'tis said, That Sardus the first Hercules of Lydia much frequenting the Island, gave it the name it is now known by. Old Fables affirm that the Grecians came into those places with Aristees, and after the Trojan was the Trojans. For extent of ground and fruitfulness of soil, it yieldeth not much to the biggest and best Islands of thofe seas. It breedz excellent cattel, very fruitful it is of the best Corn, rich in Metals, especially Silver. But the air is not wholesome, incomuch as foreign Nations commended not so much its Fertility as they dispraised its Pelting air; for in Summer it is sickly especially in the most fruitful places. It produceth likewise an Herb, much like the Bee flower of very violent Poyson, being eaten it disfondeth the mind, and forcibly attracting the Nerves, disforteth the lips as in laughter: the juice of it is mortal, 'twixt after vomiting you drink good store of milk and honyed water: the present force of the disease is so remedied, the other incommodities thereof are cured by the same means as other Convulsions of the Nerves.

Likewise there is a very little creature called Selunga, a kind of Pilimire, which is deadly to those who unawares sit upon it, it is so much the more dangerous, because hardly to be seen of taken notice of by those who are ignorant of its nature. The Sardinians being a Nation mixed of divers sorts of Barbarians, when they are left to their own liberty, chuse rather to live by robbery and plunder, than by husbandry: They are armed with a Target and short Sword, their - Brell.
Bret-plates they few together the out skins of their Rams, which they call Mufmones, bearing not wooll as others, but in flead thereof hair like Goats. Their chiefeft City is Corfica, looking towards Africa and from thence built, with a very fair Haven. Corfica is not to be compared with Sar- dont either for largenesse of Territorie, or for Riches, yet is thought to be the third in bigness of allنته Islands; The inhabitants derive the name of one Corfa, a woman, out of whole Heard a Bull crossed over into this Island from Liguria; the Greeks called it Cyprus. It is Mountainous and Rugged, in many places almost impassable, and the people like to the earth are very rough, without ordinary civility, as untractable as the wild Beasts. When they are taken prisoners they hardly grow gentle, but either out of impatience of labour and servitude kill themselves, or by their contumacy and stubbornnesse are troublesome to their ma-

flers.

The Island is plentiful in Honey, but it is of a bitter taft, much like the flower of Box, which tree in great number groweth there; yet it is very wholesome, and many think your Corsicans to be therefore long-lived, because they ordinarily use that Honey. Their Towns are not very great nor very populous, yet there is above thirty of them, the principal whereof are Aleria a Colony of the Phocans, and Nicaea of the Etrurians. The Air is here very troublesome, and therefore the seas rough. The Carthaginians therefore had long wars with these nations, and obtained the dominion of both Islands, except places inaccessible. But because wild and rude men were easier to be vanquished then tamed, they betowed themselves of many whereunto to keep them under, they likewise corrupted all the fruits of the Island, and under pain of death prohibited the Natives to low or plant any such thing, that they might be forced to fetch all necessaries from Africa, till at length grown somewhat more gentle they learned with patience to bear the yoke.

To these Islands at this time did Cn. Corfinius bear his course, and first in Corfica stormed the City Aleria, after which without much labour or danger he took the rest. From thence as he failed towards Sar-dania, he met the enemies Fleet, which he presently put to flight before they came to grapple. After this he went to Olbia, where seeing many Carthaginian ships in the Haven, and thinking himself not strong enough in foot to storm a City so well fortified, and defended by a great multitude, for the present he omitted the business, and failed home for a recruit of men.

About the same time a fervile Commotion, in the City, which was in the beginning happily suppressed, did both afford the Commonwealth with great fear, and likewise secure it. Many out of the new conquered Nations, were pressed for sea service, whereof there were then foure thousand in Rome, most of them Samnites; these men abhorring the sea, did secretly bemoone their own Condition and so far exasperated one another that they were resolved to burn the City and plunder it: They had already drawn in above three thousand accomplices into the conspiracy, which daily gathered more strength, when Ervini Positius, Commander of the Auxiliaries, did by his wisdom prevent all danger. For he reigning himself engaged in the same faction, was made privy to all their Contrivances, he was acquainted with the number of them, nay, with the nation, and name of every particular person in the conspiracy; he knew the place and the time where and when they intended to act any thing. He now wanted nothing to the accomplishment of his own private design, but only to discover theirs to the Senate, but thither he could not find no opportunitie of going, because the Samnites would never suffer him to walk alone; at length having devised this trick, he perfuadeth them, That when the Senate next met, they should come by bands into the market-place, and complain that they were cheated in the Measure of their Corn, that then they should have occasion offer'd of executing their Purpose, or at least understand of what mind and opinion the Fathers will be in upon such sudden motions and fits. And to gain the more Credit in the business, he went along with them, manifesting himself not only a Companion in the Tumult, but the Author and Ringleader of it. Whereupon being called into the Senate he discovered to them the danger of the secret Plot and cause of his own dissimulation. The Fathers, taking no notice of what they knew, sent Messengers with good words to pacifie the Rout, and command them home, affuring them with all, That the Senate would take order for Redress of their Grievance, and that every one should enjoy his Right. The Conspirators, thinking their Designs was still kept close, went their way: The night following every Mafter bound his servants, whom according to Positius his Information, he knew guilty of the treason, the Samnites all so most of them feized upon in their Quarters. Either the care of this or some other busines, or lickness was an hindrance to C. Florus, that he did not go into Sicily so soon as ordinary, whereby Hamilcar after his last Victorie had time much to encrease the Carthaginian Power there. For having taken Camarina and Enna by Treachery, he fortified Drapanos, where was a very fair Haven, and enlarged it in forme of a Town, bringing the Erycines thither to Dwell, whole City, left it should be servicable to the Romans he totally demolished, excepting the Temple of Venus. After this he reduced many other places under his power either by deceif or by force, and was in a likelihood of conquering all Sicily, but that Florus, for this reason not daring in winter to forfake the Island, carried to oppose him. The other Consul had an Easier Task with the Sardinians and Carthaginians at Olbia; whether being returned with encrease of Strength, he found Havre there, who after the removal of Hannibal was made Admiral. The battal wax-

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of the dead bodies, who only man had breath left in him, and being carried orofus, 3 away and diligently fomented ( and many wounds having not one mortal) he recovered, and afterward did great and faithful service to the Commonwealth, and proved of great terror to the enemy. If he had among Grecians performed such a deed of Valor, they would not have known how to have bestowed rewards, or have decreed Monuments enough to his Honor. But being a Roman all the reward such an exploit was a Garland made of Grass; say, they were to negligent in the memory of the very fact, that the name of this valiant man is fearlessly known: Most Authors call him Calpharbinus, but M. Cato calls him Q. Cadibus; Claudius Quadrigarius gives him the name Laberius. But the Conful being freed from those trials he was, made his error an argument of shame, and his danger of watchfulness and circumspection. Therefore with the former courage and care he proceeds to the assault of the City, and being not able to prevail against it without Engines of battery, he borrowed some of Hiero. With them he brake down th'ells, and reduced Camarina into his power, the Citizens for the most part he fold for slavery: Hence he marched to Enna, and had that by treachery delivered to him, the Garrison foriers were part of them slain by the Romans after they were en-

retained, the reit fled away and took themselves to places possesed by their own party. Sittano was obtained not by craft or courage, the defendants being driven back and the City formed. Some smaller Towns in the lay of Sicily made no delay, but forthwith sent messengers with promise of submission. T'Conful placing Garrisons in all places convenient, marched into Zamaras. Diderot. Felibus. Diderot.

agriculturist Territor, and by treachery had the Castle Camiens delivered to him.

Diderot

Where-

In place of Livie's Seventeenth Book.
Whereupon the Garrison of Erbusus being disheartened, forsook the Town. So Erbusus came again into the Romans hands. The Conful Encouraged with this success, and thinking that many of the Liparans favoured him, advanced with his Army to their City: But there he had not the like Fortune. For Hamilcar having intelligence of the Romans Design, privately entered Lipara, and diligently expected the time of Action. The Romans being ignorant of this, boldly and unwarily coming up to the walls, were by a sudden fall of the Carthaginians beaten back. Many were wounded in that Conflic, and no small number slain. In the mean time C. Sulpicius the Conful had many encounters with the Enemy in Sardina, and all prosperously. And his min was so erected, that he made bold to fall toward Af

The Carthaginians by no means enduring any such Attempt, once more made Hannibal Admirall, who since his flight out of Sicily had continued at Carthage, along with him they sent their fleet Sea Commanders, with Order, To take the Enemies Navy from their Coun

try-flores. He puts to Sea with a resolution to fight, but a Tempest prevented the Encounter, which being very violent on both Nives, drove them against their walls into more calme places: Both Admirals fortified into Sardian Ports. There lying at Anchor, Sulpicius to draw the Carthaginians out to sea, subhorned some, under presence of Runnageates, to perfwade Hannibal, that the Romans were again failing to Africa. He being deluded by this Craft, suddenly setting Jafe, before he was aware, met with the Conful who in a convenient place waited for him: Mai Carthaginian ships were Junk, before they knew what they were about, the Confuls frugem being much favour'd by a Milt opportunely arising: At Length understanding what was the matter, the other ships went back into the Haven, others drove themselves on jape, where the men landing themselves molt of the Velfids were taken empty. Hannibal, sparing the recover the Port, bought himself to Sulet, where, in a edition, being appeased by the Carthaginians, who had fled out of the same fight, he was by them crucified, and that his Telly and Roffels was the cause of their Overthrow. But this Victory of the Romans was an occasion of some los to them afterwards. For being freed from fear of Carthaginian Navy, while they boldly and se

surely waited the Grounds, they were suddenly used by an unexpected incursion of Sardinians and Carthaginians, one Hamo being Commander. C. Dnius was this year Cenour, and built the Temple of flamas in the Her-Marko. After this two Triumphs were made, the one of C. Aquillius Florus Pro conful over the Carthaginians, the fourth of the Nones of October, the other of C. Sulpicius the Conful over the Carthaginians and Sardinians, the third of the Nones. When C. Asilius M.F. N. Regulus; and C. Cornelius, L. F. Cn. N. Blago again were Confuls, the Senate order sacrifices to be made for avoiding the O

men of some Prodylges. In the Alban Mount, and the jake places, and in the City it fell many jones fell as Haile; Twas thought fit to Solemnize the Latin Feastall, and in order to that, a Dictatour was created, St. Ogulius, L. F. A. Cultor. The Moller of Horfe was M. Latorius. M. F. M. N. Pelisianus. C. Asilius the Admiral having failed to Tyrdy

dei in Sicily, when he eipied the Carthaginian Navy byng by, out of order, suddenly rail

ed to set upon it; and commanding the other ships follow, hastily sets forward with ten, with which were Ready, and with all speed both of fail and more endeavours to overtake the Carth

aginians, still before him. Hamilcar, a very confidable Commander, was in that Fleet who seeing but few ships near him, others scarce yet out the Haven, the greater part still at Anchor, fleeing back, circumvented Asilius and ships with his whole Navy, none of them he sink presently, not able to maintain fight with great a Number. The Admirals Frigat being better manned, and the Mariners encouraged with the presence of the Conful, brake out from amongst them by main strength and saved it. For the other Roman Vessells were nowe come up, by whose help the Fortune of the Jafe was changed. Eight of the Carthaginian ships were Junk, ten with all their men take the rest fleered to the Liparena Ilands. Thefe things were done at Sea. The Land Forces not so quick at their Work, having in vain assaflad the City Lipara. But with all hoby they spoild the open Fields; the fame Calamy also attended the Iland Maltese, not farre lance. For these Exiploes C. A

silius the Conful made a Naval Triumph over the Carthagians. The fame year A. Asilius the Pro-Conful Triumphed over the Carthaginians of Sicily the fourteenth of the Calfands of February. The Romans were then in a very joyful state of condition, being Victours not only at Land, but at sea also. And did now begin to Con, not only of the Conquest of Sicily and the Neighbouring Ilands, which they thought sufficient, but of invading Africa also, and bring the Terror of the War to the Coz of Carthage it selfe.
BOOK VIII.

Afterwards L. Manlius A. F. P. N. commonly called Longus, did enter upon the Confuls, and L. Cæcilius, Q. F. Q. N. after whole death, M. Atilius M. F. L. N. Regulus, who had been sometimes Conful, succeed in his Office. Then only in this year Africa, which hitherto been free from any miseries by an Enemy, began to be sensible of ail, when the Romans had made an invasion thereunto, after they had in a great Sea fight gained the Victory over the Carthaginians for which exploits, as they were achieved, we shall in this Book set forth, and both the one and other fortune of that fame Regulus, and his end not suitable to the gallantry of the man. The year before when the Carthaginians, C. Atilius being Conful, did so thrive to get a beat in a Sea-conflict, that when they had loft many ships, they first gave over fighting: yet because they had sunk some certain of the Roman Vessels, they would not take themes to have been of lefteft reputation. On the other part, the Romans did judge that event an undoubted Victory. So it was that the vail multitude on both sides did bend their mindest greatest emulation to the study of Sea-Affaires. And therefore the Confuls being chargd to remove the warre into Africa, when they were come to Missana, with an Armado of one hundred and thirty ships, and thence palling by the Coast of Sicil on the right hand, they Pachinus, to take in the Foot Forces, they having also some Forts near the Hill Eumen, they failed forward. And about the same time Hamilcar General of the Carthaginians, d Hanno the Admirall, being Commanders of a Fleet of three hundred and sixty ships, ving passed by Lilibaum in Carthage, and then Heraclea Minoa, in that bay they con of calling Anchor, observin the motions of the Romans, and if they durst bend towards Sea, they were in a posture to lop their course; which when the Confuls were informed of by good advice make all things ready for either chance, that they might not be to seek Confull, whether they were to engage in a Sea-conflict, or to draw some whither for safety, therefore committing the ships to some of the flouett Souldiers, they make four Squadrons, as so many parts of the whole fleet, the choicest men they set in the first Squadron, the next Squadrons they place in their order, in the Reare-guard they put their chieftest men of strength, the Triarri, these forces they dispose of in such array, that each ship did carry 3 crowers, and six score Souldiers. So the Multier Roll in the whole Navy did amount to an hundred and forty thousand men.

The Carthaginians did forwhat exceed that number, leading more Souldiers than an hundred and fifty thousand. d Indeed the Confuls did scarce esteem of any other force of Souldiers in comparision of them. There was so much the more consulting, when it did appear, they must needs fight the deep Ocean, where the swiftness of the ships, and the skill of the Pilots are of much advantage, to the fit ordering the front of the battell-array against that danger; finally the consider of placing the whole Fleet aright. They set two Gallies wherein the Confuls themselves were carried, very even in the Van, to both those Gallies they joyn on this side the first squadron, on that side the second in a long continued row; the ships being placed in such manner, that the fore cattles of them all were turned outwards, and
the Gallies did move almost joyne together, the ships next to those did keep from each other more apart, and so consequently the space left between the opposite ships did grow wider according to their being set in order. So when the form of the Van in manner of a wedgeshaped, with small distance between the first ships, and with great spaces between the last, then did they cause the third Squadron to advance, which bearing that open space between the two first ships, did meetly by their side, exhibit a triangular form of the whole array, behind this, at the third Squadrons back, the long boats were drawn by a Barge with Cables to pull with, reaching to the ships of the Taritius squadrons. The Taritius the fouldiers set in the Rear-word, did so inviron the form, the ships being stretched out into a battle circle, that from each Wing they did appear; So to whole body with a deep hollow front, the bindmost parts being firmly solid, did resemble the favour of a ship, not les able to receive a violent fault, then hit to give one.

But the Carthaginian Captains having intelligence by their Scouts of the approach of the Roman fleet, when they considered, the Village to their City was not difficult, the common fort were nothing manly, the bordering Neighbours inconstant, and very prone to fall from their fidelity, they conclude to go out to the then; being resolved first to try all that might be, rather then they would suffer, that the Roman Vessels should have a safe Voyage into Africa. Therefore they betake them to the ships, encouraging their men in foot, That they would undertake the fight with minds fully bent and clear-sight, well remembering they were to fight, not only touching things present, but in reference to all things, which each hand held precious at home; and with their own good hope and that of their fellow Seamen, they launch forth out of the Harbour, nor was the Roman else they give the shock against each other with did to provide, that Hamno should charge on the left, where the Romans else they give the shock against each other with did to provide, that Hamno should charge on the left, where the Romans was doubtfull, that might break the array of the Romans did charge his fouldiers, when the Conflict began, they would preferly take their flight, which being done, and the Romans eagerly pursing them, the Carthaginians indeed had no hurt by their flying, in regard their ships were swift Vessels with sails, and five oars in a part, Hamno did stretch it out all he could towards the main Ocean, being ready to surround the Enemy, the skirmish should begin at any other part. And the Consuls not staying long did venture to interpose with their two Squadrons into the midst of the Carthaginian ships; Hamno that might break the array of the Romans. But the Conflict began, they should preferly take their flight, which being done, and the Romans eagerly pursing them, the Carthaginians indeed had no hurt by their flying, in regard their ships were swift; but the art of the Romans, as Hamilo withled and had forseen, was rent at once, when the Ereal, and the third Squadron did keep their places, which, when he saw it performed, he fuddily gives a sign out of his own ship, that their fore-eaftles being turn'd, they should encounter that did pursue them; the fight was doubful, the Carthaginians excelling in swiftness, as skill for Navigation. The Romans being farre transcendant in the stoutness of their Japs; Therefore so long as the fight rather of the ships, then of the men, did last, the Carthaginians had the better clearly: But when they began to fight hand to hand, the ship being made fast with grappling irons, then the Victory did certainly incline towards the Roman party: When the fouldiers full of confidence through his hand-strokes, and fighting thee the Consulls, did strive to approve his valour to them with a more notable endeavour: the skirmish was so managed in that part, Hamno with the Right Wing, which hitherto he feem'd, had made a fierce assault, being carried by the tide amongst the ships of the Taritius, and create them much talkt, when they were brought to great ciphers; At the fume almost, the Left Wing also of the Carthaginians, the fight posture being changed, and in front made even, does assaile with dangerous beaks the third Squadron of the Romans, wh drew their long boats by a Barge. The Romans having flipt their Cables, did prepare themselves for resistance; Here also they thow much Gallantry: So in three places, there did happen even yet so many Sea-fights, far distant from each other.

When they had fought so hard, the Victory long enough inclin'd to either side, at left it chan-
ced, as needs it must, where there is fierce bickering in landyies at once, with equal force and vehemency, that the selfe fame part which is frist routed, did cause the whole Victory. For when Hamilo was utterly unable any longer to withstand the violence of his Enemies, his single flight did immediately disappear even the whole fleet of the Carthaginian. For L. Mar-
lus one of the Consulls being very much busied about bringing tother the ships that were taken, and chainning to them his own, M. Regulus elpying the flight to begin aerie in another place, he made hale to relieve his own side, taking to him the ships the second Squadron, all that escaped out of the former fight safe and unshattered; The Tav did soon perceive that reliefe, and recollccting their Spirits, which had even failed them intemity of Danger, they began to oppose their Enemies with great undauntednes. Hamno, who saw that both those before him made fluent resistance, and that himselfe was so over-charge on the Reare with fresh supplies, hoisting up faile he did his best to avoid his approaching overwiew. And when L. Mar-
lin
In place of Livie's Eighteenth Book.

Hannibals" trials befall'd the third Squadron of the Romans to be enforced towards land by the Carthaginians Left Wing, he steer'd that way, and *M. Legatus overtook him unawares, who had even now set the long boats and the *Triarii out of har'mes reach. So the flate of things is now quite changed, and they are surrounded very close, who but three weeks before had hemmed the Romans in. Whom indeed being strangely encapaffed, and in a manner straightly besieged, they might e're this have utterly destroyed, unless not daring to go near them for fear of the iron raven-beaks they were wont to grappling with, they gave the Consuls time enough, that themselves being safe they might even secure their own side, and the Carthaginians, that were environed by a sudden surprize; had leisure to do, as well as they, fifty ships, and all that were therein, to the other few sealing away by so very scarce tide did make their escape.

This Sea-conflict as well in regard of various ill accidents, and the eagerness of the encoun-ter, as also for the number of ships lost on both sides was so fair remark. Of the Cartha-
ginian ships thirty and three were taken, above thirty were sink. The Conquering Romans lost four and twenty by reason of foul weather, but of one of them did fall into the hands of the Enemy.

When this victory was over, returning to Afina they allotted certaine daies to mend their ships, and refet their men, and to take afte of new provision. Amongst which, Hamilcar when he would not yield by any mans, the Romans should go to Africa, but wanted strength to stop their march, he betook himself to bratagem, and fought, by sending Hann to them to sue for peace, to prolonge the time till the arrival of the forces whch he look'd the Carthaginians would send him. *Hann when he made his address to the Consuls, and heard the exclamations of the people, at the same decree ought to pass against him, which five years before the Carthaginians had sign'd against Cornélius Asina, then Conful, he shifted off the threatened mischief with a subsidium, *verity if ye shall doe so (ladies he) ye shall not be better at all then the very Africans; as presently the Consuls well reftent what he said, commanding thofe to be silent that had not him to chains, and there was a voice heard well beleeving the gravity of the Roman Rock, Hann, the faithful dealing of our City doth not thee from that fear. It was in vain to move peace because the Carthaginian did not defal fin-

erely, and the Consuls did rather aim at *Verey then at Peace. Therefore they had no mind to defer any longer their intended voyage to *Africa. Neither did the Carthaginian Commanders cofte the divide, though they engaged each other, not to endure the enemy should march without disturbance, but to infet him in troubles, and to bar his passage. But Hann

making halt to fortify Carthage beforehand, Hamilcar not daring to attempt ought barries at Heraclea. The Romans ships made a fair runge free both from enemies and from tempests. And there wanted not some that did strange bominatise any travelling far by sea, and the enemies coat, and the very name of Africa, Mannala, an Officer amongst the foulidiers, did first begin to speak ill of government, but *Rex was so incendent against him, that he threatened him that scourges and the axe shoudl be his; unless he would submit. So at length the Consul was obeyed, and the nearer and the greater did expel the dread of travelling by sea. The Promon-
tory is called Hermouss which from *bosome of Carthage does stretch very far into the Sicil-
ian sea. That coast was first found out by the Roman ships, then after a little stay while the whole fleet came up together, the enemis having passed by the coast of Africa, they arrived at the City Clupea. Here the *Idlers are exposed to hazard, and when the ships were put into harbor, there was a Trench drawn round for the more securitie. The City because it refused to surrender, was besieged, and presently through the timorousnesse of the Citizens it being either yielded or defeated (as is reported either way) it was reduced to the obedience of the Romans.

But the Carthaginians though they did endure things truly hard, and very strange, yet they rejoyned at their weal, that th fared somewhat better then they expected: for when they heard what trouble the Se-fight had, they were fore afraid, least presently the conqueting forces would have been drawn even a pl Carthage itself. Therefore re-affuming some courage after their former fright, they were bent to make what strength they could to defend their City and the Suburbs thereof. As while the Consuls having sent messengers to *Rome which would acquaint the Senators with exploits had been achieved already, and should beleech their advice touching new attempt, they make Clupea a Garrison, that they might make use of that feast of war. And haveting a guard to defend the City and field adjoyning, they march-
ing a great way forward will their other forces, they utterly waste a very fruitful Country, which from the days of *Aphobes had not seen the sword of an enemy; they destroy many goodly Villages, they force away whole droves of cattle, moreover they lead away by force above twenty thousand me to man daring to gainpay; they also take many Towns by storm or by surrender, wherein apprehend several Revolters, and set free many Roman Captives, that were taken in the late *res, amongst whom I believe even *Cn. Cornelius to have been, that was chosen Consul against two years were expired. While things are thus acted, they that were sent to *Rome by the enemis, return with Orders from the Senate. One of them was com-
manded to quarter in Africa, with such considerable forces as they held needful to be kept there. The other was raised to bring back the reft of the fleet, and the residue of the army
to Rome. So Winter now drawing near, M. Regulus continued there with almoft fifteen thou-
sand foot, five hundred horfemen, and with forty ships, what remained of the Fleet being rich-
ly laden with Captives, and other booty L. Munius having safely paffed by the Coasts of Si-
cily, he carried back to Rome. And he led along with him to Rome twenty feven thou-
cand Captives, and the Naval Triumph over the Carthaginians was ordain'd for him. Afterwards
Ser. Fulvius, M. F. M. N. Paulus the more noble, and M. Aemilius, M. F. L. N. Paue-
lus were made Confuls.

The Government of Sicily and the Command of the Fleet are committed to the charge of
those two: They were not minded to call back Regulus from amid his Victories, while he
was gone. That decree of the Senate no person did worse reftent, than be himself, for whose honour
it was made. Therefore in his Letters to the Senate he made that his grievance, and fett it up as
the main ground of his fuit, that another might succeed him in Office, upon the death of his Bai-
liffe (he undertook to manage a piece of ground of seven Acres, which his Matter had in Pupi-
nio) having gained an opportunity, he then delivered up his Commission, and left his charge,
wherefore he muft needs depart, left in highneffe, when his ground lay unfettled, his wife and
children should want bread. And the Senate did ordain, that M. Regulus his ground fhould be
drefted at the Publick charge, that what image he had fultanied fhould be made good, and
fair provision fhould be made for his wife at children. Such good orders were then in use:
But when I read of or relate these things and fuch, I cannot fufe but recollect with my felf,
which is the more lafting recompence for vice, a reward by Coin, or by comnemoration, by
pounds, or by praiie. M. Regulus his renoun does endure many ages after his death; the
wealth of others hath paffe with their Matter, and oftentimes before them: In the mean-
while the Carthaginians having chofen two Generals at home, M. Adreniac, Hannos, and
Bafcar, they fent also for Hamioes their thirde commander in chief to come out of Sicily.
Who with five thoufand Foot, and five hundred lye came in all hate from Heraclea to Car-
thage. Thefe having called a Council do decreaf the Army should not be kept within
Walls, as the manner heretofore had been, neither would the Roman foildiers be permitted to
do what they liket without any punishment. So we, they were encouraged to wage War, the
Army was drawn out.

In the mean time M. Regulus did march to all place adjoining, through which the River
Bagrada does flide, fubduing all before him, not far in which the Romans that held certain
Caffles, were fritten with a fluden perfecution, and loft by, and were forfe amaz'd. A water-
Serpent of huge bignefs did fet upon the foildiers, and being much afrighted and reftifed all
in vain, the Serpent did swallow down many of them, their fide yawning jaws, others he
blind'd to pieces with his furious windings, and with the flie of his tail, some again he poi-
fon'd to death with the blaffing of his pelliferous breath, and made fo much ado for M. Re-
gulus, that with all his forces he muft fight with the Serpent for the possifion of the River, which, when
it was done with the lofe of many foildiers, and the Dragon did neither be overcome, nor wound-
ed, with his extrem hard crust of Scales eafily repelling, we e'ert they did throw at him, they
muft make use of Engines, and without great Guns Mortar-pieces, like a well fenced
Tower, the Enemy is not to be overthrown. After feverall flings that were made in vain, a
great lone being call'd did break his back-bone all to fhivers and did difolve the vigorous
violence of the formidable Monifter. And the business was ended with fo much difficulty, and
with fo great terror to Horfe and Foot, that the foildiers averre they had rather oppofe
Carthage it felfe, then fuch another Monifter. And the Cat could flay there no longer, but
muft flan the infected waters, and all the Country round about which was blaffed with the con-
tagious fit of his lying there. This was some fame to the prid men, which are wont to think
very fondly, that they can Conquer all things. Truely when M. Regulus was General, that had
been Conquerour by Sea and Land, one fingle Serpent when he's alive (did hold the whole Ro-
man Army in plean, and being killed, he made the Army draw off. And therefore the Proconful
did hold it no immoderately to fend the spoils even of this very Efty to Rome, and to acknow-
edge with a publick Monument the greatnefs of his own fear, his rejoicing at the victory.
For he took order the skin of the beafh fhould be taken off and rived to Rome, which is re-
ported to have been an hundred and twenty foot long, and being fugg'd up in a certain Temple
to have lafted even till the Wars at Numantia. When the Camps removed from Bagrada, the
Conful commanded the Army towards the City Adis, all Wars and Caffles being won
and demolifh'd that lay in their road.

But to Adis, which was hard to take, there was a certain way offering fige by the help of
warlike engines. To the crofing of which, when the Carthaginians faw it did speedily make
half their late down on a certain hill, but full of wood and full of other impediments that was
very near the Roman Camp. M. Regulus having well confidered the nature of the place, and
what manner of enemies he had to deal with, when he faw their foot ye not comparable to his,
but that they put much confidence in their Elephants and horfemen, it fuch forces being very
formidable in open fields by the inequality of the places would not come at, and would be
made very ufelefs, he widely taking some advantage by the folly of his enemies, before they
could perceive and correct their error, determines to fall upon them in their own Tents. Where-

fore encouraging his soldiers, and diligently observing what reason did suggest, he goes out of his Camp before the awaking of the day, and does cause his army to advance towards the hill directly opposite, where the Carthaginians had pitched their Tents. First of all, the audacious confidence of the Romans did even amaze the Carthaginians, which being far lesse in number did set upon such a vast army even in their own trenches, from a low place, and of great dis-advantage. Then they were in the greater confusion even in this respect, because the horse-men and Elephants, from which they did hope for most assistance, were not only of no advantage, but did extremely hinder and disturb them, and the very time did augment their trembling, that the Romans did set upon them unawares, and most of them, as yet, being fast asleep, therefore many of them are put to the sword even in their tents, the others frigaling in their amazed flight, and not knowing where to hide themselves, were taken by parties let on purpose to way-lay them.

Nevertheless the Carthaginians Mercenary soldiers, the Spaniards and the French, being instantly in a good posture, and fighting Couragiously on the other side of their bulwark it was doubtful a great while which would get the upper hand. The forlorn hope even now being put to the run, the whole Roman army had been overthrown, if the horse from another quarter that were commanded to wheel about had not in the very nick of time charged the eminence on the rear that were pursuing those which fled. Then they also which a little before had deferred their flight might now be rallied up and encouraged to fight anew. So the enemy being set upon both sides, when he had for a long time with much gallantry made resistance, he was constrained to cry quarter.

When the Carthaginians saw what was done, immediately they brought themselves out of their Sconces, and fall to running with all the speed they could make, and indeed the Elephants and the horsemen when once they came into plains they could retreat well enough and safely too. The Conquerors having pursued the infantry somewhat far, they turn back at length to throw down their fortifications. In this Battall there were seventen thousand of the Carthaginians that were slain, five thousand are reported to be taken prisoners, and eighteen Elephants. The successe of this battall did purchase the Romans much friendship not only from all the Countrys round about, but even from people that were most remote. And in few days about fourcorse wafted towns vowed fidelity to the Romans. Whereas on the news that Tunis such a fenced City was taken by 

 REGULUS did even astonish the Carthaginians that were greatly traitred before, and which was built twelve miles from Carthage, leaft it Livie, 30. 9 suffer what ever they did there to bekept secret from the enemy, then being a fair prospect both to the very City it selfe, and to the fa hard by.

And the terrible dread of their war with the Romans did not onely dance round the Carthaginians, but the Numidians also, out of aold grudge being stirred up by a fresh opportunity, took up arms, and by spoiling and hirring the Carthaginian towns, brought more terror and mifery upon them, then the Romans did. And the Boores from all parts flying for refuge to the City, did cause not only a hug dread, but also a great dearch, when such a multitude of people did devour a world of provision, and the avarde of the owners did conceale the plenty as yet in store, who gaping greedily for gain by that Common Calamity were full of hope the price of victuals would raise daily according to the decreese of their most necessary food. Whereupon it followed, the Embassie of Marcus Regulus was hearkned wth greater breed, who aiming at the honor of finishing the war, and fearing leaft some one that might succeed him with a new commission from ROME should prevent him, he moves the Carthaginians to Conditions for peace. To that purpos some of the prime Senators are sent unto him, but when they saw strange harsh conditions offered, and their business at a stand, they took their leave of M. REGULUS, who was verily perceived he had Victory by the hand, SICILY fortooth, and all SARDINIA were commanded to yeeld, to send freely home what Romans they had taken, to ransom their own men, to bear the whole charge of the war, and to pay besides a pension by the year. They had other impositions, full as burthenome as these. That they should be confederates with the Romans for offence and defence, that they should use but one great ship, but the Romans they should affift with fifty galleys well appointed as off as they should be required. The Embassadours being transported with wonder at such Articles, and that REGULUS might DISJUDICED, he grant his vanquish suppliants more milde conditions, he made this answer, Men must either b. 15

 CONQUER or to chance to those that subdue them. By the return of which words the Carthaginians were much incenched, though they had often made futile for peace, yet they are fully bent, but the multitude of their Commanders, that knew not the duty of their places. This rumor being soon dispers'd, when XANTIPPOS was called before the Magistrates, he does produce such
such evident reasons of that his judgement, that scarce ought could be more manifest; he shews them that in all their expeditions, in making their Fort, in joining Battell, it was their manner till to pick out places utterly unfit, if they would listen to his advice, he does affure them not one of safety, but also of Victory. When severall of the Chief Citizens do approve of his judgement, and the very Commanders also themselves, and with becoming modesty preferring the welfare of their Country before his single opinion, they agree and ordain that the guidance of his Army should be committed to a foreigner, Xanthippos having undertaken his charge, dayly drawing his foultiers out of the City, he does accomtume the field Forces to observe and change their ranks, and instantly to do what they are commanded, and the confidence of better success does fill the foultiers with admiration of him, the whole City being certified even in despair, is raised up to expect joyfull things to come. When the Commanders behold this Universal cheerfulness, they also taking heart thereby, resolve to give the Enemy another charge, and encouraging their foultiers, as opportunity did require, they march out against the Romans, even with almost twelve thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse, and well nigh as many Elephants; that thing alone did perplex the Romans, that they saw the Carthaginians make their inroads through the plain fields, having changed their fit design, avoiding all steep and craggy places; But being pulled up with pride through their constant vicinity, they let at once the foultiers that were wont to vanquish, and Gracchus their Leader. And Regulus was not corrupted with that fawning poylon of fortune waiting on him. When he well considered that he had routed the Sea Forces of the Carthaginians and the fort Souldiers too, that he had taken almost two hundred Townes, two hundred thousand Men, and that Carthage being fore strengthened, might be enforced to surrender, he denied them peace when they sued for it on reasonable terms, and wrote to Rome, That the very Gates of Carthage which he had besieged did tremble at him. So also moderation hath often defeated great Spites in prosperity, then constancy in adversity: But the Carthaginians having pitch their tents in a plain field, M. Regulus whole chiefest strength was in his infantry, and thither he could not be followed but over Mountains and steep difficult places, thinking it all one to his Valour where he fought, he was not afraid to trust himself in the Camp, even to the greater want of his confidence, passing over the river that was in the midst, and distant from the Enemy even two hundred thousand paces. Xanthippos perceiving the indiscretion of the Roman Leader, did avouch this would be the very time, wherein he would performe what he had promis'd the Carthaginians for he had got the Romans even tires with long Marching, where his heart could with them; he nothing doubted the Victory would be certainly his own; yet the time also did seem most commodious for the fight, because the day now drawing towards the evening, the Africans knowing well all places about them, if they should be overcome, they might make their escape the better in the night, or if they should conquer, the night would not hinder the pursuit of the Victory. Therefore the Carthaginians consulted what was to be done, Xanthippos calling for the help of Gods and Men, that they might not lose such a singular opportunity he did earnestly persuade his men to undertake the Battle, so much the easier, because the foultiers themselues crymg out to Xanthippos, they did of their own accord with unwialful cheerfulness desire to encounter the Enemy, therefore the charge of the main affair is granted to the Spartan, he draws out the Army, and does exercize them after this manner. A four square body of 5000 Carthaginians, which were the prime Chosen men of all their foot, was set for a releve; before this body, one convenient space being left between, the Elephants are set in order, being drawn up as broad as that square body, on either wing the Horse are placed behind these on the Right Wing, stands the main body of hired foultiers. The Army being set in such array, he commanded the skirmishers, that having thrown their darts, they should stand in open order for the advantage of their own side, and when their main body should join with the Enemy, they should violently break out again from the Wings, and should on a sudden furiously flanke the Romans, when they were charging the opposite relieve. On the contrary part Regulus having well drawn up his Army, when he saw the Elephants in the Front of the Carthaginians, he soon takes advice, he brings his foultiers lightly armed to the Van, he sets the well Compact foot-Companies in the relieve, the Horse are drawn up in the Wings, the Army is firme in respect of depth, but much narrower then before; so that the chiefe danger being feared from the Enemies Elephants and Horsemen, they did indeed take a right course against the Elephants, but being in an open and Champaign Country, there was room sufficient for the Horse to turnround, the whole Army being so close compacted. The Fight was began by the Elephants, which Xanthippos commanded to be led against the opposite Regiments, and the Romans making a great shout, set forward to meet them. The Horse were likewise engaged in both Wings, but there the Romans being much inferior in Number, and not able to till the Enemies charge, fled away. But the Foot who were of the Left Wing, (whether it was to avoid the Elephants, or that thereby they thought the more easily to obtain the Victory charged the Mercenaries, and putting them to flight, pursued them to their very Camp. The rest of the foot had an harder task against the Elephants, by whose tall bodies their ranks were disordered, themselves trodden under foot, and whole Companies like a falling house, struck down to the ground, yet the very thickness of the Battell hindered them from breaking through; till at last they were diffirded on all parts, for the Flanks and Rear were galled by the Horie, the foremost who made a shift to break through the Elephants, were flain by the Enemy.
In place of Livie's Eighteenth Book.

Enemy standing yet Entire, and the light-armed men flying in upon them. There was no less execution done in the flight of the Elephants and Numidian Horse pursuing them in an open plain place. Regularly: with almost five hundred fouldiers was taken alive by the Enemy; of the whole Army they there escaped but about two thousand (who had charged and put to flight the Mercenaries) who beyond all Hopes, by their halt, got safe into Clupea; of the Romans and their Associates were slain about thirty thousand. Of the Carthaginians there were not many wanting besides eight hundred of the Mercenaries, who had fought against the Left Wing of the Enemy. When the Army returned to Carthage after so great a Victory, carrying the Roman General Perforner, a multitude of Citizens came out to meet them, others standing in the streets, or in their houses, beheld the spectacle with wonderfull Pleasure, which they durst last, scarcely hope for; their minds being not capable to believe so great an Happiness attending them: For being of late to near despair, giving not only their Country, but very City for lost, they durst scarcely believe to great a Change, though they saw it with their eyes: But they took most special notice of the Generals, every ones eye and thought beingsettled on them, looking sometimes on Xanthippe, sometimes on Regularus, Exolling the greatnes of their own Commander, by the Elevation they had of the other. He must of necessity be a gallant Man who hath overcome so few a General, to fortunate a Warrior, a proud Conqueror, an implacable Enemy, the Terror and Plague of Carthage, now of a sudden bereaved of a numerous Army, having left his ancient Fame and Liberty together. Their Admiration was encreased by the habit and Garbe of the Man, who under a small body, and none of the best lookes, carried a large and virtuous mind. For this Exploit Xanthippe had much glory, and withall as much envy, to avoid which he used as much art as in finishing the Warre, for whereas he might justly expect an everlasting reward of his good service at Carthage, yet he resolved to leave those doubtful hopes and full of Treschery, and return home, before other mens affections, or his own fortune were altered. For this is for the most part the disposition of men, that openly they profess the love of their Country, but really study their own private good: as long as their City being in safety, they can obtain and quietly enjoy Honour and Riches, they pretend mighty love to their Country: But where there is danger left they should betowe the fame benefits on others for their egregious merits, they had rather want a man who doeth good to the Common-wealth, then have him in the least way hinder their private commoditie: As long as they think themselves able to equal others, their envy is hidden and more tems, but when they see themselves farre exceeded, and that Honour duly given to others which they desired for themselves, then what they were not able by virtue to obtain, they seek it by Calumnyes and Criminations. So that the best men have ordinarily most Enemies and are most subject to Treschery: But a Native of the Country hath some remedy against this Evil in his Friends and Kindred: A stranger being void of all helpe and assistance encreareth the Malice of degenerate minds by his being easie to be hurt in that he is more expos'd to Treschery, and may without any great labour or danger be offended, affronted and undone. That Xanthippe apprehended and considered these things, the sequel doth evidently demonstrate, 'Tis reported he was drown'd by some Jesu after ... from the Carthaginians, who after so great a benefite received, hated the Author of it, who being once dead, they thought it would quickly be forgot that their Country was preferred by a For- eigner.

Others deny Xanthippe thus to have perished, yet confess the Treschery of the Carthaginians, who as his Departure allotted him an old Ship, full of Leakes, fairly pitched over as if it had been found, but that he discovering the Cheats, went aboard on another ship, and escape the danger. About the same time they committed another fact of no les Treschery, but much more cruel, by reason of the number that perished thereby. The Mercenaries in somewhat a tumultuous manner claiming a Reward of their paines taken, and happy Vourour, were put into ships being made believe that in some other place they should have their Defence. But the Captains of the Ships who had such private Orders, landed them and left them in a Barren island, where being destitute of all helpe from man, without food, without ships; having famine on one side, and the Sea on the other, they pined away and perish'd, a foul and horrid kind of Death. Others referre this Fact to former times, when there was warre between the Syracusans and Carthaginians, and that the Island was thereupon called Offodes, or the Banie Island, it lieth in the main Sea beyond Lipara Wellward. These deeds whenever and howsoever performed, do nothing disagree with the Carthaginians usall Cruelty. And if thus they served their Friends and Associates, it is no wonder, they were more then ordinarily seaverse against their Enemies. Other Prisoners indeed were somewhat tolerably well used, for they likewise had many Captives at Rome, for whom they intended to make an Exchange. But against M. Rugulus they could neither cover nor moderate their Anger, but vexed and afflicted him all manner of ways; they allowed him food which was neither pleasant to the Palate, nor strengthening to the Body, but which with much ado by a slighth nourishment served to produce his Miserable life. But more grievous were the Contumelies and Reproaches daily heaped upon him, amongst the rest, they would frequently on a sudden introduce an Elephant, to fright him with the noise and ugly shape of it, not suffering him to rest neither in Mind or body, and being thus miserably handled, and brought low, they cast him into the common Gaole.
When these things were heard at Rome, the City was filled not only with great grief but with fear also, for they mistrusted lest the Carthaginians, provoked with the snare of their own calamities, and encouraged by this victory, should recommence them in the like kind, and dare to come even to the walls of Rome to inflict on them the same mischiefs themselves had suffered. The Senate therefore commanded the Consuls, To strengthen Italy as diligently as might be with sufficient Garrisons, themselves with a vast Navy to sail into Sicily, and hence if they thought fit into Africa, to divert the Carthaginians from any expedition into Italy. But the Carthaginians in the first place made it their care to reduce those Cities which the Romans had possesse'd, to punish those Africans who had revolted from them, and by strength of arms to vanquish those who perished in rebellion. Clupea was indeed by the Romans loosely defended, but, in Numidia, and over the other Africans (though their war was great,) their victory was ease.

In the mean time, understanding that a great Fleet was preparing in Italy, they left the siege of Utica which they had commenced, trimmed up the old ships, built new ones, and laboriously endeavoured to prevent the Romans from landing on the African shore. The Consuls used such incredible diligence, that by the beginning of Summer they had three hundred and fifty ships ready fitted and laden, with which falling to Sicily, when they found all things safe there, and no danger, but that they were full of expectations and fears, they left Garrisons where most need was, and with the rest of their army steered towards Africa. But being by a tempest forced upon Cissa (an Island between Africa and Sicily, near the Promontory of Lilybaum) they waited the grounds there, took a City of the same name, and placed Garrisons in it. Then they let forward to the Promontory of Hermus, which being in the mean-way between Carthage and Clupea, thirtieth in one side of the Carthaginian Gulf. At this place the Carthaginian Navy met them, and a very sharp fight was entered into on both sides, when help came to the Romans from Clupea, which totally inclined the victory, being before doubtful. An hundred and four of the Carthaginian ships were sunk, thirty taken, and fifteen thousand foiards lost; on the Roman side eleven hundred men were lost, and nine ships. The fleet then sailed to Utica, where they landed their men, and pitched their Camp near the City; The Carthaginians likewise brought their forces thither under the conduct of Hannu, where in a land fight they were overcome with the loss of above nine thousand men. There were some Noble men taken prisoners, whom the Consuls referred whereby to redeem M. Regulus and others who were in the like condition. They then confounded on present affairs, and conceived great hopes they might keep Africa in possession: Nevertheless the country round about being plunder'd and spoiled, they, fearing a famine, thought fit to return into Sicily, together with those Romans who had defended Clupea. They carried away very rich spoil, which had been laid up in Clupea in the time of Regulus his prosperity, and much overcrost by late victories. They had a safe Voyage into Sicily, and sufficiently fortunate had been the Consuls if they would have let alone that happy navigation. But because in their return to Italy they thought by the bye to take some Port towns of Sicily, not regarding the ship-masters counsel (who advised them, Not to sail in those dangerous and rough seas against the coast of Africa, now Orion and the Dog Star were rising,) they suffered such shipwreck as hath hardly been heard of, of three hundred thousand and four ships, scarce fourscore, having cast out all their lading, were faved; much about the same number of horse-boats and other sorts of vessels were lost, in much as the whole shore, even from the coast of Camarina (where the storm began) to Pachybas, was filled with the Corps of dead men, and horses, and pieces of broken ships. In this their hard distress the humanity of King Hiero was no small comfort to them, who bountifully entertained them, furnishing them with clothes, and victuals, and tackling for their ships, and conducted them safe to M. Sali. But the Carthaginians made no delay to take advantage of this their misfortune, they presently regained the Iland and City of Cissa; and forthwith crossing over into Sicily beliged Agrigentum under the command of Carthalo, and no relief coming, they took it and demolished it: A great multitude of perons were here slain and taken prisoners, the others, who escaped through the midlands into the territories of Syrachus, planted themselves in a Village near the Temple of Jupiter Olympus. Neither were they out of hopes of recovering the whole Iland, but that the Romans associats confirmed and strengthened themselves against present fears, hearing what diligence was used in preparing a new Navy; for the Consuls were so intent upon the work, that with wonderful speed, in the space of three months, an hundred and twenty ships were built. With thele Cn. Cornelius L. F. C. N. Sempis Afina, and A. Atilius A. F. C. N. Calatinus being Consuls again, having made a new leavy of flour foildiers, were commanded with the first opportunity to let to sea. This Cn. Cornelius was a great example of the Inconstancy of Fortune, and of Patience in Adversity, for having seven years agoe, when he was Consul been circumvented by the craft of the Carthaginians, and fudder'd captivity, imprisonment and chains, and whatsoever misery is incident to mankind, he now resumed not only the other Ornaments of his degree, but likewise the Consular Dignity with so much the more joy, by how much the fadder misfortune he had been before bereaved of them.

The Consuls having arrived at Megara, and joyned to themselves what ships they found there, being chiefly the Relicks of the last ship-wrack, sailed with two hundred and fifty ships to
to the mouth of the River Himera, and took by treachery the Town of Cephalodius, some eighteen miles distant upon the same shore: From Drepanus (for thither they had steered their course) they departed without effecting their purpose, being not able to take it on the sudden, and Carthage having sent thither supplies in cases of a siege. Being not thereby discouraged from farther attempts, they happily accomplished another design of greater moment. They directed their course to Panormus, the principal City of the Carthaginian jurisdiction, and poisselling the Haven, faze down under the very Walls, and the Panormitans refusing to yield, they encompassed the City with a Ditch and Bulwark. The nature of the ground favoured their intentions, yielding plenty of materials and wood for their works, which being finished, they began the assault, and battered down with their Engines a Tower by the sea side, and the soldiers entering by the breach, with great slaughter of the enemy, took the outward City, which was called New Panormus; the old City did not long hold out, for a great number flying thither out of the new City, bringing along with them more terror than provisions, they were dejected with consideration of their present danger, and fearing sudden scarcity, sent messengers to the Consuls with proposals to yield up all but their bodies; the Consuls knowing the wants of the besieged, accepted not the conditions unless they would redeem themselves at a certain price. Every head was valued at two Mine; fourteen thousand persons were ransomed, the rest, being thirteen thousand were fold together with the plunder. This victory was very glorious of great and sudden concernment, for hereupon many Towns on that coast, some far distant, call out the Carthaginian Garrisons and submitted themselves to the Romans. The Jetines began, and their example was followed by the Soluntines, Petrites, Tyndantans and others. Affairs being thus transacted, and a Garrison left at Panormus, the Consul returned to Missana and so to Rome. The Carthaginians lying in wait for them at their return, surprized some ships of Burthen with many in them.

At Rome there were two Naval Triumphs made immediately one after another, by the former year Consuls (whose command was prorogued) over the Culluars and Carthaginians; Serv. Fulvius triumphed the thirteenth of the Calends of February, and M. Atilline the day after. The five hundred year after the foundation of the City a fruitless expedition was made into Africa. Cn. Servilius Ca. F. (Cn. N. Capio), and Cn. Sempronius Ti. F. Ti. N. Blias being Consuls, crossed over into Sicily, where having in vain attempted Lathemus, they directed their course to Africa with two hundred and three thousand ships, and falling along the coast and soentimes landing, they took many Towns and got great plunder. They effected nothing of greater moment, being hindered of entering into the most convenient Towns by the Carthaginians who everywhere met them with very good courage, having recovered whatever M. Regularus had possessed, and punished the revolters. For Hamilcar having ranged through Numidia and Maurystania, had reduced and quieted all that Tract, imposing a fine of a thousand Talents of silver, and twenty thousand Oxen, and punishing the prime men who were thought to favour the Romans, three thousand whereof were Crucified. But the enemies encounter was not so formidable to the Romans as their own ignorance in the places, and their dangers in the sea, for failing to Messana, an Island of the Lipthagi, near unto the lesser Syria, they struck upon shallow places, the Tide going out, and were detained till the ships being emptied of their burthens, were by the Tide coming in again relieved from extreme danger. Having therefore escaped so great a diftrefs, and fearing those dangerous places, without delay they sailed away as if they fled, not that no lefse a calamity attended them than what they had avoided. To Panormus indeed they returned very safe, but in their Voyage to Italy, as they failed about the Promontory of Palunsium, which reacheth out into the sea from the Lucanian Mountains, a terrible storm arising fank above three thousand great ships, together with many horse-boats and vessels of Burthen. The City being exceedingly grieved at such frequent losses, as if the very winds and water denied the Romans the Sovereignty of the sea, the Senate decreed that their Navy should confit but of three thousand ships, for the guard of Italy and transportation of provisions to their Army in Sicily. Nevertheless this misfortune hindered not one of the Consuls C. Sempronius from his Triumph over the Carthaginians on the Calends of April, ten days after Cn. Cornelius Proconful made the like Triumph. There were Cenfors that year created at Rome, but L. Pufullimius L. F. L. N. Megellas (who was likewise then Pretor) dying in his Office, the other Cenfor D. Junius D. F. D. N. Terra did also lay down his Office.

The next Summer C. Aurelius L. F. C. N. Costa, and P. Servilius C. F. Cn. N. Geminius being Consuls, crossed over into Sicily, and amongst other Towns took Himera (upon the River Himera) but void of Inhabitants, whom in the night time the Carthaginians had carried away. Yet it was a great advantage to have the possession of so considerable a place, and hereby the Romans wiped away that disgrace which they had heretofore received at this City, for they had failed of their expectation of taking this City (named likewise Therma) by the couetoules of their fouldiers. For a certain Captive within the City, to whom was committed the custody of one of the Gates, that he might thereby recover his liberty, did upon an appointed night give admittance to the Roman Souldiers, who were sent to take possession of the City. When the chief of them were entered, they desiring to ingrof the richest spoils unto themselves, gave order, To have the Gates flung again and no more men to be let in. Whereupon the Thermitans receiving an Alarme took arms, and the Romans by reason of their small number not able to
relief, and having no relief from their Friends, whom they had thus out, were rewarded according to their Folly, being every man of them slain. Himeras being thus reduced into the Roman Power, C. Aurelius the Conful thinketh of besieging Lipara, which had been so often in vain attempted: And in order thereunto gatheredeth together the choicest Foulidours they had in all Sicily, and borrowing ships of Hiero, transporteth them into the Liparans land. From whence having occasion to return to Messana, to consult the Enteraile of Sacrifices, he deputed his Lieutenant in the siege his Kinman P. Aurelius Pecuniola (some sayจ. Cafius a Colonell) with order, diligently to defend the Works, but otherwise not to fight at all: But he, not observing the Conulls advice, and thinking it would much redund to his Credit, to take Lipara in his absence, made an Assault upon the City, and that to his Cost; for, not being able to Muster it, he lopt many men, and by a fall out of the Town had one of his Forts set on fire, having also much ado to defend his Camp. But upon the return of Aurelius, Fortune wheeling about, there was a very great slaughter made at the taking of the City, after which he proceeded to the punishment of the Colonel, whom he commanded to be beaten with fpirit, and take pay among the common Foulidours, a very remarkable severity, whereof he made some other prooves in the time of his Confulship. When Lipara was taken, an Immunity was granted to the Posterity of Timafiches (once Governor of these places) that they should for ever be free from all Taxes and tribute; wherein the Romans manifestted the constancy of their Thankfulness, not to be outworne by time; because when the Pirates of Lipara had taken a Golden Cup, which they had sent to Apollo of Delphi, Timafiches causd both it, and the Embassadors who convinced it, to be safely conducted into Greece, and the Men back again to Rome.

The Romans afterward besieging Eryga a very strong Calle, with forty thousand foot, and a thousand Horse, were neither able to take it, neither durst they fight with the Carthaginians: For since the misfortune of M. Regulas, the Romans stood too much in fear of the Elephants that they always avoided Battell. Oftimes within the Territories of Lilybaum, and oft in the Selinuntian fields, they have stood in Battell-array about half a mile from the Enemy, yet durst neither venture according to their wonted Courage, to begin the Charge, or defend into plain and open ground, but still kept themselves in craggy and difficult places. The Carthaginians hereupon erecting their Spirit, (seeing they now had Confidence in their land Army, and knew the Romans had had greater lasses by tempests at Sea, then themselves by unluckie fights, especially having intelligence of the Senate's Resolution to set out no more Navies) conceived hopes of recovering Sicily, if they did but send good force of land and sea-forces thither. But their main impediment was want of Money, the late continual Warrs having exhausted their Old store, and confirmed their new raised Taxes. They sent therefore Embassadors to Tidomy King of Egypt, to borrow two thousand Talents of Money. The King being loath to offend either them, or the Romans (being both in League with him) offered himself as a Mediator of Peace between them: But notwithstanding all their promises he denied the Carthaginians Request saying, He would willingly help a Friend against an Enemy, but thought it not fit to assist one Friend against another. About the same time at Rome Trib. Commissaries was the first of the Plebeians who was created Chief Priest. The same year also Censors were created, because the Duties of that Office could not last year be performed, one of the Censors dying, and the other laying down his Commision, M. Valerius M. F. M. N. Maximus Messala, and P. Sempronius P. F. P. N. Sophus made the seven and thirtie Lustration. Two hundred ninety seven thousand, seven hundred ninety seven Citizens were rated. This was a fad and severe Censorship, for in taking a view of the Senate, Thirty were degraded, four hundred young Knights had their horses taken away, and made common stipendary Foulidours. This came to pass by the Complaint of C. Aurelius the Conful, who informed the Censors, That in Sicily, when need required, being commanded to their Duty, they had refused to obey. The Conful, not content with this Revenge for their contempt of Discipline, prevailed likewise with the Senate to keep back their Pay. And truly as times then went, the consideration of his Severity and strictnes of Discipline, as well as his exploits performed, was occasion of his Triumph made over the Carthaginians and Sicilians upon the 1st of April. The next year was fuller of Threats, then action: For great preparations being made on both sides, and each standing in some fear of the other, the whole summer passed away without any considerable thing done. L. Caelius L. F. C. N. Metellus, and C. Furins C. F. C. N. Pacius, being Confuls, transporting their Legions over into Sicily, neither themselves much provoked the Enemy, or were provoked by them, though Afterword a new Carthaginian Generall was lately come thither with two hundred ships, an hundred and forty Elephants, and twenty thousand Horse and Foot. This business causd the Senate to enter into Consulfation of preparing another Navy; for the Publick Treasures began to be exhausted by protratching the Warre, and since the Misfortune of M. Regulus, the Legions degenerated from their wonted Valour, and though all things should succeed prosperously at Land, yet 'twas manifest, the Carthaginians could not be kept off Sicily, so long as they had the sovereignty of the Seas. Refusing therefore their former resolutions, they began to put confidence again in their ships, and with all care, to trimme the old, and build new ones. In the mean time L. Metellus being left at Panormum, C. Furins return'd to Rome, to the chusing of the new Conuls, who were C. Atelins C. M. F. M. N. Regulus, and
In place of Livie's Eighteenth Book.

and L. Munius A. F. P. N. Deus, to there was committed the charge of preparing the Navy and men for the ships; L. Metellus was continued in his Command, with Commission to manage the War in Sicily as Proconsul.

A. Drabell understanding that one of the Romans Generals was absent with half their forces, and computing with himself, that though the Armies had long flood in Battel-array one against the other, the Roanass had out of fear declined fight, being now no longer able to bear the complaints of his own fouldiers who accused him of cowardize, he drew all his forces out of the City, and after a long and difficult march through the Sicilian Territories, he invaded those of Panormus and there pitched his Camp. It fortun'd, that the Proconsul, with the remainder of the Roman strength was then at Panormus to guard their Associates, now heart grown on, in recaping and carrying in their grain. He, having intelligence that some of the enemies spies lay secretly at Panormus, commanded every man in the City to meet together in an Assembly, then giving order they should examine one another, and question those who were least known, what they were, or what business they had at Panormus, found out those spies and seized on them. By them he underflood the enemies designs, and observing there was more rafhefis then good counsel in their expedition, pretended great fear, and kept himself within the works of the City, that fo he might encrease their foolishe confidence. Whereupon A. Drabell growing bolder, advanced his forces, spoothing and burning all the corn in the fields, and marching up even to the walls of the City. The Proconsul regarded neither the loss sustained nor the disgrace about redounding, foreseeing that if he did a little longer forbear, the Carthaginians would sufficiently satisfie him for both with good Ule. Above all, he thought good to expect till they crossed the River Orthone, which runneth on the South side of the Town, and then he had contrived a pure and fudden Victory. To effect this, as all other things were ordered to signific his fear, so he placed but few fouldiers upon the walls, deiring that the enemy should not understand either the courage or number of his men. This counfel succeeded according to his expectation, both the enemy by his confidence, and fortune by a fudden chance furthering the design: For A. Drabell Forde the River with his Foot, Horde and Elephants, and planted his Camp close under the walls of the City, with fo much contempt of the enemies cowarde, that he pitched his Tents without any works of defence about them, thinking there was no need of ditch or bulwark.

Thither the Sutlers and Merchants bringing great plenty of Corne and Wine, the Mercenaries drank freely, and elevating their voices according to their several dialects, in much noise and confusion gave good notice of their present temper, that they were not very sober. Then did the Proconsul think the fittest time to fend those his men who were ready armed to provoke the enemy to fight, and it succeeded so happily, that till funding out by degrees fresh supplies, A. Drabell's whole Army at length came out of the Camp. L. Cecilius the Proconsul placeth part of the light armed men before the Trench, giving order, if the Elephants approached to fling their darts at them, and if they found themselves force prevailed to retire into the Trench, and then come out again to a frefh charge. The mean Artificers and common Sort he commanded to carry darts and weapons, and fling them over the wall that the light armed men should not want plenty of them. Himself with his companies completely armed, stood in Rank and File within the gate over against the enemies right Wing. They who were already engaged sometimes being overpowered'd in number retreated in good order, sometimes being affiled by supplies from the Town did maintain the fight. When the Recorders of the Elephants defining in emulation to seem Authors of the Victory as well as A. Drabell, and advancing with their beasts, beat back those who opposed them, and rashly pressing upon them (as they retired toward the City) came up even to the Trench. But then a shower of Arrows flying from the walls, and fresh light armed men assailing them with Spears and Darts, the Elephants being wounded began to rage, and betaking themselves which way ever aanger and pain led them, turned upon their own men, trampled under foot, routed and disorder'd whole companies of armed men.

Whereupon the Proconsul crying, This is the time of the long look's for Victory, iffue out, and being fresh and in good rank had an eafe victory over the confused multitude of the enemy; there was a great slaughter made both in the field and in the pursuit, their calamity being encraeted by a sudden chance which one would have thought of advantage to them: For about the same time the Carthaginian Navy appearing at shire, the whole multitude trembling and blind with fear, promiscuously ran thither as to the only refuge, in which hurry burly many were trodden under feet by the Elephants; many venturing to swim, and many too hastily scaling the ships and tumbling down perished in the sea. Neither before this time nor after it, amongst all their prosperous exploits, had the Romans any Victory more glorious; whereby the Romans returned their former confidence and courage, and the enemy was so disheartened with fear, that they call off not only all hopes but all thoughts of a land Army so long as that War lasted.

Twenty thousand Carthaginians are said to be slain, fix and twenty Elephants were presently taken, and afterward all the rest. For the Proconsul thinking it hard for his ignorant men to catch the beasts being looke and enraged, commanded a Cryer by Proclamation to promise, Liberty and safety to any prisoner by whose means the Elephants should be taken, hereby laying first
That hold on those who were most gentle and familiar, by their help they easily brought in the
reft. *L. Munetius* sent them all to *Rome*, having invented a pretty way for their transporta-
tion: for his ships not being fit for the purpose, he gathered and bound together many Hog-
heads, fastening a Rafter between every two that they should neither dash together nor yet part
one from the other, then planking them over, spreading earth and dust upon them, and erecting
walls on each side in the form of tiles, the Elephants otherwise very fearful of fasting by water,
entred them and were safely conveyed to *Rhægium*.

A druball from this overthrow escaped to *Lilybaean* but being condemned at *Carthage* while
he was absent, and afterward upon his return apprehended, he was accordingly executed. The
Carthaginians now considering their Armies were routed, their Elephants taken, all *Sicily* lost
except *Lilybaean* and *Drepanus*, that the Romans having again set out a Navy, were very potent
both at land and sea, began to think of Peace, willing to accept of it on any tolerable condi-
tions. Whereupon they remembered M. *Regulus* and the conditions he once proposed to them,
and perfuaded that by his means they might prevail either for peace or at leaft for
what they next desired, an exchange of prisoners, nothing doubting but that for his own sake he
would effectually interpose himself in such a busines: *For what man can be imagined so obsti-
 nate as not to free himself from the miseries of a Gaole, and desire to fee his dearest relations, and enjoy
his Liberty, Country, Dignities and Honours?* M. *Regulus* had a wife and children at Rome,
friends and kindred in the Senate and publick offices, a *Consul* German now *Conful*, he is both
much beloved by the Senate and people of Rome for his former victories, and pitied for his affili-
tions; if therefore he beareth any good will to himself, or findeth any respect from his friends, no
man certainly will be more earnest in presenting, or is more likely by favour to effect such a design:
He accepted the employment, not out of any hope or desire to do himself good, as afterward
appeared, but that he might in perfon the more effectually move the Senate to have a care of
the *Commonwealth*. So being joyned with the Carthaginian Embassadors, when he was come
to the City, he would not enter the Gates though much entreated by the Romans, alledging,
*The Confitute of his Country to give Audience to the Embassadors of an enemy without the City*. The
Senate being accordingly assembled, he amongst the Carthaginian Embassadors delivered his
Meffage, *That himself* being by the *War a servant to the Carthaginians*, had command from
his *Caufers to propound chiefly, That the war may be concluded upon what terms should seem
fit to both parties, or what at leaft an exchange of prisoners would be granted*. The Embassadors
presently withdrawing, he likewise accompanied them; neither, though he was earnestly solicited,
would be present in the Senate at the debate of the busines for the Carthagians attended to
it. Then leaving silent till his opinion was required, he thus expreffed himself, *Confidere Fathers,
I am told a Roman: my Body indeed, as Fortune would have it, is in the power of the ene-
 mies, but my Soul, not subject to Fortune, is still the fame. Following therefore the reason
of my Son, which is my own, rather then the inclinations of my Body, which is another's, my
advice is, You would neither exchange prisoners nor conclude a peace. For to refolve the
Captives while the war continue is disadvantageous: They have no Commanders in hold
but my faith who am an old man, have many, and those young, amongst which are some
  I no way to be despaired. And to end the war, unless upon very ample terms, or without a
complete universal Victory, as it becometh not your Wisdom, so it is perrnicious to the Com-
monwealth. I know you meet with many difficulties in managing the war, for no great affairs
can be transacted without great pains and coll: But if you rightly consider the state of Car-
thage, you will find all things tending to victory to be much the better on your part. We
were indeed once overcame in a great Battel, whether it was my fault or fortunes; but we have
so often routed their Armies, that the confidence they had assumed upon my overthrow is now,
by the Victory at Panormus, presse-lined to the utmost despair. They have lost all Sicily,
except one or two Cities, and in the other Islands their condition is naught. You have a Navy
which they dare not encounter, so that in that part of the war ye are also superiors. And
the losses ye have sustained by Tempest hath not bereaved you of so much strength as it hath
taught you Circumpection. The want of money perhaps is equal on both sides; but the Ita-
lians are more obedient to you then are the Africans to the Carthagians, whom as they nev-
er truly loved, so have they of late learnt to hate more perfectly. For not being provoked
by any such injury they revolted freely to me, but now since their former masters have waited
their Grounds plundered their Cartel, exalted their Monies and slain their Nobles, what do
you think they can more desire, then that a new Army would come from hence into Africa?
But that your leavies of men are easy and large, that your fouliers are valiant, of the fame
Language, the same Mind, the same Manners, Religion, City and Kindred, I take to be so great
an advantage, that if in all things else ye were exceeded, this one only thing would be suffici-
  ent to balance the war, and make the Victory doubtful on the enemies side, for what
help is there in a company of Mercenaries against such a force? and if there were any, the
Carthagians have bereaved themselves of it by their cruelty, and they have made it now as
difficult to hire strangers, as it was before to govern them. *Xenophon* to whom *Carthage*
is indebted for its preservation, having been so gratefully and treacherously used, is sufficient
warning to others how they lend their alliance to such a people who know not how to recom-
pence the greatest defect but by the greatest injuries. Nay, the very common and meanest
Bar-
In place of Livic's Eighteenth Book.

Barbarians, a Brutish and flattering sort of men, will be deterred by Cruelties so often exercised upon their Fellowes, who have been sometimes murthered by hangmen, or their fellow Souls, sometimes exposed into barren and uninhabited lands, receiving instead of the pay they have sought, most inhuman punishments, and horrible deaths. And this Conict to Fathers is my Opinion, that neither Peace is to be made with Carthage, nor yet an exchange of Prisoners granted.

This Counsell displeased not the Senate, if it could have been executed with the safety of him who gave it; but the more he neglected himself for the Common good, the more they pitied him, and manfully inclined upon any terms whatsoever to restore to Gallant and Generous Peron to his Country. And voices were given out, that seeing he was now so happily retureed from foreign Captivity, he might lawfully tarry in the City, or be detained there. The High Priest likewise affirmed, that he might stay, without incurring the guilt of Perjury. But he to the Amazement of the Senate it fell, with a fierce Spirit, and svere Countenance, proceeded, saying, why do ye not resolve this doubt? follow my Advice and regard not me. Ye in vain attempt that which will be neither pleasing to your selves, nor profitable to the Country, nor honest in me. For supposa, for a while ye would be willing and joyful to fee me amongst you, when once the short spurt of this affection is vanished, the Eafemens of my Return will make me more odious to you, then my abilence made firable. For the part I am resolved not to live in that City, where after an African slavery, I cannot maintain the dignity of a honest Citizen, and if I should defe the, my ifediy would hinder it, the remembrance of my faced Oath would hinder it, and my Reverence of the Gods, by the Invocation of whom I affured the Carthaginians of my return. And should I forswear my felle, I fear that Revenge would be taken not only on me, but on your selves, and the whole Roman People alfo. The Gods, believe me, are no vain things, and will not without Punishment be affronted by the Perjuries and Contempt of Man. If any one be of opinion that in Religion I may be abolifh'd, that the books of the Augustus mention expiaions of fuch crimes, and that Attonement may be made by Ceremonies and Sacrifices for Perjury and Trefsion; I would have him understand the Majesty of the Gods is more fierce, then being offended by Perjury, to be appeased by any Inventions of Men, neither is it agreeable to Reafon, that a Guift contracted by the fins of man, should be washed away with the blood of Beasts. As for my felle, I am not ignorant that great and exquisite torments are prepared for me at Carthage. But to deceive a truth, I think to be worfe then all of them, for this would indeed hurt me, as for the Torments they hurt only something about me. Think not that man miferable who is able to endure misery. Slavery, Reproach, Contempt, Griefe, Hunger and Watching, I never yet esteemed evil, but now by a long fuffer they have left off to be troublesome to me. That they are tolerable, I have learnt by suffering them; and if once they be intended to that degree, as not to be born by Man, Death will quickly free me not only from them, but from all other Calamitics. Nothing therefore is to be feared for him who feareth not Death, which is eafe at any time to obtain, and cruelty I bad inflicted it on my felle, but that I thought it the part of a man rather to overcomeorrow than to avoid it. I have fpoke these few and confused words, that ye may understand I am not to be perfuaded from my Opinion, and withall that you should not bewaie me as an unfortunate and miferable Man: My Resolution is easy and conftant: 'Tis my care to return to Carthage, what I shall there suffer I leave to the Gods.

'Tis reported that the more effectually to move them he affirmed, that before he was diismis'd from Carthage, they had given him a gentle Poison, which by low degrees feeding on his vital spirits, would consume him after the exchange was made. Wonderfull was the confidence of this Man, who, rather than fwyve from the Rule of Honelty, did with more earneftnefs pursue Contumelies, Torments and Death, then others avoid them, a true and profitable Leffon to Poffcrrity. That those men only are prepared to endure any Torments, and are confiant in their honel revolutions, who have a fene of their own nobility, and think themselves borne not onely for this world. For certainly M. Regulus would not willingly have undergone to great miferies, if he had not thought that after Death there are great Rewards for the Virtuous, and great punishment for evil Men. The Senate therefore having made a Decree according to the opinion of M. Regulus, he with a felci countenance followed his Sullen and angry Malters, by whom it appeared that they would cruelly revenge the indignity of their repufion upon his Perfon, info much as many were moved to detain him against his will. Moreover his Wife Marcia, and his Children making Lamentable complaints, the Confals faid, if he carried they would not deliver him up, neither would they hinder his going. So he refusing to difcourse with his Wife, and avoiding the Embraces and kifles of his little Children, was carried back to Carthage, where with cruel tortures he was put to death. For cutting off his Eyelids, they kept him awhile in a dark place, then in the heat of the Sunne they suddenly brought him out, and forced him to look up into the sky, at length they put him into a wooden chiet (right over against the Sun) full of nails on the inside, and so narrow that he was forced alwayes to stand upright; if at any time he leant on one fide to ease his weary body, he was prick'd and goaded with the nails, and in torment and continual watching yielded up the Ghost.

This was the end of M. Attius Regulus, much more glorious then his Life, though long led with
The Supplement of Livie, Book IX.

with great honesty and Honour: He was a man of great Integrity of Manners, of an Invincible Spirit, and for his Counsell not to be despised, wherein neither his own nor after ages could accuse him, but that he seemed not very moderately to bear his prosperous Fortune, and that by denying the Carthaginians request he was the occasion of the wars continuance for many years after the great detriment of both Cities. But he wiped off this his fault by his other many egregious virtues, and chiefly by his wonderful constancy at his death, being more happy in suffering calamities then if he could have avoided it. The Senate hearing the news of his death, and the Barbarous cruelty of the Carthaginians, delivered up the Noblest of the Captives to Marcus and her children, whom they shut up in an Engine throut through with sharp irons, resolving to put them to the like death as Regulus had suffered; for five whole dayes they had no food allowed them, in which Bostrar with grief and hunger pined to death; Hamilton being stronger in body continued five dayes longer, but together with the carcasse of Bostrar, with sufficiency sufficient only to prolong his miserable life. Till at length the Magistrates understanding what was in doing, did restrain their cruelty, commanding that the Affies of Bostrar should be conveyed into his own Country, and that the other prisoners should be handled with more mercy. Whereby appears a remarkable difference of manners in the two Cities, in that the one being not unjustly offended, nor able with security to offend, with horrid punishments extinguisht that virtue they ought to have reverence, the other mitigated a most just revenge not regarding their own enraged grief, but the Rules of Humanity, and that moderation which becometh Illustrious Empires.

BOOK IX.

Upon the departure of the Carthaginian Embassadors, the Consuls having Order from the Senate to transport their Army into Sicily, did very readily obey, being highly incensed against the enemy for M. Regulus his fake, and likewise provoked with emulation and conceiving great hopes from the Victory of L. Metellus Proconsul. For they measured not the greatness of thebufinesse so much by the loss of the Carthaginians, who were much weakened by the loss of an Army and so many Elephants, but chiefly they were encouraged because the soldiers, having successfully fought against the beasts, did now no more stand in fear of them. And hopes were conceived the war might suddenly be finished if opportunities were not neglected. The Consuls therefore with a Navy of two hundred ships, and four Legions failed to Panormus, where taking in likewise the other forces and ships (unless what were left for the guard and security of some places) they went to Lilybaeum with 240 Banked ships, threescore Barks of a shorter size, called Cereri, and many other vessels of all sorts, with resolution to make an assault upon it. This is that famous ege of Lilybaeum, which beginning the fourteenth year of this war, lasted full ten years and at length was ended, neither with the surprise of the City, nor with its surrender, but together with the whole War. For both the Romans and Carthaginians well understanding of what concernment that City was, either to the Guard of the African Coast, or the Empire of Sicily, did with all their might, the one
one assault, the other defend it. The Triumph of L. Metellus did somewhat comfort the City of Rome, after their sorrow for C. M. Regulus, not only with the memory and consideration of their successes, but with the sweetness of Revenge also over so cruel and inhumane a People: He Triumphed Proconsul over the Carthaginians, the seventh of the Ides of September, thirteen of the Enemies Commanders were led before his Chariot, and a great troop of Elephants, even an hundred and Twenty, some reckon many more. These being afterwards produced when the Games were celebrated, were chased up and down the Circus with spearheads headed with iron, that the People might accustom themselves to contemplate those beasts they had hereofore so terribly feared. (Vir. Plac. attimes they were all slain, the Romans not caring to make use of them themselves, and thinking it no way for the advantage of the Common-wealth, to make a Present of so considerable a Strength to any Prince. The same year Corn was very cheape at Rome, a bushell for a penny, at the same price was sold a gallon of wine, thirty pound of dried figs, ten pounds of oil, and twelve pound of flesh. For there was greater Church of the Commodities not of money, which by the long-continuance of warre grew very scarce. While these things hapned at Rome, the Confuls in Sicily assaulted Lilybaen with all their Strength, and the besieged as flautly refilled. The first attempt was against a Tower, which stood fast toward the Lybian Sea, this being demolished, they did by degrees proceed to those which were next, till they had destroyed fix. For the more easy battering of the reit they began to fill up the Trenches, that they might draw over and plant their Engines. Though the labour were very great (for the ditch was three hundred cubits broad, and forty deep) they did readily set upon and diligently promote the work. The Carthaginians to hinder their design, made holes on the inside of the Trench, out of which they called the rubbidge again, but, the heapes still encreasing, and the ditch at length made even with the ground; (by reason of the multitude of Laboures) they changed their Counsell, and erected another wall within the former: Himilco being at all Works indefatigable, who besides the multitude of inhabitants in the City, had ten thousand Mercenaries, and did by his wisdom, Vigilance and constancy elude and overcome all the Enemies force and Stratagems. He suffered nothing to be out of order among his own men, nor any thing to be secure on the Enemies part; he built Work against Work, digged Mine against Mine, opposed Armes to Armes, sometimes he flouted forth, fighting with such resolution, that in these tumultuary skirmishes there were sometimes slain little fewer, then usually fall in let Battells.

The Romans undermining the Foundation of the Walls, Himilco made his countermove against the place where he observed the Romans to call out earth, and opening their Mine he sent in forthwith a Band of Armed foudliers, who set upon the naked Romans bute at work, and slew a great number; and as many were burnt with brush faggots (thrown into the Trench and set on fire) while they approached the Walls to help their fellows. Notwithstanding fear and concernment of mind encreased among the besieged, whereby some Mercenary Commanders taking advantage, and pretending want of pay, plotted to betray the City to the Romans, nothing doubting but that they could easilie induce every man his foudliers to approve of the design. On a certain night therefore shippinc out of the Town into the Roman Camp, they declared the state of the City, and what they had intended; Amongst all the other Mercenaries at Lilybaen, there was one Alexen at Achaia, a Man not unskilful in Martiali Affaires, and of singular Integrity: He understanding the Traitors design, without delay discoveres it to Himilco, Himilco as in a great and imminent danger, immediately summons together all the Mercenary Commanders, who were yet in the Town, declares to them what was in agitation, and by whom, and vehemently inveighing against them, he exhorts those who are present, not to become partners in the rafhnes and Treachery of others, that persevering in their Duty, they should find all fair dealing from the Carthaginions, their Pay should be certain, and great Rewards moreover accumulated, that if they taunted themselves with the infamous crime of Treason, they would be hateful to God and man, withall, as much money as in heat and fear he could at present raife, he distributs among them, promising that, himilco would take care to see the Common foudliers pay asonne as may be discharged.

An Oration made in seafon, hath certainly great power over the Minds of men, especially if the gravity of the speake be mixed with truth and sincerity to be relied upon: Every one attented to what Himilco spake, and cheerfully offered their utmost endeavours to continue their foudliers in their Duty. Himilco commending them, and furthermore encouraging them with hopes, commands every one to apply himselfe to his own Companies, and endeavour to keep them in subjection: He fendeth likewise along with them Hanniball, the son of Hanniball, who rered in Saratina, and Alexen the Achaian; Hanniball to the Gauls, with whom he was acquainted, and very gratious, by Reaon of his former conversation with them in the War; Alexen to other Mercenaries of severall Nations, by all whom he was equally beloved. Thee engaging their Words, that whatsoever Himilco had promised should be performed, so effectually made up the busines, that the Traitors a while after returning to the Walls, were not only kept out, but beaten back with darts, and reproached for their Villany. So they returning to the Confuls without effecting their Design, were nevertheless rewarded with Gifts, and had Land in Sicily beloued on them.

Thus did the fidelity of Alexen at that time support the Carthaginian Affaires, brought al-
molt into a desperate condition by this Treason: He had before likewise preferred the Agrigentines, which the Mercenaries of Syracusae had by the like wickedness plotted to betray, and therefore deserveth to have his memory and praiseth recorded in History.

The Befieged were afterward much encouraged by the coming of new Auxiliaries. For the Carthaginians, though they were ignorant of what had hapned at Lilybaem, did judge it fit to carry on affairs with much Vigour, therefore they commanded Aderbal the Admiral to provide a Navy and convey Men, Money, and Corne to Lilybaem. By him was sent Himilch the fon of Hamilcar, who having a fresh gale of wind from the Egyptian lands, failed directly into the port of Lilybaem, his men ready armed for fight, and resolving to break through all opposition. The Romans had from the beginning of the siege stopped up the mouth of the haven by sinking fifteen ships, which they had for that purpose laden with stones, being therefore suddenly overtaken with the Enemies haft, and fearing left themselves might by the force of the winds be driven into the port, a place made unsafe for Navigation, they did not at all oppose the Enemy. Himilch safely entered the Harbour, and landing his men to the number of ten thousand, was received into the City with very great joy of the Lilybatsans. The Romans seeing they could not prevent the Enemies Arrival, entered into Conflutation how to defend their Works, which they thought Himilch would not delay to set upon, having so great a recruit of fresh soldiers; neither were they deceived, for Himilch intending to make use both of his new strength and of the Courage of the others now revived, summons all his forces together, and by hopes of Victory and ample rewards persuades them to make a fallie, and haveing disposed his Companies as the Occasion required, by break of day he assaulted the Romans works in many places. The Romans were provided for them, and where they feared most danger had placed strong Guards, with these a very sharp fight was begun, many fell on both sides, for they fought with great Courage and Resolution, and the number of men was great on each part, no less than twenty thousand issued out of the City, and were opposed by a greater Multitude of the Befiegers. For the Confuls having raised Auxiliaries from their friends in Sicily, were above an hundred thousand strong, whereof threefour thousand were employed in the siege, the Residue being sent abroad to bring in Provisions. The fight therefore being very hot in every place, the sharpest Contention was about the Engines, some striving to spoil them, others to defend them, with so great Vehemence, that they spared their own lives no more then their Enemies. A great number of slaine men lay in that station where the Aptaffaitt first began, the Clamour and noise of the Warriors, and Terrore of the Battall were much encreased by another Company, which brake out, with links and torches, rushing through all dangers and Deaths, to set fire on the Engines; and the Roman soldiers were very eager giving place to the fierce enemys of the Enemies, as no longer able to defend their Engines. But Himilch seeing many of his men perished, and the Romans as yet nothing to remit of their Courage in resifting, found a Retreat, and went first out of the Battall. Neither did the Romans pursue him, being content they had preferred their works which were almost given for lost.

The next night Himilch, while the Enemy was weary after the fight, and observed not his Motion, secretly stole out of the Harbour with the ships he came in, and went to Aderbal at Drepanus, carrying along with him the Horfemen, who being of no use to the besieged in a close place, he rightly judged might otherwise be better employed. Thefe making frequent excursions from Drepanus, infelted the high ways, obstructed the Convenience of provisions, surprized many forragers who straggled far from the Camp, afflicted the Roman Associates with all kinds of misery, and very much confounded the counfells and designs of the Confuls. Aderbal likewise much perplexed them at sea, suddenly falling sometimetime on the Sicilian, sometime on the Italian shore, leaving nothing unattempted whereby he might mischiefe the Romans. Hence it came to passe that there was great scarcity in the Roman Camp, for they had almoft no food left but onely the flesh of beasts, many died of Famine, and many more, as is usual in such cafes, of Diseases; whereupon many thousands perished, and therefore it was concluded that one of the Confuls with his Legions should return to Rome to the Assembly of the People, that the other Befiegers might have the greater Plentye. After this the Romans again with greater pains and diligence endeavoured with earth and stones to stop up the mouth of the Haven, fortifying the Damme on both sides with strong pieces of timber joynd together cross-ways, and fastened with iron Anchors, to containe the heap of earth and stones from washing away: But their labour though great proved fruitlesse, for the sea was so deep, that whatsoever was flung in, was carried aside before it lighted right, and upon the sailing of Tempefts, the Tide being very violent, destroyed their Work.

But the very fame of the Work did for a time keep the Haven block'd up, which very mucch troubled the Carthaginians: that they could now by no means hold intelligence with their friends, neither durst any man undertake to visit the Lilybatsans and give an account of their Condition, till at length one Himilch sentnamed Rhodus ingaged himself to enter the City, and having viewed all things, to returne with a faithful Account. The promis pleased the Carthaginians: but they had little faith in it; because they knew beside the heapes of rubbishes, that the Haven was watched and warded by the Roman ships at Anchor there: But he having rige a private ship he had, failed to one of the islands over against Lilybaem, and the next day having a favourlable wind, at ten of the clock in the day time, openly in the face of
the enemy wondring at his confidence entered the Haven. But the Conful to intercept him in his return, in the night time placed ten choice ships on each side the Haven, five as near the mouth as might be. Hannibal trusting in the swiftness of his Vessel came out in the day time; the Romans were ready in the expectation of him, and with all their endeavors set forward again him, but he was so much too quick for them, that not containing to escape he moreover insulted over them, sometimes failing, sometimes wheeling about as if he would challenge them to fight. When he had often used this bold exploit, it proved of great advantage to the Carthaginian affairs, in that the Besieged were infinitely comforted with meffages from their friends, in that at Carthage they daily understood the flate and progress of things at Lilybaum as occasion required, and in that the Romans were so much ashamed and madded at the rashneffe of the men which they could not revenge. He was much helped in his desig by his knowledge of the Channel and the paffages thereabouts; for between thole Fenny and moonlight places whereby is the paffage to Lilybaum, he diligently observed a very safe and true course for his ship. For when he came from the main Sea withinfight of the City, he turned his ship, that the Stern of it was toward Italy, and from the Foredeck the Tower of Lilybaum which was upon the shore, hindered the flight of all other Towers toward Africa, and this is the only safe way of entering the Harbour with full fail.

And now many more being encouraged by the boldnes and success of Hannibal, began to correspond with Lilybaum, till at length by a certain chance a veftel of great swiftness was taken, for though in other places the Romans Dams were carried away by the winds and water, yet in one place, where the Sea was somewhat shallow, they ftood firm; there the ship finking and being detained was taken by the Romans, and being furnished with ftruck fouldiers and good rowers proved the ruine of Hannibal. For having entered the City in the night time and returning in the open day, he fped this fhips every where waiting upon his motion, whereupon apprehending danger, at firft he fled, but that being in vain, he made fame opposition and was taken by the Romans.

The Romans being possessed of this ship, and observing the fame courfe of entering the Haven, did afterward early hinder any other vefsels from failing to Lilybaum. The Besiegers began now very fiercely to intend their main busines, and affaulting one of the Works near the Seet, drew the whole company of the besieged to defend that pide where the form was made, whereby opportunity was given to other forces who were referred for that purpofe to make an affault upon the contrary part and take the outward wall; but this proved in vain, for the Carthaginian General feafonably coming with a fupply of choice men, beat the Romans out with great flaughter. Another greater fortune gave the Besiegers hope of the univerfal Victory; there arose by chance very great gulfs of wind, which as it were on fett purpose blew hard upon the Romans works, faking their very Rampires, and tumbling down the Towers built thereon. The townifmen were not ignorant of this, and thought now an opportunity given them by the gods of firing the Romans Engins, which they had fo often in vain fubaffaulted. The Subfance of the Engins was very apt to take fire, having been long felled and dried with the heat of the Sun. The Romans were not fack in defending themselves, but not to much purpofe, for the enemy was directed by the light of the fire which had feizs on the Engins, and affifted with the strength of the wind to call their darts more furely and with greater force, the others received no lea hinderance and danger thereby, then by the weapons of the enemies, for the wind being fierce and againft the Romans blew fmoke, and flame, and afs into their mouths and eyes, and brought the enemies darts with greater violence upon them, whereas themselves by reafon of darkneffe were uncertain whither to direct their frokes, and by reafon of the vehemency of the gulfs were not well able to stand. So that all the Roman Engins and works either for digging of mines or battering the walls were every one confumed by this fire.

Then was all hopes laid aside of taking Lilybaum by force, and the fieghe had been prefently raised but that Hiero, sending plenty of Corn and provision, perfwaded the Romans to try, where not intending to make any more storms upon the City, they did on every fide fence their Camp, reolving to commit the ifue of things to Time and Fortune. The Besiegers likewise building up what part of their walls had been battered, were now the more encouraged to endure the fieghe hereafter. These news were very fadly entertained at Rome, nevertheless they determined by war to make up what losses by war they had fulfilled, and their resolution here-in was fo inmoveable, that, 'tis faid, a Senator was lain in the very Court because he made mention of Peace. Great preparations were now made, and a new leavy of ten thoufand Rowers fent into Sicily, for they had fulfilled a great lofe of them. The Consuls were P. Clodius Ap. F.C.N. Pulcher, and L. Junius C.F. C.N. Pullus. 'Tis fallcly by some delivered, that this Clodius was the fon of C squo. He, when he was come into Sicil, and had taken pofteflion of the Army at Lilybaum, assembled the Souldiers together, and harp.ly reprehended the prefent Consuls, That by their idleness and luxury they had trifted away time before Lilybaum more like men besieged their besiegers, without any fruit, and to the lafe and difhonour of the Roman Majesty. He was a ver y crabbcd lowr man, and being Violent by Nature, and Arrogant by reafon of his Nobility, he was apt to let fall Speeches and perform Actions not well becoming a serious lober man. He was very severe in punifhing, letting paff no crime with pardon, but profeccuting even the
very small lest with too great severity; himself in matters of the greatest moment miserably failing, even to madness. For he followed the former Consuls course which he had so sharply condemned in damming up the Haven, and (what argued greater folly) he rashly and inconsiderately alloying 

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The Conful, who had failed in the Rere before, now changing his Station, came back to all and placed himself in the left Wing; but the Carthaginians failing by the enemies left Wing with five Beaked ships, staked about facing the Romans, and had the open sea on his back, other ships as they came he commanded to place themselves at a convenient distance, and when all were order'd according to his mind he set the forward against the enemy. And now sign of 

Battles being given from both the Admirals they fiercely encounter on all sides, at first with equal hopes, but afterward to the Carthaginians better fortune. For though they had the lesser number of ships to wit, but ninety armed, in other respects they did exceed, for their ships were better and their water-men more skilful; they had likewise made choice of a most convenient place of fight, for as often as they were hard put to it they had free egress into the open sea, where they could easily by their swiftness avoid the enemy, or if he long pursu'd them, return and encompass him. But the Romans being so near the shore had not the like conveniences, they could neither fall into the main nor with safety well retire, but as often as the enemy pressed upon them, they either flee in the lands or endanger'd themselves upon the open sea. Being therefore unable to break through the enemy by force and charge him in the Rere, by reason of the swiftness of their ships and unskillfulness of the Rower, and being cooped up in a narrow place not able from the Stern to help their fellow's who were in danger, they were beaten to the Carthaginians little loss.

To these difficulties was added another cause of despair from their Religion, and they thought themselves worl'd by the anger of the gods, because the Conful undertook to fight contrary to the indication of the Birds, adding likewise a fear to his negligence; for because the Chickens did not eat, he commanded them to be flung into the sea, that they might drink though they would not feed. This occurrence made the soldiers more slack and faint hearted, fighting, as they thought, with the ill will of the gods. But the author of all this calamity, when he had lost every thing else, he wanted neither wit nor boldness to preserve himself, for when he saw his ships in such numbers sank and taken, he flit away between the shore and the enemy with thirty ships which flood near him. And that he might safely arrive to his Army at Lilybaun, being to fail by some of the Carthaginians Guards, he adorned his ships in token of Victory. The Carthaginians therefore imagining the Conful had been victorious, and that his other ships would suddenly follow, suffered him safely to pass by, being themselves much terrified and dejected. The enemy took all the ships the Conful left behind, even ninety and three, together with the Soulliders and Rower, except only those who striking upon the shore, cast themselves on land and fled. But in the fight a great number were sunk; for Clodius brought above two hundred from Lilybaun. This great victory colt the Carthaginians very little, for they lost not
In place of Livius's Nineteenth Book.

not a man, much less a ship, and very few are said to be wounded; of the Romans eight thousand men were slain, and twenty thousand taken.

About the same time likewise the Carthaginians took some ships laden with Corn from *Ponimentum*, and carried them to *Drepanus*, and carrying provisions into *Lilybaenus*, from the Territories of *Drepanus*, did plentifully relieve the besieged with accommodation of all sorts. Neither here did this year's fortune make a stop, but afflicted the Romans with another great calamity, whereby they lost not only the present possession of the sea, but all hopes of regaining it. For the other Consulf *L. Junius* coming out of Italy with many ships of war, laden with Corn for the Army, and fifty besked ships arrived at *Messana*, where he met with a great number of other Vessels, from the Army, and other parts of *Sicily*. Joining himself with these, he made up a Navy of an hundred and twenty long ships, almost eight hundred ships of burthen, and faileth to *Syracuse*. Being arrived thither, he hendeth the *Navies* before with part of the Navy to *Lilybaenus;* himfelfe remaneth at *Syracuse*, expecting thofe others from *Messana*, who were not able to overtak him, and taking in grain which his Midland friends brought down to the sea fide. In the mean time *Adicball* having nefc the Roman ships and Captives to *Carthage* (Fortune and Glory putting him forward to action) delivered thirtie ships more to *Carthalo*, who had brought feventy, with as many ships of Burthen from *Africa*, and fent him to drive out the Roman ships from the Haven of *Lilybaenus*, or to fire or fink them.

He at break of the day enting the Haven with great Terrou, fome ships he boorded, and others he fired, in the mean time *Himica* Governour of the City, made a fally with the Mercenaries upon thofe Romans who went to defend the ships, which caufed great fear in the Camp. In fine *Carthalo* having destroyed not very many, carried away five, and directed his Course to *Heraclea*. Lying there in wait to obftruct the Romans Voyage to *Lilybaenus*, he hearthe newes of a considerable Navy of all kinds of ships failing by.

He therefore joyning other Commanders with himfelfe, made up a Navy of an hundred and twenty good ships, confiding in which Strength, and animated by former success, he pretently made a diftance out of the Haven to meet the Enemy. By the fhoore of *Gela* the Navys came in fight one of the other, but the Roman Queftors fearing a disadvantageous encounter, diverted their course to *Phintidades*, a Town in League with the Romans, at *Phintidades* there is no Haven, only the rocks running out into the sea afford a pretty safe riding for ships. Here the Romans landing, prepared themselves for the Enemies coming, having brought Engines of offence out of the Town, and placed them on the fhoore for safeguard of the ships. The Carthaginians at firft refolved to have beleaguer the Enemy, thinking that out of fear they would have fled into the Town, and have left their ships for a Prey; but when the Romans feed Prouously to their own defence, and that they found the fight full of danger, likewife not much trusting in a place somewhat void of the ships they defefed; and having taken a few Vessells laden with provifion they failed to the River *Halycus*, not farre diftant, there they healed their wounded men, obferving the motion of the Enemy. Other Writers following, I believe, *Philus*, affirme, that the Romans fuffrrd greater losf, that the Queftors being awacned at the firft fight of the Enemy in their fight to *Phintidades* left behind their fhips of burthen, and all other Vessells but men of *Warre*, that in the fight fifty round Vessells, and threfcore long ships were funk, and threfcore fo fpirit and fatterd, that they were made unfit for service.

Not long after the Carthaginians had abiding at the River *Halycus*, *L. Junius* the Conful, having done his business at *Syracuse*, failing toward *Lilybaenus*, about the Promontory of *Pachynus*, was discovered by some of *Carthalo* his fhips, who thereupon with all speed maketh out to meet him (being ignorant of all passages at *Phintidades*) that he might fight him as farre from *Quafoe's* Navy as might be, left they should come in for his succour. The Conful seeing the Enemy make up toward him, not daring to fight, nor being able to avoid them, drives his fhips into a rough and troubledome creek, near *Cametrine*, a greater fear overcoming this leffer, left his whole Army should fall into the Enemies Power. *Carthalo* not daring to venture into the place, takes up his fation at a certain Promontory, from whence he might equally intend himfelfe against either Navy. A while after, when the Winds blew high, the Carthagian fhips machers (skillfull in fuch Affairs) foreseeing a tempeft, perfwaded *Carthalo* to forfake that fation, and feere to *Pachynus*, and fo the Carthaginians, but not without great pains, averted the force of the Tempeft; but both the Roman Navys utterly perished upon the Rocks, in fome of that of the whole fhipwreck there remained not a piece of board of any fervice, excepting only two fhips, wherein the Conful with the small remainder of his men arrived at *Lilybaenus*. All the ships of provifion were loft, and above an hundred long ships; but part of the Army was faved, leaping into the sea and swimming to the shore. The Senate, who had lately called home *P. Clodius* the Conful, for his miscarriage in *Sicily*, hearing also of *Junius* his misfortune, gave over all confidence in the sea, revoluing nevertheless with all their strength and Counell to proffece the Warre by land. They thought good to continue the Siege of *Lilybaenus*, appointing certain men to take care of conveying neccesary accomodations in good fafon, to the Army there. Though the Carthaginians were Malers at sea, yet were encouraged, in that at land they were superiour, and that almost all *Sicily* was either under their power, or in League with them: But they were not pleas'd with their Confuls this year, neither did they think that things would succeed prosperously under the Confuls
command, because they had profaned the Rites of Religion; for 'tis said that L. Junius did likewise set fafe neglacing the Indication of the Birds. They fled therefore to a new and unuual Refuge, and created a Dictator to go into Sicily; whereas, before this time, never any one so impoverished, had led an Army out of Italy. The Infolence of P. Clodius the Consul was then very notable, and altogether incredible: For being commanded by the Senate to nominate a Dictator, he named M. Claudius Glaucus, who was either his Scribe, or one of his Servants; as if he had not sufficiently offended his Country, by what Loffes he had brought upon it, unless he had likewise abused the Majesty of the Empire with such a Goofe. Whereupon the whole Senate being justly incensed against him, he was forced to resign up his Office, and was referred to the Council of the People. What Authors Cicero had read, report he was condemned, but others have observed, that when he Question was to be made but that the People would condamne him, he escaped by a sudden chance, a Store then arising which disposed the Assembly. And it being hereby that the Gods interposed themselves, they thought not fit to ordain any other meeting for the purpose. But Glaucus being forced to disclaim his Office, in that the City was anamed to see a man of mean ranke to be in Supreme Dignity, was nevertheless admitted to all spectacles after this time in a Noble Man's Robes. In his room A. Atilius A.F. C. N. Calatius was nominated Dictator, who made L. Caecilius L. F. C. N. Metellus, Master of the Horse, he who had Triumphed over the Carthaginians. These two went indeed into Sicily, but performed no very memorable action there.

In the mean time L. Junius, much troubled at his crost fortune, and desirous to wipe away the blot of his misrake, by some noble Exploit, watching all opportunities of Action, did at length find a way to take Eryx, by the Treachery of some within it, whom he had corrupted by gifts and promises. Eryx is the highest Hill in Sicily except Assis, Situate between Panormus and Drepanum, in that part of the Island which lieth towards Italy, being more craggy towards Drepanum. In the top thereof is a Plain whereon standeth the Temple of Venus, therefore called Erycina, the richest in all Sicily, just under the Top of the Mount, in the middle of the Assent is a City of the same name, very hard to be approached unto, the way to which with much difficulty is overcome by long and narrow Passages from the Foot of the Hill. L. Junius therefore well understanding the nature of the place, appointeth a strong guard both upon the Ridge of the Mountain, and likewise in the narrow Passages below, being very safe himselfe, and having the advantage with much ease to repulse the Enemy. He also encompassed Eryx with a wall, and strengthened it with a Garrison of eight hundred Men. But Carthala landing his men there in the night time, formed that Caffle, and took and killed part of the Garrison Soulliers, others escaped to Eryx.

The other passages concerning L. Junius are very doubtfully reported by Historians, some af- form he was taken by Carthala at Agrigennas: Others, that he killed himselfe fearing to be condemned for the Loss of his Navy. There is no least uncertainty whether the Secular Wars were celebrated this year, or fourteen years after, when P. Cornelius Lentulus, and C. Licinius Varus were Confells. I think it more probable they were celebrated this year, the fear conceived from their late overthrowes, and hope of better fortune, inviting them thereto, if their Religion were diligently performed. This was a very fruitful year, inasmuch as twelve pound of oil was sold for an Assis. In the mean time the Dictatorship being expired, or Atilius having resigned it up, C. Aurelius L. F. C. N. Cotta, and P. Scrofus L. F. C. N. Gemini were chosen Confells. The Confells were prettie successfull in Sicily, yet obtained no great Victory, nor reaped any great profit for the Common-wealth. They kept in the Carthaginians of Lilybeum and Drepanum, that they could make no large Excursions, nor so often as they had done, and took their Carthals which were remote from the Sea. Carthala having made many attempts against them in vain, resolved at length to waite the Italian Coals, that thereby he might divert the Carthals from Sicily, or if they refused to come back to succour their Country, depopulate their grounds, and take Cities. But fortune did not herein favour his designs. For the Ptolemes being fent out with the City-forces for defence of the Country, compelled him to return to Sicily without effecting his purpose.

Where when the Mercenaries mutinyed for want of Pay, he exposted many of them in barren Hands, and sent others to receive their Punishment at Carthage. The Reil being incensed hereby, began manifieflly to revolt, lo that a new warre was feared from them: But Hamilcar who succeeded Carthala, coming in seafon, set upon them in the night time, flew some, and drowned others; the remainder submitting themselves, and begging pardon he received into Grace. This is that Hamilcar signed Barcar, one of the best Commanders Carthage ever bred, and indeed without compare, but that Hannibal was his Son. From this time the Warre began to be more difficult on the Romans side; For having suddenly appeased the Mercenarys, he failed to Italy, and in very great compass spoile the Locrine and Brusan Territories.

But the Romans having found the faith of Hiero King of Syracuse very conftant toward them, and his merits great, freely remitted unto him that yearly Tribute they had in the former League compounded for, and made a perpetual band of friendship and Society with him. In the interim Hamilcar being returned out of Italy landed in the Panormitan Grounds, and pitched his Camp between Panormus and Eryx, in a place by nature very strong, it called Epeirellis, an Hill craggy and full of cliffs on all sides, exalting it fell from the circumjacent Region to a
very great height; the top of it is not sharp, but continueth a plain of above an hundred furlongs, of a very profitable soil for the feeding of Cattel and bearing of Fruits, being open to the winds from sea, and void of all harmful and venomous creatures. Therein is a certain Hilllock which suppieth the place of a Tower, from whence may be viewed all the grounds round about. Near it is a very convenient Haven for those that fail from Drepanum and Lilybsam to Italy, with stores of fresh water. There are three ways of ascending this Mount, two from the Land, one from the Sea; but all very difficult and full of obstructions. Here did Hamilcar plant his Camp with much confidence having no confederate City near him, and being in the midst of his enemies: But trusting in the strength of the place and his own courage and skill in Marshall affairs, he found the Romans work enough, and very well fetled the Carthaginian affairs, which now began to succed well at home also. For another Carthaginian General, Hammo, who had a great emulation of Hamilcar's Virtue, to obtain honour, and employ the Army without the Commonwealths out of the enemies Country, invaded a port of Libya about Hecatopempolis, and having obtained the City, sent three thousand Hostages to Carthag; yet they had some alay of this their prosperity. For L. Cæcilius L. F. C. N. Metellus being the second time Consul, and Num. Fabius M. F. M. N. Buteo being his Colleague, a Navy was built at the charge of private men, which waited the Coast of Africa. For though the Senate had again resolved against sending out of a Navy, yet at the Citizens request they gave leave to have one prepared, upon this condition, That they should safely relieve those ships which were built at the publick Charge, referring the prey to themselves; so that a Fleet was sent out very considerable, which brought much terror and damage to the Coasts of Africa and assaulting Kings: Hippo, none of the meanest Cities, they fired the ships of Hippo and many buildings. In their return finding the mouth of the Haven chained up, by art and counsel they devise'd a way to explicate themselves out of present danger, for failing with all the force they could, when they came near the Chain, all the men retired to the Stern, and so the Fore-Deck being lightened easily wafted over the Chain; then suddenly running to the Fore-Decks and depriving them, the Stern likewise slid over, and they had free liberty of falling, having delivered themselves from imminent danger. After this escape, they fought with the Carthaginian Navy, and prevailed against them. The Roman Consuls divided their forces, L. Metellus beleiged Lilybsam, and Num. Fabius, Drepanum. Not far from Drepanum, toward the South, lyeth an Island, or rather a Rock, which the Grecians call Pelopis, we Columbaria, which the Consul stormed in the night time, and flew the Carthaginian Garrition there. Hamilcar, who came to defend Drepanum, made no delay, but at break of day set forth to recover the place again, which the Consul oberving, being not able to relieve his own men, with his whole Strength assaulted Drepanum, whereby drawing Hamilcar from his design, he kept the Island in possession, and afterward made much advantage of it in besieging Drepanum, for he damm'd up the dry sea, and joined it to the Continent; and because the Walls of the City were weakest on that side, he there began his assaults. But the encounters between Hamilcar, and these, and the Consuls of the following years, Polybius thinks impossible to be described because they were so many, and judgeth it unfit to give an occasion of the like. For Hamilcar, having his Camp at Epiriste for almost three years together, had almost daily encounters with the Romans, especially when their Camp being before Panormus was scarce five furlongs distant from the enemy. For neither did they refrain from skirmishing, having their Armies so near. Neither did they ever come to the trial of a main battell having many hindrances, especially because their forces being equal and their Camps alike strong, they were likewise on each fide protected by the vicinity of their Camp, to which the party worsted might quickly retire. Hence it came to pass that as in fight some were always slain, so when the battell declined they had a safe refuge to their Works. But while Drepanum was beleiged, the Carthaginian Fleet infell'd not only the Sicilian but the Italian shores; and Hamilcar plundering as far as he could, wafted the Italian territories even to Eumus. Many of the Romans Citizens being fallen into the Carthaginians power by these incursions, and the Sicilian fights, the Roman Commanders agreed with the Carthaginians for an exchange of Prisoners, which party received any overplus back, was to give two pound and an half of silver for an head, and the Carthaginians receiving more then the Romans paid down the mone according.

I find two Colonies planted in Italy this year, one at Aesillus the other at Alisium. There was likewise a Lustration made at Rome (being the eight and thirtieth) by A. Stilius A. F. C. N. Calatinus, and A. Manlius T. F. T. N. Attius being Centors; and there were rated two hundred fifty one thousand, two hundred twenty two, whereas in the former Lustration there were found little less then three hundred thousand; so great a number of Citizens were confum'd by War and Shipwrecks. Nevertheless the Sicilian army was duly recruit'd, the supply being led by the Consuls M. Obruvus C. F. C. M. N. Carfus (the second time Consul) and M. Babius C. F. M. N. Licinius. Thence had a very busy and difficult warfare, but not being able to displace Hamilcar of his strong holds, they performed nothing memorable. Which happened likewise to the succeeding Consuls for the same reason, as likewise because new Generals Zonar, (being on the sudden every year elected against an old experienced Commander) spent more time in making their preparations, chusing their ground, and intimating themselves with the foul
diary, then was left for the management of Affairs. It was therefore this year concluded
(when the time of assembling the people drew nigh) rather to chuse a Dictator then to recall
either of the Consuls out of Sicily. Ti. Cornelius Ti. F. Ti. Nepos was chosen to summon the
Assembly; he nominated for Master of the Horse M. Fulvius Q. F. M. N. Flaccus. In the
mean time the two Tribunes of the people, C. Fundanius and Ti. Sempronius appointed a day
for Claudia, the daughter of Appius Caecus to plead her cause before the people, being accused,
that returning from a Play, and her Chariot having no eafe paffage through the crowd of peo-
ple, she let fall a wicked speech, Oh! that my brother were alive again and bad Command of the
Fleet.

There was hardly any Noble Family in Rome but had had some relation to the Claudians, ei-
ther by Cognition or Affinity, fo that she wanted not Patrons to defend her, declaring, The
Nobility of her house, the merit of Appius her father, the frailty of her sex, that it was a thing
unheard of for a woman to be called into Judgement: Neither was now the cause so great why a
new custome should be begun against Claudia, which had not by any plot or practice offended the Ma-
jesty of the people, but only in a few words. On the contrary, the Tribunes alledged, That an
impos'd and execrable speech the hath vented, ye are not ignorant, O Romans, neither is
there any need of Witnefs, the her self confessing it; neither indeed can the devil itself
would, because she spoke openly and in publick, not reverencing either the Gods or the multitude
of Citizens round about her. When therefore the crime is manifest, why should we doubt of
the punishment? Have not the Laws made sufficient Provision? Or while we read the Letter
of the Law, shall we suffer our minds to be deluded in the Sense of it, 'Tis objected, That it
is usual thus to accuse a woman; if it be so, why is it unusual likewise for a woman thus to
offend? Neither licthero to did our Commonwealth ever afford so wicked and impudent a wo-
man. And we wish that there were now no need of making a new Precedent, being defirous that
(Offences being avoided) the Law might lie hidden and quiet, rather then be made use of a-
gainst the guilty with a profitable severity. But a City that intends its own establishment,
most of necessity observe the Laws, which they of all men ought least to pervert who would
be esteemed the Princes and Pillars of the Commonwealth, who being skillfull in the Laws can-
not be ignorant, that though in most of them there be no mention expressly made of women yet
in these words, If any One, and the like, both fexes are equally comprehended. What wonder
is it then if we believe the Law against Tresfon to concern both fexes, seeing this very Cia-
dius is an example that both fexes may offend against it? But they Extemate the buttinelle,
and have the crime feem small, because it was only in Words. What? this yet was
wanting; she did not joy her endeavours, confusions and actions with the Carthaginians.
the did not raise Troops, arms Slaves, feize on the Capitol, nor aliſſy with her hands effect
that wickednes against the City which in words was exprefly declar'd. Notwithstanding this the Laws
provide not only for the punishment of Deeds but of ill Counsels and deſignes also; if indeed a
man do an infant do hurt to any, the Law layeth no hold on their actions; yet the mind and
intentions of others in many causes is made as menacing by Words as by Deeds. She who made
so detestable a wish, what would she have done if it had lain in her power to have brought it
to pass? Unless we deprive the Judgment of other men (which we have no reaſon to do)
we shall find that in other places wicked wishes are accounted Crimes. At Athens, which for
reputation of Wildom excedeth all Cities of Grece, there was a man whole office was to
provide necessary accommodations for Funerals, condemned, because he wished he might make
great gains, which could not be unles a great number of Citizens died: Yet those words
might admit of a more favourable Interpretation. But Claudia plainly, and without any
ambiguity wished Deftruction to the Citizens, Overthrow to the whole Army, and Calamity
to the whole Commonwealth. Would my Brother were alive again! A naughty wish it is,
if the had made it only for her brothers sake, for why should life be restor'd to him by whose
means so many Citizens loft their lives? who no lefe affront'd the Commonwealth by his
Arrogancy, then he did afflict it by his Raffhens? who being by the votes of all men precon-
demned, avoided not the infamy of his judgment, but by accident escaped the punishment?
Would you, if you were wife, have this man to live again, whole memory if you could hide
in the fame Grave with his ashes, it were your duty to do it? For as other Matrons do not
vainly glory of the Egregious virtues and merks of their Brethren, so would he be a shame to
you if any shame or modesty be left in you. But let a Noble Lady be pardoned, though perhaps
fo deftirably the hath defir'd her brothers company, if she did it out of any pious and chari-
table consideration. Yea, clearly abolve her, if the cause of her with be not more abominable
then the wish it self foolish and inoffent. For why did you with your brother alive again?
that you might be comforted with the countenance of a near Kinman, that his labours might
redound to your profit, his Authority be a protection to you, and his Honour a grace? None
of all thefe. And what then? Even that he might command the Navy again! This, this wicked
wretch, was the reafon why you defired, as much as in you lay, to raife the Dei, to reduce
Nature to its former habi, and unlock the Clofiers of the Grave that you might find a man
by whom we might be destroyed! This is the Woman, Romans, whose impudence is crave
by those who while they approve themselves good Kinmen, regard not though they are esteemed
ill Citizens. And truly no man is againft it, that (according to their defire) ye should have
' mercy'
In place of Livie's Nineteenth Book.

mercy on her, had she had any mercy toward you. But seeing the hand withid the death of
some the grief of others, that they should be childless and fatherless, say, the general
calmity of all: who will be so foolishly tender as to judge her hostile, cruel, inhumane foul
worthy of any mercy? What great lamentations and complaints were made when the Cen-
fors upon the last Lustration gave in the number of the Citizens? Though many things these
years last past succeeded prosperously, yet good men thought the Commonwealth in no very
safe or good condition by reason the number of the Citizens was so much decreated. But this
nothing nothing moved at the los of those who perished, therefore only griefeth because any,
are remaining. She complaineth of the two great crowd in the City, she witheth him alive
by whose fault chiefly the number of Citizens is so small. But it may be said, The woman
her self being indeed unworthy your mercy, will ye not yet pardon her crime for her Ancestor's,
for her Father's sake? Shall we then establish such a Law in our City, That if any man by
any means do good to the Commonwealth his posterity shall have the liberty to offend it
without punishment? Truly our Fathers were not of this opinion, when they precipitated
M. Manlius from the Rock, whereas the Capitol, the Romans last hope and refuge was, not
by his Father or Grand-father or any of his Progenitors, but by himself defended from the
Gauls. For saving or affilting the Commonwealth there ought no other reward to be re-
quired but the confidence of the list: But Appius, if ever he did good to the Commonwealth
received abundant reward, being much enriched and full of honour, in which state he continu-
ed flourishing even to his last old age. Though perhaps it were fitter not to make any menti-
on of Appius and the former Claudius, then to put you in mind of those injuries, very high
and bold ones, which that Family (from its first Original never well affected to the people)
committed against you. For what Appius is it they would have you remember, but him
who always with an enemies mind, crosting your delipens, chose rather to perish with his
Army then be faved by his Colleague, being a Plebeian? who against the will of all the De-
grees and Tribes perfitled in his Censorship beyond his due time? And now let them reckon
up the merits of the Claudian Family, even from the time of the Decemviri, or from the first
Original thereof, they shall find matter whereby to prove this woman like her Ancestors in
pride and contumacy, rather then to make it appear she ought to be pardoned for their fakes.
What caufe therefore have these, or can any other man allege why this woman ought to go
unpunished, unleis it be feared the City should looke a woman of so good example? of which
opinion if ye also are, O Romans, keep, keep Claudius amongst you, that when our Ma-
trans kneel at the feet of the Gods, supplicating them for the Commonwealth in time of trouble,
the may hinder their devout Prayers with your Curses; that while they with for Salvation for our
Armyes, the may with Delegation, while they desire to see the soldiers return safe and sound,
the may desire to hear they are vanquished, exalted and flain, that while they solicit the
Gods that few or none may fall in Battle, the may repine and weep, Providence if any return
home. Keep the woman, that as other Martrons provoke and encourage their children and
kindin, in emulation of Illustrious men, to Virtue, Courage and Love of their Country,
the may infruct her by the example of P. Claudius to fight rashly, to run basely, wickedly to
destroy the Citizens and arrogantly to have the Commonwealth in itself in contempt. Let her
propound these things unto young Nobles to be resolved upon from their Infancy, to be practi-
ised in their Youth; so let those men be educated to whom you must hereafter commit the charge
of your Navies and Armies.

Such speeches being frequently vented Pro and Con, the People assemblin in judgement, con-
demned her, in a fine of five and twenty thousand pound of heavy brays. With this and other
fires, T. Sempronius the Edile built and dedicated the Temple of Liberty. After this M.
Fabius M. F. M. N. Benevo and C. Atius A. F. A. N. Bulbus were made Conuls.
There was a Colone this year planted at Fregena, a Maritime City of Errasoe, nine miles from
Alsium whither one was led two years since. These Conuls fought a very great Sea battell, the
issue thereof was profitable to neither Party, for the Cartaginians lost a multitude of ships
and men. And a tempel becavied the Romans of their rich spoiles: In Sicilia affairs were
managed with the same advice, and the same fortune as the year before; The Romans having
an hard task not only by reason of the Craggineffe of the places, but of Humilar his bold-
ness and facility in martiall stratagems, whereby he so equally oppossed the Romans, that he
not onely defended what place he had posseffed, and of frequent incursions vexed the Enemies
affificates both on the Sicilian and Italian Coasts; but minding other things also, did every
where support the Cartaginian Power even ready to fall, being very indoluous, of a resolute
minde, and of excellent judgement in taking fensible Counsells. Declarous therefore to
relieve the Lillythians from fear and want, being more clofeely besieged by land, he commandeth
part of his Navy to appear in the main sea, as hearing their Couer to Lifythun, while which the
Romans failed out to Encounter, he flipt himfelf into the Haven, with some Ships he had
for that purpose placed where they could not be discovered, and so strengthened and encouraged
the besieged with his presence, and abundance of provisions which he brought. While the war
was in this manner continued in Sicilia, A. Manlius, T. F. T. N. Torquatus Attius and
C. Sempronius T. F. T. N. Baretus being againe Conuls, came and tooke charge of the Army.
About this time the manner of their war was changed, not so much as ordered more clofeely and in
F. E. C. 1. 2.
The Romans (as hath been already declared) had planted a Garrison above the City Eryx upon the Top of the Mountain, another below at the Foot of the Hill. The natural strength and situation of the place, with the help of these guards, seemed sufficient to secure that City from fear of any surprize. But the boldness and Valour of Hamilcar, making anything possible, which he lifted to undertake, in a very short time reduced it into his Power. For he, in the night time, setting forward with his forces, and without noise attending thirty furlongs up the Hill, himself marching in the head of the party, surprized the Romans unawares, and having flame greatest part of those he found in the Towne, he sent the rest to Drepasum. From this time the face of things was very strange, and the warfare very hard and severe; for Hamilcar being now in the midst of two of the Enemies Garrisons, was himself besieged by them below while he besieged those above; both the Romans and the Carthaginians undergoing incredible pynes and danger, did for almost two years next succeeding performe the office of most Valiant soldiers. For the Camps being so near there passed not a day, may scarce an hour without alarms and skirmishes, neither party all this while Maintained or yielded, neither did Victory or overthrow part them; but still they continued equal and unvanquished, designeing in the mean time to prosecte the Warre at Sea also.

This year a Colonie was planted at Brandusium, in the Salentinas Territories, twenty years after that Country was subdued by the Romans. About this time T. Cornelianus, who was the first High Priest of the Plebeians, died in a great old age, and in his place succeeded L. Cæcius Metellus. The next Confuils were C. Fundanius C. F. L. N. Fundanius, and C. Sulpius C. F. S. N. Gallus. By them the war with Hamilcar was managed in the same manner, and with the same fortune as before, only the Mercenary Gauls, and others who kept Garrison in Eryx, being discontented for want of Pay, and other injuries, endeavoured to betray the City to the Romans, but not being able to effect it, they revolted to the Confuils, and thefe were the first Foreigners the Romans ever entertained into feacity of Armes. Notwithstanding this access of strength, they were not able by their Land-forces to finish the War, chiefly by reason of Hamilcar's virtue, who could neither be circumvent by craft, nor vanquished by Force.

Once more therefore they consulted about letting forth another Navy to Sea; For by no other means could the Carthaginians be kept from Sicily, unless they were maffetered by Sea. And they were much encouraged in their resolution, by reason of their former successes, when the Navy was let forth at the cost of private men; But money was wanting, the Treasury being long ago exhausted with the charge of a continual War. Then did the Noble Roman Spirit readily believe the wants of the Common-wealth, so generous were the Senators, that in a time of publick danger they forsook to spare their private purses, out of which in the sudden more money was raised then the building of a Navy required. Those who were richest did every man undertake to build a Coas-gunter, letting it forth compleatly manned and armed; others according to their estates joined two or three together in the same design, upon this condition, that when the Commonwealth was restored to a better Condition, every man's money should be paid back again. By this means two hundred ships of five Oares on a side were made ready, according to the pattern of that Gally they had taken from Hannibal Rhaetius. Great was now the expectation of all men, for being put to their late refuge, they revolved with this Navy of Necellity to hazard the Fortune of the whole War. While these things were in doing, C. Lucatius C. F. C. N. Catulus, and A. Pofhumes A. F. L. A. Albinius elected the Consulship. A. Pofhumes was then Priest of Ceres, and therefore when he desired to call lots for his Province, L. Metellus the High Priest would not suffer him, pronouncing it unlawfull for a Priest to depart from the place of his Office, and leave the Ceremonies unperformed, which was likewise allowed of, and agreed upon by succeeding Generations. The Senate likewise at the same time shewd a like Example of defending their Country's Religion, for they forbod C. Lucatius the Consul to ask counsell at Preneste, and manage the Affairs of the Common-wealth by direction of outlandish Auguries. Then intending their minds upon the War (because both the Confuils could not be spared with safety of their Religion, and one seemed not sufficient to bear the whole burthen) they ordained one of the Pretors (being this the first year wherein they began to create two) to accompany C. Lucatius, and it fell to the Lot of Q. Valerius Patro. These gathering together all the Publick and private ships to the number of three hundred, with Ferry-boats, and other Vessells to the number of seven hundred, as soon as Winter was over, sailed to Sicily, whither being come, they find both the Libyanes and Drepasum Havens open for them. For the Enemy not expecting any Navy from Italy, were returned to Africa with all their ships. The Consul Animated with this prosperous beginning, being by nature full of spirit, hating Idleness, and decrious of Action, beloved Drepasum, raising Works against it; in the mean time not omitting to train up his Sea-soldiers, daily exercizing them (as foreseeing sudden use of them in fight) intolomuch as they were utterly ignorant of Maritime Affairs and chances, seemed sufficiently prepared for any Encounter.

The City of Drepasum being fiercely assaulted both by Sea and land, and now reduced even to the utmost danger, part of their Wall being battered to the ground; it chanced that the

Confuils
In place of Livie's Nineteenth Book.

Conful Valiantly fighting in the head of his men, received a deep wound in his thigh; whereupon his Souldiers troubled at his fall, and running in to him, missed the opportunity of taking the place, when it was even a chief in their hands: Before the Conful had recovered the use of his foot, news was brought of a great Carthaginian Navy approaching, to the number of four hundred ships, stored with provision for their Army, with a very great strength of foouldiers, and abundance of Arms and Money, 

Hanno, a Carthaginian Noble Man, was Commander in Chief, his chief care was to get safe to Eryx, ease his ships of their burden, and so manning them with few Souldiers from Hamilcar, to return and fight the Roman Navy. His design was well contrived, but prevented by the wisdom and circumspection of C. Lutatius the Conful, who knew it would be of great moment to the Victory, to encounter the Carthaginians while their ships were heavy laden, and conienced with the burden of their own provisions. Therefore upon the Ides of March, filling his ships with choice foouldiers, he saileth to the hands Eages, over against Lilybœum, where he discovereth Hanno coming from Hiero ones; then encouraging his Sea-men and foouldiers he appointeth next day for the fight: But at break of day he began, because the wind was arisen favourable to the Carthaginians, and contrary to himselfe. Weighing then the Reasons on both sides, he thought it fitter to fight with the winds, and Hanno while he was alone, and had his ships laden, then suffer him to pass by to unlade his ships, and bring back into battell the flower of their foot Army, and also Hamilcar himelfe, who at that time was very formidable. Observing therefore the Enemies ships they passed by with full fafe, he fetteeth forth out of the Haven, and to encourage his men, caufeth himelfe to be carried into the Admirall Gally, having not recovered the use of his limbs: Signe of battell being given on both sides, C. Faberius performed the Office of General, by reason of C. Lutatius his infirmity, not sufficient to supply the place. The fight lasted not long before it plainly appeareth on which fide the Victory inclined; for the Roman ships being light and nimble, did on every fide, at their pleasuresuffle the Carthaginians, being heavy, and almost immoveable; they were likewise in every thing else supeorous, being taught by experience to avoid and amend whatsoever heretofore they had found inconvenient, and harmefull: Their ships were built after the best fashions, they had carefully laid aside all lumber which was of no use in fight, their Rowers were lucy, and well trained up, and they had a very confiderable strength of Legionaries; All these were very great advantages towards the Victory. On the other fide, the Carthaginian ships were heavy with burden, their Rowers newly leaved, and their men negligent, as being in security; for they had hoped the Romans would no more have tried their fortune at Sea. Therefore, as it muft needs be, where the difference is fo great, the Victory was not long in obtaining, the Carthaginians loft an hundred and twenty ships, seventy whereof were taken, with all the men, to the number of ten thoufand, the rest upon an happie change of winds in the time of fight, escaped to Hiero ones. This was that famous battell at the hands Eages, as it is chiefly described by Polybios.

For other writers affirm, that feventy three ships were taken, an hundred and twenty five funke, and twenty and thirty thoufand men taken prisoners, and thirteenth thoufand plain, the prizes taken were very great, not only in Provisions and Armes, but in gold and silver also. Of the Roman Navy twelve ships were loft. This reported that from the beginning of the fight a fiery meteor was seen in the aere, threatening as it were the Carthaginian Navy with it's point directed against it, prefignifying the event which presently ensued. Hanno, with the rest of the ships which escaped out of the Fight, except those which fled to Lilybœum, returning to Carthage, was putt to death for this his Misfortune. C. Lutatius the Conful went to the Army before Lilybœum, where, while his wound was in cure, he spent his time in taking an account of the ships, and Captives, and ordering how their state should be disposed. Thence he went to Eryx, where he fought Hamilcar with good success, having taken two thoufand Carthaginians. The Carthaginians at home understanding what a great Overthrow they had received, though their spirits were great, yet found that they wanted strength and means, to renew and carry on the War. For they were not able, fo long as the Romans were Masters at sea, to supply their Army at Eryx with neceffary accommodations; and, if that Army miscarried, they knew not where to raise any more foouldiers, or find a Generall they durft confide in. Being by this Neceffity driven into despair, they sent to Hamilcar, empowering him with full Commission to do what he himselfe should think fit or convenient for the Republicke: He having hither performed the Office of an excellent Generall, did now no lefs behave himselfe as a good Citizen: For having duly and seriously considered all arguments on both fides, when he found there was no other means but Peace, whereby to preserve the Common-wealth; he sent Emblems to the Conful to treat with him thereabout. The mention of Peace was not well-received to the Conful, for being now shortly to lay down his Office, he could not by any means hope for the obtaining of a greater Glory, then that, of having finifhed the War, and to tranfmit that to his succesflour which was in his own power to accomplish, and most properly belonged to him, he thought both unfeafonable and unprovided: He was the more forward, as being very well conscious of the wants of the Common-wealth, and that he thought it fit his Country, after so many yeares continuall labour, toould enjoy some reft. Wherefore after a long dispute of Articles on both fides, it was agreed, that the Carthaginians should totally depart Sicily, that they should not wage war against Hiero, and the Syracusians; or any of their
Appius, &c. that they should forthwith without ransom restore all Captives, and deliver up all Runagades, that they should in the space of twenty years, by equal portions, pay two thou-
sand two hundred Euboean Talents of pure silver: That the confederates of each party
might live free and unmolested, That neither party should exercise any command, or make
any political building, or raise any fortifications within the others jurisdiction, nor admit the others asso-
ciates into friendship and confederacy. 'Twas added, that these Articles were firmly concluded, if
the people of Rome would agree therewith.

But it could by no means be obtained (though the Consul earnestly insisted upon it,) that
the fouldiers within Eryx should resign up their Armes; Hamilcar protesting, That he would
rather sacrifice himself and his country to destruction, than yield to such a disgrace: Never-
theless he was confederate, That every man at his departure thence should pay eighteen pence.
Hereupon messengers were sent both by the Consul and the Carthaginians to inform the Se-
nate and People of the Conditions agreed upon. The people did not allow of the peace,
but sent ten Delegates to take an exact account of all circumstances, who being returned,
they heightened the Conditions, That the Carthaginians should presently lay down a thou-
sand Talents, and within ten years after pay two thousand two hundred, that they should
clearly quit not only Sicily, but all other Islands between the and Italy, that they should
not fall in a long ship either into Italy or any of the Romans Islands, nor hire any fouldier from
them.

The Carthaginians, fo they might have peace, refused nothing; Hamilcar, before the
Articles were livered unto, laid down his Command and went to Libycaem, and from thence
to Carthage, having approved himself, without comparison, the most excellent of all their
Generals in that War, both in Courage and in Counsel. After this manner was managed
and finished the first Carthaginian War, which lasted for four and twenty years with various
chances and great losses, but to the greater damage of them who at last proved Victors.
For they who have made a particular Account, report about five hundred Carthaginian ships
to have been lost, and seven hundred of the Romans, which is a great argument of the Ro-
mans Constancy and Resolution, that, not regarding so many losses by fight, or shipwacks
folliated, they did yet with patience bear and overcome the power of their Enemy,
the Frowns of Fortune, the tedious labour and pain, and the poverty of their Tre-
asury.

After this the Government of C. Lutatius the Consul was prorogued, that he might
nacht little affairs in Sicily; thither likewise was sent his brother one of the new Consuls, Q. Lu-
tatius C.P. C.N. Cereis, whose Colleague was A. Manlius T.P. N. These did, by their
wisdom order the Province, and fecled all things in peace and quiet, deciding all contro-
versies and taking away all causes of quarrels and tumults, which after to great motions and
alterations were unavoidably remaining. They disarmed all the Sicilians who adhered to
Hamilcar, as likewise the Gauls who had revolted from him; furthermore the Gauls were
commanded to depart out of the Roman Empire, because, besides other offences, when they
were in the Garrition on the top of Mount Eryx, they plundered the Temple of
Venus. The Sicilian Cities according to their several abilities were forced to pay Tri-
bute and Cutilum; and it was made a Province, whither a Pretor was sent to command and go-
vern yearly.

In the mean time Embassadors came from Carthage to intreat, They might redeem their
Captives, and by Order from the Senate they were all reforted without ransom, as many as
were in Publick custody; they who were prisoners to private men were redeemed at a certain
rate, the greater part whereof was by command of the Senate paid out of the Treasury. But un-
lucky accidents at home did much diminish the joy of the Roman people. The River Tibur
did this year flow higher then ordinary, and filled all the lower parts of the City with large
Pools of Water. Many buildings were by the first force thereof was bathed to the ground, and
others, having their foundation rotted ( for the Inundation continued many days) after
the fall of the water, did much decay.

After this there happened a greater calamity by Fire, which suddenly beginning in the night
time, and running through many streets of the City, destroyed an incredible multitude of hou-
ses and men; and, not content with private harms, consumed all the buildings in the whole
Circumference of the Forum. At length it leaped upon the Temple of Vesta; but then L.
Caiusius the Chief Priest, seeing the Holy things and secret Pledges of the Roman Empire
to be in danger, behaved himself worthy of his Office, for he leaped into the midst of the fire
without any care of himself, so he might but relieve the Holy things which the Virgins had
forlaken and left behind them, which accordingly he performed. Himself having his Arme
half burnt and his Eye sight spoile, beside the comfort he received from his good ad, was
eminentely rewarded by the people of Rome, who Decreed, That as often as he went to the
Senate he should be carried in a Chariot, which from the Foundation of the City was never grant-
ted to any man before.

In the mean time O. Lutatius the Consul, with his brother Catius and O. Valerius
the Proprietor, having settled affairs in Sicily returned home to the City and made each of them
them their Triumph; C. Lutatius Catulus on the fourth of the Nones of October, and Q. Trium. Caesar Valerius on the day before the Nones of the same month. There was a memorable strife between these two concerning the Triumph of Valerius; for Lutatius his Triumph being without dispute agreed upon, Q. Valerius contending that his pains and labour were equal in the Victory declared the like honour as he had undergone the like care and danger. Catulus on the other side alleged, That the latter authority should not be equalized with the greater in the honours.

The question being hotly argued, Q. Valerius challenged Catulus to stand to arbitration, Whether or not the Carthaginian Navy were not overcome by his conduct? Catulus refused not to answer him; whereupon C. Asinius Calatinus was chosen Arbitrator, who asked Valerius, Whether the Consul’s authority or the Pretors ought to have prevailed in case they had differenced in their consultation about fighting? and in case their Auguries had been different whether of the two ought to have been followed? To which when Valerius answered, That in both cases the Consul’s authority ought to have prevailed above the Pretor’s; Calatinus not expecting till Catulus spake, passed sentence on his side. But Q. Valerini, though he was call by the judgment of the Arbitrator, did yet obtain liberty to Triumph, his virtue and courage having been very famous in that War. This year C. Aurelius Cotta, and M. Fabius Butes being Cenfors, made the nine Triumvirs and thirtieth Lustration. There were numbered two hundred and three thousand Citizen Tribes, two Tribes being superadded, the one called Velina the other Quirina, the number of Tribes was made up five and twenty, and so continued. Sicily being now wholly subdued, as much as belonged to the Carthaginians, and peace with them concluded, all things seemed not only quiet but very safe and secure; when behold a sudden war, arising from whence it was least feared, did for a few days discomfit all Italy both with the terror and fear of an Intelline broil, as likewise with wonder at the speedy dispatch and issue of it.

The Faliscii, I know not upon what account, grew so mad as to rise up in arms against the Romans; but the Consul being lent with the Legions quelled them within six days, and reduced them to subjection. In the former battle, for ’tis reported two were fought, the Victory was doubtful, for their foot prevailed though their horse were routed. But in the latter the victory being on the Romans side complete, caused the Faliscii to humble themselves and beg peace, having lost fifteen thousand men: upon their yielding they were fined with the loss of their arms, horse, household-stuff, servants and half their Territories. Their City in whose strength they confided was translated from a craggy difficult place into plain open ground. The people of Rome were meditating a more severe revenge, out of anger against a City which had so often rebelled, but restraining their wrath by the advice of Pappus (who had written the form of submission by the Consul’s own command) That the Faliscii submitted not to the Power but the Faith of the Roman: And so much did the sacred name of Publick Faith prevail with them all, that they adjudged the conquered party no severer punishment then was agreed upon. This war gave occasion to have this year ended with the Triumphs of the Consuls; Q. Lutatius Triumphed on the Calends of March over the Faliscii, A. Manlius the fourth of the Nones of March.
BOOK X.

Tally being now once more at Peace within it selfe, their Publick Pleasures, and Delights did likewise encreafe with their Power and Security. When the Roman Games were exhibited, C. Claudius A. P. F. C. N. Cenzus, and M. Sempronius C. F. M. N. Tindanus being Confuls, L. Livius Andronicus, in imitation of the Gracian Comedies and Tragedies, reduced the Stage Plays, which heretofore were only Satyrs into Fables, and feigned representations. The fame year likewise gave beginning to another sort of sports On the fourth of the Calends of May, the Floralia were instituted out of the Nysia books, to aver the blatifing of fruits and plants then springing forth. L and M. Publicius Malleolus, Brothers and Aediles of the People did exhibit publick shews out of the Finis raised from Herdesmen who had fed their Cattel on Commons. The Magistracy of thefe Brethren was in another respect very memorable, in that they caufed that Cliff (which from them received the name of Publicus) to be made plain and even, for the more commodious passage of Carriages into Mount Avenins, whereas before the Rock in that place was craggie and almost impassable. They likewise built the Temple of Flora in the great Shew-Place.

These things were acted at home, while all things were quiet abroad, onely there was a sufficion that the Gauls and Ligurians had a designe for War. That these Provinces therefore were alligned to the Confulls, and war then commenced with the Gauls, is rather a Conjefture, than a true History, there being no antient writer extant which accurately describes those things; This one thing is certain, that a Latine Colonie was planted at Spoletium in Umbria. The next year also 'tis easier to say, there was no Peace because the Temple of Janus was not shut, but to declare where or with what success the war was managed. And the Confulship of Q. Mamilius Q. F. Q. N. and Q. Valerius Q. F. P. N. is hardly known by any other passage then that Ennius the firstspat Elegant Roman Poet was that year borne. But the year after, when Ti. Sempronius Ti. F. C. N. Gracchus and P. Valerius; Q. F. P. N. Falto were Confuls, the Gallick wars brake out again, and the Ligurians a new Enemy, were then first invaded by a Roman Army. This Province fell to the lot of T. Sempronius. P. Valerius encountered the Gauls, at the first with ill succes, having loft three thousand five hundred men: But, entering the fight again he obtained a signall Victory, wherein fourteen thousand Gauls were slain, and two thousand taken. But, by reason of the lossthulden in the former battle, the Conful was denied the Honor of Triumph, especially seeing his prodigious fight was rather to be attributed to the Fortune of the Common-wealth, then to his wise management of the buftnes. For after the first fight, understanding that alliancè was coming to him from Rome, he said, he had rather perish with all his Army, then obtain Victory by the help of others; and in this fury he cast himselfe and the Roman Army into the hazard of a battell. T. Gracchus had better and more happy success, for having overthrown the Enemy in a set battell, he depopulated great part of Liguria. From thence he crossed over into Sardinia and Corsica, and bringing back a vast multitude of Captives, gave occasion to that proverb of Sardi Ventaè, whereby is signified any thing that is plentiful, and at an underate to be sold.
But to confefs the truth, the Romans had at this time rather a good opportunity then a just cause of poffefling *Sardinia* and *Corseca*. The Carthaginians after the *Sicilian Peace*, were involved in a very troublesome war with their Mercenaries, and reduced even to the utmost extremity; whereupon other their Hirings, who were in a Garrison in *Sardinia*, new either the Carthaginian General with all his men: Hans being sent from *Carthage* to punish their Villany, they inveigled his Army into a Society of Rebellion, and apprehending him, nailed him to the Cross, and having flain all the Carthaginians, they had poffefled almost all the strong holds throughout the Island, till upon a falling out between them and the Sardinians, they were expelled the Island, and betook themselves into *Italy*. Then did they accomplish that which while they were in *Sardinia* they could not: for at that time they had invited the Romans to the Dominion of that Island: But being now present either by the importunity of their Entreatys, or by plainly demonstrating what an occasion was offer'd of encreasing the Roman Power, they prevailed with them to fall over into *Sardinia*. For it is a virtue of no ordinary strain, to abstain from other men's goods when they with safe poffefion, neither can covetous or ambitious men well or long dissemble their greedy desires: But 'twill not be amifs for the better understanding of this business, to relate some foregoing circumstances. The Romans, that they might gain the Reputation of Humanity, did in the beginning of this Warre, very much favour the Carthaginian cause. And, though they sent them no assistance as was desired, yet they refused to entertain the Uticans, or any others that revolted to them: They commanded their Merchants out of *Sicily* and *Italy* to accommodate the Carthaginians with all necessary Provisions, prohibiting all traffic with their Enemies, and gave licence of hiring men out of *Italy* for this war, They sent likewise Embassadors, though in vaile, to compote the strife: A little before there was a controversy, because the Carthaginians had taken some Italian Merchants conveying Commodities to the Enemy, and secured them in publick Prisons, and they had then five hundred of them in chains, and having slain not a few, had cast them into the sea to prevent the discovery of the thing; whereupon the Romans declared themselves aggrieved, and began to threaten War: But the Carthaginians refraining those whom they had in custody, so pacified the Romans, that they in answer sent back without ransom all other Prisoners taken in the Sicilian war. Yet at length Ambition prevailed, with a desire to crush that People, with whom they had for four and twenty years together waged war with various successes, and forebears, that unless in time they prevented it, they must be forced to fight again. Wherefore when the Carthaginians, (having against their wills lost *Sardinia*, and now finished their war with the Mercenaries) meditated Revenge upon the Authors of Rebellions and Revolts, the Romans laid hold of this occasion, and declared, that *War should be proclaimed against Carthage*, unless they laid down their Arms, which they had taken up, seemingly against their Rebels, but indeed and really against the Romans. Whereupon the Carthaginians unwilling in an unfeasible time to undertake so great a War, did not only quie *Sardinia*, but upon the Roman demand, added likewise twelve hundred Talents of silver, to their former fine. This injury did most of all incense the minds of the Carthaginians, and is thought to be the only cause of that war which was soon after commenced, and prosecuted by *Hamilcar*. For *Hamilcar* coniunct Hated of Romans (to which the second Parique war is chiefly imputed) was not by any other means more hotly exasperated, or fiery gomented. But these things happened afterwards.

In the main time L. Cornelius L. F. T. N. Lentulus Claudius, and Q. Fulvius M. F. Q. N. Flectus being made Consuls had *Gaul* on this side the Po for their Province. That a *Colonia* was this year planted at *Valencia*, though many affirm it is no conslant and general opinion, unless there be another *Valencia* besides *Vibes*, which Authors of better credit affirm to have been peopled fifty years after in the Confulsiphip of *Quintus Flaminius* and *Cn. Domitius Aemilus*. The Consuls in *Gallia*, while they kept their forces united, had a safe and prosperous Expedition, but after they had divided their Legions out of sneakines to waste more places, the Camp of *M Fulvius* was in the night time assaulted and very hardly defended. The Gauls departing without effecting their design, did afterward return with greater terror having their forces much augmented. For the prime men of the *ibli* taking counsel secretly together, raised a vast power of Transalpines against the Romans. In the mean time L. Lentulus the Consul, who had marched with his Army into the Ligurian Territories, obtained there a great Victory. It was ordered therefore he should make a Triumph, which accordingly he did on the Intercalary Ides.

Some Authors report, That these Consuls were the first who led the Roman army over the Po, and that in divers fights were slain four and twenty thousands, and taken five thousand of the Ligurians and Insulabri Gauls. But I rather believe, that the Po was crost over and the Insulabri first encountered in their own Country in the next Gallick commotion. About this time Embassadors were sent to *Ptolomey* King of *Egypt* to profer him alittance in his wars against *Antiochus* and the *Syrians*. The King returned thanks, telling them withall, That he had now need of assistance inasmuch as the quarrel was compounded. After this *Hiero* came to *Rome* to the great joy of the Romans, who entertained him with all the respect as befited them to do, being a confederate Prince, having deservd much of them, and a companion in their greatest Victory. He befowied the people of *Rome* two hundred thousand Bushels of Wheat; he came to behold the spors which were prepared against next year.

For according to some Authors the fecular spors were celebrated in the Confulsiphip of *P. Corneliini*.
Cornelius L. F. T. N. Lentulus Caecinus and C. Licinius P. F. P. N. The Masters of the Revelli were M. Aurelius M. F. & M. Livius M. F. M. N. Salinator. In the mean time the Boian Princes, confiding in the multitude of Auxiliaries they had from beyond the Alps, sent to the Consuls demanding, That Ariminum with its Territories, which without doubt of right belonged to the Gauls, should be restored them, otherwise a terrible and Defensive War would ensue. The Consuls, having not drawn their forces together, durst not hazard those few they had in the fortune of a Battel, neither could they content unto the Gauls their demand, they answered therefore, They should send Embassadors to the Senate, to signify their demand. The Gauls accepted of the condition, and a truce was concluded on for some days, while the Embassadors could go and return again. The Embassadors at Rome received a denial from the Senate, and greater preparations were made for this War, whereof there was afterward no use, in a much as Fortune without the expense of Roman blood put an end to it. While the Embassadors returned, the Boians fought a set Battel with their Transalpine Auxiliaries, upon this Occasion; The Auxiliaries without the knowledge of the Boian people, had marched as far as Ariminum, whence a fulpicion arose, that their maine Errand was to poffefs that Territory themselves; the Boians therefore were so enraged, that having flain their Kings Arce & Galatius as Traitours, they endeavoured by force to expel those strangers out of their Land, whereupon a Battell was fought with much slaughter, and both sides being thereby much weakened, the Transalpine returned home, the Boians bought their Peace of the Romans with part of their Grounds. This war being so quickly dispatched, the Consuls went into Liguria: where P. Lentulus, having in a set Battle Overthrown the Enemy, led his Army through the whole Region, taking Ball(stage, some by force, some by composition. C. Licinius intending to sail over into Corse, not having boats enough to transport his whole Army, sent M. Claudius Glycias before, with a Party; who, being vainly arrogant, when he saw that the Coriscans were terrified at his coming, without any respect to the Consul by whose direction he was sent, or consideration of his own office and duty, made a league with them, upon certain Conditions, in his own Name; thinking thereby to attain unto himselfe the Glory of having reduced that Island. But the Consul following with the Refidue of the Army, forbore not to prosecute them with arms (notwithstanding they alleged in their own behalf the Claudian Peace) till he brought them into subjection. The Senate to clear the Commonwealth from the Imputation of Breach of Faith, ordered Glycias the Author of that dishonourable peace, to be delivered up into the hands of the Coriscans, and they refusing to take him, he was put to death in the Common Gaole. This year were Centoours L. Cornelius L. F. T. N. Lentulus Caesarius & Lentulus C. F. C. N. Crecq, who made no Luritation because C. Crecq died in his Centourship. For all Claudius was delivered up to the Coriscans, and then executed as a Mafco-factor, yet the Barbarians could not by any means be prevailed on, that the Roman was afterward was just against them. Their minds therefore being aggrieved with the memory thereof were easily tempted to break out in arms, in imitation of their neighbour Island Sardina. For the Carthaginians by secret promises had incited the Sardiniens to Rebellion, who readily entertained the motion, as not too much hating their old Masters, not loving their new ones. This news being brought to Rome, filled the City both with fear and indignation, not that they much regarded Sardina, but because they perceived the Carthaginian war would break out again; which because they believed the sooner it was begun would prove the easier; (The Carthaginians having not well recovered themselves since the last war) they resolved to prepare themselves, and commence it as soon as might be. The Carthaginians, willing at that time to endure any thing rather then a Roman war, were hereupon so terrified, that having once and again sent Embassadors in vain, they did at length lend ten of their Prime Nobility, most humbly entreating, That they might enjoy the Peace they had obtained. Nevertheless they could not receive any mild Answere; till Hannus the youngest among the Embassadors, but of a daunted mind, and a free tongue, replied, If you are prompterly determined to deny that Peace which we have bought, not for a year or two, but for ever, at least restore our price we gave you, Sicily and Sardina: In private contracts we have no mans part, when the bargain is made void, to receive his Commodities back, and not return the money laid down for them. Then the Romans, being ashamed to feem the Authors of an unjust War, dismissed the Embassadors with a better Answere. So one of this yeares Consuls C. Asiarius A. F. A. N. Bulbus (now the second time Consul) remained in Italy, the other, T. Meurzus, T. F. T. N. went according to his lot into Sardina. He, in many places encountering the Enemy with good successes, appealed the whole Island, subdued the Sardiniens, and triumphed over them the sixth of the Ides of March.

Thefe thinges being accomplished, and the Roman Armies laid down, as having no Enemy, the Temple of Jannus was shut; an unusuall night in Rome, and not seen, after the days of Numae, for the space of about four hundred and forty years. In which respect I account the City of Rome very unhappy, that being perpetually employ'd in great and difficult labours, could never obtain the fruits thereof. For, whereas no wife man wagg'd war but to procure Peace, this City after so many and great warres happily finisht; sometimes could not obtain; but never could long keep Peace. For even then new Rumours of War, after a few moneths, were heard of
of, which bereaved them of the sweetness of that Peace, which they had scarce well tasted of. The Sardinians, who had lately been subdued, showed not the yoke, and the Corsicans broke out in Rebellion, and the Ligurians raised Tumults, even in Italy it selfe. Therefore L. Pothinus A.F. A.N. Albinius and Sp. Carvilius Sp. F. C.N. Maximus being Consuls had order to levy new Armies, which being disposed of in three bodies to prevent the enemies from helping one the other. L. Pothinus afflicted the Ligurians, Sp. Carvilius the Corsicans, and P. Carvilius was design'd for Sardinia. This hand being of a very unwholesome sort afflicted his Army with the Plague and other diseases, whereby many mortals with the Pretor also himself perished. Hereupon the Sardinians grew bold and high, but were soon quelled after the arrival of Sp. Carvilius in a great feat battel; the Consuls were likewise subdued by him. For which exploit it was decreed he should Triumph, as he did on the Calends of April, in Liguria C. Capitol. Column. Zonaras.

For his like wise affairs succeeded well by the management of the other Consul with his Army. At Rome Titus one of the Vejall Virgins was condemned of Incest which she had boldly committed with a slave, flew her self with her own hands. After this C. Artius A.F. A.N. Bulo. Zonaras.

A. Pothinus A.F. L.N. Albinius being Censors, made the fortieth Lustration. This probable the number of Citizens was this year left then hereofore (though I find not the number recorded) because the Ce nor, in order to the encrease of Citizens, compelled every man to swear, That he would marry for the Procration of children. This year Cn. Nevius a Campanian who had receiv'd pay in the Carthaginian war, did first add Fables to his Scenes. In the mean time the Ligurians and Sardinians again rebelling, were allotted Provinces to the new Consul; M. Pomponius M.F. M.N. Matto the Sardinian; whereas it was reported, That the Carthaginians were the cause of this commotion, by private messengers stirring up the Barbarians to Rebellion. There were Embassadors sent to Carthage with very harfth instructions, To require the tribute due, to command them to abstain from all Islands under the Roman Jurisdiction, adding threats of war unless they performed what was required at their hands.

The Carthaginians had now since their former calamities gathered strength and courage, chiefly by the industry of Hamilcar, who did not only reduce those who had revolted in Africa, but had farther extended the Empire: They had likewise by his conduct acquired great Dominions in Spain. Wherefore they answered the Embassadors roughly enough to all particulars; but then, when they, according to their instructions, propounded to the Carthaginians a Spear and a Caduceus, offering them their choice of which they pleased, they answered, That they would choose neither, but would accept of what sooner the Legates should think fit to leave behind. Henceforward a cruel hatred began to burn between these two people, but neither party being willing yet to commence the war, they continued in a flew of friendship, rather because they did not fight, then that the peace was kept.

Both the Consuls, returning to Rome and declaring what they had done, obtained leave to Triumph. Q. Fabius had slain many Ligurians in battel, and had compelled the rest to contain themselves upon the Alpes, and made the skirts of Italy secure from their plunderings. He Triumphed over the Ligurians on the Calends of February. Upon the Ises of March afterwards M. Pomponius Triumphed over the Sardinians, whom he had overcame. Nevertheless the Sardinians did not abstain from War, but being by their looses rather incendi'd then broken, they renewed the Rebellion with much greater strength. Therefore both the Consuls, M. Amilius M.F. M.N. Lepidus and M. Publicus L.F. L.N. Multuscol were sent into Sardinia: they gathered together great store of plunder and spoil in that Island, which when they carried with them into Corsica they utterly loft, the hands there taking it from them. At home likewise there were very vehement tumults at this time, for C. Flamininus Tribune of the people propounding an Agrarian Law, That the Piceni and Gallick grounds which belonged to the Senators should be equally divided amongst the people. The Senate opposed it, and not being able to persuade the Tribune by entreaties or threats, at length gave order to the Magistrates to raise an Army for defence of the Commonwealth; Flamininus could not yet be drawn from his resolution, obstinate against all force, and inexorably by intraties. His father likewise admonish'd him, To submit himself to the will of the Senate, and not be esteemed an author of sedition. But he still perishing in his design, called an Assembly, intending to recite the Law. But then his father Flamininus in grief and anger came to the Pulpit, and taking his ban by the hand pulled him away.

A wonderful Example was there shown with what Piety and Reverence all men held esteem of the power of a Father: For he who had contemned the indignation and cruel threats of the whole Senate, now in the heat of work, in the view of all the Roman people, to whom the Constituition of Law would have been most acceptable, suffered himself by the hand of one only old man to be drawn down from the higher place. The Modesty of the Assembly in this business is not to be forgotten, who though they saw all their hopes frustrated by the Tribune's departure, did not by the least murmure signify their discontent at his fathers action. But the Law was by this means rather deferred then avoided. C. Carvilius the other Tribune affilling his Colleague, this as it caused corruption of manners amongst the Commons, so it gave beginning to that most grievous Gallick war which broke out the eighth year after the division of the grounds.
After this, M. Pompianus M. F. M. N. Maecenas, and C. Papirius C. F. L. N. Mafa, being Consuls, had for their Provinces M. Pompianus Sardinia, and C. Papirius Corsica. In both places the Enemies gave back, betraying themselves into woods and craggy Mountains, defending themselves more by the incursions of Places than by Armies. Therefore M. Pompianus seeing it more hard to find the Enemy, then to overcame him, caused hounds to be brought out of Italy, who by their scent conducted him to the men, whom he surprised like wild beasts in their dens, and kennels. C. Papirius, having overcome the Corsicans, pursued them into the mountains, where both his labour and danger was very great, and many of his fowlers perished either by thirft, or by the sudden incursions of the Enemy, till having found water and refresh'd his Army, the Corsicans fearing the Issue heartened to the Consuls counsel of submitting themselves.

While the Consuls were detained by these Employments, a General Assembly was called by M. Dullius, M. F. C. M. N. who was made Dictator for that purpose; he nominated C. Arruinus L. F. C. N. Cotta for Master of the Horse; there were likewise Centours T. Maglus T. F. N. Torquatus, Q. Fulviaus C. F. Q N. Flaccus, but being not Legitimately made, they resigned up their office. Writers due to this year assigne the Original of a new Cufome, not unworthly to be mentioned. There had been no divorce from the beginning of the City to this time, Sp. Carvius Ringa's first of all dismissed his wife because she was barren, being by the Cenfours bound in Oath, to Marry a Wife for propagation of Children. The people were much displeased not so much at the Novelty as cruelty of the things, for wives being join'd in a perpetual society of life, they thought it unjust and inhumane for any cause whatsoever to repudiate them. They likewise ever after hated Sp. Carvius though he was of necessity compell'd by the judgment of his friends to dismiss his wife who was much beloved by him, and very agreeable in her Manners. From this time there was more knots in the Law, and more suits in the Preterous Courts, then being invented the Marriage Cautions, of which cunning there was no need before Divorces were in use. This year likewise began a new custom concerning the Honours of their Generals, C. Papirius pervinghimself he had performed Actions worthy of a Triumph (having now at length firmly fetled Cefar) and being denied that honour by the Senate, he did toward the End of his Consulship make a Triumph in Mount Albion on the third of the Nones of March. It pleased many to imitate this Example when they were denied a Triumph to make one in the Alban Mount, henceforward he was present at all sports in a mistle Crown in memory of the Action, that he had overcame the Enemy in the Mistle Fields.

All things being at quiet in Sardinia and Corsica, the Ligurians still hold out, against whom were sent M. Aimitus L. F. Q N. Barbula and M. Jugius D. F. D. N. Pers, then Consulls. They, in their March understanding that the Gauls began to hirife, entred the Territories with the Army. For they being much provok'd by the Flaminian Law, the Romans feared they being Warlike, and angry men, they shou'd rise any Commotions; it was therefore forbidden by the Magistrates to accommodate any Gaule with Gold or Silver; for the Boians, and other Gauls by selling their slaves and other Commodities had gather'd a great bank of Money, and a sufpcicion was rais'd, that it was for a Roman War. Wherefore being more incendi, 'tis said that they understanding the Consulls were design'd for Liguria, did in private meetings conclude, while the Roman Armies were far abroad, to March up to and assault the City it selfe. But, being terrify'd with the coming of the Consulls, and not prepar'd to make head against them, they entertained the Romans with all shew of Peace and friendship, and counterfeit Respects. The Consulls likewise being contented they had prevented the War, fain'd another cause of their coming thither; that through the Gallick Territories they might have no more commotions march to Liguria. The last year the Cenfours renounced the Office; This year therefore Q Fabius Q F. Q N. Maximus Verresus, and M. Symonius C. F. M. N. Tuditanus made the one and Fourthie Lustration, While these things are acting in Italy and Rome, a new war was occasioned with the Illyrians upon their ground. The Illyrians exercising Pyracy, a cruel and greedy kind of theft, had taken many Italian Merchants coming out of the Haven of Brundifum and had flain some; at the firft the Senate hearing this, among other complaints, did not much regard it. But the Pirates boldness increas'd by their impunity, and complaints more frequently and earnestly made unto them, they thought fit to send Embassadors, to demand satisfaction; as also to plead the Illyrians cause who had lately committ'd themselves to the faith of the Romans, for they inhabiting an Island in the Sconian seas, were daily protecu'd with all manner of injuries by the Illyrians, from whom they had revol'ted. C. & L. Cornuncius were sent on this Errand: While they were in their journey, Agren (the son of Plocratus) King of the Illyrians, called Ardesi, to whom their message was direct'd, departed this life leaving a fon under age, by name Pindus, and the Kingdom was governed by Teuta, Step-mother to the young Prince, with the advice of her friends: she being proud, and puff'd up with Prosperity, having given Audience to the Roman Embassadors with some contempt, answer'd, That she would take care that the Romans should receive no public injury from the Illyrians; but that it was not the custom of the Illyrian Kings, to prohibit private persons from making what gain they could by sea. Cornuncius the younger could not refrain his anger at this arrogant speech but using an unpleasing liberty, though not unjust, replied, But 'tis a custom with the Romans, Teuta, to profess private wrongs with publl
In place of Livie's Nineteenth Book.

lick vengeance, and relieve the injured party; and we will endeavour by the assistance of the gods, to compel you gladly and quickly to mind and reform your Kingly Customs. The woman was a

bove measure offended at these words, but, for the present, dissembling her mind, when the Em-

bassadors were departed, sent some Pirates after them, who flew Coruncanim the younger with a

part of his Retinue, burnt the Governors of ships with fire, and clapt the rest in chains. Co-

temporously also the Embassador of the Iffrans was slain by the same Pirates.

The Romans undertaking these things, did erect statues of three foot long in honour of

Coruncanim the younger, and P. Junius, and decreed war against Teuta and the Illyrians. Teu-

ta, ignorant in government, having not learnt either by Reason or Cultume to correct the Vi-

ces of her Femenine wit, behaved herself as timorous in bearing the anger of others, as she

had been headlong in provoking it. Having therefore intelligence that a war was preparing against

her, she promised, to restore those who were living, as for the dead, whom the Pirate had slain

without her command, to lay not in her power to restore them. This Embassage (though it of-

fered little satisfaction for so great injuries, yet because the Romans hoped to compose the Illy-

rian broils without a war) was entertained, only they required, That those who flew the Em-

bassadors should be delivered up to them.

The woman seeing the war, she so much feared, to be deferred, out of the lightness of her

mind returned from fear to fear her former insolence, denying to deliver up any one, and that she

might confirm her words with as much fierceness in action, rendeth forces prettily to besiege

Ifæa. Whereupon the Romans thought fit to make no more delay, but sent both the Consuls

thither with land and sea forces; the Consuls were L. Pothumius, A.F. A. N. Albinius, and

Cn. Fulvius Cn. F. Cn. N. Centumalus. Cn. Fulvius had the command of the Navy consist-

ling of two hundred ships; L. Pothumius was General of the Legions. Then again Teuta,

being terrified, sent Demetrius Pharon to the Consuls to crave Peace. And they agreed upon a

Truce, In case the Illyrians would quit Corcyra which they had lately possessed. The Romans

being gone to take in Corcyra, Teuta, as if all fear were now far from her doors, returned to

her former councils, and sent Deputies to besiege Dyrrachium and Apollonia. Others re-

port, That Corcyra was not surrendered to the Consent of Teuta, but by the private design of

Demetrius, who, knowing that he was secretly accused of some crimes before Teuta, thought by

betraying that place he was Governor of, to find a sure refuge and pretension amongst the Romans

to gain her fury.

The Illyrian Garrison was no sooner surrendered, but the Corcyrians by publick consent sub-

mitted themselves to the Romans, feeing no other means left for their safety, but to be pro-

tected against the inquiet of the Illyrians by the power of so illustrious a City. From Cor-

cyra the Consul failed to Apollonia, where he met L. Pothumius having wafted over his Army

from Brundajium, which consisteth of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse. The

Apoliottians greedily entertained the Romans, and committed their Faith. This being relieved they went to Dyrrachium, which prettily became the Romans: The Illyrians who had begun the siege thereof, running away for fear upon the first intelligence of the Con-

sol's coming. With the same half also the Ardyaxi were forced into subjection, and Embassa-

dors came from divers Nations of the farthest Illyrians with promise, To obey their commands

if they might be admitted into Friendship; in which number were the Parthi and Antinates,

Demetrius Pharon was a great help and furtherance in these Achievements, for being carried

up and down with the Consuls, he extolled the Strength and Integrity of the Romans, accused

the Rahlues and Inconstancy of Teuta; and some by reason and counsel, others by his au-

thority he persuaded into a Society and confederacy with the Romans. After this they cleared

their course to Ifæa, and in theirpaffage landing at many places, they took most Towns with

out any great difficulty. Nutria was stoutly defended by the Illyrians, and cost much blood

before it was taken, some Collonels also and a Quelfor being slain there. The Romans grieved

for this was the lessor because they surprised twenty Vessels coming from Peloponnesus with mo-

ney and great spoil. When they were come to Ifæa it happened as it had done at Dyrrachium:

the siege was prettily raised upon the approach of the Roman Navy: The Barbarians flying

this way and that way into several places, except only the Tharian, who for Demetrius sake,

with the safety both of body and goods, were received into protection, forasmuch as he was

born in the same land, and had the Government of it under King Agron. The news of these
did diversely affect the infulable mind of Teuta, sometimes dejected with fear, sometimes again

very confident, as the considered the occasion. For as she was pleased with fear when she

remembered so many Towns taken and demolished, that the sea coasts were plunder'd and walled,

that the Illyrians every where turned back and fled: On the other side she was encouraged at

the loucnes of the Nutrines, and her hopes encreased considering Winter drew nigh,

and that the Romans for fear of storms would suddenly depart; wherefore with a small

Retinue she retirèd to Rhizon intuate upon a River of the same name, expecting what remedy

she would afford.

Her vain opinion was confirmed by the actions of the Consuls, who having committed to the

Government of Demetrius the greater part of the Country they had taken, retirèd to Dyrrachium with the Navy and Army. But when the saw that L. Pothumius stayed behind

with forty ships, and leaved an Army out of the Neighbour Cities to protect the Ardyaxi.
and other Illyrians who had revolted to the Romans, then Tenta began utterly to despair and thought of buying her peace upon any conditions whatsoever. At the beginning of the spring therefore the sent Embassadors to Rome, excusing what was past as being done by the Command of Agron whose Acts it was necessary for her to maintain. The Romans granted peace, not to her, who had no proper power of administering affairs, neither had deferred any favour at their hands, but to Pinnaeus the son of Agron, on these conditions, That he should duly pay what tribute was imposed on him, that he should quit all Illyrium, some few places excepted, that he should not sail beyond Liffus with above two Boats, and those unarmed. By this peace Coreya, Phars. Ilba, Dyrrachium and the Afintanes became wholly the Romans; what else was under Agron his jurisdiction being left to Pinnaeus. Tenta either for shame or by the command of the Romans left off the Government of the Realm, which Deurtricius undertook under the name of Protector.

Thus being ended the Illyrian Quarrel, and the Limits of the Roman Empire extended even to Greece, the Commonwealth on the other hand was perplexed, for the Gauls were ready to rife up in Arms, and the Carthaginians power did mightily encrease in Spain, which could not be established without great danger to the Romans, Hafdrubal the Son-in-law and successor of Hamilcar, having revenged the death of his Father-in-law, did, partly by Arms, but more frequently by his Wisdom and Eloquence, wherein he excelled, reduce many Nations to the Carthagian subjection; and built another Carthage called the New, in a gulf of the sea by a most commodious Haven. But the Gallick affairs being of nearer concernment, hindered for the present their designes against the Carthaginians: They endeavoured therefore to fip the proceedings of the Gauls by leagues and Covenants; They sent likewise Embassadors to Carthage and to Hafdrubal, warning them, To contain themselves beyond the River Iberus, and permit the Saguntines to enjoy their liberty, and live according to their own Laws. These things happened in the year when Sp. Carolini Sp. F. Cn. N. Maximus and Q. Fabius Q. N. Maximus Verrucos were again Consuls. About the same time L. Publ. Proconful, who wittered in Illyrion, sent Embassadors from Coreya to the Eotolians and Achazians, declaring what he had done, For what causes the war was undertaken, with what success managed, and upon what conditions finished. They were kindly entertained forasmuch as those Nations and all other the Grecians did vehemently hate the Illyrians by reason of the continual Pyracies exercised by them under Agron and Tenta.

The Senate hearing this, did allow of what the Proconful had done, and moreover decreed another Embassador in the name of the Commonwealth, to the Corinthians and Athenians declaring, The people of Rome good affections toward them, and their equity toward all men. For the Romans purchased great good will amongst those people, and the Corinthians forthwith decreed this honour to the people of Rome, granting them the Patrons in the Ithamian Games, which was one of the former ancient solemnities in Greece. They were chiefly moved hereunto because the Romans had set at liberty, as Apollonia and other Grecian Cities, so Coreya likewise, which was a Colonie of the Corinthians; the Athenians also embraced the Roman Society, and decreed, They should have the liberty of the City of Athens, and of the Eleusinian Mysteries. In the mean time Cn. Fulvius Proconful made a Naval Triumph over the Illyrians on the Calends of Quinuvaltis, and beheaded the Illyrian Nobles whom he led in Triumph. This was the first Triumph over the Illyrians.

The next year P. Valerius L. F. M. N. Falceus, and M. Asilliis M. F. M. N. Regulus being Consuls, the number of Pretors was doubled, and they thought fit to create four that they might send some with command into Sicily and Sardinia. Amongst these M. Valerius was Pretor of Sardinia and Coreia, C. Flaminius of Sicily. At this time there was very great fear of a Gallick war, for twas reported that the Boians and Infubrians confounded not only one with the other, but with the Tranlapine people, and had hired a great strength of Mercenaries of the Gauls a people of Gallia. They used therefore not only ordinary remedies against this evil, but such as a severe judge would by no means excuse, but that the love of one Country makes some things pardonable in themselves are horrid. For when besides other prodigies they were terrified with them, they found in the Sybills books, That the Gauls and Grecians should one day possess the City of Rome; That they might by craft avert the threats of the Prediction, by the advice of the Priests, they buried alive two Gauls, of each sex one, and likewise two Grecians a man and a woman, in the Beef-marketer, that so they poffessing part of the City, might seem to have fulfilled the Prophecy. This was done when M. Valerius M. F. M. N. Masilla and L. Asilliis L. F. C. N. Fulvus were Consuls. This year, amongst other no considerable occurrences, was most of it spent in making preparation for the Gallick War. There was raised a most incredible number both of horse and foot, toward this war all Italy in generaloying with the Romans. Q. Fabius the Hiforian, who was preemt at the transference of these affairs, reports, There were in arms eight hundred thousand men. That the number of the Romans and Campanians amounted to the number of two hundred forty eight thousand and two hundred footmen, and six and twenty thousand and six hundred horsemen. All the other multitude were Italians. The Veneti alfo and Cenomanni afforded the Romans the help of twenty thousand men, who by frequent alarms and incursions might compell the neighbourings Boians to tarry to the defense of their own Countrey, and not join themselves with the other forces of the
the Enemy, because they refused to hearken to Terme's Peace which the Romans proposed.

For the Veneti and Cenomani being persuaded to renew friendship with Rome, the Insubrians strab.b.s and Boians persisted in Holitiy; nevertheless their strength was not great, their Kings not daring to lead out all their armed men; but being forced to leave some at home to defend their Countrys, with the rest (to wit, fifty thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Horse) they began their march through Etruria towards Rome.

In the mean time L. Atilius, Q. F. Cn. N. Papus, & C. Atius M. F. M. N. had Sar-dinia and Ariminum, with the adjoining Gaules for their Provinces. For the Sardiniens being aggrieved at the perpetual presence of a Praetor, with his Virges and Signes of Authority, did again move Tumults, but C. Atius the Consull soon quieted them without any great difficulty. L. Atilius had more to do with the Gaules, having broken through Etruria, and marching to Rome. The Praetour of Etruria being not able to hinder their passage, overtook them at Clusium, and late in the Evening planted his Camp not farre from them. The Gaules invented a stratagem whereby to entice the Romans out to battell. In the dead of the night they marched with all their Foot to Fesula, leaving the Horse behind with instruction, at break of day only to shew themselves to the Enemy, and presently betake themselves to the Foot Army, where should be reception for them in a convenient Camp, from whence likewise they would on the sudden charge the Romans unawares.

The Romans were hereby deceived, and purfied the horse as if they had fled, and about Fesula were received by the Enemy, fresh and ready prepared, being themselves weary and void of Counsell, as in an occurence not foreseen by them: Their only course was either by flight to defend themselves, or to fell their bloods at a dear rate: But the Gaules exceeding in number, besides other advantages, slew of the Romans six thousand upon the place, and put the rest to flight. The Gaules endeavouring to take a fenced place upon an hill, (whether the greater part of them which fled had betaken themselves) finding their strength to fail with their last nights march, the daysy fight, retired to cure and refresh their bodies, leaving a party of horse to besiege the hill, not doubting to reduce it into their power the next day, either by force or composition. In this very nick of time came L. Atilus, rather to be wished for, then upon any reasonable ground expected. For upon the first news of the Gaules setting forward, he was sent to Arimi-num, to defend the Coasts upon the Adriatick shore, but hearing their intention was to march to Rome, he marched by very many journeys from Ariminum, and by good luck came to this very place, and pitched his Camp not farre distant from the Enemy. The Belied seeing fires in the night time from that part, judging, as was true, that the Roman Army was sent out some of their men unarmed, that they might the easier pass the Enemies Guards. The Consull by them understanding the state of Affairs, without any long deliberation, which the time would not permit, at break of day set forward with his horse to the Hilllock, giving order to the Tri-bunes to follow him with the Legions. The Gaules likewise were surprised by the same fires, that the Romans were come, and entered into counsell concerning the present affairs. King Antroclus advised, that they should not encounter the Enemy, now their soldiers were laden with rich spoils, but to return home, and lay aside their plunder, and then, if occasion were given of fighting, to return empty and nimble. Every one approving the counsell, they departed before morning, taking their journey through Etruria, by the sea side. L. Atilius having taken in whole who fled to the hill, and having intelligence of the Enemies march, would not fight him in a fet battell, but resolved to follow them, laying hold of what opportunity time should afford.

In this conjuncture of Affairs fortune once more dispensed an unexpefted accident. The other Consull C. Atius arriving at Pisa from Sardinia, and there landing his Army, marched toward Rome along the very famous Etrurian shore where the Gaules were returning. Near Telamom a Port of Etruria, the Scouts of each Army first met one the other, and the Consull by some Prisoners who were brought to him, understanding of the Gaules march, and his Col-leagues following them wondered at so un-usual a chance, and being confident of Victory, having the Enemy couped between two Confular Armies, gave order to the Colonels, to array the Army as well as the ground would permit, and lead their Regiments in a figure body, and a flow march. Himself observing a piece of high ground, opportunely overlooking the way the Gaules must of necessity pass, set forward with a Party of horse to prepossess it. For he made what haste he could to fight the Enemy, being assured, if he were any thing worsted, to be relieved by his Colleague, if his undertaking succeeded, to carry away the chief glory of the Victory. The Gaules seeing a troop of Enemies in the higher grounds, conjecturing it was a party of horse, went round about in the night time by Atilius, went out likewise some of their own horse, with the allusion of some light armed men, to open the passage. But being informed that the other Consull was come, he was forced to array and marshall his foot, with their faces each way toward the Enemy, having in the middle their backs joyned one to the other: For they saw C. Atius before them, and well knew that L. Atilus followed them behind. Against L. Atilus they placed the Transalpine Mercenaries, in the front (who from their weapons are denominated Sjatia) behind they, for a refuge were the Insubrians. Against Atius were opposed the Taufians and Boians. The Wagons and Carriages were placed as a ramshackle about each Wing: all their plunder, with a sufficient guard, was laid aside upon a neighbouring hill.
The fight was now begun at that hill which C. Attilius had posseted, whereby L. Aemilius conjectured that his Colleague was there, of whose journey he knew nothing certain, only he heard that he was arrived at Pise. Taking Counsel therefore on a sudden he commanded some of his own horse to ride to the place of fight. There the horse on both sides had a very hot encounter wherein C. Attilius the Conful was slain, and his head carried to the Gallick Kings: At length the Romans fighting with all might and main, kept the place, and repulsed the enemy. The Horie-fight being thus managed the Foot charged each the other. There was to be seen a very terrible encounter, as for the number & strength of both parties, so for the strange ordering of the Battel; for the Gauls being included between twoRoman Armies turned their faces on each side to battle; it being very doubtful whether this posture were a greater advantage to them, in that (having to deal with two enemies) they kept their Rear secure, and were of necessity compelled to stand to it having no way to flee; or that it were a greater disadvantage to be hemmed in by two Confular Armies. But the Romans were partly terrified with the very aspect of the men who stood in the front, with fierce countenances and valt bodies; partly encouraged not only with the sweetneffe of praise, but of plunder also, for among the former ranks of the Gaules there was not a man, but glistered with golden bracelets and arm ferrings.

The fight being begun, the light armed men made a great slaughter of the Enemy, especially where the Gaetae stood, who in a barbarous orientation had hung away their garments and fought naked in the front. For the Gallick shields being long and narrow not able to cover the whole body, they stood like so many spears exposed to the Roman darts: and they fell without revenge, being not able to strike the enemy, not to come to pel-mel with light armed men. Wherefore growing desperate some running rafhly upon the enemy were killed with darts before they could come to handy-fights; others by degrees retiring backward disordered their own Battel. The Gaete being thus vanquished by the light-armed men, the compleat-armed did on every side charge the Boians, Infubrians, and Taureians and flew a great number; nevertheless the enemy fight with resolute minds, being in nothing inferior but in their weapons; for neither did their shields defend their bodies, neither did their swords much offend the Romans, for being made only to hack and how they had no good points; they were likewise made crooked at the first blow, and unlike for a second, unless they be straightned againe by your foot on the ground. The Romans having already the better, were affured of the victory by the returne of the horfe, who, having put the Gallick horse to flight, riding down the hill made an impression upon the flank of the enemy, so much the more irresistible coming from the higher ground. After this manner Polibius dibiereth the Battel of the Gaules in Erruria; from whome others with little reason do differ. For who can easily believe, that the Gaules were compelled by a tempt to fly in the night time fearing the anger of the Gods? And that C. Attilius letting upon their Rear were at a distance from them? that afterward, each party for some dayes kept within their defences. C. Attilius fought happily with them? neither are they any more to be credited, who relate the Battel as fought, not on the sea Coasts, but, in the Aretine Territories. There is no question made but that forty thousand Gauls were then slain, little leffe then ten thousand taken, with Concalius one of their Kings: the other King Ancreatus who was of greater reputation for power and courage, escaping with a small company, in his flight cut the throats of all his Kindred and his own also. There was great plunder found, whic the Conful causeth to be reserved to those from whom it was at first taken, every mantoowning his own goods. Then marching with his own Army and that of Attilius, through Liguria into the Boians Country he gave it in plunder to his soldiars as a reward of their pains taken, and they in a few dayes being sufficiently laden with spoils, he returned to Rome, to the greater joy of all, because the war was formidable. Scarce any mans Triumph was ever so much celebrated with acclamations of the people; being otherwise of it self very gallant and memorable as for the glory of his noble performances, so for the number of the Captives and the worth of the spoils. There were many military Ensignes, and abundance of gold Chains and Bracelets, the ornaments of valiant men amongst the Gauls. But all mens eyes were chiefly intended upon Britomartus and the other Gallick Princes, whom Attilius by way of scoff led girt and armed into the Capitol, as if thereby he tooke care they should fulfill the vow they had made, Never to unloose their girdles or Belts, till they had ascended the Capitol. L. Aemilius made this Triumph over the Gaules on the third of the None of March. This year was made the one and fortieth Lustration by the Cenforis, Q. Claudius Ap. F. C. N. Cenfus and M. Junius D. F. D. N. Pera. The fear of the Gallick war was over, but the desire of revenge remained, and both the next year Confuls had Gallia for their Province; the Confuls were T. Manlius T. F. N. Torquatus and Q. Fulvius M. F. D. N. Flaccus again. The people chearfully decreed them Armies and whatsoever accommodation belonged to the Commencing or prosecuting a War. For it was hoped, that after so great a victory, they might easily drive away the Gauls from about the Po if they minded their busines. The Confuls being gone with their Armies presently terrified the Boians into submission, their expedition afterwards was not so quick by reason of the Pellifience and so many thours which fell. Others affirm, That these Confuls crossed the Po, and in a fast battel overcame the Infubrians, that they slew three and twenty thousand and took five thousand. But I rather follow the authority of Polibius in these affairs.
In the mean time because the Consuls being in a far Country, and were hindered either by action, or by showers, so that they could not return to the general Assembly: Lucullus L. F. C.N. M. Fabius M. F. N. Brutus, by the Assembly, and Flamininus C. F. N. and P. Furius S. F. M. N. Philus were made Consuls. These as I think were the first Romans, who making an invasion into the Infubrians Country, crossed the Po with their Army, where the River Padua fell, into the Po.

This boldness cost them much labour and some blood; for in their paffes over the River, and while they pitched their Camps, the enemy fiercely falling in upon them slew a considerable number. The Romans trouble and care upon this News, was mightily encreased by many Prodigies related, as that in the Picenian Territories, a River ran blood, that in Tauria the skin was seen to burn, that at Ariminum in the night time light appeared, and three Moons were seen at the same time, also a Vulture was said to find many days together in the Forum at Rome. For though about the same time Caria was shaken with an Earthquake, and the Rhodian Colossus fell down, these things were not thought to concern the Romans at all: Concerning the other Prodigies the Augurs being asked their advice, answered that the Consuls were not visibly chosen, whereupon letters were sent after them to recall them back to the City. In the mean time the Consuls having made a Truce, had quitted the Infubrians Country, and afterward having raised ranked Auxiliaries in the Country of the Cenomani, had again began to infest the grounds lying under the Alps, whereupon the Infubrians enraged with anger, carried into the field the golden enigmas (out of the Temple of Minerva) which were called Immoveable, because it was not lawful to stir them but in the time of Extrem Necessity; and had now met the Romans with an Army of fifty thousand men, ready to enter battle. At this very time came the letters from the Senate, C. Flamininus either guelling at the subsistance of the letters, or being pre-informed by his friends, perfwaded his Colleague, not to open them before battle.

Being resolved to fight, they confulted about their Mercenary Gaules, lest if they were neglectful, they might have cause to quarrel; and if admitted to the fight, they might have occasion of using harm. For they feared their incivility, especially fighting against Neighbours and Kindred. At last they thought fit to place them on the other side of the River, where the bridge being beaten down, they neither could do any harm to the Romans, nor have opportunity to fly, but to trull in their courage. After a sharp dispute the Romans obtained the Victory, to the greater praise of the Tribunes than the Consuls. For C. Flamininus had ordered the Battel near the brink of the River, that there was no space left to receive the Troupes in case they had been forced to retire; which without doubt would have proved the ruine of the whole Army. But the Tribunes having had experience by former battles, that all the Gallic Valour consisteth in the first charge, which is very long but short, and if the brunt of it be once borne, there is more to be feared from them; did divide the spears or the Truppions among the first ranks, that with them they might receive the first onfer, and afterward flinging them away, draw their Swords when the fight began; the Gallic Swords were prettily blunt, and made crooked at the first stroke upon the spears, and while they were busy in making them straight, the Romans advancing with their drawing Rapiers, took from them the use of their Weapons: For this inconvenience is in the Gallic Swords, that being made only to hack, some time is required in lifting up the hand, and preparing for the strokes which if it be denied, they are of no use: But the Romans thrilling with the point could do their business in a moment, and so prefiling forward to the bodies of the enemies, they did securely thrull them into the face and breasts.

It is reported that nine thousand Gaules were slain, and double the number taken. After the Victory, they spoiled the grounds round about, and gathered much Plunder. Then at length they thought fit to read the Senators letters, the contents whereof Philipus was ready to obey: But C. Flamininus insisted, that this was the duty of some Senators, and not the office of the Prefiaces; whereof there could be no more certain argument, then the Victory they had obtained; he said also he would not return till either the War was finished, or his Magistracy expired: adding moreover, that he would cause the Romans to leave off the foolish observation of Anguries, and his other superstitions. Nevertheless P. Furius perilling in his resolution, the Army of Flamininus, fearing that after his departure they should not be so safe in the enemies Country, perforce did him to carry for some few days; but he did utterly abstain from all actions, Flamininus taking in the mean time some Gaules, as also a City of no small renown among those people. The spoiles he gave to his friends, to prepare their minds for his defence in that quarrel he knew would arise between him and the Senate. This City indeed was so moved with indignation, that none went out according to the cullome to meet the Consuls, and not only Flamininus but for his fake Philipus also was denied the honour of Triumph. At length Flamininus by the peoples favour entred the City triumphing on the fourth of the Ides of March. Many rich spoiles were to be seen in that Triumph: Great store of Arms, and chains of Gold out of which Flamininus dedicated a Token of Victory to Jupiter in the Capitolium, inverting the Gallic Vow, who had promised out of the Romans spoiles to dedicate a Chain to Mars. Afterward the other Consul triumphed over the Gauls, and the Figurians on the fourth of the Ides of March. The Senators ill being hereby rather intended then overcome, did not
not cease till they were both forced to disdain this their second Triumph: about the same time, by the like severity, two very eminent persons were deprived of their Priesthood, M. Corneius Cæcrops, because he had not aught laid open the Entrails, and Q. Sulpicius, because in the time of sacrifice his cap fell from his head. When thefe Confuls time was out, the Assembly was held by an Interrex, where M. Claudius M. F. M. N. M. Aurelius being made Confusl, was assumed for his Colleague C. Cornelius, L. F. L. N. Scipio Calvis. These Confusl denied Peace to the Infubrians though they petitioned for it, M. Marcellus chiefly refusing all Conditions, out of his desire to Triumph. And the Gauls themselves seemed to meditate war rather than Peace, for having a new hired thirty thousand Gæatae, and overcome the Alps, they had gathered together a far greater number of Infubrians.

The war being thus begun, the Confusl set out in the beginning of the spring, and besieged Acerræ, between Po and the Alps. It seeming difficult to drive the Romans from the siege, Britomartus with ten thousand Gæatae, resolved to go forth, and wafe the Regions about Po, which the Confusl understanding, so divided their forces. That Cn. Cornelius might with part of the Army prosecute the siege, while Marcellus with two thirds of the Horæ, and a choice company of light armed men, went about to succour and defend their Affociates. Having chosen the lightest and nimblest, not above fix hundred, with these and his Horæ he marched day and night toward the Enemy, whom having overtaken at Clastidium, he presently encountered before he could refresh his men, not of his own good will, but forced by the fury of the Gæatae, who being superior in number, and arrogating to themselves the mastery in horsemanship, hearing the Confusl had brought but few foot along with them, left off their siege of Clastidium, and forthwith purr'd on to crush Mr. Marcellus, having drawn out his battall at length, that he might not be encompassed by the multitude of his Enemies, marched forward to meet them. Their bodies were now not far at hand, when the Confusl intending to begin the Charge, his Horæ affrighted with the clamour and thots of the Gauls, flarted aside and carried him back. The Confusl fearing lest this accident being esteemed an ill Omen, should daunt the courage of his men, as his horse wheeled about he adored the Sun, as if he had turned about his Horæ for the same purpose; according to the antient custom, men using to turn themselves about when they worshipp'd the Gods. 'Tis reported, that before the first onset, he vowed to Jupiter Feretrix the fairest of the Enemies Armes; And presently spying Britomartus in the head of his Troops, his armour glittering with Gold and Silver, and other colours, he judged the to be the Armes which he had vowed. The King also, having seen the Roman Generall, advanced far before his men, and by voice and girture challenged him to Combat, M. Marcellus accepted, and immediately having run him through the breast-plate, wounded him with the speare, and with the force of his Horæ Carrying tumbling him to the ground, reiterating his Stroke, he drew him in the place, whereupon leaping off his horse, and holding the armes in his hands, he lift up his eyes to heaven, saying, Jupiter Feretrix, who beholdst the deeds of Valiant Commanders in battall! Behold, I the third Roman, as thy holy craft Wiltur. a General having slain a General of the Enemies, doe confracthe the Royall spoils unto thee: Doe then suffer our affairs prosperously to succeed even to the flush of the Wars. Marcellus taking horse again, they entered battall with all might and main, the Romans fighting most courageously; the Confusl's boldness and good Fortune having filled them with les noth with Valour for the Encounter, then with hopes of Victory. Wherefore neither the Gallic nor yet the Foot which came to their reliefe could endure the bruit: So that a few men, which is rarely seen, carried away the Victory from a numeros Army. The spoiles being gathered up, the Confusl returned to his Colleague, who having taken Acerræ where he found great store of Corne, being now about Mediolanum, had much ado to defend himselfe from the Enemy, for while he was busie in the siege of their strongest and mott populous City, the Metropolis of Infubria, they had as it were round besieged him with great multitudes: But Marcellus his approach quickly altered the Scene. For the Gæatae being informed of their Kings death, went away, and Mediolanum being by them forsaken, was not able to defend itselfe. So that many of the Infubrian forces being thain, Mediolanum, and after that Comum taken, the other Cities together with the whole Nation submitted themselves to the Romans, being fined in a summe of money, and part of their grounds, having otherwise good Conditions of Peace. M. Marcellus being returned home, made a most illustrious triumph over the Infubrian Gauls, and the Germans on the Calends of March. This is the first mention of the Germans in the Roman History, who being hired, came from the Nations beyond the Rhine, under the conduct of Fridrimrn their General, Thes and the Gallic Captives, men of vaft stature of body, with other rich spoiles were led before the Triumphant Charaitor. The Confusl followed, with the rarest spectacles, carrying the armes of the flain General to Jupiter Feretrix; after him marched his loudiers harnesed with glittering Armes, making thouts, and Military Acclamations. In this order being come to the Temple of Jupiter Feretrix, M. Marcellus descending from his Chariot; dedicated his Royall spoils to Jupiter, being the third after Romanus and M. Corneius Cæcrops, who had done so, and after him no man ever did the like. The people of Rome beheld these Armes with the greater pleasure, in that the Enemies were said to have vowed the Roman Armes to Vulcan. So great was the Joy of this Victory, that the Romans out of the spoiles, sent a Golden Cup to Apollo of Delphi, and of the Gallic Armes to their Aflociate Cities round about.
Demetrius observing what was done, took as good Counsel as in such a dangerous case could be; for declining the present skirmish, and calling his foilliers together, and that men, faith he, it appeared that our courage is formidable to the enemy; for, betaking themselves to stratagems, they declare little trust in their force of arms. They have made use of the night season to creep into this island, of which, if I be not deceived in you, they shall profess more, then what they can cover with their bodies having payed for it with their lives. Only you, my Country-men of Phocas, and young men of Illyricum, be mindful of your Country, of your honour, and make the Roman's know, 'twas neither their valor nor our cowardice, which gave them occasion once to Triumph at Rome over the Illyrians. It was not Polybius or PUBLIUS with all their Counsel and strength, but Teuta which conquered Illyrians by her raffiness and impotence of affections. And, to omit other things, ye are not ignorant, that at that time their victory had not been so easy, but that Teuta chose to have me rather her enemy then her Protector. But because I firmly trust to you, and the time requires rather deeds then words, I shall say no more. Ye have courage, ye have weapons, ye see the necessity, which is able to make a coward fight, danger is imminent both to your selves, and your Citee unless by your valor ye repel it. Let us on then and with happy fortune charge those men who are newly crept out of their hiding places: We shall do well enough with those who are landing; if we once overtake them, the others will fly to their ships; in greater haste then now they leave them.

Having thus for the time encouraged his men, he leads them on to charge those who were poofided of the Hill, and they as diligently ordering themselves sustained his charge, till they, who in the mean time had landed, coming upon his Reare utterly routed his whole body with great slaughter. Some few by flight escaped to the Town, others by blind paths flipp'd away. Demetrius who in certain by-places had botches ready prepared for all adventures getting aboard one of them fled to Philip King of Macedon, by whom being entertained, he did by flattery, and Tyranneous advice corrupt the young man's manners, which before were laudable, and likewise was author unto him of the Roman War and many other Calamities. After this fight Phocas was taken, and by the Conful's Command plunder'd and demolished. The Illyrian affairs being afterward settled to his own liking, the Conful now at the end of Summer returned to Rome to obtain his Triumph. In the narration of this War I have likewise chos'n to follow Polybius, being not ignorant that others attribute the glory of finishing this War to both the Confuls, who having summoned Demetrius to appear before them, did, upon default, War with him in the Hand of Asa by the same act as I have related, and then taking Phocas by Treachery removed him out of the Dominions. Concerning whole end likewise they differ from Polybius, who lived nearer those times and those places; but these things as being after this time I shall pass by. But the Romans, for King Philip his fake, whose wars declair'd him innocent of these deblignes, did spare the Illyrians, and renewed the league with him, with addition of some Articles. L. Aemilius made a new glorious Triumph over these people, and I find also that M. Licinius Triumphed for this War, but most writers mention it not; 'tis likely, because the performances of L. Paulus, being the more eminent, did obscure the glory of his Colleague.

More notable a while after was the judgment and condemnation of the same M. Livius. He and L. Paulus being out of Envy accused, That they had not equally distributed the spoils among the foilliers, but had converted many things to other uses, did undergo the sentence of the people. L. Paulus hardly escaped. M. Livius was condemned by all the Tribes except only the Octavian. Whilh disgrace and indignity he took so heavly, that departing the Citee, he avoided all meetings, till the Commonwealth's occasions recalled him to his former course of life. But these things happened in the Consulship of T. Cornelian Sefius and T. Sempronius Longus. But in the same year when M. Livius and Paulus were Consuls, one Archagathus the son of Lysanias came out of Persia to Rome, who professing Phrygic was made free of the Citee, endowed with all the privileges of a Roman, and had a shop bought for him at the Publick charge in the Acilian Street. A thing not so much worthy taking notice of, but that then first was the name of the Medicall faculty heard of and known at Rome; they having to this time preferred their healths by temperance and remedies not bought. In the same Consul's time Colonies were dedicated to Plocenia and Cremona in the Gallick Territories, Being none of the least causes of anger which moved the Boians and Infubrians to incline to Hannibal, who, now assaflaining Saguntum with all might, did by the ruines thereof prepare his way to the Roman Wars. But these and other commotions, which in great number, without no leffe Terroour and violence preffently assifled the Romans, will the better be understood by relating foregoing Circumstances.

A Cata
In place of Livie's Twentieth Book.

about. To Htaro King of Syracuse, besides some of the spoiles, they sent the price of that Corn he had accommodated them with during the Gallic War. After this a new enemy arose, the Iphians who infellow the Seas with Piracy, and had taken some of the Roman Corn ships. Against these both the Confuls were sent, P. Cornelius, and M. Minucius Rufus, who brought into subjection many people either by force or composition. Nevertheless I do not find that these Conuls Triumphed; perhaps because their Victory cost so much Roman blood. This year arofe a Starre in Spain destructive to many Cities and Nations; to wit, Hannibal the successor of Hysrual, of whose beginnings and proceedings ye shall shortly read more from a greater Pen.

In the mean time the new Conuls, L. Veturius, and C. Lentulus marched to the Alps with their Army, but making more use of Treaties then Armes, they joyned many of those people with their own good liking to the Roman Society. At this time the Illryian War was renew'd, by Demetrius Pharus his fault, against whom many complaints were made, in as much as under presence of the Roman friendship, he had vexed and afflicted the neighbour Cities according to his pleasure. For being by the Romans invelled with the Tribunal of K. Pinna whose mother Tribute he had married, he behaved himselfe like a King, and grew very high and intolerable both to the people of the Countrie, and to Neighbouring Regions. He endeavoured likewise to bring under his own dominion the people of Ilyricum, the Friends and associates of the Romans, and moreover contrary to the league, he fled beyond Illyria with fifty Armed Vessels, to the Islands Cicladis, some of them he plundered, from others he extorted money, and had now drawn into his party, as many Illyrians as since the late War bore a grudge to the Romans, and forced the Assiduniae his side. Neither did he any whit fear the Romans, who being involved in a Gallic War, and fearing a Phrygian one, he thought had neither strength nor Liefure enough to revenge the Injuries of his associates. He promised himself any favour from Philip King of Macedon, whom he had afflicted in the Clieomanen War, being General of the Illyrick Auxiliaries: A War was therefore decreed against him, and preparations made. In the mean time L. Atimilus and C. Flaminius being Confers made the three and fourtienth Laturition, there were numbered two hundred and seventye thousand, two hundred and thirty Citizens. A promisitc multitude of Liberties being dispersd amongst the Tribes, had hitherto made great confusion; in imitation therefore of L. Fabius Maximus, the Confers reduced them into four Tribes, the Estutions, Palatine, Suburanne, and the Collins. C. Flaminius in the same Consurface hanged in the high way to Ariminum, and built a temple place, both called by his name; The Flamianew shew place, and the Flamianin way. The same Confers committed Marius, of the Dyers trade, to the judgement of the people; not thinking it to be beneath the dignity of so high a Magistracy to enquire into pett things. About the same time the Illrion rebellion caitled the Senate to give the charge of that province to M. Livius M. F. M. N. Salinator, and M. Atimilus, M. F. Paulus the Conuls. Demetrius on the other side, was not slack in preparing himselfe for the War, having sent a strong Garrison to Dalmatia, and providing all necessaries for the fulling of a long siege. In some places he gave order for the slaughter of the prime men, whose fidelity he mistrusted, and committed the Government to his own creatures. Out of the whole Kingdom he gathered a choice strength of six thoufeand men, whom he kept with himselfe in Garrison at Pharos.

In the mean time L. Paulus the Conul leeting forth in the beginning of the spring, failed over into Illyricum, and underdstanding that the enemy put great hopes in the strengt of Damaltia, which they thought impregnable, he rightly judged that it would strike much terror into them, in case he should make himselfe Mafter of it: Assaulting it therefore with very much courage and cheerfulnes, he took it by storm in twenty days time. Neither was the Conul deceived in his project, for the news hereof being spread into the neighbour Regions, meffengers came flocking from every City, offering up themselves, and all their goods into the hands of the Romans. The Conul having received them into protection, failed to the Land of Pharos, where Demetrius kept his Court. But understanding that it was well manned with a Garrison of Souldiers, furnished with provision of all forts; strong, both by citation, and also with artificial works, and guarded with the presence of the Tyrant himself; the Conul unwilling to begin a tedious siege, contrived a flaragmen of great use to the speedy effecting of Victory.

For fending over the greater part of his Army in the night time, with order to cover themselves in woody Tracts; Himself app ears in open day with twenty ships making towards the Haven, whereby he drew out the Pharians, among whom was Demetrius himself, to hinder his landing. Upon the first engagement it hapned, as is usual, that many more by degrees running to the succour of their friends, the City was left almost naked of Souldiers. In the mean time thofe Romans who had landed in the night time, taking their journey through covert places, posseted an hill even in the midt between the City and the Haven, thereby rendring it imposible for thofe who were come out of the Town to return safe back.
A Catalogue of those Authors Names on whose Authority this Supplement relieth.

AElianus.
Agellius.
Amianus Marcellinus.
L. Ampelius.
Appianus & ejus Excerpta a
Fulvio Ursino & Henrico
Valeio edita.
Aristoteles.
Athenaeus.
Author de Viris Illustribus.
Augustinus.
Bernigerus.
Bonarius.
Capitolina Marmera.
Casauronus.
Cassiodorus.
Cato.
Censorinus.
Cicero.
Claudianus.
Clavdivs.
Cornelius Nepos.
Curtius.
Dio & ejus Excerpta.
Diodor Excerpta.
Dionysius Excerpta.
Dionysius Periegetes.
Eminius.
Etymologici Author.
Eusebius.
Eustathius.
Eutropius.
Faesi Capitolini.
Fazellus.
Feustus.
Florus.
Frontinus.
Gaefridus Viterbiensis.
Herodotus.
Hieronymus.
Horatius.
Joannes Antiochenus.
Joannes Sarisburiensis.
Julius Higgins.
Justus obsequens.
Justus Justinianus.
Justus.
Livius & ejus Epitome.
Lucanus.
Lycur.
Macrobius.
Marianus Scotus.
Martianus Capella.
Matthiatus.
"Onyomiedor dawegyeg".
Orobius.
Otto Friiingenfet.
Ovidius.
Pannus.
Pavinius.
Paulus Diaconus.
Pausanias.
Pigebius.
L. Piso.
Plinius.
Plutarchus.
Polybenus.
Polybius & ejus Excerpta.
Pomponius Mela.
Porlemus.
Quintilianus.
Sextus Rufus.
Sallustius.
Seneca.
Servius.
Sigerinus.
Silius.
Sirmius Capito.
Solinus.
Stobaeo.
Suetonius.
Suidas.
Ser. Salpicius.
Tabulak Peteri.
Tibero.
Tuditanus.
Valerius Antias.
Valerius Maximus.
Varro.
Vergilius.
Velleius.
Vergilius.
Zonaras.

FINIS.